Thesis for the Master's Programme in Intercultural Studies Spring 2020

Daniel González Expósito

Friendship and social life in Norway

An ethnographic study of Spanish migrants living in Bergen

NLA University College

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This master thesis is 43.060 characters and 110 pages in length (excluding title page, this page, abstract, epigraph, preface, acknowledgements, table of contents, list of figures and tables, list of abbreviations and acronyms, footnotes, citing sources: references and appendices; but including in-text citations). It is formatted according to APA style, which recommends using Times New Roman font, size 12, 1.5 line spacing, and 2 cm margins on the top, bottom, and sides. Punctuation and grammar follow the British English standard.

In writing this paper, I have cited all sources used, including Internet sources, as follows: Direct quotations are marked as quotations, and the source and page of each quotation are documented. The sources are indicated and documented for material summarised or paraphrased from the work of other writers. All sources are cited inside the text in parentheses, and provided in *References*.

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work and is neither copied from another source without proper acknowledgement, nor written for me by another person, in whole or in part. Short extracts of text in chapters one and two may be partly included in: "Individual home examination" (IKF301 Intercultural theories), "Written school exam" (IKF302 Methodology), "Assessment during course" (IKF303 Project Design and Applied Intercultural theories. NLA Høgskolen), and "Literature review" (IKF304 Socio-Cultural and Regional Specialisation).

ABSTRACT

Life is a constantly evolving journey. We are a different version of who we used to be. As we gain new insights and perspectives, our identities are shaped by our actions and interactions with other people. Migrants experience this more intensely. They need to negotiate their identities and make new contacts in their new destinations. In this regard, this master's thesis makes a new contribution to the study of migration and interculturality: considering friendship and social life. In particular, the study draws upon nine Spaniards who migrated to Norway at some time between 2008 and 2018 in the context of the 2008 financial crisis.

This study aims to provide an insight into how they understand friendship, and how they build their social lives concerning their individual goals, happiness and sense of belonging. Through a six-month period of fieldwork in the city of Bergen, where I gathered material through interviews, note-taking, and participant observation, I analyse four topics of friendship: how they understand friendship; how their social encounters and identities are placed in space; how they experience loneliness, unfolding the different social challenges they face in Norway; as well as how they socially engage themselves in the digital world.

The analyses of my material demonstrate that friendship is subjected to their individual ideas and their shared context. The diverse ways that they relate to friendship define their understanding of the word, and their selectivity of friends is expressed through their ethno-social preferences. Everyday spatial practices and relationship to place are powerful tools in expressing their identities and shaping their social interactions. The way they inhabit and "make place" is determined by their unique interactions with their expressive culture and by their subsequent social networks. Moreover, building a social life in a new country is limited by many factors such as their different values, beliefs, norms and behaviours. Without a satisfying social life, they feel lonely, and consequently, they keep and make social ties online. As the main conclusion, this master's thesis argues that an enjoyable social life and a consolidated network of friends create a place for their goals, happiness and belonging.

Keywords: migration, friendship formation, social life, sociability, networks, encounters, identity, Spanish migrants, Bergen, Norway, intercultural studies.

SAMANDRAG

Identitet er ein prosess i stadig utvikling, og slik vert vi konstant forma og omforma. Identiteten vår vert særleg forma gjennom samhandling med andre menneske, og slik får vi ny innsikt og nye perspektiv. Ei gruppe som opplev dette sterkare enn andre, er migrantar. Dei må i større grad reflektere over identiteten sin etter kvart som dei stiftar nye bekjentskap på sine nye heimstadar. Denne masteroppgåva er eit bidrag til studien av migrasjon og interkulturalitet når det gjeld venskap og sosialt liv. Studien vert særleg bygga på erfaringar gjort av ni spanjolar som migrerte til Noreg i tidsrommet 2008-2018 i samanheng med finanskrisen i 2008.

Studien gir eit innblikk i korleis dei forstår venskap, og korleis dei byggjer sine sosiale liv i samsvar med sine personlege mål og korleis dei opplev lykke og tilhøyrsle. Gjennom ein seks månader lang periode med feltarbeid i Bergen, samla eg inn data ved hjelp av intervju, notattaking og deltakarobservasjon. I oppgåva analyserer eg, basert på data, fire tema om venskap: korleis migrantane oppfattar venskap, korleis deira sosiale møter og identitetar er plassert i rom, korleis dei opplev einsemd og taklar dei ulike sosiale utfordringane dei står ovanfor i Noreg; korleis dei engasjerer seg sosialt i den digitale verda.

Gjennomgang av materialet viser at venskap avhenger av individuelle forståingar og kontekst. Dei mange måtane å definere venskap har å gjere med deira forståing av ordet, noko som påverkar val av vener, og dermed avheng av etno-sosiale preferansar. Kvardagslege romlege praksisar og forhold til stad er mektige verktøy i identitetsuttrykk og bidreg til å forme migrantane sine sosiale samhandlingar. Måten dei bur og «skapar» rom på, avgjerast av unike interaksjonar, kulturelle uttrykk og sosiale nettverk. Dessutan kan prosessen med å byggje eit sosialt liv i eit nytt land verte avgrensa av mange faktorar, som ulike verdiar, oppfatningar, normer og måtar å handle på. Utan eit tilfredsstillande sosialt liv, kjenner dei seg einsame, og det medfører at dei i staden pleier og knyt nye sosiale band på nettet. Masteroppgåva argumenterer for, og konkluderer med, at eit tilfredsstillande, sosialt liv samt eit solid nettverk bestående av vener, bidreg til at migrantar kan nå sine mål i tillegg til å kjenne på lykke og tilhøyrsle.

Nykelord: migrasjon, venskap, venskapsdanning, sosialt liv, sosiale evner, nettverk, møter, identitet, spanske migrantar, Bergen, Noreg, interkulturelle studiar.

RESUMEN

La vida es un viaje constante. Somos una versión diferente de lo que solíamos ser. Nuestras identidades están determinadas por nuestras acciones e interacciones con otras personas. Los migrantes experimentan esto más intensamente. Ellos necesitan negociar sus identidades y hacer nuevos contactos en sus nuevos destinos. En este sentido, esta tesis hace una nueva contribución al estudio de la migración y la interculturalidad: considerando la amistad y la vida social. En particular, este trabajo se basa en la vida de nueve españoles que migraron a Noruega en algún momento entre 2008 y 2018, en el contexto de la crisis financiera que comenzó en el año 2008.

Este estudio tiene como objetivo proporcionar una idea de cómo ellos entienden la amistad y cómo construyen sus vidas sociales con respecto a sus objetivos individuales, felicidad y sentido de pertenencia. Durante un período de seis meses de trabajo de campo en la ciudad de Bergen, donde reuní material a través de entrevistas, toma de notas y observación participante, analizo cuatro temas sobre la amistad: cómo ellos entienden la amistad; cómo sitúan sus encuentros e identidades sociales en espacios sociales; cómo experimentan la soledad, desplegando aquellos desafíos sociales que ellos viven en Noruega; así como cómo se involucran socialmente en el mundo digital.

Los resultados muestran que la amistad está sujeta al contexto compartido y a las ideas individuales de mis informantes. Las diversas formas en que se relacionan definen su comprensión de la amistad, y su selectividad de amigos se expresa a través de sus preferencias etnosociales. Sus prácticas espaciales cotidianas y sus relaciones de lugar son herramientas poderosas con las que expresan sus identidades y dan forma a sus interacciones sociales. La forma en que habitan y "hacen lugar" está determinada por sus interacciones con su cultura expresiva y por sus redes sociales posteriores. Además, la construcción de una vida social está limitada por muchos factores, como diferentes valores, creencias, normas y formas de actuar. Sin una vida social satisfactoria, se sienten solos y, como consecuencia, mantienen y crean vínculos sociales en Internet. Como conclusión principal, este trabajo sostiene que una vida social satisfactoria y una red consolidada de amigos crean un espacio de metas, felicidad y sentimiento de pertenencia para mis informantes.

Palabras clave: migración, formación de amistad, vida social, sociabilidad, redes, encuentros, identidad, migrantes españoles, Bergen, Noruega, estudios interculturales.

ENCOUNTERS

Tezcatlipoca, black god, Mexican god of the night,
sent his son to sing alongside the crocodiles,
musicians of heaven.

The sun was against it,
but the outlawed beauty paid no heed
and brought together the voices of heaven and earth.

Thus were united silence and sound,
chants and music, day and night, darkness and colour.
And thus, they all learned to live together.

Eduardo Galeano, *Hunter of Stories*

PREFACE

Hailing from Barcelona, Spain, I am twenty-four years old at the time of writing this master's thesis, and I have been living in Bergen for the past four years. My transition while living in the city of Bergen is, in many ways, connected to this master's thesis. Therefore, I would like to start my first words sharing my story with you.

Back in the day, during adolescence, I suffered a lot of social anxiety. I might seem reasonable when I was talking to unknown people, but in my head, I was just thinking of a million ways to get out of the conversation. Moreover, my ADHD and OCD disorders lowered my self-confidence, as many strangers called me by the nickname "*el chico raro*" (the weird kid). Being surrounded by good friends that I made in high school made me overcome my social fears as time went by.

The transition to college, however, supposed a new challenge. In 2013, I started a bachelor's degree in Communication at the University of Barcelona. It was time for me to step out of my comfort zone and make a giant leap. Right before starting, I idealised everything: a wild life in the city of Barcelona, an exciting bachelor's degree, and the many new friends I was going to make. But such were naive ideas far from reality. While studying, I started to work full-time as a checking-agent at the airport, and consequently, I never got the time to get to know my fellow students. "Passport? ID? Have a nice flight!". Those questions were my main social interactions during that time.

Halfway through my degree, I figured out that I wanted to do an Erasmus+ exchange for a year. Indeed, I felt the longing to make new friends, see the world, and leave behind my precarious job. Therefore, I chose the furthest away university on the list: the University of Bergen. However, this time, as a mechanism of self-protection and a way to not let my hopes overcome reality, I decided not to check any information about the city or the university before leaving Barcelona behind.

During my first semester in Bergen, autumn of 2015, I discovered a new world. Everything was fresh and different to me, and I did not perceive myself as the weird one anymore. I was living in a student accommodation for international students. There, I did open myself a lot. I met other international students, and I never felt like I had so many friends as I did by then. With them, I travelled to other Norwegian cities, and I joined them to parties, social activities, and dinners. A

typical adventure for an international student, I guess. However, things changed as I started the second semester. They all moved back to their home countries. And solitude became a problem as I did not have anything to do. Therefore, I started joining different activities and using social apps where I met many Norwegians, for the most part. Meeting them helped me break down prejudices I had about Norway and Norwegians. And to see life from another cultural perspective. Over time, I consolidated good friendships. As the exchange programme ended, I moved back to Barcelona to finish my bachelor's degree, and I started to work as a press assistant at Penguin Random House. During that time, I missed my life and friends in Bergen so much. It felt like a step back in time. And I experienced the feeling of not belonging anywhere for the first time.

After eight months in Barcelona, I graduated from university, I quit my job, and I decided to move back to Bergen again. This time, to be a masters student in Intercultural Studies. But I do not think I would have taken this step, had it not been for my Norwegian friends. They helped me find the places where I have been living, to learn the Norwegian language, to have an enjoyable social life. In other words, they made me feel like I belonged in a country where I was not born and raised. They also helped me to find my current job, which has been an essential place of socialisation. There, I have improved my communication skills in Norwegian, and I have built strong friendships with colleges and regular customers.

However, since the first time I moved to Bergen, I completely distanced myself of my Spanish-Catalan roots. I lost contact with many friends in Barcelona. And in Bergen, I did not want to meet other Spaniards: I was afraid to make international friends after my last-mentioned experience with international students. Then, while choosing the topic for this thesis, came a new opportunity to challenge myself, come back to my roots and rediscover myself. In fact, with this thesis, I bring together some of my passions: communication, social life, the focus on people, diversity, and the achievement of a better world. During my fieldwork, I have realised that friendship should be on the top as a vital aspect of life. Because for me, friendship —to share experiences, laughs and love; to help, to be friendly, to respect the differences, etc.— is an essential attribute to succeed as a migrant, as a person, in Bergen, anywhere. And this is what my master thesis is about.

I hope you can find it useful, inspiring and exciting!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The delivering of this master's thesis marks the end of an inspiring and enriching educational period at NLA Høgskolen. While living abroad and being immersed in an exciting topic, my perspective on life and the world we live in has changed, being surprised by the events of life, and the many different people and stories I have gotten to know during my fieldwork. With the satisfaction of having reached the end of this journey, I would like to show my gratitude to all those who have accompanied me and assisted me invaluably.

First, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my supervisor, Ole Johannes Kaland, for his unwavering guidance, encouragement, patience and unconditional support. Thank you for being there, reminding me to keep going and pushing me to do my best. I would also like to thank all the employees and academic staff in NLA who have always offered me solutions whenever I have encountered challenges, and to my fellow classmates: Bidias, Carmen, Rose and Stian. Their effort and solidarity have been a source of inspiration during these intense months of work.

I am extremely grateful to all my informants —unfortunately unmentionable by name—, who so generously opened their lives and hearts to me. Thank you for letting me be a part of your social lives during my fieldwork. I will never forget the laughs, the tears, the happiness and solidarity that we shared during my fieldwork, and which I have transformed in this dissertation, our dissertation.

Last but not least, I would also like to extend my deepest gratitude to my family and friends. I am forever indebted to them for having continuously supported and encouraged me for the past four years while living in Bergen. Thank you for your love, your understanding, your positiveness and for giving me the opportunities that have made me who I am.

Thank you all so much — Muchas gracias a todes — Tusen takk alle sammen

Bergen, 10th February 2020

Daniel González Expósito

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

art.	Article
BT	Bergens Tidende (newspaper)
cf.	Short for the Latin *Confer*, meaning “compare” or “consult”
CSIC	Spanish National Research Council
e.g.	Short for the Latin *Exempli gratia*, meaning “for example”
EEA	European Economic Area
et al.	Short for the Latin *Et alia*, meaning “and others”
etc.	Short for the Latin *Et cetera*, meaning “and the rest”
EU	European Union
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulation
HE	Higher Education
i.e.	Short for the Latin *Id est*, meaning “in other words” or “that is”
ibid.	Short for the Latin *Ibīdem,* meaning “in the same place”
ICT	Information and communications technology
INE	Spanish National Statistical Institute
NAV	Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration
NRK	Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation
NSD	Norwegian Centre for Research Data
ON	Observation Note
p.	Page
PC	Personal Computer
PERE	Register of Spaniards Residing Abroad
pp.	Pages
sic.	Short for the Latin *Slik*, meaning “this is how I heard/found it”
SSB	Statistics Norway

CHAPTER 1
Introduction to the Study and Theoretical Foundations

Introduction

Following the 2008 financial crisis, thousands of people have emigrated from Spain, searching for a more promising future (González-Ferrer, 2013). They escape unemployment, poor working conditions, and also political dissatisfaction (Bygnes, 2017, Lester, 2012). The Spanish media and politicians have popularised the term *fuga de cerebros* ("brain drain", also known as "human capital flight") to refer to this migration trend (Santos, 2013, p. 128). That is, young higher-educated middle-class migrants, who travel via low-cost airlines, communicate easily with their family and friends on the Internet, travel to Spain occasionally, keep informed "online" about Spain's affairs, and that, contrary to sending remittances to their families, they often depend on the financial support of their families to face the obstacles of migration (Cortés et al., 2015, pp. 3-6; Rodríguez, 2017, p. 24). In recent years, there has been a growing literature on the mobility of Europeans, which contributes to the understanding of why people migrate within Europe (Bygnes, 2015, p. 261). Some of these Spaniards have chosen to live and work in Norway. However, little is known about them. Therefore, this master's thesis makes a new contribution to the study of migration and interculturality within this field.

From November 2018 to June 2019, I conducted my first ethnographic fieldwork in Bergen. Before starting, my initial fieldwork proposal was to study the lives of Spaniards who migrated to Norway during the 2008 crisis, and that consequently were living in this country for a decade. However, it turned out to be more difficult than anticipated: I could not find many of them. Moreover, the topic of "lives" was open for everything. I was stressed, worried, and very anxious about the upcoming months as my initial research idea was suddenly out of reach. Therefore, I started to review literature, and I talked with different Spaniards living in the city. Suddenly, from my social interactions with these people, it dawned on me that social life could be a fascinating research topic, and more specifically: friendship. Whereas social life focuses more on activities, friendship involves people (Fielding, 2008).

In this regard, migrants are surrounded by cultural codes that are unfamiliar to them (Gudykunst and Kim, 1984), and so, friendship acquires a significant role, a context for their development: the opportunity to practice a new language, to enjoy a pleasant social life, to exchange ideas, to learn new cultural expressions, to respect the differences, to share, to cooperate, to fight loneliness, to find a job, to open doors, among others (Gurak and Caces, 1998; Massey et al., 1999; Tassara, 2014; Brenes, 2006). That is to say, friendship contributes to the emotional, social and even economic stability of migrants.

During my fieldwork, I participated in countless hangouts in parks, trips to mountains, visits to museums, meetings in bars, coffee shops, workplaces, dinners, as well as a Norwegian language course with nine Spanish migrants who relocated to Bergen within ten years after the 2008 crisis (i.e., who migrated to Norway at some time between 2008 and 2018). In those meetings, I have observed and participated in their social lives, getting to know their stories, their friends, the social activities that they carry out to satisfy their social needs, and the many different ways they negotiate and build friendship relationships.

In a broad sense, this master's thesis is about sociality and sociability (i.e., the quality of being sociable, and the quality of being pleasant and friendly with others), identity, social practices (i.e., the link between practise and context within social situations) and relationships of migrants in a destination country. In other words, it is about how migrants become a part of a new society through establishing friendship ties. In this sense, every migrant chooses how to live socially in a new (different) country, and in this election, "they tell their past, their present and especially their future in terms of mobility expectations" (Alaminos and Santacreu, 2011, p. 14).

Giving a brief introduction to the topic and the people studied, in this first chapter, I am going to explain more in-depth what this research is about through its objectives, hypotheses, and research question, and through two literature reviews: a contextual background, to situate the historical and current arrival of Spaniards to Norway and Bergen; and a theoretical framework, to frame the approach, theories, and concepts that sustain my research in the topic of migration and friendship formation. In other words, I have designated this introduction chapter to present the questions, contexts, and key analytical concepts of my research study. Moreover, the chapter ends with an overview of how this thesis is structured.

Aims of the study

I present my research based on a six months fieldwork period in the city of Bergen, Norway, with nine Spanish migrants. My primary aim in this thesis is to explore how they "socially" live in Bergen, and hence, how they build and negotiate friendship relationships. I want to see how they assert their social lives and how they define friendship in their common context of mobility to Norway. I want to map their meaning of friendship in their social relations and social activities. I also want to look closely at the strategies they use to form personal networks, and how their friendship and social interactions are placed in context. Throughout my hypothesis, my research questions, and my theoretical framework, my objectives will be written and expressed more in detail.

Hypotheses

A priori, I did not want to formulate hypotheses. My goal was simply to discover and collect stories, not necessarily to corroborate or invalidate hypotheses. Using inductive reasoning, I want to identify patterns and trends amongst the stories of my participants and my fieldwork experiences with them, then progress analytically to broader generalisations and theories that help me explain the observed cases, and eventually develop some general conclusions. However, to fulfil the formal requirements, I formulated some hypotheses before carrying out fieldwork. These included:

- *The common background and migration context of the Spanish migrants bring some similarities to their individual understanding of friendship.*
- *During their arrival, they were influenced negatively by topics and prejudices about Norwegians and the Norwegian culture.*
- *To make new friends in Norway was/is socially challenging for them.*
- *They might/may not have Norwegian friends. Without friends, they might/may feel lonely.*
- *Through the years, and as a result of an assimilation process, their socialisation with Norwegians improve/d.*
- *Spanish migrants want to stay in Norway after consolidating friendship relationships.*
- *Social media plays an important role for them at the time to build and keep friendship ties.*

These hypotheses stated my predictions about what my research will find out. They are tentative answers to my research questions that have not yet been tested.

Research question

According to Nicola Green (2008), a research question must be researchable, which entails that it must be interesting, relevant, feasible, ethical, concise and answerable (pp. 43-62). Following these properties, the research question of this master's thesis is:

What role does social life play for recent Spanish labour migrants in Norway in relation to their individual goals, happiness and sense of belonging?

To complement this question, I have included other secondary questions:

- *What is the meaning of friendship for Spanish migrants living in Norway?*
- *How do they develop friendship ties?*
- *How is building friendship in Norway compared to Spain?*
- *How do they establish a social life from scratch?*
- *How the notion of space interfere in their view of friendship?*
- *Does friendship give advantages to them?*
- *What are the challenges they encounter while trying to build friendships in Norway?*
- *What role plays social media in their social lives as migrants?*

There are different routes through which to begin to answer these questions. First, asking the meanings and definitions my informants give to words such as «friend», «friendship» or «social life». Second, exploring how the patterns of mobility displayed by them are bound into particular spaces and networks of friendship. Third, examining the narratives of self-realisation, development and challenges concerning their social lives as migrants. But first of all, showing how their narratives emerge within a particular context of mobility.

Historical and contextual background: Spaniards in Bergen

According to the geographer Andrew Vayda (1996), a researcher should trace phenomena outwards in scope, and backwards in time: "Research on human-environment interactions is especially challenging given its interdisciplinary character and its need to address complexly interacting causes in time and space" (Walters and Vayda, 2009, abstract). Through this subchapter, and following Vayda's assumption, I place my study in context. I compare and contrast published studies and articles, and I identify gaps that have not been addressed —or have been unsuccessfully addressed— about migration to Norway, and in particular, about the Spanish migrants who lived or live in Bergen.

Immigration to Norway

In 2019, Norway's immigrant population consisted of 765.108 immigrants, or about 14,4 per cent of the entire population of the country.[1] These migrants come mostly from European countries (48,2%): Poland (12,9%) —with almost 100.000 Polish nationals living in Norway—, Lithuania (5,1%), and Sweden (4,7%). Immigration to Norway has increased since the 90s. In 1992, the immigrant population was of 183.000 individuals, representing 4,3 per cent of the total population, and the net migration (the difference between the number of immigrants and the number of emigrants) consisted of 9.105 people.[2]

Everett Lee (1966) summarises the motivations for migration by considering how the relationship between two points —origin and destination— are affected by push and pull factors. Push factors exist at the point of origin and act to trigger emigration; these include the lack of job opportunities, war, religious or political persecution or bad environmental conditions, among others. Pull factors exist at the destination and include the availability of jobs, freedom, the perception of a good environment, etc.

[1] Statistisk sentralbyrå. (2019) Landbakgrunn for innvandrere i Norge. 2018 [webpage]. Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå. Retrieved from: www.ssb.no/innvandring-og-innvandrere/faktaside/innvandring [Accessed: 7th December 2019]

[2] Statistisk sentralbyrå. (2019) Migrations [webpage]. Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå. Retrieved from: www.ssb.no/en/flytting [Accessed: 7th December 2019]

Compared to the other Nordic nations, Norway has without a doubt been the major destination country for migrants coming from the Eastern and Southern European countries (Friberg, 2013, p. 21-24). There are different economic, social and political factors —pull factors— that make Norway out to be an "attractive" destination for migrants (Ryndyk, 2013, p. 4):

From an economic perspective, Norway has kept an unemployment rate level below five per cent since long before the entry of 21st century period. The strong economic growth that the Norwegian economy experienced in the 2000s created a considerable demand for labour immigrants (ibid., p. 25). Moreover, Norway's economy did not suffer the effects of the 2008 financial crisis as other Southern European countries did. This was due to "Norway's less exposed financial sector" and the "relatively good performance of the Norwegian economy" (Grytten and Hunnes, 2014, p. 18). From a social perspective, a pull factor example is found in The World Happiness Report[3]. It measures "subjective well-being", and it has been placing Norway as one of the happiest countries in the World during the last years (see Helliwell et al., 2018). And from a political perspective, Norway is a democratic welfare state: the state and other local authorities have the responsibility for ensuring that every member of society has access to certain fundamental goods, such as education, health services or income if they are unable to work (Kautto et al., 2001, p. 36-46). As a further political matter, the Schengen Area-agreement has facilitated a flow of migration between member states (Friberg, 2013). That is, EU/EEA nationals are entitled to work, study and live in Norway without the need of a visa.[4]

Spanish migration to Norway

According to Statistics Norway[5], the number of Spaniards living in Norway has constantly increased since the 2008 financial crisis: from 1.789 people in 2008 to 6.386 in 2019. However, the National Statistics Institute (Spain) show a lower number, as shown below in figure [1]. Amparo González-Ferrer (2003) points out that the official Spanish statistical sources are understated and do not adequately capture the magnitude and diversity of migration (p. 18). In Spain, the statistics on

[3] www.worldhappiness.report [Last accessed: January 2020]

[4] UDI (2018). The registration scheme for EU/EEA nationals [webpage]. The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration. Retrieved from: www.udi.no/en/want-to-apply/the-registration-scheme-for-eueea-nationals/ [Accessed: 21st March 2019]

[5] Statistisk sentralbyrå (2019) Table: Population by immigrant category and country background. In Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents [webpage]. Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå. Retrieved from: www.ssb.no/en/innvbef/ [Accessed: 7th March 2019]

migration flows are based directly on the official census register, which only occurs if the Spanish people that leave the country register themselves in the Spanish embassies and consulates abroad. This registration often fails to occur even if the person spends years living outside Spain (ibid). For instance, in 2014, the National Statistics Institute (INE) included 225.000 people left Spain since 2008, while the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) included more than 700.000.

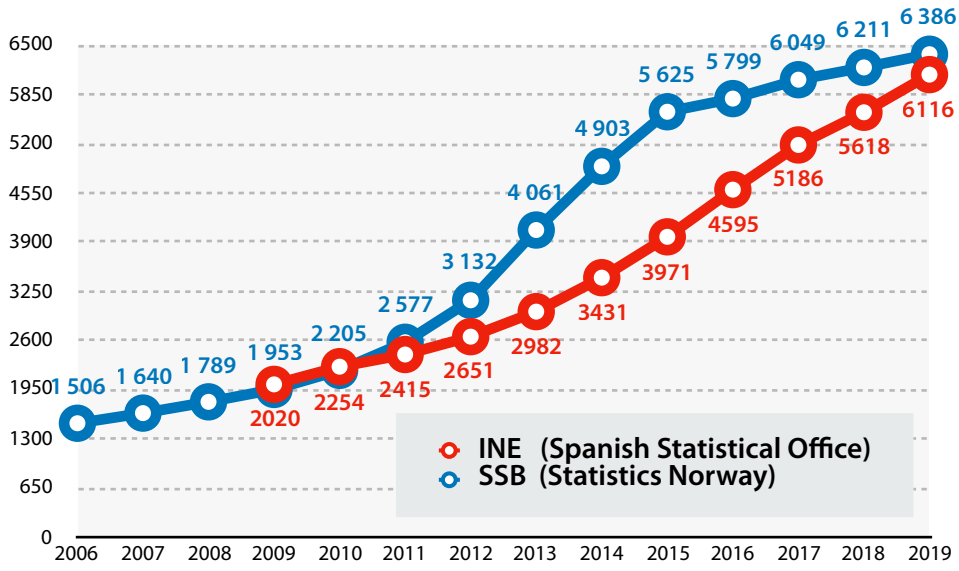

Figure [1] — Number of Spanish migrants living in Norway
according to Statistics Norway and INE (Y) from 2006 to 2019 (X)

Nevertheless, the Norwegian authorities facilitate the process of counting the number of Spaniards living in Norway: "EU/EEA nationals who are planning to stay in Norway for more than three months must register with the Norwegian government"[6]. That means that Spanish migrants need to be registered in order to reside and work in Norway, even if they are not registered at the Spanish census abroad. The figure above shows how the Spanish Statistical Office and Statistics Norway have captured the number of Spaniards living in Norway from 2006 to 2019.

Push factors: Spain and the 2008 financial crisis

At the start of the 21st century, the entry of Spain into the Eurozone and the growing economy contributed to a high inflow of migrants coming mainly from South America and Morocco to Spain (González-Ferrer, 2013). The outbreak of the 2008 financial crisis, however, drastically changed

[6] UDI (2018). The registration scheme for EU/EEA nationals [webpage]. The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration. Retrieved from: www.udi.no/en/want-to-apply/the-registration-scheme-for-eueea-nationals/ [Accessed: 21st March 2018]

this trend. The volume of arrivals were reduced, and emigration was increasing and taking the migratory balance to values that hardly contributed to the growth of the population (Reher et al., 2011, pp. 25-31).

According to the Spanish Statistical Office, Spain had a total population of 46,5 million as of 2017. The *Register of Spaniards Residing Abroad* (PERE), a statistical data survey published by the Spanish Statistical Office, certified that there were a total of 2.406.611 people with Spanish nationality who were not living in Spain as of January 1st 2017. That amounts to almost one million people more compared to 2009, a year after the start of the crisis.

Before 2008, the unemployment rate in Spain was situated below 9 per cent. Within five years later, it changed to 26 per cent, as shown below in Figure [2]. A lot of people lost their jobs. And younger people suffered unemployment the most: 56 per cent of them were unemployed (Eurostat, 2013). A young and high-educated population that did not see any possibility to work on their relevant labour fields (González-Ferrer, 2013; Bygnes and Bivand Erdal, 2017).

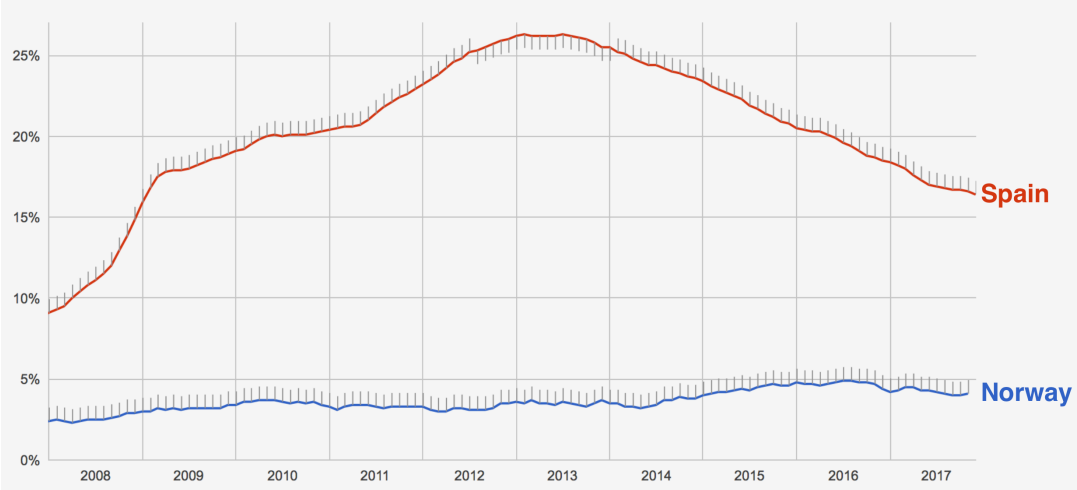

Figure [2] — Unemployment rate: Spain and Norway (2008 - 2018).
Source: Eurostat [Feb 22, 2018].

However, no theory can fully explain the nature and the process of international migration itself. Explanations about this phenomenon place special emphasis on very diverse economic and social factors, and most of them tend to complement each other rather than contradict each other (Massey et al., 1999; Brenes, 2006).

«The Spanish invasion of Bergen» (2009 - 2013)

> "Do you not speak Norwegian? Do you not speak English? Do not worry. In Bergen, you will not have problems communicating. There are a lot of Spaniards there. They carry out jobs that Norwegians do not want: they are hard and poorly paid. For us, these jobs sound like glory. On the other hand, there is solitude, cold humans and a few hours of sun."

I found this entry[7] on a travel blog while looking for information about Spanish migrants living in Bergen. The entry, written by a Spaniard, talks about how easy it is for Spaniards to find a job without speaking Norwegian nor English, and it gives some stereotypes and generalisations about Norway and Norwegian people. Such ideas also arrived in the Spanish national television channel, TVE, through *Españoles en el mundo* (Spaniards around the world), —a documentary programme in which a team of reporters travel to cities around the world, to see how Spanish emigrants live abroad. An episode about Bergen was broadcasted on the 20th of September of 2011, when Spain was suffering the throes of the financial crisis. In the episode, called "*Los fiordos noruegos*" (The Norwegian fjords), the lives of the Spaniards featured looked so easy: nice houses, nice jobs, and easy entry into the Norwegian labour market. And therefore, the episode contributed to what Daniel Hiebert (2009) describes as "chain migration": the phenomena of migration that occurs in a sequence, when the movement of one person causes others to follow. Vast numbers of low-skilled Spaniards moved to Bergen to try their luck. Six months later, Stine Stangeland Bach (2012) wrote about their situation in an article for Bergens Tidende:

> "The travel program [*Españoles en el mundo*] tells sunshine stories about how easy it is to get a job and how nice it is to live in Norway. But the reality is quite different. Many of them have not been able to find a job for several months. Their only way to survive is begging or recycling cans" (para. 5).

El País —one of the most read newspapers in Spain— also published an article titled *Trapped in the North* (Pérez-Lanzac, 2012a) —*Down and out in Bergen, Norway* in the English version (Pérez-Lanzac, 2012b). In this article, the Spanish journalist Carmen Pérez-Lanzac featured some of the Spaniards that came to Bergen because of the documentary programme, and that faced difficult circumstances as Bach (2012) mentioned above. One of the people interviewed, Paco, expressed:

[7] Text retrieved from: www.viajesrockyfotos.com/emigrantes-espanoles-en-noruega-bergen/ [Accessed: 13th March 2019]

> "All my welfare checks had run out long ago. My parents, who are elderly, had been paying my 540-euro mortgage for several months already. Nothing was turning up, and the outlook was very bad. I remember I was sitting at a bar with the TV set on, and it was showing that program Españoles en el mundo [Spaniards across the world]. There was a man on it who lived in the north of Norway, who said he made 4,000 euros a month. The guy looked happy... So I said to myself, «Paco, you have got to go there»".

Paco moved to Norway after watching the documentary programme. However, without education or knowledge of the Norwegian language, he and other Spaniards could not find a job. Instead, they found a difficult journey. "The authorities want nothing to do with the,. Some have spent their life savings to come here, and now they are sleeping on the streets if necessary", explained the journalist. "Do you know what it is to look for food in the garbage?", asked Paco.

Another story is the one of Gonzalo, documented by the Norwegian national channel NRK (cf. Fjelltveit, 2016; Due and Kateraas, 2011). He also came to Norway with great hopes for a better life after watching the documentary. However, he ended up in the hospital with frostbite. "The first days, I did not know where to go. I was just looking for a place in the shelter from the cold", said Gonzalo to the journalist. But the stories of Paco and Gonzalo are not unique. The article in El País notes that ten Spaniards went to the Norwegian police asking to be deported. They did not have enough money to move back to Spain.

Robin Hood Huset —a "drug and alcohol free, religiously neutral environment for those who have financial difficulties or who wish to expand their network"[8]— helped many of those Spaniards. Wenche Berg Husebø was working there as a volunteer when Spaniards came massively to Bergen. When I interviewed her, she described me the arrival of Spaniards to Bergen as "the Spanish invasion of Bergen":

> "Spaniards started to arrive at the beginning of 2009. They were living in extreme poor conditions. For instance, more than ten were living together in a tiny rented room. […] During that autumn, a few Spaniards were sleeping on the street. In 2010, the number of Spaniards arriving increased to ten or twelve per month. But during 2011, and because of this documentary, more than forty or fifty Spaniards were coming every month. […] The few who were working, had extremely poor conditions at work: few hours, underpayment… Their employers were clearly taking advantage of them, because they did not know how the system in Norway worked, and they did not have a Norwegian social network."

[8] Information retrieved from: www.robinhoodhuset.no/about-us [Accessed: February 2019]

To a certain point, low-skilled Spanish migrants stopped arriving. “I remember that in 2012 there were 270 Spaniards eating lunch during the 17th of May [Norwegian Constitution Day] celebrations at Robin Hood Huset. But they stopped arriving some years ago, we rarely have a Spanish migrant coming to us now”, said Wenche. Indeed, the situation is different nowadays. The economic situation has improved in Spain. As a result, there are not Spanish migrants living in the streets of Bergen or begging for money anymore. While searching for literature, I could not find any information as to what happened to Gonzalo and the other Spaniards that were mentioned. Probably, they returned to Spain. I believe that is why it is even more important to document the stories of the Spaniards who live in Bergen nowadays, before their stories are lost.

Spanish migration in Bergen nowadays

Susanne Bygnes and Aurore Flipo (2016) point out to three main different motivations for recent Spanish migrants in Norway: economic, career and lifestyle choices (p. 199). But in addition, Bygnes and Marta Bivand Erdal (2017) suggest that political dissatisfaction is also an important motivator for the Spanish migrants: “Spanish research participants were generally more definite in their rejection of a prospective return to Spain, and articulated more clear-cut disillusionment with the political system in Spain” (p. 114). Moreover, Bygnes (2015) certified that some high-skilled Spanish migrants deny the idea of living in Norway because of the economic crisis: “Hardly any higher education graduates mention the financial crisis as the main reason for leaving Spain” (Bygnes, 2014, para. 4). And she certifies this idea with three different statements. Firstly, high-skilled Spanish migrants had abundant monetary and educational resources before they moved to Norway. Secondly, they try to maintain their privileged status and distance themselves from stigmas related to the main effects of the crisis. Thirdly, for Bygnes the view these immigrants have of Spain is what Durkheim called “anomie”, a break-down of purpose and ideals in society: “The people I have interviewed point to corruption, fraud, low trust of politicians and a general lack of hope for the future of their country”, notes Bygnes (ibid.).

Under these circumastances, Bygnes writes about the new current of Spanish migrants in Norway as “intra-European movers”. According to Adrian Favell (2008), the concept of “movers” —or “free movers”— includes those migrants who are not discriminated because of their country of origin, gender or ethnicity and, at the same time, they do not need to renounce their nationality in order to

settle in another European country. Sofia Gaspar (2009) describes "intra-European movers" as "privileged European migrants" since the "European nationality" —Schengen Agreement— offers them many advantages in comparison to other groups of migrants: the right of residence, free mobility, advanced civil rights (for instance, legally guaranteed freedom from discrimination); and easier access to the labour market (pp. 4-6). Moreover, they possess a certain type of "symbolically privileged economic and cultural capital compared to extra-community immigrants", and for this reason, they are not seen as a threat to national security (Gaspar, 2009, p. 70).

However, these migrants are not a morphologically homogeneous group. Inside this category, there are different profiles of individuals who exhibit different lifestyles and personal projects: qualified professionals (cf. Favell, 2008; Scott, 2006), "bohemians" (cf. Scott, 2006), pensioners (cf. Williams et al., 2000) and students (cf. King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003).

Norwegians in Spain: a path for Spaniards moving to Norway?

Spain is a popular destination for Norwegians, and not just for vacation. Fifty thousand Norwegians live in Spain, many of them are retirees, taking advantage of the difference between a Norwegian pension and a Spanish cost of living. The most significant concentration of Norwegians in Spain is along the Costa Blanca, specifically near the towns of Torrevieja, Albir and Alfàs del Pi, where there are Norwegian restaurants, health services, branches of Sjømannskirken —the Norwegian Church Abroad—, and even a NAV office. For this reason, different routes connect Norway with Spain. For instance, Bergen has direct flights to Gran Canaria, Alicante, Malaga, Barcelona and Madrid. All operated by low-cost airlines. Moreover, the Schengen Agreement guarantees free movement to citizens of member countries.

My theory here is that Spanish migrants take advantage of these routes while choosing their destination to migrate. Norway is an accessible destination for them: they do not need to apply for a visa, and the trip is affordable. Specifically to Bergen, there is a Spanish Honorary Consulate in Bergen. Moreover, I guess a big city like Bergen offers more opportunities than other cities or small towns in Norway, and less migrant competitivity than in Oslo. Again, this is my personal assumption as a Spanish migrant myself.

Theoretical framework

In this subchapter, I define, discuss and evaluate the particular approach and different theories relevant to my research question, providing a clear basis for interpreting and understanding the relevance of this master's thesis. I explain key concepts, models and assumptions based on existing knowledge, observations, and my own ideas throughout.

A first theoretical approach

In the previous analysis —of the Spanish migration to Norway within a framework of mobility and economic crisis in Europe—, there were two research orientations. One was focused on the sociodemographic analysis of migration currents, describing their magnitude and characteristics (e.g., Ryndyk, 2013). The other, which could be called socio-structural, focused on young and qualified migrants (e.g., González-Ferrer, 2013; Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2014) and their motivations for migration (e.g., Bygnes, 2015). In this regard, these contributions analyse and describe the trends and magnitudes of different migration processes, characterising them according to different sociodemographic variables.

I believe that these studies are important in their own right, but from my point of view, they lack a qualitative and close view concerning migrants' lives. My study makes a contribution without focusing on variables nor quantitative data. Through a qualitative research, I focus on migrants' lives, and in particular, the lives of the Spaniards living in Bergen; bringing their stories and ideas together in the study of migration and interculturality. In order to do so, I thought, first, about a possible theoretical approach: the study of how Spanish migrants "integrate" in the Norwegian culture and society.

On integration, assimilation and identity

While reviewing literature about integration, I realised that the vast majority of studies were focusing on quantitative data, trying to measure how migrants are adapted into a new society. For instance, a study by the OECD and the European Comission (2015) notes: "Social cohesion is hard to measure but can, however, be estimated from certain kinds of information produced by

satisfaction surveys" (p. 215). These studies bring many contributions to the study of migration, but again, my idea was not to carry out a research based on numbers. In addition, I found a second problem. Each study was describing integration in a completely different way. Whereas integration is typically defined as incorporating individuals from different groups into society as equals (Facchini et al., 2015), integration was many times confused with assimilation, the process in which a minority integrates socially, culturally, and/or politically into a larger, dominant culture and society (ibid.).

In this regard, for the Swedish sociologist Zenia Hellgren (2015), when studying how migrants and local people tend to interrelate, the perspective on integration should be considered as a two-way process. In other words, Hellgren suggests that if what is sought is an "integrated society", integration cannot be conceived as a unilateral process, but as a two-way process of mutual adaptation and reciprocal recognition. That does not mean that everyone thinks the same, believes the same, speaks the same language, follows the same values or leads the same way of life. It means that the entire population enjoys similar welfare conditions: with effective access to rights and fulfilment of obligations (Schinkel, 2018; Pajares, 2005). In the Norwegian context, Cora Alexa Døving (2009) writes about how integration is perceived as a one-way process:

> "Everything that has gone wrong in the multicultural Norway —from gang crime to forced marriage— is caused by «failure of integration», and everything has gone well in multicultural Norway —from Shabana Rahman to Pakistani BI [private business school] girls— due to «successful integration». Has «integration» become our times metaphysical concept? As all metaphysics, the concept is of a diffuse content" (p. 7).

According to Døving, "integration has become a metaphysical concept, and a mantra of our time" (p. 3): when something good happens, it is due to Norway's merit of "successful integration", but if something bad happens, it is because of "failed integration", and then, migration is seen as a problem. Integration, then, stands somehow on the border between assimilation and segregation. And according to her, it is "a goal for politicians, a case for journalists and a theme for social scientists and debaters" (p. 6). In a more recent study, Døving (2012) writes about the use of the hijab in Norway, which she considers to be part of the Norwegian immigration and integration

debate (p. 230). In her study, Muslim women living in Norway argue their right to wear the hijab not only with reference to religious demands, but to secular concepts such as identity, democracy, feminism and freedom of speech and religion. Through her study, integration is not measured but connected with ideas and stories about becoming part of the Norwegian society.

The sociologist Sonia Gsir (2014) and the anthropologists Evan Killick and Amit Desai (2010) make another contribution to the study of "migrant integration". Gsir notes that "in order to understand social integration between immigrants and natives, one can focus on social interactions that occur in immigrants' everyday life in the destination country" (p. 2). In her study, she divides these interactions in the ones that take place in the private space (intermarriage, and interethnic friendship) and public space (interethnic relations at the workplace, and encounters in the neighbourhood). And she suggests studying integration by identifying social interactions between migrants and "host" country society members. Killick and Desai (2010) also connect the idea of studying friendship with the ideas of Gsir and Døving: "Putting the study of friendship at the centre enables us to determine how this key social relationship is articulated with ideas of being related, and ideas of being a person" (p. 15). Their model differs from Gsir's one. They focus exclusively on the meaning of friendship, instead of space, and they introduce an anthropological approach, which I will further explain in the third chapter. Together, these approaches point to friendship and social life as a way to study social and cultural integration of migrants.

Migration network theory

While writing the previous historical and contextual framework, I found two interesting quotes concerning the labour "integration" of the Spaniards who came to Bergen because of the 2008 crisis and the documentary *Españoles en el mundo*. The first is found in El País's article: "They lack social and family networks here, which is the best way to find a job" (para. 17). And the second one, in my interview with the volunteer at Robin Hood Huset: "[Spaniards] did not have a Norwegian social network". In both quotes, they associated the bad situation of Spaniards with the lack of a "Norwegian social network". In other words, if these Spaniards wanted to succeed, they needed contacts and friends who could help them integrate in the labour market.

Gilbert Brenes (2006) notes that "traditional economic theories have failed to explain certain particularities of the evolution of the migratory process towards a country" (p. 348). In response to this shortcoming, researchers have shown a growing interest in the concept of migration networks (ibid.). One of them is the *migration network theory* (Massey et al., 1993), also called *social capital theory of migration* (Massey et al., 2001). In the definition proposed by Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino and Edward Taylor (1993), migrant networks are a "set of interpersonal links that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of friendship" (p. 448).

The concept of migrant networks is linked to the idea of "social capital", which is understood as the set of social (non-monetary) resources that can be exploited by an individual or group because of their relationships with other people or groups (Massey et al., 1991). There are many perspectives on social capital, a topic of broad interest for many scholars and different fields of research. The economist Glenn Loury (1977) coined the concept of social capital to designate "a set of intangible resources in families and communities that help to promote the social development of young people" (as cited in Massey et al., 2001, p. 1263). And the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu pointed out its broader relevance to human society (ibid.). According to Bourdieu (1986), social capital is:

> "The aggregate of resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a «credential» which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (p. 15).

For Bourdieu, social capital was the sum of resources that are available to an individual or a group because they have a long-lasting network of relationships of reciprocal link with others and mutual recognition (p. 250). On the other hand, James Clyde Mitchell (1969) defined network as:

> "A specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property, that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved" (p. 2).

According to Massey et al. (1993), the basic concept to understand social capital is the idea that social capital (Bourdieu) is gained through participation in social networks (Mitchell): "A social network develops when individuals form an informal system of relationships between themselves that is enduring, delimiting and often linked by a community experience" (pp. 452-453). Through social networks, migrants obtain interaction, communication, recognition, a positive assessment from others, and a strengthened self-image (p. 460). Michael Woolcock and Deepa Narayan (2000) mull over this theory, and put some examples on how migrants can succeed through these social networks:

> "When people fall on hard times, they know it is their friends and family who constitute the final safety net. […] Those communities endowed with a diverse stock of social networks and civic associations are in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes, and take advantage of new opportunities" (p. 226).

In this same regard, the sociologist James Samuel Coleman (1988) describes social relations as an important form of social capital which provides information that facilitates people's actions. According to Coleman, these social relations become a valuable form of social capital that allows migrants to have access to jobs abroad. People gain access to social capital through their membership in social networks and institutions, which can also be converted into resources to improve or maintain a position in society (ibid.). Both Woolcock-Narayan's and Coleman's considerations introduce us in the understanding of why social networks are important for migrants, and may confirm that the Spaniards who came massively to Bergen after seeing the documentary were unlucky because they lacked social networks.

Another interesting approach to social network's theory is the *basic interpersonal needs theory* (López, 2008). This theory explains the influence of interpersonality —social relations— on well-being. Félix López describes three interpersonal needs in his theory. The first need, called the social need, is to have a social network. It refers to one's belongingness to a community, and it implies friendship. The second need, called the emotional need, is to establish unconditional, durable and affective ties. Finally, the third need, called the sexual need, is met through intimate interpersonal relationships associated with the desire, attraction, or love directed towards a sexual

partner. Not satisfying these needs can result in feelings of loneliness, insecurity, abandonment, lack of protection, frustration, and dissatisfaction. Therefore, fulfilling these three needs is "necessary for the individuals' well-being" (as cited in Carcedo et al., 2012, p. 188).

Theoretical originality and academic contribution of this thesis

The previous subchapter shows that this master's thesis is not completely coming out of the blue, but that it has a clear rationale based on existing theory. This master's thesis is a study of humans and human culture and social behaviour in a new country, in the present. Therefore, I have reviewed some works and theories that connect the words migration, integration and friendship/social life together. Following these, I argue that friendship relations are an important aspect of migrants' day-to-day reality and their identity creation: friendship can be seen as a dynamic interactional process of integration and identification for migrants. I do not intend to dismiss integration-assimilation approaches as irrelevant to the study of migrants; rather, I want to contribute with a more actor-oriented and qualitative approach that examines the role of sociability and friendship with the sense of belonging, in a context of interculturality.

This theoretical framework brings theory and direction to the whole dissertation. Still, each substantive chapter will introduce approaches, theories, and key concepts related to four specific topics of friendship. These are: understanding of friendship (chapter three), relationships to place and spatial practices of friendship (chapter four), loneliness (chapter five), and online friendship (chapter six). Following this structural division of chapters, each substantive chapter will reflect a discourse between my informants stories, my fieldwork experiences with them, and additional relevant theory. In chapter two, *Methodology and Ethics,* subchapter *Analysing and interpreting data*, I will further explain the theoretical process of this master's thesis.

Thesis outline

This master thesis is divided into seven chapters. **This first chapter**, *Introduction to the Study and Theoretical Foundations*, serves to acquaint the reader with the topic of investigation, its importance for science, and the issues it raises. It provides the historical framework: present and past of the Spaniards living in Norway/Bergen, and the theoretical framework: short summaries of works, theories, and key concepts relevant for the whole thesis. These two frameworks give an overview of key findings, concepts and developments in relation to the topic of this thesis. **Chapter two**, *Methodology and Ethics*, contains the methodological choices made along the whole way of the process: before, during and after fieldwork; including thoughts and reflections on the methods. It also approaches all the ethical concerns that arised while carrying the study research.

There are four substantive chapters which present and analyse the findings of this study. **Chapter three**, *The Nature of Friendship*, is the first one. It presents the informants and examines the informants' meanings of friendship through their ideas and subjectivities. **Chapter four**, *Places of Friendship*, uncovers some of the activities, practices and strategies that shape their friendship relationships in space. **Chapter five**, *On Loneliness*, analyses loneliness as the opposite state of friendship. This chapter reviews relevant theories and collects some of my informants' stories related to this feeling. It also shows how social and leisure constraints confront my informants against loneliness. **Chapter six**, *Navigating Social Relations in the Digital World*, places my fieldwork in the digital world, and shows how my informants keep, maintain and create friendship ties online under their context of migration.

The concluding **chapter seven**, *Conclusion*, sums up the main arguments of this dissertation. It summarises the results of the different substantive chapters: addressing the research questions, discussing to which degree the hypotheses are true or false, and highlighting the analytical concept of "friendship" on migrants' friendships formation and integration. This chapter also outlines the scope —strengths and debilities— of the study and presents different recommendations and strategies for further studies.

CHAPTER 2
Methodology and Ethics

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodological assumptions underpinning this study. This implies reflecting on why this study matters; explaining the chosen method depending on the research question; and showing the procedures, sources and techniques for collecting and analysing the data. It provides information on the informants, the criteria for their inclusion in the study, and how they were sampled. It also shows the roles and interactions between the informants, the field and the researcher. Moreover, it provides the ethical assumptions concerning the subjects of the investigation, exposing the different issues and regulations that were important to consider when drafting the methodology and conducting the research. To sum up, this chapter concludes with an analysis of the scope of the methodology.

The initial research question and the choice of method

The research methods included in this research have strengths and weaknesses. On this basis, David Marsh and Paul Furlong (2002) states that the researcher should recognise and acknowledge its own ontological and epistemological positions and be able to defend these positions against critiques from others: "[ontological and epistemological positions] are like a skin not a sweater: they cannot be put on and taken off whenever the researcher sees fit" (p. 177). While ontology refers to the theory of 'being', concerning the nature of what is being studied, as well as the question of how the world is built (Crotty, 1998, p. 10) —i.e., how one understands and interprets the world—; epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge, justification, and how to reach knowledge (ibid., p. 8) —i.e., how one chooses to obtain knowledge about it.

Looking at the original research question which this study sought to answer, *What role does social life play for Spanish labour immigrants in Norway in relation to their individual goals, happiness and sense of belonging?*, it is clear that this study has to do with the observation and understanding of the social world through interpretative ideas and perceptions of individuals which may be shared by others who hold similar views. Hence, this research relies on methods of interviewing, participatory observations and analysis of dialogues and behaviours, and therefore, it does not

belong to the positivist paradigm of quantitative research but rather to the interpretative epistemology. Focusing on a deeper understanding of social phenomena, situations and observations in multiple constructed realities that my informants perceive in their mind; this research is oriented around the social constructivist ontology which holds "the view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). Thus, orienting around the constructivist ontology, this research aims to provide a deeper understanding of social situations of empowerment and identity construction.

In this regard, ethnography is the chosen method for this research for different reasons: ethnography allows subjects to "speak for themselves", giving them voice and letting them claim their own space (Down and Hughes, 2009, p. 83); and it puts observations into a broad perspective, assuming that people's behaviour can be understood in their specific context (Pérez Gómez, 2012, pp. 424-426). Thus, there is the conviction the traditions, roles, values and norms of a group of people are internalised and generate regularities that can explain individual and group behaviour in an appropriate way (Miguélez, 2004, abstract).

The term ethnography etymologically comes from the Greek "ethnos": folk, nation, tribe, people; and "graphein": to write, to describe, to represent (Daynes and Williams, 2018, p. 43). In its literal translation, the term "ethnography" means writing about people. It is a form of qualitative research that combines interviews with observation, where researchers try to become members of a setting (Fielding, 2008, p. 266). The goal is to capture the vision of a person or a group of people. That is, their perspective of the world, the meaning of their actions, the situations they live in, and the relationships with the members of their community (Wolcott, 1985, pp. 187-203).

According to Harry Fletcher Wolcott (1985), ethnography is not [only] a field technique, it is not [only] spending a lot of time in the field, it is not simply making a good description, nor is it created [only] by obtaining and maintaining a relationship with the subjects (pp. 188-190). Ethnography can be all that, but above all that it must be "culturally interpreted", which for him is the essence of ethnography (p. 190). In this sense, in the book *The Interpretation of Cultures*, the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) applies the term "thick description" in ethnography to refer to

"the detailed account of field experiences in which the researcher makes explicit the patterns of cultural and social relationships and puts them in context" (as cited in Holloway, 1997, p. 154). "Such descriptions help to understand better the internal logic of why people in a community or society behave as they do and why these behaviours are meaningful to them" (Nelson, 2017, p. 3). Thus, thick descriptions explain behaviours, contexts and cultural events, but also anthropological interpretations (Weiland, 1982). I will look further into thick descriptions at a later stage in this chapter.

Selection and recruitment of informants

Taking into consideration that this study has to do with friendship and Spanish migrants living in Bergen, I had many questions while deciding who were going to be my informants: *How does social life differ if the informant is single or married? If the informant has children or not? If the informant speaks well or poor Norwegian? If the informant has been living in Bergen for years or months?* As a result, I ended up open to interview any Spaniard (born and raised in Spain) living in Bergen, and who migrated to Norway at some time between 2008 and 2018. I also took different characteristics into consideration for study and further comparison: age —over legal age—, gender, educational level, employment situation, language proficiency —both Norwegian and English—, number of years living in Norway —and particularly in Bergen—, marital status, and number of children, among others. My point there was that different profiles, social realities and experiences could enrich the research study and its findings.

The recruitment of informants was not challenging, but it took me some time. I already knew a Spaniard in Bergen from before, who kindly accepted to be my informant. I met another informant in a political conference, and another at my workplace. I found three others through a Facebook group dedicated to Spaniards living in Bergen. Although this Facebook group had approximately 4.000 members, I could not find more people willing to participate. For that reason, I asked my informants if they knew other Spaniards living in Bergen. This procedure is called snowball sampling: "existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances" (Faugier and Sargeant, 1997, p. 792). Using this technique, a previous informant added me to a private WhatsApp (a messaging app for mobile phones) group, where I found two other Spaniards who wanted to participate in my study.

In total, I carried out fieldwork with nine Spaniards living in Bergen. At the time the research study was carried out, three of the informants have been living in Norway between eight and ten years, three have been living between two and seven years, and three have been living for less than two years. Looking at the age, the oldest informant was forty-five years old, while the youngest was twenty-five years old. Six are women, and three are men. Eight were working and one was looking for a job. When speaking about their marital status, two of them were married, three were in a relationship, and four were single. My married informants have children, while the ones who are not married did not have children. Considering their highest level of school, two are holders of doctorates, three have a bachelor, and three have completed post-secondary vocational education (high school). For further comparisons, a profile overview of the informants is given in the appendix [Appendix: A1].

In addition to the informants, there were more people involved in the study, including their friends and other external people that interacted in our meetings. Some of them are mentioned, introduced or described in the following substantive chapters.

Gaining access and establishing rapport

In order to gain confidence with my informants and get meaningful data, I needed first to built rapport with them and gain access to the different research settings. This phase began with different strategies that lead me to present myself and to show the objectives and plan of this study research, and it ended with a negotiation of relationships with my informants. To develop a necessary harmony that must exist between the researcher and the participant, James Spradley (2003) describes a sequence of four states: apprehension, exploration, cooperation and participation. I am going to use the first three states to explain how I gained access and I established rapport with my interlocutors. Later, in *Ethnographic fieldwork methods*, the next subchapter, I will discuss the last state, participation, while talking about how I carried participant observation.

Prior to the interview, I sent them a private message via Facebook asking their written consent for participation in the study [Appendix: A3], and I explained to them the purposes and objectives of my master thesis, the estimated length of the meeting, and my expectations while carrying out this interview and future meetings. During the apprehension state, the participants and the researcher

express in multiple ways states of “anxiety and suspicion” (Spradley, 2003, p. 45). Meeting my informants for the first time was a nerve-wracking experience, feeling shy and sometimes uncomfortable with myself. And I noticed that they were feeling in the same way. For this reason, I met my informants individually at places of their preference so that they could feel more comfortable.

Exploration is a moment of caution. The researcher and the participant “test their new relationship. Both try to find out what the other person is like and what they want from their relationship” (ibid., p. 46). I always started explaining my personal background and experiences while living in Bergen, trying to open up new ties with them as well as see their feedback. My interlocutors and I shared the category of “Spanish migrant”. Somehow, I was more an “insider” than an “outsider”. And I believe this tag made it easier for me to enter the consultation setting and establish trust. After my introduction, I explained my study and their role on it, being honest, humble and sensible, and giving them all kind of information. I also made repeated explanations to make myself clear, showing an attitude of help and collaboration.

Cooperation is based on “mutual trust and knowing what is expected of each other” (ibid., p. 47). In this state, participants offer personal information and feel free to ask the researcher about more personal and professional issues. I tried to “cooperate” creating a feeling of equality and comfort by paying attention to my behaviour, speech, gestures and clothing, and making the meetings as relaxing as possible. Therefore, all our conversations were carried out informally. I was also curious about them and their interests. Sometimes, I had a very tangible feeling on what they were willing to talk about. Therefore, I let them talk about everything they wanted, and I listened to them. I also cared about them all the time. For instance, asking if they were feeling good or if they wanted some water. I also tried to do everything I could so they could get a good impression about me. As a result, I perceived how our meetings were more tense and shy in the beginning, while the last meetings became more private and fluent.

Ethnographic fieldwork methods

Ethnography requires a combination of qualitative methods for gathering and analysing data while doing fieldwork. Data are often collected through extensive and detailed field notes, observations, interviews, and focus groups with the participants in a natural setting (Bryman, 2006, p. 50). In other words, the researcher does not control or manipulate the environment. In my data collection, I used first interviews, and then participant observation, while combining systematic note-taking in both of them. In this subchapter, I am going to explain how I actually applied these methods during fieldwork.

Interviews

I used my firsts meetings to interview, individually, my interlocutors. To do that, I used an interview guide, which was designed beforehand under the guidance of the research questions. It included basic questions about: their profiles, their social lives, instrumental help, social status, making new friends, barriers meeting people, social and leisure activities that they do in Bergen, social interactions in the neighbourhood, social interactions in the workplace, civil status in connection with social life, stereotypes, how they feel others are perceiving them, differences they see about their social life in Norway in comparison to Spain, friends in home country, discrimination, and virtual social life. For a further look in the questions, the interview guide is included in the appendix [Appendix: A2]. I had two purposes with it. The first one was facilitating the conversation: I thought that prepared questions would help me to break awkward silences. The second one was getting to know better my nine informants.

The language spoken during the interviews were Spanish and Catalan —with Catalan speakers—, since they are languages that can be assumed to be understood by most of the informants. Through this, the language barrier of not understanding the language was utterly alleviated, raising the potential of the explanations and feelings (Sue and Ritter, 2012, p. 102). Moreover, I got the impression that they felt more comfortable expressing their feelings in their tongue language instead of using English or Norwegian.

As I said, the interview guide was conceived as a support for a conversational interview. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) say that to validate qualitative questions, the researcher must "ask in different ways" or "rephrase the questions" (pp. 252-253), and that is what I did. The idea of asking the same questions served as a basis to compare their answers. Moreover, depending on each personal situation, the questions were reformulated or skipped. For instance, it was not possible to ask about how their children were affecting their social life to the informants that did not have children.

It was originally in my research proposal to use a tape-recorder and a camera for the interviews. However, it turned out in the end that recording the interviews and capturing videos were not satisfactory to my interlocutors. Moreover, I did want to avoid privacy problems while writing my application to NSD. Since the decision was not to feature them at all, I used my laptop to type the conversations and interviews while carrying out these. In a way, I think that the absence of a tape-recorder and a camera helped my informants to relax even though sometimes it slowed the process of conducting the interviews. The interview was supposed to last an hour, but I ended using more time than I expected. This happened with all of them. It supposed a problem when they had other plans after our meetings. In those cases, I completed the interview guide as fast as possible during our last minutes. As a result, I was not satisfied with some of the answers: short and poor described. Therefore, I used part of my second meetings to end the interview in a proper way, without losing any important detail.

Negotiating roles in the field: Friendship as participant observation

Participant observation is the technique characterised by ethnographic observations in which the ethnographer participates during social activities she or he is observing (Whitehead, 2005, p. 36). While doing participant observation, the researcher enters and study the life of a group of people, allowing participants to participate in the events that occur, and observing the daily behaviour of the actors in order to understand a socio-cultural reality (ibid.). This technique allows a more significant approach and understanding of the reality that is being studied. Moreover, it also facilitates the use of other techniques (Evans, 2012). While doing participant observation, I explored the feelings and perceptions of my informants, I took part in their social life participating in different meetings and activities, and I perceived and observed my presence and interactions with them. However, my participant observation role as a researcher did not stop there.

In *The Anthropology of Friendship*, Sandra Bell and Simon Coleman say that "fieldworkers usually have to establish cordial and even close relations with informants if they are not to become like «ethologists», observing interactions while remaining aloof from close social contact" (1999, p. 2). According to the anthropologist Lisa Tillmann-Healy (2003), building and sustaining friendship in the field means "conversation, everyday involvement, compassion, generosity and vulnerability" (p. 734). She also argues that friendship and fieldwork are similar in many aspects: "Both involve being in the world with others and a constant negotiation of roles" (p. 732). She gives some examples to clarify this argumentation:

> "We sacrifice a day of writing to help someone move. We set aside our reading pile when someone drops by or calls «just to talk». When asked, we keep secrets, even if they would add compelling twists to our research report or narrative. We consider our participants an audience and struggle to write both honestly and empathically for them. Friendship as method demands radical reciprocity, a move from studying «them» to studying «us»" (p. 735).

While reading Bell and Coleman (1999) and Tillmann-Healy (2003), I fell in love with the idea of using "friendship" as a participant observation method: I wanted to play an active part not only as a researcher but also as a friend while carrying out fieldwork. Being a friend in terms of listening, helping, taking care, giving useful advice and sharing experiences, and situating the field wherever social life takes place for my interlocutors. I asked them to meet in places where they normally meet their friends. And I met them in a range of everyday settings in Bergen: coffee shops, mountains (Fløyen and Stoltzen), bars, workplaces, different neighbourhoods of the city, grocery stores, family settings, parties, among others; but also in the virtual world, in social media such as Facebook or WhatsApp. Such places had the potential to foster meaningful and everyday encounters, not only to see how my informants develop their social life, but also to engage —participate— with them.

However, an ethical concern spun around in my head all the time. I did not want to force a relationship or a fake relationship with my interlocutors. I did not want to "use" our relationship for my individual educational purpose, and I wanted to be honest about it. From the beginning, they individually accepted to be part of my research. Simply put, they knew that one of my purposes with our meetings was to gather data. They could see that I was taking notes and observing them all

the time. Therefore, I tried to be as "friendly" as possible and treat them in the same way I treat and care about my friends. Moreover, I talked about this ethical issue with all of them, and none of them cared about it. Somehow that was a relief for me.

In fact, "participation" is the fourth and last state pointed out by Spradley (2003), whose "sequences of states" were mentioned and explained previously in this chapter. Participation is considered as the "end of the process", achieving a trustworthy relationship (p. 48). It is not about offering more or less general information, but about what a person should know and do to act as a member of a new settlement (ibid.). In this state, our communication skills might progress "in Martin Buber's terms, from seeming to being, from I-It (impersonal and instrumental), to I-You (more personal yet role-bound), to moments of I-Thou, where we are truly present, meeting one another in our full humanity" (Tillmann-Healy, 2014, p. 289). To be honest, I did not achieve this fourth state. I carried out fieldwork between November 2018 and June 2019. During this period, I met my informants an average of four times, in meetings that went from forty-five minutes to six hours. A "trustworthy relationship" is difficult to achieve having so many informants and in such a short period of time. However, I got the impression of a good atmosphere with all of them. We were really honest in our conversations and actions. Furthermore, I still keep in contact with most of them, in person or on social media, without this academic purpose in the middle.

Systematic note-taking

Direct experience and participant observation are not data unless these processes are transformed into fieldnotes (Musante and Dewalt, 2010; Emerson et al., 1995). Fieldnotes produce meaning and an understanding of the culture, social situation or phenomenon being studied (Sanjek, 1990, pp. 92 and 121). In the following paragraphs, I am going to explain how I took fieldnotes and also thick descriptions

James Spradley (1980) introduces a set of categories that might occur in any setting of human interaction. These categories represent the range of what should be observed and noted down, and they may carry cultural meaning for the participants. Those are: the actors; the behaviours, emotions and feelings; acts, activities and events; the space, and how the actors and objects are situated in the space; and the time of observations: hours of the day, seasons of the year. In addition to these

categories noted by Spradley, I included some more: the language used by me informants; their friends and other actors; and some of their common patterns.

In this respect, I especially paid attention writing notes about the places, activities, meetings and interviews. I took note of their facial expressions (e.g., smiles, movements of the eyes, etc.) and their body language (e.g., movements of the hands, gestures). For instance, when they arrived late to the meeting, I wrote it down. I also included their feelings, expectations, reactions and assumptions during my meetings, as well as mines. On the other hand, I skipped taking notes about information I deemed irrelevant to this research, as well as confidential-personal data, digressions and detailed technical explanations of bureaucracy.

As I mentioned before, while carrying out my first interviews, I quickly realised that typing conversations in front of my informants was unpopular, as well as distracting me from "being there". Moreover, my aim was not only to write simple fieldnotes, but thick descriptions. Therefore, most of my fieldnotes were written down and elaborated after events had occurred. After my meetings, I went home. There, I started to write as much as I could remember, following the chronology of events of that day. I added more details while reading the notes again. This helped me to get a relative distance, reflect better on what my interlocutors said during the interviews and did during the meetings, and what I experienced myself in the field.

At first, my entries were kept in a highly informal and casual fashion as it was only for my personal use. Consequently, translating and correcting the fieldnotes was a time-consuming process. In *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, the sociologists Robert M. Emerson, Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw (1995) present a series of guidelines and practival advices for writing fieldnotes. They state that the process of writing fieldnotes can serve as a preliminary form of analysis (pp. 245, 481 and 649).

Analysing and interpreting data

Once I finished fieldwork, and before writing my substantive chapters, some questions came to my mind: *How to go from raw data to consistent interpretations? How to capture the essence of data? How to show the different relationship between the informants and the research? How to show participant observation?* — The most committed moment of the investigation was to accept an answer to the question of how to divide reality to comprehend it without losing essential nuances and being able to reconstruct it for the reader. Therefore, I started detecting similarities, patterns and trends. It was necessary to find properties that enabled cultural interpretation.

However, every moment that I was dividing, separating, and categorising data, I was also leaving out elements and relationships. Margaret LeCompte and Judith Preissle Goetz (1982) say that "the ethnographer's primary commitment is to a faithful and accurate rendition of the participant's lifeways" (p. 54). The choice was, therefore, crucial because it was important to divide the data to make the apprehension of the reality easier, without losing relevant information.

I initially started with codes based on my interview guides and research topic. However, I was also open to create new codes as I identified recurring themes and patterns, or interesting aspects in the transcripts. I read all the interviews and fieldnotes several times, and I applied new codes, checking whether it was also relevant for my informants. Next, I began to collect similarly coded text into themes, and assessed the diversity of answers and experiences within each theme. As a general guideline, when representing a range of responses, I tried to include relevant and rich quotes that show the reader the range of opinions and experiences. From this, I started to explore connections between themes and I connected them to my previously developed analytical framework, as well as I introduced new theories for the different phases of the investigation. This method is called inductive reasoning. In qualitative research, typically, inductive reasoning is used, which is "moving from the specific to the general" (Bryman, 2006, pp. 24-27). That is, a qualitative researcher (1) starts with specific situations, observations or real examples of events, trends, or social processes; (2) finds patterns or themes in the data, establishes a tentative hypothesis, (3) progress analytically to broader generalisations and theories that help explain the observed cases, and (4) develops theories or conclusions (ibid.).

Alan Bryman (2006) notes that "deductive and inductive strategies are possibly better thought of as tendencies rather than as a hard-and-fast distinction" (p. 27). And in this sense, I mix both deductive and inductive reasoning methods through this master's thesis: In chapter one, I have explained different hypotheses, research questions, key concepts, models, and assumptions that guide the whole dissertation (deductive reasoning). While in each substantive chapter, I will use inductive reasoning following the steps mentioned before. The concluding chapter, chapter seven, will analyse and sum up chapter one with the different substantive chapters (i.e., my findings are feedback into the stock of theory of both substantive chapters and chapter one). This analytic strategy has a connection with grounded theory (i.e., the construction of theories or conclusions through methodical gathering and analysis of data). In grounded theory, "a category occupies a space between a researcher's initial theoretical reflections on and understanding of his or her data and a concept, which is viewed as a higher level of abstraction" (Bryman, p. 709). Bryman notes that "grounded theory is often regarded as especially strong in terms of generating theories for a research topic that has not been really studied" (p. 27). And as observed, this is the case of my research topic. In this sense, I may not create new theories, but I will introduce additional ones to come to different findings and conclusions.

Ethical considerations

Any research project which investigates human lives must be faced with ethical considerations (Sanjari et al., 2014, abstract). Ethnography implies direct interactions with the informants via individual interviews and participant observation. Hence, the inquiries dealt with sensitive private issues, such as the informants' financial settings, personal motivations, family situation, networks, etc. For this reason, the informants' identities and their direct and indirect information must be protected. This section exposes a range of issues and regulations which were important to consider when drafting the methodology, and conducting and writing this research.

First of all, data subjects in this study had, have and will have the following rights — under the General Data Protection Regulation —: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20). This means that the informants were free to participate or refuse, having been given the fullest information concerning the research. Voluntary participation was ensured, and

consequently, the participants could at any time chose to withdraw their consent without stating any reason. If they decided to withdraw, all their personal data was supposed to be eliminated. This did not happen. Moreover, before my meetings, all participants received information on paper regarding their privacy protection and how the study was going to be conducted [Appendix: A3]. The information given to my informants —about the processing of their personal data— meets the legal requirements for form and content (cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13).

Secondly, I have done my utmost to ensure the privacy and confidentiality of all my participants. To protect their identities, small detail changes have been made. There are no directly identifiable personal data collected. Digital pictures or video files were not taken. Participant anonymity was assured by ensuring that no individuals are identified in the study. The project describes people, their feelings and their behaviour, but it does not collect any identifiable data. The names of my participants are hidden using pseudonyms, their ages differ between 2 and 3 years. When I mention their jobs, these will indicate their job branches and not their actual position. I believe these changes do not affect the quality and authenticity of my research study and its findings.

Thirdly, all the data has been safeguarded and stored ensuring the highest standards of confidentiality. I have stored and backed up data —mainly field notes— in my PC, protected with password both PC and files. I have never printed personal data, and the files are going to be deleted once this master's thesis is delivered and approved.

In addition, personal data have always been in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding: Lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects receive sufficient information about the processing and give their consent. Purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data are collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and are not processed for new, incompatible purposes. Data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project are processed. Storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data are stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose.

In October 2018, I reported this research project and the methods of data collection to NSD (*Norsk senter for forskningsdata*, Norwegian centre for research data). After several replies, I received the first assessment on the 15th of January 2019. In addition, I sent two new reports to NSD after some

changes in the methodology. The last formal assessment was granted on the 28th of January 2020. All the assessments are enclosed in the appendix [Appendix: A5].

Reflections on the methodology

This chapter has introduced, showed and justified the various methodological and ethical considerations which affected the project throughout all stages of the research process. To summarise, I want to point out some of the principles that have guided the methodology, which state that the results of the following substantive chapters should contribute to the theoretical advance, going beyond the description, and be useful for society.

Firstly, the methods used in this study —interviews, participatory observations and fieldnotes— do not tried to quantify in any of the cases, but to value the subjective experiences of my informants. In fact, using qualitative research, I was not interested in numbers and formulas. Hence, describing and interpreting subjectivities, facts, feelings and relationships is the most important part of this study.

Secondly, I have not started from a set of closed hypotheses. On the contrary, it has been the reality itself to be investigated that has opened new hypotheses and ways to explore. I have been interested in social processes considering the context and natural scenario, without fragmenting, trying to reach understanding as a whole. This principle has required the presence in the field and diversity of social situations to establish rapport and collect data in a broad and rigorous manner. Participant observation has been a fundamental tool: being, observing and participating (being a friend) in different contexts and places of socialisation. Participant observation has allowed me to grasp the subjectivities stories of my informants while carrying out fieldwork.

Thirdly, I have made different steps to analyse and interpret the data gathered during my fieldwork, without losing significant meaning, and showing validity and reliability through the various steps mentioned.

Last but not least, I have followed strict guidelines in order to minimise the risk of harm, obtain informed consent, avoid deceptive practices, provide the right to withdraw, and protect my informants —and other participants— with anonymity and confidentiality.

CHAPTER 3
The Nature of Friendship

Introduction

It was one of those usual December afternoons. The sky was dark and cloudy, and it looked like it could start to rain at any moment. I was waiting for Manuel outside Kjøttbasaren. He is a twenty-eight years old researcher from Sevilla who had been living in Bergen for about four years. I had met him once before, a year earlier at a friend's birthday party. The day after, he added me on Facebook, but our relation ended there as I never had the confidence to send him a message to meet him. He never reached out to me either. Since he was the only Spaniard I knew of in Bergen, I could not miss the opportunity to ask him to be one of my informants once my research project began. After sending him a message, he replied straight away suggesting to meet that same week. Manuel arrived late to our meeting. And when he appeared, he said in Spanish: "*Hola amigo*! (Hi friend!) Sorry for being late". Then and there, I could not stop thinking about what he meant with the word "friend", and about the hundreds of "friends" I have on social media who I have not talked with for years. Most likely, he was not giving any meaning to that word.

I spent that day hanging out with and interviewing Manuel. Half-way through our meeting, I asked him what the word "friend" meant to him. "Someone to share the life with", he said and smiled. He did not even think about it. "People tend to distinguish between those who are super good friends and «conocidos» (people you know, an acquaintance). But is it important to differentiate? One day you will make a new friend. He may become a really good friend. But after some time, his or your situation, and consequently your relation, might change. Friends come and go, and I have experienced that more dramatically while being on the move", said Manuel.

This vignette with Manuel illustrates the symbolic constructions and meanings that he attributes to friendship. Within my fieldwork, it was a challenge to consider what friendship is for my informants and me. This situation was further exacerbated when reading other studies. Each researcher described friendship in a different way. Therefore, this chapter is an approach to understand and contextualise friendship. Following Desai and Killick (2010), I will study friendship

in relation to the specific cultural context of my informants, nine Spanish migrants living in Bergen; and I will argue that their common context —being a Spanish migrant in Norway— brings some similarities in their individual conception of friendship.

The chapter starts with an exploration of the different meanings and qualities that different authors and my interlocutors attribute to friendship, and it addresses its problem of definition. It shows how my interlocutors describe their friends. It also explores the tensions and dilemmas that they connect to friendship within different nationalities. And it analyses various orders of complexity that my informants find in their social interactions. Throughout this chapter, I introduce my informants and their individual contexts —job, reasons for migration, age, etc.— as a way to understand better their conception of friendship; and I apply a variety of intercultural theories while analysing their subjectivities. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Defining friendship

In *Adult Friendship*, Rosemary Blieszner and Rebecca G. Adams (1992) state that if one were to ask what the word friend means to a group of people, one would receive almost as many answers as there are people in the group (p. 1). I confirmed this statement when I asked this same question to my informants. However, at the same time, I found two common patterns in their answers. Firstly, they all took a long time thinking about the question before giving me an answer. Manuel was the exception. Secondly, they used different tags and descriptions to describe what a friend is, instead of trying to elaborate a dictionary definition.

Adams, Blieszner and Bauke de Veries (2000) note the difficulty in defining friendship. In a second study, their subjects prioritised sociability, daily help, sharing activities, fidelity and trust, as evidence of friendship. But these traits of friendship change among different studies. For instance, for Félix López (2009), friendship involves a set of representations (of oneself, the other, the relationship, and of what can be expected), feelings (like those of a mutual belonging and empathy) and privileged behaviours (of support and fun). These are also common traits which people tend to associate with defining friendship. According to Hanne Marie Høybråten Sigstad (2017) the essential qualities of friendship are mutual preference, mutual enjoyment, shared interactions, care,

mutual trust and bonding. Øyvind Kvello (2012) notes four traits of friendship: it must be voluntary, positive, long-lasting and there must be mutuality, also mentioned as reciprocity.

Among these options, I used Kvello's traits to study the tags and descriptions given by my interlocutors. And I also found the voluntary attitude among their answers: "A friend is someone who wants to spend time with you", said three of my informants in different ways. "Friends are people with whom you do nice things while spending good time together", said another informant while mentioning the positive trait. Another expressed the long-lasting trait giving this explanation: "There must be activities, for instance, trips, meetings or dinners together. I lost contact with the friends I had in school because we did not continue planning activities". And about mutuality or reciprocity, another informant said: "Friends must have things in common: you share and do things together with that person".

In a way, these "traits", "evidences", "set of representations", "essential qualities" of friendship that Adams et al. (2000), López (2009), Sigstad (2017), and Kvello (2012) point to, are all the same: different traits we attribute to friends — and in turn, friendships. In the same way, my informants have different opinions and ingredients about what friendship is, and so, they mentioned different positive traits. But when I suggested other traits, they included these traits to their definitions. The problem, then, remains in how different researchers —and also my informants— have not managed to agree on a unique definition.

For the anthropologists Evan Killick and Amit Desai (2010), the word friendship "evades definition" since it does not possess a clear-cut set of features (p. 10). For instance, friendship is a free and non-institutionalised type of relationship, and therefore, the one that shows the greatest variety (Budgeon, 2006, p. 3). Friendship is not determined by a relationship of blood, like family members, nor by residence, like neighbours (ibid.). The number of friends a person can have is not limited, as to say: "friendship with one person does not exclude having it with others" (López, 2009, p. 261). Friendship is a bond that can be initiated at any moment of life, for a temporary or permanent duration (ibid.). Friendship has different meanings for different people and cultures, and consequently, "one of the greatest constraints on studying friendship has been the fear of imposing a «Western» conception of friendship on other places and people" (Killick and Desai, 2010, p. 15).

Since friendship evades definition, Killick and Desai (2010) suggest studying friendship in specific cultural contexts or transformations, giving importance in seeing the day to day events of a group of people inside a culture: "Putting the study of friendship at the centre of any anthropological analysis can be extraordinarily fruitful. It enables us to determine how this key social relationship is articulated with ideas of being related, and ideas of being a person" (p. 15).

In *The Ways of Friendship: Anthropological Perspectives*, Killick and Desai (2010) introduce other anthropologists that examine the ideology and practice of friendship in eight different cultural contexts, one per chapter, for instance, among non-kin men or women born in the same year in the rural South China (pp. 20-45), inside a NGO in a Lebanese town (pp. 93-113), among an indigenous group in the Peruvian Amazonia (pp. 46-68), among Mozambican Refugees in South Africa (pp. 69-92), or in a primary school classroom in London (pp. 174-196). Claudia Barcellos Rezende (2009) also notes that anthropologists have always tended to view friendship in relation to a specific cultural context, and she provides some other examples with some findings:

> "For instance, among English middle-class people, friendship privileges personal disclosure as a way of counteracting the impersonality of the work sphere [Rezende, 1993]. For the Arawete of lowland Amazonia, friendships between married couples stress not only economic cooperation but also sexual mutuality [Viveiros de Castro, 1992]. Among women in Andalusia, friendship values the possibility of sharing secrets without the fear of gossip [Uhl, 1991]" (p. 311).

The diversity shown by all these studies serves to attest to the countless ways in which relations of friendship "come into being, are conducted, and are valued in different cultures and societies" (Killick and Desai, 2010, p. 15). Moreover, these studies show how friendship is articulated with ideas of being related, and ideas of being a person. In other words, their focus lies with how friendship —the spaces, histories and ideologies that allow and shape friendship— is framed by people's subjectivities in a particular context. Therefore, I choose Killick and Desai's approach, an anthropological approach, to relate to the meanings —definitions, distinctions, ideas, traits, and other qualities— that my informants, Spanish migrants living in Bergen, attribute to friendship. The meaning of friendship, then, must be found in my informants' contexts and subjectivities.

Describing friends

There is a Spanish proverb that says: "*Dime con quién andas y te diré quién eres*", which literally means: "Tell me who your friends are, and I will tell you who you are". Recently, a Norwegian friend told me that this proverb also exists in Norwegian: "*Fortell meg hvem dine venner er og jeg forteller deg hvem du er*". It is a proverb used to judge a person by the company that person keeps. It also means that a person reflects her or his values and beliefs through the people with whom she or he chooses to associate and those whom she or he avoids. Therefore, after asking about their meaning of friendship, I continued my interviews as Stacey Oliker (1989) did in her study, by inviting my interlocutors to identify the people they feel closest to: "To whom would you say you feel closest?" (p. 178), and I added the context of Bergen: "In Bergen, to whom would you say you feel closest?". Many of my interlocutors started mentioning where they became acquainted with them: "I met him at work", "we met on Facebook", "I met him in the school where I started to learn Norwegian", were some examples[9]. Subsequently, they mentioned the period of time they have been meeting them. They also mentioned the nationality of their friends: "Norwegians and some Spaniards and Romanians", said one informant. "All my friends have other nationalities, I just have two Norwegian acquaintances", told me another informant. "Half of them are Norwegians, and the other half are migrants: two from Spain and the others from other parts of the European Union", said another one. Among their answers, it was clear that they had many international friends, and that the number of Norwegian or Spanish friends varied from informant to informant. Therefore, in the following subchapters, I am going to write about how my interlocutors negotiate friendship ties with Norwegians, with other Spanish migrants living in Bergen, and with other migrants.

Norwegians friends

Recent studies report that migrants who have contact with natives tend to identify more strongly with the destination society (Sabatier 2008; Agirdag et al., 2011; Schulz and Leszczensky, 2016). In the same way, the economists Giovanni Facchini, Eleonora Patacchini and Max Steinhardt (2013) note that a well-developed native-including social network in the destination country might be an important driver of cultural assimilation for them (p. 619).

[9] Chapters 4 and 6 deal with place-space and friendship

Teresa and her many Norwegian friends

Teresa is the informant who has been living in Bergen for the longest period of time: since 2007, a year before the financial crisis. Therefore, I was in doubt to include her in the study. However, the reasons that brought her to Norway were completely the same as the ones of my other informants: she did not want to live in Spain, she came seeking for new job opportunities, and she expressed her dissatisfaction with the political system in Spain. Teresa moved to Norway after completing her education in the United Kingdom, where she met her current husband, who was born and raised in Bergen. She is forty-five years old, speaks fluent Norwegian, and has formed a family in Bergen.

I met her in a political debate about Catalonia in Litteraturhuset: "*Catalonia: Ingen (demokratisk) utvei?*", (Catalonia: no [democratic] way out). Since it is a Spanish political affair, I thought that it could be an opportunity to meet and recruit new informants. Unfortunately, I only could hear conversations in Norwegian among the attendees. I could not identify any Spaniard there. At the end of the debate, I introduced myself: "My name is Daniel, and I am from Catalonia", and I asked some questions to the participants. When the debate finished, Teresa appeared and started a conversation with me. As she heard that I was from Catalonia, she was curious about what I was doing in Bergen. After explaining the details of my master's thesis, she offered to help me.

During my first formal meeting with Teresa, she explained to me that she asked her colleagues and friends to attend that debate: "Many were there. I wanted them to hear what is happening in Catalonia". I told her that I was there looking for Spaniards, and that I was surprised not to see any. "I have been living here for long, I speak Norwegian, I am married to a Norwegian, and I have formed a family", answered Teresa that day.

The sociologist Marko Valenta (2009) notes that "the social space of immigrants who have established personal ties with Norwegians is more favourable, because their networks «protect» them. Their impression of everyday life is more optimistic because an important part of interactions with Norwegians around them is personalised with no unpleasant connotations attached (p. 185). In fact, I do not think Teresa had any unpleasant connotation to care about: during our meeting, she talked about her Norwegian friends as if these were angels. Moreover, the day I met her, she spoke to other people in perfect Norwegian.

Beatriz and her lack of Norwegian friends

Unlike Teresa, Beatriz has been living for a shorter time in Bergen. I met her on a Facebook group for Spaniards living in Bergen. She is twenty-five years old. After graduating from university, she held a full-time job as a supermarket cashier in Spain for a year. Tired of not finding a job related to her studies, she decided to migrate to Bergen last year. "I visited Bergen with my parents when I was seventeen years old. I was fascinated with the city, the language, and the culture", she explained. She moved to Bergen with some savings, and she decided to learn the Norwegian language before starting to look for a job. Nowadays, she works as a receptionist in a company. "When I first came, I was renting a small apartment for myself. But living alone was boring, and that place was stopping me from meeting other people", she said. And so, she moved to a *kollektiv* [a shared apartment with other students] in Møhlenpris. "I thought about moving to Møhlenpris because there are many students in this area. I thought I could meet many people of my age". Nowadays, Beatriz lives in a shared apartment with three Norwegian students in their late 20s.

In our third meeting, she invited me there. We were talking in the kitchen-living room, which was in the central part of the flat giving access to the bedrooms. Her roommates were coming and going. Everyone went by their own, without stopping to talk to us. Probably because we were talking in Spanish. That was what I thought. However, Beatriz explained to me that her situation did not improve after moving in there: "There is not much communication here. I have rarely seen them talking to each other at all".

About Beatriz's context, a first phase of migration, Claire Bidart and Daniel Lavenu (2005) note that the overall social network generally decreases (p. 361), and contact with the local population often remains limited (p. 370). Over time, social networks are consolidated: the longer a migrant stays in a country, the bigger the acculturation and assimilation processes are, and more likely the person establishes new friends, including more native population members (Lubbers et al., 2010; Gordon, 1964). In this sense, Teresa has been living in Bergen for more than ten years, and therefore, she has consolidated a Norwegian network. However, Beatriz has moved to Bergen recently. "I have been making a big effort to talk with them, but it is tough to make friends with Norwegians. They are cold and distant", added Beatriz.

Stereotyping Norwegians

Cold, reserved, shy, timid, aloof, stiff, distant, and unsociable were some of the adjectives Beatriz and other of my participants used to describe Norwegians. Lucy Jackson (2016) says that "stereotypes placed on the migrant body might lead to the creation and maintenance of geographical territories both imaginatively and geographically" (p. 297). As a matter of fact, those informants who expressed prejudices and stereotypes —about Norwegians— were the ones who mentioned to have few or no Norwegian friends.

There have been many attempts at sorting out stereotypes people have against migrants (e.g., Stephan et al., 1999; Lee and Fiske, 2006; Timberlake and Williams, 2012): "Public stereotypes of immigrants depend profoundly on both the content of the stereotypes and, crucially, on the origin of the immigrants in question" (Timberlake and Williams, 2012, p. 886). In this sense, rarely an informant reported experiencing racial discrimination. However, I could not find any study about the stereotypes migrants have. In other words, scholars have not directly explored the stereotypes migrants have against the people of their destination countries. Nevertheless, Manuel gave me an example of why Spaniards think Norwegians are unfriendly:

> "In a bus in Spain, people would play loud music on their phones, talk loud, start a conversation with you… But in Norway, people sacrifice themselves in order to behave in a respectful way. They sacrifice the «individual» for the «collective» in certain situations. This can make us think they are cold and distant, but no, they are just being educated, respectful and socially committed".

For Manuel, Spaniards think Norwegians are unfriendly because they protect their boundaries and respect the personal space of others. However, Teresa gave me a different explanation: "Spanish media talks about the cold and dark winter that makes Norwegians stay at home, the high suicide rate… So I guess it is normal that Spaniards think Norwegians are unsociable", she pointing out to the Spanish media and what she called "fake news", instead.

Another of my interlocutors took a step further. He suggested that while making Norwegian friends can take a long time, the effort is worthwhile. "A Norwegian friend is a friend for life", he said. And he offered a piece of advice for any migrant struggling for friends: "If you think Norwegians are unfriendly, how are you going to make Norwegian friends? Be open-minded!", he exclaimed.

Co-national friends in Norway

Some studies have shown that people tend to seek friends who share the same interests and are like themselves (e.g., Bell and Coleman, 1999; Berndt, 1992). In other words, friends are often of the same age, gender and social class (Davidson and Duberman, 1982). In the 1950s, a group of sociologists coined the term "homophily" to describe the tendency for people to seek out or be attracted to those who are similar to themselves (Retica, 2006). It comes from the Ancient Greek *ὁμοῦ* [homou]: "together", and *φιλία* [philia]: usually translated as "friendship" or "affection" (McPherson et al. 2001). Adopting a focus on migrant friendship-making, migrants, then, may have a strong preference for co-national friends, also referred as *coethnic friends* (cf. Morosanu, 2015) and may tend to form their own close-knit co-national cliques which provide a home similar environment (ibid.; Neri and Ville, 2006). The range of homophily may lead migrants into ethnic segregation (Reinsch and Weijert, 2001; Wirth, 1998). For instance, the so-called "parallel societies", where migrants live in their own neighbourhoods, speak their own languages and lead their lives isolated from the rest of society (Currarini and Mengel, 2012).

But this is not the case of the Spaniards living in Bergen. While meeting my informants, I realised that their homophily tendency was hanging by a thread: they do not want to relate with other Spaniards just for the fact of sharing the same nationality. For instance, Manuel added me on a WhatsApp group dedicated to Spaniards living in Bergen. There, I asked if there were any friends in the group, or if they knew each other in person. "I do not think so", "I do not know anyone here", replied two of the people in the group. No one knew anyone there; instead, they were using this chat to discuss articles, news, and administrative issues, among others. After some minutes reading their replies, I found an exception.

Meeting Paula and Carmen, two Spanish friends who met in Bergen

On that WhatsApp group, I met Paula, who is 40 years old. In 2012, she was with some friends in a nightclub when she met Knut, a Norwegian on vacation in Spain. That year, she divorced from her at the time husband and moved together with Knut to Bergen. In Bergen, she has been working as a barista in different coffee shops. "I did not want to be economically depended on him", explained Paula to me. Nowadays, she is the manager of a restaurant located in the city centre.

I tried to make an appointment with her many times on WhatsApp. She told me that she was working a lot lately and did not have time for anything at all. “I cannot meet you this week, but what about the next one?”, she repeated three weeks in a row. After a few more attempts, she suggested to me that we could meet at the workplace of her friend Carmen, who is also from Spain and is 38 years old. “She got a job not long ago, and I am helping her there some days. Would you like to come and interview both of us there?”, she asked me.

That day, they were waiting for me inside the coffee shop. It is a local coffee shop with a beautiful interior design. Costumers there were locals: it is not a coffe shop chain chasing paper from the tourists. It was dinner time, and for being February, it was hot and sunny outside, and four people were sitting on the terrace. The coffee shop also serves food and have different national food days per week. Mondays and Tuesdays are dedicated to traditional Spanish food, which Carmen prepares vegan: *tortilla* (Spanish omelette), Andalusian gazpacho, Catalan *pa amb tomaquet* (bread with tomato sauce), Valencian paella, and other dishes without meat or other traces of animal products. However, no-one was eating food at the time. And Carmen offered me to try her gazpacho, which is a cold soup made of raw, blended vegetables. Usually, gazpacho is a boring orange-colour soup, but her food presentation was gorgeous, and the colours were vibrant. When tasting it, it reminded me of the one that my mother makes. I suddenly knew why she was hired: she has a talent for cooking.

She worked in a restaurant before in Spain. “The salary was terrible”, Carmen told me. After eight years of working in that place, she wanted to find new adventures and job opportunities. On the Internet, she found an interesting offer: au pairing in Bergen. In fact, she is still an au pair. “I get free accommodation in change of cleaning and making food in the house, but the parents are divorced, and the kids are never at home. I needed money to do things. Therefore, I found this job, which keeps my mind busy on Mondays and Tuesdays”, she explained.

However, besides her culinary skills, Carmen does not know how to prepare different varieties of coffee drinks, she does not speak Norwegian, and her English language skills are weak. And so, the quiet and relaxing atmosphere inside there was broken every time a Norwegian costumer came ordering a takeaway coffee drink that she could not understand nor knew how to make. Carmen was nervous and distracted, but Paula was there: helping and teaching her to be a good barista because that was what Paula used to be. “She started working a couple of weeks ago. She probably watched

the George Clooney commercials on TV, and thought this was just about pressing a button", laughed Paula. The situation in the bar was weird. Paula had the role of a boss there. "I do not get paid. I do not even know who is the boss. What is her name? And how can she hire someone without giving proper instructions?", questioned Paula.

When Paula is not working, she told me that she has other plenty of things to do. However, she goes there almost every Monday and Tuesday to help Carmen. "I hope she can keep this job. It is a nice place and a good start", said Paula. With Paula and Carmen, I saw what to be a friend is like: to help each other when you really need it. They met in the same WhatsApp chat group where I met Paula. This is what Carmen explained to me about how she met Paula:

> "I moved to Bergen last year, I did not know anyone at all, and I speak English so bad. That is why I wanted to meet a Spanish speaker […] I sent a message on that group looking for friends. Carmen was the only one who sent me a private message"

In the initial phases of migration, intra-EU movers often move within international communities in the country of destination (Koelet et al., 2017), these are important for both practical and emotional support (Gill and Bialski, 2011). And Carmen, indeed, gets practical and emotional support from Paula. However, that Carmen and Paula are friends is something unusual. "I do not want to relate to other Spaniards at all, but I like to be included in that WhatsApp chat group in case we need help, or someone says something important", said Paula. "We also love gossiping", added Carmen smiling.

Avoiding Spaniards as a cultural assimilation process

Javier is 36 years old and came to Norway in 2010. I met him on the same Facebook group where I met Beatriz. That year, his girlfriend was doing an Erasmus exchange in Bergen, so he quit his "poorly paid" job in Spain, and they moved together. Norway was for them the "English speaking country", and where there were more job opportunities. "If we chose Lithuania or Poland, we were not going to be able to communicate with people. Moreover, the economy in those countries is not as good as in Norway", said Javier. While she was going to be studying, he was going to be working. Their idea was to move back to Spain with some savings once the Erasmus programme was completed. For this reason, they chose the cheapest student accommodation. "There, the Spanish students were together all the time. It ended up as a summer camp in Spain: you do not

integrate, you do not learn anything about Norway". Javier and his girlfriend made clear their tendency against homophily: "When we arrived, we did not want to have Spanish friends. We tried to ignore them. We only wanted to meet other international students", explained Javier.

In his first week in Bergen, Javier found a job as a bartender in a bar. "Compared to Spain, working there was absolutely fantastical well-paid", he said. But after two months of living together, they broke up, and the story of Javier started to face many challenges. The first option for him was to go back to Spain, but he already secured a job, and Spain was in the throes of the 2008 crisis. It was going to be impossible for him to find a job opportunity like the one he got in Norway. "I was so messed up because of that girl. The last thing I could think at that time was meeting other Spaniards", said Javier.

Alejandro also exemplified the idea to not relate to other Spaniards as an assimilation strategy. Another informant sent me his contact, but they do not know each other. He is 27 years old and started a master's programme at the University of Bergen a year ago. However, he has been living in Bergen since 2015, working in a restaurant. He did not want to become an "international student" as he explained to me: "I never wanted to be surrounded by international students. I wanted to have a Norwegian network since I am living in Norway, and I am learning Norwegian. Moreover, I am not in favour of going to another country and getting involved with your people". However, Alejandro thinks that it is difficult to make Norwegian friends at the university: "Half of the students in my class are internationals, and the Norwegian ones are a close-group", said Alejandro.

The fear behind meeting other Spaniards

I found Mireia in the same Facebook group where I met Beatriz and Javier. She is 33 years old and has been living in Bergen since 2014. She was working in a pharmacy company when her boyfriend found a job in Bergen. For the moment, she wanted to find new job opportunities. Therefore, they moved together to Norway. After a couple of months, she could not find a job, and they broke up: Mireia moved back to Spain. Once in Spain, she found a message on her email address: she was given a position as a researcher at [censored: organization]. "I moved to Bergen again, although I have not seen him again. I do not have contacts with other Spaniards at all", she said. In my first meeting with her, she explained to me why she does not have contact with other Spaniards:

> "Many migrants live here for a few months. Their idea is not to stay here. It is really hard when you make a new friend, and after some time that person moves out. For this reason, I have had a lot of moments of fear and emptiness. And therefore, I do not want to meet other Spaniards. But it is unavoidable. I always end up knowing a Spaniard living in Bergen. Just look at you!"

The way Mireia described this unavoidable situation was similar to what Alejandro also explained to me. In our second meeting, he introduced me to Cecilia, who is also from Spain. "One day, working in the restaurant, my boss introduced me to her. She was my new colleague. In the beginning, I was thinking: «oh no, please!». I never wanted to work with other Spaniards. But what are you going to do? You cannot reject a person. I have always wanted to be accepted and have a pleasant environment at work with my colleagues. And so, I wanted the same for her. I did everything so she could feel comfortable working in the restaurant", said Alejandro. "I do not work there anymore, I did not get so many hours, and I found another job", explained Cecilia. "But while she was there, we became really good friends, and now we meet once per week, at least", he replied. Alejandro, who avoided homophily interaction in Bergen, ended up having a Spanish friend.

Teresa and her recent need to meet other Spanish migrants

During many years, Teresa did not have contact with other Spaniards living in Bergen. "I did not want to meet other Spaniards living here", she told me. However, the political conflict between the Government of Spain and Catalonia in autumn 2017 made her opinion change. "That changed everything. On that moment, I needed to share what was happening [in Catalonia] with other Catalans. I could not talk about this political issue with other Norwegians nor with the people from my home-country via Facebook or WhatsApp. I needed to share my feelings in person", she explained to me. For this reason, she started to search out for other Catalans living in Bergen. "One day, I read an article in BT written by Pau [pseudonym, a Catalan guy who also lives in Bergen] about the events that were happening in Catalonia. I contacted him, and we met in person several times. After some months, we founded the [censored: assembly]", she explained. From that moment, Teresa and Pau started reaching out to other Catalans living in Bergen. Nowadays, there are twelve Catalans members in this foreign assembly.

Since they do not have a meeting place, they meet once per month in different bars of the city. I joined Teresa in one of their meetings. There, I met other seven Catalans. They talked about many political and historical issues concerning Catalonia, and their willingness for independence was transversal: no one wanted Catalonia to be a part of Spain. The sociologists Miller McPherson, Lynn Smith-Lovin and James Cook (2001) note that "homophily in race and ethnicity creates the strongest divides in our personal environments", with age, religion, education, occupation, and gender following in roughly that order (p. 415). They forgot to include political affinity.

Peer interactions, relationships, and groups

According to the classification created by Kenneth H. Rubin, William Michael Bukowski, Jeffrey G. Parker and Julie C. Bowker (2006), there are three types of connections that help to understand the different relational forms, accounting for the degree of complexity of the environment of each person: peer interactions, relationships and groups.

Peer interactions

Peer interactions are short-term exchanges, more or less frequent, that take place between two individuals and that does not entail a special degree of commitment. "Behaviours that simply complement one another would ordinarily not be considered interaction unless it was clear that they were jointly undertaken. Instead, the term interaction is reserved for dyadic behaviour in which the participants' actions are interdependent such that each actor's behaviour is both a response to the other's behaviour" (p. 3). Therefore, peer interactions have little to do with friendship.

Relationships are long-term exchanges that involve commitment, willingness and a greater sense of belonging for its members. "Relationships refer to the meanings, expectations, and emotions that derive from a succession of interactions between two individuals known to each other" (p. 4). Relationships are classified according to their intentionality or nature: school, work or conflict are some examples they give. These share a context of cultures, activities, norms and codes that acquire meaning only for their members. But the limited number of members, only two, gives special intensity and investment to this kind of connection: "the loss of a component implies the disappearance of the relationship" (p. 5).

Degrees of relationships: acquaintances, friends, and close friends

In the introduction to this chapter, I mentioned how Manuel stressed the absence of a clear boundary between the different levels of friend relationships. However, other informants spoke of the ideal form of friendship as involving a combination of relationships. Their stories suggested a distinction between different degrees of relationships. For instance, Beatriz used a comparative description to highlight the differences between close friendship to other forms of relationships in different manners. "My friends for me have different levels. The best ones are «close friends», those people who I have known for a longer time and I have more confidence with", mentioned Beatriz.

Others used nicknames to name and categorise close friends. For instance, another of my interlocutors stressed the similarity between friends and family. "I call my best friend *hermana* (sister), but she is not my blood sister". Shelley Budgeon and Sasha Roseneil (2004) affirm that the lack of an innate or familial bond, makes friends to be referred as the "family we choose" (pp. 135-159). On a similar way of affection, Alejandro used the term *støttekontakt* to nickname a friend. "He is an excellent friend that is always helping me with everything: bureaucracy, finding a new apartment, and expanding my social network". Many people in Norway need someone for support. Whether it be due to a disability, age, or having problems to socialise. Therefore, a *støttekontakt*, translated to "support contact", is a person who helps another person to have a social life and a meaningful free time. This personal support service is provided by many municipalities in Norway. "I call him *støttekontakt* in a funny way. It is more natural and funny to call a friend by a nickname, and many of those nicknames bring anecdotes that will make you have a good time with your friends", clarified Alejandro. In other words, he uses nicknames to describe their freinds and to tell other people the anecdote behind those nicknames.

The ethnographer Stanley H. Brandes (1975) takes a close look at how Spanish people use nicknames as a means to distinguish different kinds of social relationships: "Nicknames are, through open address, harnessed and manipulated to further trust and mutual support among those who are not seen as naturally possessing such affection" (p. 145). However, contrary to Brandes' premise, I realised that my informants use nicknames to express affection to their friends.

Groups

Groups are characterised by being formed by three or more individuals and having more defined borders that allow identifying who is inside and who is outside (Rubin et al., 2006, pp. 6-7). Groups are the level with the greatest social complexity since they are composed of a variety of interconnections and relationships. They can be created spontaneously or respond to the effect of external structures, for example, a political issue, as it is the case of the group of Teresa and the other Catalans. Moreover, groups possess properties that arise from "the manner in which the relationships are patterned but are not present in the individual relationships themselves", such as cohesiveness, hierarchy, norms, homogeneity or shared cultural beliefs, and "that help define the type and range of relationships and interactions that are likely or permissible" (p. 6). Many of these properties are applicable to the group of Catalans I met:

Teresa, my informant, and Pau were the "presidents" of the assembly (hierarchy), and the ones who were moderating the conversation (norms). All the people there had different reasons (cohesiveness and shared cultural beliefs) to approach the group. For instance, the need to preserve their own identity: "I wished for a long time to speak Catalan with someone in Bergen, and talk about Catalan history". The intention to establish links with a political purpose: "I wanted to pay close attention to what is going on in Catalonia and Spain, especially concerning auto-determination, social change and political solutions". The search for co-national support: "When I arrived, I was looking for help to find a job". Or the intention to return: "My [Norwegian] wife is taking a Spanish language course. I am also teaching her a little bit of Catalan [...]. We have a plan: moving to Barcelona when we are retired".

All these properties aside, this group is a clear example of socio-political transnationalism —"the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Schiller, Basch and Blanc−Szanton, p. 1)—. For instance, a woman in the meeting said that living in Norway did not prevent her from maintaining "national ties" and keeping "political activism". Another guy exclaimed: "Not everything is about Catalonia here. We also talk and care about ourselves. We are friends!". Their political affinity brings them together: they build social fields that link together Catalonia and Norway, and at the same time, they create friendship ties among them.

Summary

In this chapter, I have addressed the meaning of friendship from the perspective of my informants, Spanish migrants living in Bergen. I started this chapter addressing friendship and its problem of definition. Subsequently, I have argued that friendship is subjected to every persons' ideas and must be studied inside a context. In the case of my interlocutors, their understanding of friendship is affected by their common cultural background and mobility context. Through their narratives, I have discussed different traits and distinctions of friendship. These have to do with trust, company and support, but also with good fellowship, the time they spend together, and affection.

Their selectivity of friends is expressed through their ethno-social preferences. On the one hand, the abundance of Norwegian ties can be interpreted as direct proof of belonging: while the interlocutors who have Norwegian friends were less worried about issues relating to social exclusion, the ones who have less or none Norwegian friends were struggling to become "one more". In addition, stereotypes against Norwegians act as a barrier in the migrant's friend-making process. On the other hand, the way they relate to other Spaniards is opposed to homophily theories: they avoid meeting other Spanish migrants mainly as an assimilation strategy. However, factors such as gender, age, coworkership, or political affinity influence how friendship is perceived and experienced; that is to say, gaps to homophily opposition emerge under these factors.

In the last part of this chapter, I have introduced a conceptual model (Rubin et al., 2006) that guides my interlocutors' peer interactions —which do not involve friendship—, relationships, and groups. Relationships are long-term exchanges that require commitment, willingness, and a greater sense of belonging. Different levels of relationships are expressed by my informants: acquaintances, friends, and close friends. For instance, they use comparative descriptions and nicknames to highlight their close friend relationships. Groups are a variety of interactions and relationships with properties such as cohesiveness, hierarchy, norms, homogeneity or shared cultural beliefs. With Teresa's last example, I have shown how migrants link their origin and destination countries (transnationalism) while building friendship in group. In conclusion, the diverse ways of friendship —explored through the experiences and subjectivities of my informants in this chapter— define their understanding, meaning of the word friendship.

CHAPTER 4
Places of Friendship

Introduction

One afternoon, I was walking home from school. It was raining cats and dogs when I received a message from Beatriz: "Hola! I know it is raining like crazy, but any chance you could help me? I need to bring this back to Ikea [picture of a dismounted bookcase]. It is so heavy". I did not hesitate to volunteer. Unluckily, my umbrella broke on my way to the bus stop, and my clothes became soaking wet. When we arrived, I ran to the toilet where I dried off my clothes using the hand dryer. Meanwhile, Beatriz returned the bookcase. Half an hour later, our problems were solved, and we decided to tour the furniture showrooms. As we walked through the maze of cheap Swedish furniture, we entered the sofa section. There was a setup of two sofas pointed in the direction of a fake fireplace, in the middle, a sofa table with some books and an empty coffee mug. "This is so *koselig* (Norwegian word for cosy)", she exclaimed. "I wish I had something like this in my *kollektiv* (shared apartment), so I could *kose* with my friends", she said while smiling.

According to Beatriz, "Norwegians are obsessed with *kos* [sic.]. They are always trying to have a *koselig* time". For her, *kos* is about simple pleasures, well-being, socialising, and to have a good time. Moreover, she explained to me that she did not give importance to such details in Spain: "I was raised in a small farming village in Spain where there are not any cosy places like Ikea. […] Now, I care about pleasing smells, healthy food, nice places, quality time with friends, and how I decorate my bedroom". However, she could not give me an exact definition for *kos*. Instead, she googled it in her phone: "*The incredible nature and the abrupt changes of seasons lead people to come together and create moments of comfortable and cosy intimacy, in Norwegian «kos»* [she stopped reading]. This is what I wanted to tell you with the fireplace!", gushed Beatriz.

The sociologist Margarethe Kusenbach (2003) notes that "everyday spatial practices and relationship to place can become so filled with meaning and experiential depth that they turn into symbols of someone's personal identity" (p. 471). Considering the previous vignette, Beatriz stated that she has learnt about *kos* (as a spatial practice) while living in Norway. Since then, she has

included different “rituals” and “relationships to place” in her daily life: decorating her room with nice furniture, going to Ikea, drinking tea in cosy coffee shops, including some Norwegian words to her Spanish vocabulary, among others. Her implications and rituals of *kos* give a new dimension of how she conceives space, and are powerful tools in expressing her identity and shaping her social interactions. Following (Kusenbach, 2003), my objective in this chapter is two-fold: to show how everyday spatial practices and relationships to place involve transformation in my interlocutors’ social lives, and to observe what symbols of personal identity they reinforce and encourage.

The chapter starts with a brief literature review that seeks to introduce an understanding of the roots of spatial analysis and spatial theory. It emphasises “place-making” as an on-going process entwined in my informants’ daily lives. With this term, I refer to the ways they negotiate and create interactions of articulated dimensions of space —physical, social and mental— (as conceived by Henri Lefebvre), and as these occur in a particular context: building friendship relationships as Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway. The physical dimension is divided in two: the public sphere (e.g., the city, neighbourhoods, etc.) and the private sphere (e.g., workplaces or residences). In these spheres, I analyse the social dimension (i.e., how they interact with other people); and the mental one (i.e., how they imagine space, an aspect of space which influences both their personal identities and their social relations). The chapter concludes with a summary.

Theorising places and spatial practices

Urban anthropology is the study of cultural systems and identities in cities as well as the various political, social, economic, and cultural forces that shape urban forms and processes (Ghannam, 2005). According to Farha Ghannam (ibid.), the label *urban anthropology* became common in the 60s: “Using research methods developed for and through studies of small tribes and «primitive societies», anthropologists studied spatially bounded communities such as ghettos, ethnic neighbourhoods, and «urban villages». […] social problems were the focus of most urban anthropological research” (para. 1-2). In recent years, urban anthropology has undergone a transformation by integrating a broad range of practical and theoretical issues such as popular culture, social movements, citizenship, gender, racial inequalities, but also global processes, transnational connections, place-making and spatial practices (Fairbanks, 2003, p. 131). In this regard, Ghannam notes that “urban ethnography has been powerful in showing the strong

friendships, kinship relations, and ethnic solidarities that may structure interactions in space, and particularly in urban centres". Applying Ghannam's premise, urban centres may form an integral part of migrants' daily encounters with the destination society.

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, place-making has received particular attention in urban anthropology field studies. Place-making is a multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public spaces, whose concepts originated in the 1960s, when urbanists such as Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte presented innovative ideas about the design of cities "for people, not just cars and shopping centers", and the importance of "lively neighbourhoods" and "inviting public spaces" (Project for Public Spaces, 2007, para. 4). In the place-making process, the realisation of a place is not only the construction. There is a balance between the physical, social and even spiritual qualities of a place (para. 11): "The idea of place-making implies that places are not natural occurrences, neither mere buildings […], but physical places shaped by people and their actions, and are subject to interpretation and the meaning-making processes of those who inhabit these spaces" (Fataar and Elzahn, 2009, p. 4). Therefore, to understand place-making, the South African sociologists Aslam Fataar and Elzahn Rinquest (2009) suggest to investigate theories that address "the production of space" and specifically "how space is turned into a place and given meaning by the people who inhabit it" (p. 3).

In *The Production of Space*, the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1974) noted that "socially lived space and time, socially produced, depends on physical and mental constructs" (as cited in Elden, 2004, p. 190). Lefebvre conceived space as a social formation and as a conception, a mental construction. From these ideas, he derives his conceptual spatial practice (acts, routines, rituals, actions, movements, and uses that are carried out by people in their daily lives) in three ways: perceived, lived, and conceived. That is, space must be understood as "a unity of physical, social and mental space" (as cited in Fataar and Rinquest, 2019, p. 6).

Firstly, the perceived dimension of space is also referred to as a physical space, "where we can experience with our senses" (ibid., p. 3). The triad of spatial practice in this chapter considers physical space such as the physical buildings, grounds and environment of my informants. Regarding this physical dimension, Sophie Jankélévitch and Bertrand Ogilvie (1995) note that "friendship is a feeling whose consistency is manifested both in the private sphere of individual

relations and the public, social sphere of the city" (p. 12). Therefore, I do not only focus on the public side of the city —i.e., urban ethnography/anthropology—: I also apply the model of social interactions proposed by Sonia Gsir (2014). She distinguishes between the interactions in the private context from those in the public one. For her, the private context is "the place for strong bonds of kinship, friendship and professional relations" (p. 3). Therefore, this chapter also considers private physical spaces such as the different workplaces and places of residence of my informants.

Secondly, space consists of a lived dimension, also known as a social space. Here, "space is produced and modified over time and through its use […] invested with symbolism and meaning" (as cited in Elden, 2004, p. 190). In this regard, Ron Johnston (1985) notes that "places matter because they are the contexts within which attitudes are learned and behaviour patterns moulded" (p. 59). Following Jankélévitch, Ogilvie, Gsir and Johnston, I argue that friendship should be understood as a bridge that connects the private and the public sphere, and consequently, that connects my informants with other people in Bergen, while make them learn new attitudes and mould their behaviour patterns.

Thirdly, space entails a conceived dimension, also known as imagined space or mental space. Lefebvre refers to it as a place that pertains to the metaphysical and ideological dimension (as cited in Elden, 2004, p. 190). That is, conceived space is the conception of space, the meaning that my informants derive from their experiences with space and the way that they construct mental representations of reality. In other words, I conceptualise the mental aspect as to how my informants imagine their social lives regarding different spaces. During fieldwork and when possible, I followed the *go-along* method (Kusenbach, 2003): walking with each informant through different places, asking them to show me elements toward which they had a particular feeling or judgement, positive or negative, and to tell me their perceptions about these spaces.

Based on this brief literature review, this chapter emphasises place-making as an on-going process entwined in my informants' daily lives: through their interactions in a space, they transform space into a jointly experienced, meaningful, and memorable place. Therefore, I will also argue that they are actively busy "making place" through their social interactions in Bergen, which shape and re-organise their identities and the spaces they interact with and move through.

Bergen, the social public sphere

Bergen is the settlement where my Spanish informants have migrated to and live, and therefore, where they learn new attitudes and mould their behaviour patterns. In this subchapter, I show how they perceived, lived, and conceived Bergen during my fieldwork. At the same time, Bergen brings new spatial practices to them, which are drastically different compared to their spatial practices in Spain. In this regard, I also point out several features about Bergen that make their socialisation process different from what they were used to in Spain.

Terrain and weather conditions

"Bergen has a good balance of urban city and nature", said Mireia. "I love the city and the activities you can do here. I am not a «city guy», but Bergen is a small city surrounded by mountains. It is perfect for outdoor activities when it is not raining", said Alejandro. Many of my informants noted that the mountainous terrain of Bergen offers the possibility to carry out outdoor activities. For instance, several times, while asking to do "friend things" to my informants, some suggested going for a hike. That was a plan Mireia suggested: "Do you want to go to Fløyen next Thursday? I am going there with a friend. Join us!".

However, there is a peculiar characteristic that the hilly terrain brings to the city of Bergen: "the bad weather", as all my informants mentioned. I found an entry on a blog explaining why Bergen is "the rainiest city in the world" [sic.]: "Bergen is famous for its high levels of rainfall because it is located between seven mountains. The wind that comes from the Atlantic moves the clouds, which strike the mountains surrounding the city" (Smith, 2017, para. 2). In this regard, my interlocutors complained about the rainy days in Bergen. For instance, Javier said: "I hate rain. It restricts my social life to the indoors. In Spain, it does not rain that much. And therefore, I was carrying an outdoor life with my friends every day". However, Javier was not the only one suffering the consequences of the bad weather. Rainy days were affecting the social lives of all my informants, and also myself. For instance, that Thursday, Mireia and her friends postponed the hike because it was raining.

Indoor *versus* outdoor socialisation

The rainy days bring another feature of socialisation: "the indoor social life", as an informant described. In a way, they all pointed out that in Bergen they socialise more "inside", in closed spaces, than "outside" on the street. For instance, Teresa gave me an example of how the weather conditions place social life indoors in Bergen:

> "In a bar or a disco in Spain, people go outside to smoke. If more people are smoking there, they make small talk. They do not know the person they are talking to, but that does not matter. In Norway, people do not smoke cigarettes that much because it is expensive, and it is normally raining outside. They put *snus* (moist powdered tabacco) in their lips instead [points to her upper lip]."

Teresa believes that the rainy weather in Bergen places people and their habits indoors. For instance, *snus*, smokeless tobacco, makes Norwegians stay indoors because it is raining outside, and consequently, Norwegian smokers do not socialise with other smokers. Therefore, and according to Teresa, Norwegian socialisation is something more personal, individual, than external, collective. Of course, this is her personal assumption. Another informant, Mireia, gave me a different example, talking about Spain instead:

> "When I am visiting my grandmother in Spain, she is always in the square of her city, sitting on a bench with other women in her age. There, they spend hours talking —gossiping—. In summer, they can be under the shadows of the trees, breathing fresh air. Inside her house, it is warm. In winter, it is a little bit cold outside, but she puts her jacket on and sunbathes her face sitting on the bench."

According to Mirea, the good weather in Spain makes Spaniards socialise outdoors. However, when I reviewed different studies related to the outdoor social life in Spain, I could not find any research pointing out to the weather conditions. Instead, these studies talk about the Spanish culture itself. In this regard, another informant, Alejandro, compared the "cultural differences of socialisation" between Norway and Spain:

> "In summer, Norwegians invade every tiny space of grass in the city centre. There are barbecues everywhere. But they do it in «close and closed» friend groups. I do not think they start talking with other groups for no reason. People do not go out of their comfort zone to talk with random, unknown people. Contrarily, Spaniards talk on the streets with everyone. Uknown Spaniards can talk for hours. They do not care, they enjoy it!"

Unlike Spaniards, Alejandro thinks that Norwegians do not socialise with strangers outdoors, not even during the sunny days in summer. According to Amando de Miguel (1994), Spaniards socialise mainly on the street. He calls this Spanish phenomenon as "*haciendo vida en la calle*", "doing life on the street" (p. 38). That is, Spain's cities and villages —e.g. squares, parks— are conceived through place-making practices, and are lively and sociable places for Spaniards. For Erika Tatiana Ayala (2017), in Spain and Latin America, there is a collective exchange and socialisation on the public space: "[There], they enhance their experiences from the relationship with their peers and the environment" (p. 189). And she adds: "Through the use, appropriation and transformation of public spaces, they express themselves communicating and establishing daily experiences […]. Public space promotes identity, sense of belonging and roots" (p. 196). These assumptions explain why socialising indoors supposes a challenge at the time to find and make new friends for my informants: they might be used to socialise outdoors while living in Spain.

Spatial knowledge of the city

Another feature concerning my interlocutors' social lives in Bergen is their interest in knowing the city well. They emphasise a vast knowledge of the municipality of Bergen and, on the other hand, a little knowledge of nearby areas outside the city. Four of my informants admitted that during the first months, they were looking for work and trying to accommodate themselves to the new situation. Therefore, they dedicated themselves to touring the city and also getting to know some places of their interests. "Bergen seemed like a large city to me. If I got lost in the city, I did not know where I was", said Teresa about her first months in the city. "Now, I know Bergen is way too small", she laughed. Also, Alejandro walked through all the city during his arrival: "I was looking for a job, and I was giving my curriculum vitae in person, walking and getting to know all the bars and restaurants of the city". In this sense, discovering the city offered them insights into the environment, revealing them relevant places of engagement for their daily socialisation, while they might create ideas about those places, the city in general, and the people they observed.

«A multicultural city»

"Bergen is a multicultural city", said Manuel. He meant that in the city there are many people, migrants and tourists, from different countries. During my meetings with my informants, I observed the diversity of friends they had. Many of their friends were from other countries: Poland, Lithuania, Somalia, Latin-Americans, and so forth. "I did not have that many international friends in Spain", said Manuel. As Manuel, other informants agreed in the fact that they did not socialise with migrants while living in Spain. For instance, Paula told me:

> "You grow up in Spain; your friends are your school-friends. You do not look at the migrants. […] But as a migrant, you start a new life. You have to make new friends. «Bergensers» already have a social life, but we the migrants do not."

Paula did not have international friends while living in Spain as a Spaniard. Now, as a migrant in Norway, she does. Paula can now understand the difficulty for migrants to have native friends. According to her, "there is racism everywhere [sic.]". Marko Valenta (2009), a sociologist and professor at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), notes that: "When [migrants] are with [other migrants], they can deploy their individual identities without worrying about low ethnic status [sic.], communication problems and insecurity about cultural codes" (p. 115). Valenta states that immigrants in Norway may experience relations with each other as more egalitarian than with Norwegians. Moreover, he also notes that for some migrants it is easier to relate to other migrants than with Norwegians:

> "Some immigrants referred to these kinds of experiences when arguing that their internal integration was not a matter of free choice. They insisted that their ethno-social practice had to be seen in the light of a lack of other alternatives" (p. 115).

In this sense, the city and other different places become a multicultural —lived and conceived— space for migrants, and thus my interlocutors. The fact that they did not have a social network when they came, and the difficulty they found to make Norwegians friends, made them start socialising with other migrants, something they were not used to do while living in Spain.

Social relations in the neighbourhood

The spatial characteristics of the neighbourhoods are significant in terms of geographical location, interconnection with other parts of the city, socio-economic infrastructures, public services on offer and socialisation with others (Vertovec, 2007; Amin, 2002). In this regard, Robert Rotenberg (1996) talks about the significance of the city centre:

> "Associating yourself with life in the centre of the metropolis is a more powerful, more important statement of who you are, or of who you want to be. […] Metropolitans claim the centre as their home, even if they do not live there, because their sense of who they are is bound up with the powerful images of that central place" (p. 62).

In Rotenberg's regard, my informants described Bergen as a centralised city in terms of social and leisure activities. For instance, Manuel, the researcher from Sevilla, lives in accommodation for workers and researchers at the hospital. "My residence is next to my workplace, and there is where I do most of my social life", he told me. One day, he invited me there. He shares common areas with the other people living there: the kitchen, living room and a small gym. When we were outside his bedroom, he stopped to talk to everyone who was in the corridor or in the kitchen. "There is a lot of social events here. But they stay here. We live far away from the city centre. I can not go out every weekend, because I am not willing to pay for a taxi", explained Manuel.

In terms of socialisation with neighbours, I found two different perspectives in their answers. On the one hand, those informants who live in the city centre do not have social interaction with their neighbours at all. For instance, Paula told me: "I know who my neighbours are. I have seen them several times. But I have never talked with them". Mireia said: "I know one neighbour because he was playing loud music late at night. I went to his door to complain, and he started to discuss with me. […] There has not been more conversation than that discussion we had". In other words, those interlocutors who live in the city centre expressed that they do not have social relations with their neighbours. On the other hand, those informants who live outside the city centre are engaged in their neighbourhood. This is the case of Teresa, who lives in [censored: suburb]:

> "When my husband and I moved to our new house, we introduced ourselves to our neighbours. Now, every time I see them, I greet them. [...] Our child goes to a school a couple of minutes away walking from home. There, I have made contact with many parents that also live in our neighbourhood. […] Moreover, I have confidence with my next-door neighbour. I am always asking him to borrow his lawnmower."

Javier explained to me something similarly. He lives in [censored: a different suburb]:

> "I live outside the city centre, thirty minutes by car, with my wife and child. It is a small neighbourhood, just one supermarket, and a lot of pensioners living there also, so we know almost everyone there. But not to the point to consider them as friends." (Javier)

Both Javier and Teresa expressed that living outside the city centre means to have more contact with people and neighbours. However, they did not consider their neighbours as friends. Their relation to the neighbourhood (relationship to place) is framed with cordial and friendly relations with their neighbours. "There is just houses and families in my neighbourhood. If I want to socialise with my friends, I need to get the car and drive to the city centre", as Javier said.

Places of social activities

Social activities are "events or pursuits that bring people together to interact" ('Social activity'). Social activities play an important role for migrants and their well-being. For instance, The World Health Organization (1997) notes that through participation in social activities, migrants build social relationship, feel positive, acquire new knowledge and skills, and therefore, improve their quality of life: "individuals' perception of their position in life in the context of culture and value system and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards and concerns" (p. 1). In this sense, a wide range of places in Bergen provide my informants with social activities. In this subchapter, I explain some of my fieldwork experiences with my informants and their social activities that are framed in space, and in particular, indoor space.

Cristina and the blues concerts

Cristina is 44 years old and has been living in Bergen since 2016, the same year that she met her 63 years old Norwegian partner, Helge, on a dating website. After a long-distance love affair, she decided to move to Bergen, and now, they live together. I met Cristina in the bar where I work. Cristina and Helge were attending a blues concert there. Before the concert started, the bar was crowded. I did not have the opportunity to talk with my regular customers. However, when the concert began, everyone was downstairs listening to it. By then, Cristina came to order some drinks. She was switching back and forth between English and Norwegian, so I asked her: "Where are you from?". "Spain", she answered. Suddenly, I started to speak in Spanish. She was surprised. Then, we started a long conversation that lasted minutes until the first concert set was finished. During that time, she explained to me about her life in Bergen, and about how much she and her partner love blues: "We attend many blues concerts here in Bergen. I improve my poor Norwegian language skills while listening to my favourite music: blues", said Cristina.

Alejandro and the jam sessions

In a different night environment, it takes places the jam session that Alejandro plays in. He invited me to join him one night. On the stage, everyone was playing and pushing in the same direction. The average age of the majority of the audience was somewhere between 20 and 40 years old. When the musicians finished playing each song, the audience applauded and started to talk with a more elevated tone. The conversation ranged from their own issues to comments about music and the jam session. Asking the audience, I found different reasons for attending the jam session. Some were there because of the music, others because they wanted to play, others had friends who were playing, and some others told me that it was an excellent place to spend a Thursday night with friends. While asking Alejandro, he answered: "The jam session helps me to improve my music skills, but also to meet other people". At that moment, he was drinking a beer, and we were talking with other people, mainly Norwegians.

In both Cristina's and Alejandro's cases, these bars are not only simple spaces. There, they can socialise, improve their socialisation and language skills, and make new friends: expand their social networks.

«A social activity-place?»

But not all places carry social activities for my informants. Teresa made this distinction while describing to me a part of her Sunday routine. “I go to Saint Paul [a catholic church in Bergem] every Sunday. Sometimes, I initiate small conversations outside, before and after the mass. But I do not go there to socialise or make friends”, she told me. Alejandro pointed to a completely different place: “I go to the gym alone, and I do not talk with anyone there. I go there to do some exercises, that is all”, he said. However, Teresa explained to me that she usually goes to the gym with a Norwegian friend: “We do exercise together while talking, but we do not talk with other people there”. These different stories demonstrate that every informant gives a different connotation for every place.

My informants build up individual ideas about what is a social activity and whatnot, and consequently, which place is valid for socialisation. While Alejandro told me that he likes to go to the gym alone: “just to do exercise”, Teresa perceives exercise at her gym as a social activity with her friend, but not to make new friends. However, she does not conceive the church as a place for socialisation: “How are you going to talk with people during the mass? I have never been to a non-catholic church in Norway, but in Spain, you have to be quiet!”, she remarked.

Friendship within the workplace

According to the sociologist Mikolaj Stanek (2003), two factors condition the social life of economic migrants. The first is related to their objective: to improve their financial situation, that is, the increase in purchasing power concerning their previous status. The second factor has to do with the characteristics of the first job they get: low wages, poor working conditions, provisionality, instability and little chance of progress. Therefore, their actions and attitudes are formed according to these purposes (para. 25-35). And their daily life can be referred to as a “provisional life” during the period in which they try to change their situation (para. 20): “They find little economic stability, great mobility and also great sacrifice. Their behaviours in everyday life indicate that their goal is rather a normalisation of their lives as soon as possible” (conclusions). For Micheline van Riemsdijk (2014), the workplace plays an important role in the local integration of migrants: “Managers and coworkers help newcomers adjust to their new environment. They have a good

understanding of the expectations and needs of the new arrivals, but this attention tends to fade over time" (p. 974). In the same way, some of my interlocutors also separated work relationships from their friend relationships: "My colleagues are not my friends", as Teresa, who works at a school, told me. Manuel, who is a researcher at the hospital, told me:

> "I spend a lot of time at work talking with other researchers. But they are not my friends. We talk about issues related to our work, not about our personal issues. However, I have a friend at work. We share a lot of things in common. [...] We also meet sometimes outside work".

Manuel explained to me that he has a colleague who he considers to be his friend: they share affinities, and therefore, they have build a friendship relationship at work. James Carrier (1999) notes that to speak of friendship between two co-workers is to talk of something construed as distinct from their job relationship: "Co-workers […] feel no affection towards each other. If they do, however, we see them as people who are also friends" (p. 22). Each informant, then, has their ideas and distinguishes who are their friends among their colleagues.

In a general sense, while interviewing my interlocutors, they suggested that their workplaces create a bright space of sociability. There, they have contact with people in every situation, not only with colleagues but also with customers. Outside the workplace, they may also share activities with their colleagues.

Socialising with customers

Weeks went by before I revisited my informant Paula in the coffee shop where she works. I introduced her in the previous chapter: She started working there recently, and her Spanish friend Carmen, who is also my informant, was helping her. On the one hand, she was happy as she figured out how everything in the coffee shop works. She did not need Carmen's help anymore. But on the other hand, she needed someone to socialise with. "I am so bored when I open at 10 o'clock. There is nobody here. Would you like to visit me? I would prepare you a Norwegian breakfast!", she wrote to me on WhatsApp. The day I visited her, my coffee was poured into stoneware cups. Milk and sugar were kept in wood tableware next to the checkout, and beneath a plastic film lied a pile of delicious waffles (waffles are not common for breakfast in Norway, so this was part of her interpretation). Jazz music in the background, and a burning tealight on my table. It was the perfect

scenario of *kos*: cold outside, but warm, cosy and with her company inside. While talking with Paula, I asked her about her experience so far working there:

> "I feel safe here. Customers eat Spanish vegan food and listen to the music I play. Many of them are regular customers. They know what kind of food they are going to find here. And they ask about help and advice. Moreover, they know I do not speak Norwegian yet. This situation would be completely different if I worked in a more commercial coffee shop."

Carmen felt happy and confident about working there. Marko Valenta (2009) notes that "ethnic associations, ethnic restaurants, cafés, shops, hair salons […] allow immigrants the possibility of reconstructing their social life, and interacting with compatriots and Norwegians" (p. 184). Paula does not work in an ethnic café at all. It is a Norwegian café, and the main part of the costumers are Norwegians. However, there, people can eat "international" meals. Regular costumers know what kind of meals they are going to find there, and they know who is going to serve them. In this respect, higher degrees of multicultural diversity at a place may seem like "less problematic social environments for immigrants" (ibid. citing: Gotaas, 1996 and Høgmo, 1998). And Paula feels comfortable at her workplace because it offers her a context of cultural diversity, which helps her to establish social ties with some customers.

While being with her that day, I observed some examples of some customers started to build a relation with her: "*Buenos días* [Good morning]. Is that right?" said one Norwegian customer, trying to greet Paula in Spanish. Another explained to us about his summer vacations in Spain.

Javier, his first job in Norway, and alcohol abuse

When I first met Javier, he did not talk that much. I needed to use the questions in my interview guide to keep the conversation going. But this changed when I told Javier I work as a bartender besides my studies. Suddenly, we found something in common. "I also worked in a bar during my first years in Bergen!", he exclaimed. Suddenly, I broke the lull in our conversation. He explained to me some of his experiences as a bartender: the long shifts he had, the number of months he was working, etc. At the end of our meeting, he suggested meeting another day in the bar where he used to work. "It has been a while since I have been there, but I always find good friends to talk with,

drinking buddies", he said. We agreed to meet at five o'clock the day after, although I thought that time was early to find people there.

When we came inside the bar, the bartender was talking with three customers, who were sitting and drinking in the bar. They all turned around and looked to us. "Javier!", shouted the bartender. "How are you doing, *venn* (friend)?", asked one of the customers in a mellow tone. He used a long time to greet all the people while I was standing in the door, observing the rustic and old-fashion style of the bar. After Javier introduced me to his friends, he wanted to invite me for a beer. "Just a soda, but I pay myself!", I said. "You told me I needed to show you what I do with my friends", he insisted. I accepted his offer telling him I do not drink. So he ordered a Solo (a Norwegian orange-flavoured soda) for me. After being served, he stopped talking with the others, and we sat on the other side of the bar. Then, the first thing he told me was that he could not believe that I do not drink. "You are a bartender!". When he believed me, he told me about his experience working in that bar:

> "I lived an unhealthy lifestyle while working in this bar. I was smoking and drinking all day. I was not an alcoholic, but my social life was only here. I met most of my Norwegians friends in this bar. […] The days I was not working, I was drinking as a customer."

Javier told me that he started to drink because of his easy access to alcoholic beverages. After three years, he left that job and started working as an industrial technician. "Then I stopped drinking that much, and I started to realise how dumb I was. I did not need alcohol to make friends", said Javier.

Drinking and socialising in bars

Javier was not the only one who talked about drinking alcohol (spatial practice) in bars (relationships to place). In a general sense, my informants see a different consumption pattern of drinking in Norway compared to Spain. For instance, Teresa said: "In Spain, we drink more often, but less quantity. When Spaniards are done at work, they may go to a bar with their colleagues and drink a beer. In Norway, Norwegians find a special occasion, and they drink until they are completely drunk and kicked out of the bar". Manuel said the same with different words: "I do not drink a beer after work with colleagues every day, as I used to do in Spain, but when we go out, they, not me, drink brutally. While I am still drinking my first beer, they have already reached four or five".

Øyvind Horverak and Elin Kristin Bye (2007) have studied the cultural drinking pattern in Norway. They summarise that "Norwegians drink on weekends and at parties […] often without food — and often a little too much" (p. 23-24). Another study notes that those who most frequently visit pubs drink more alcohol per visit than other guests, and frequent drinking at pubs means a higher frequency of intoxication (Lund, 2006; Rossow and Træen, 1995). About how Norwegians behave in drunkenness, Kristin Buvik and Bergljot Baklien (2012) note:

> "We [Norwegians] can act stupid and get away with being guilty. We expect people to change behaviour into drunkenness, and the threshold for what is accepted is first and foremost in the drinking culture, not the alcohol law" (p. 66).

Nevertheless, these behaviours pointed out by Buvik and Baklien are not copied by my informants. Some pointed out to their personalities: "I do not need to drink that much to socialise", as Teresa said. Others mentioned a cultural difference: "We [Spaniards] do not drink that much, why should I do it here?", said Paula. However, most of them pointed out to their economies: "I do not drink that much because alcohol is expensive", as told by Alejandro. The high prices of alcohol in Norway may explain why they do not carry out this spatial practice —also an assimilation process— when they are in a bar with friends.

Summary

This chapter aimed to illustrate how my informants, Spanish migrants living in Bergen, turn space into place by actively engaging in complex networks of social interactions and mental conceptualisations inside of public and private physical spaces. I started this chapter writing about urban anthropology and space formation. Following Kusenbach (2003), I indicated that everyday spatial practices and relationship to place are powerful tools in expressing their identities and shaping their social interactions. My analysis was based on ethnographic research and informed by Henri Lefebvre's place-making theory about the production of space.

By focusing on the stories of my interlocutors, I have shown how their social experiences are placed in Bergen. This city, as a public space, is the scenario through which they can potentiate their social lives' experiences. From their relationship with people and the environment, they generate plans

and mental images that reinforce the spatial recognition of the city and the country, and strengthen the experience lived within it. I also argued that an integration of their practices across the physical, social and mental dimensions of space contributes to the nature of the identifications that they made, and to how they chose to project themselves when socially engaging in Bergen. Their experiences are diverse depending on the place where they live (i.e., the city centre from the suburbs), their type of residences, the different activities they take part in, or their workplaces, among others.

I have also shown how their spatial practices in Bergen are framed in a different cultural position to what they were used to in Spain. My informants' prior migrants experiences are crucial in grasping why they chose to connect so closely to certain places. They made clear some differences and stated some of the assimilation processes that they follow in order to adapt to this new Norwegian cultural space. In this sense, I found out that the way in which my informants inhabited and "made place" was determined by their unique interactions with their expressive culture and by their subsequent social networks, movements, and practices that they mobilised in (1) those spaces (which in turn influenced their identifications) and (2) the places that they have created to fulfil their need to belong as migrant human beings.

In conclusion, in everyday life of migrants, there are all kinds of places —public and privates— where there are contact with people —with different roles, more or less institutional, more or less impersonal, pleasant or unpleasant, affective or not— that can contribute to transform their personal identities, establish friendship relationships, and also form opinions about a new culture, society, city, and a country.

CHAPTER 5
On Loneliness

Introduction

I completely lost track of time during my second meeting with Javier. Five o'clock became half-past nine, and the bar remained empty. In the background, I could hear the same 60-80s oldies songs on repeat for the third time. On the table, empty beer bottles surrounded my cup of coffee. Javier was slightly drunk and started to talk about more private issues of himself. Among other things, he told me he used to write a blog about his everyday experiences in Bergen. I was curious about it. But I thought it was time to say goodbye and ask for his permission to read his blog —and use it in my research— once he was sober. When I asked him the next day, Javier sent me the link and a funny message: "I have not updated it for years, do not make fun of me! [flushed face emoji]". He now felt embarrassed to talk about it. The following text is a translation, with some changes to ensure anonymity, from one of his entries published in February 2011, after seven months living in Bergen.

> "It is Saturday night. Everyone is out, but I am at home and my mobile does not sound. It hardly ever sounds, except when my mother calls. Then, I use Facebook, I snoop in the life of old friends, and I realise that I am not a part of their lives anymore. I am not in their photos, neither their comments nor their plans. I need to make more friends in this city. I have met many new people at work, but our relationship is just there: at work. And I recognise that I am not interested in having more virtual friends. Do not be offended, but in my situation, I miss human contact. I need it. The thing is that I saw myself doing something ~~as pathetic~~ as surprising as googling «how to make friends in Norway». And more surprising was the number of results that appeared: millions. Is this country full of lonely people? I found a blog of a French guy who lives in Oslo. He suggested some alternatives, and one was to join language exchanges. I already tried one a couple of months ago, and the result was a disaster. When I entered the coffee shop, a woman gave me a sticker in which I had to write my name and nationality. I felt so embarrassed about wearing it. After several laps, I approached a small group of northern Europeans and presented myself. «Sorry, you are terrible at speaking Norwegian», said one of them. I retired to the back of the room, and I felt like crawling into a hole and hiding."

In this entry, Javier wrote about how lonely he felt in Bergen: He did not have many friends in the city and started to lose contact with his friends in Spain. He also wrote about how difficult it was for him to make new friends. Searching on Google, he found out that he was not the only one feeling that way: many other people were writing about how to escape loneliness and making new friends in Norway. On a blog, he read a suggestion that he had already tried: language exchanges. The time

he attended a meeting of these characteristics, he ended up feeling more lonely and "really humiliated", as he later told me. However, Javier's experience feeling lonely and facing difficulties to make friends is not unique. All my informants have met, and some still face, similar experiences.

In this chapter, I prove that loneliness is a feeling that can be experienced by everyone, everywhere. In the case of my informants, they moved to Norway leaving their friends behind. In Norway, they found new norms of socialisation, which challenged them to interact with other people, and brought them great feelings of loneliness. Therefore, this chapter aims to address social solitude from the perspective of my interlocutors, Spanish migrants, and their context, Bergen and Norway. To do that, this chapter starts addressing the concept of loneliness using theoretical ideas and empirical evidence through the narratives of my informants and some of my observations during fieldwork. Following different typologies of loneliness, the chapter continues with an analysis of loneliness among my informants related to past and present situations. Applying Crawford's and Godbey's constraints theory (1987, 1991 and 2010), the last part of this chapter studies my informants' barriers for social interaction, which they directly connect to their feelings of loneliness. Throughout this chapter, I study the feelings of loneliness of my interlocutors using different intercultural perspectives, that is, theories about feelings of loneliness written by different authors from different cultures, but also within different academic disciplines. The chapter ends with a summary.

Theorising loneliness

Loneliness has been studied by many disciplines including psychology, philosophy and social sciences. In psychological studies, the importance of friends for good psychical health is well documented: People who feel lonely report lower rates of life satisfaction (Goodwin et al.. 2001). The absence of feelings of loneliness is seen as an essential factor for a good quality of life (Sinclair et al., 1990). Characteristics such as low self-esteem, shyness and little assertiveness can predispose people to loneliness and might also make it more difficult to recover from loneliness (Peplau and Perlman, 1982). Moreover, people with poor social skills and psychological resources are more likely to experience difficulty at the time of developing and maintaining relationships, and for that reason, they might feel lonely (De Ussel, 2001; Windle and Woods, 2004).

For the philosopher Ben Lazare Mijuskovic (1985 and 2012), loneliness is understood as a condition inherent in human existence, an inescapable condition in the search for self-consciousness: "Loneliness is grounded in the primal reality of individual, immanent, subjective, inner time consciousness" (2012, p. 1). Within his perspective —developed following different theories of Leibniz, Kant, Bergson, and Husserl—, achieving self-consciousness confronts the person against loneliness. Therefore, loneliness is conceptualised as a positive state, which is not linked to pain, that is to say, the person actively seeks loneliness because it allows self-realisation.

In social science, the lonely or isolated individual is viewed as "a product of his or her society" (Coleman, 2014, p. 484). The Dutch sociologist Jenny de Jong Gierveld defines loneliness as "the situation experienced by the individual as one where there is an unpleasant or inadmissible lack of (quality of) certain relationships. […] and that involve the manner in which the person perceives, experiences, and evaluates his or her isolation and lack of communication with other people" (1987, p. 120). Within sociology, many quantitative studies analyse and quantify loneliness in different social groups. Many studies have been developed their own «loneliness scales» based on a cognitive definition of loneliness. However, according to Sjakk van der Geest (2004), "these scales are bound in a particular culture and cannot be applied indiscriminately to other cultures" (p. 81). He also points out that loneliness is an emotion: "emotions tend to resist the [quantitative] research techniques applied by social scientists" (p. 80). From the other hand, anthropological studies are limited. "Anthropologists may claim that their approach is more suitable for fathoming emotions, but loneliness is virtually non-existent as a topic in their libraries" (p. 80). And ethnographies focused on marginalised groups of people —for instance, drug addicts or homeless people— highlight loneliness under difficult circumstances, distorting the real meaning of loneliness (Coleman, 2014, pp. 491-493). Therefore, from my point of view, it is necessary to address loneliness through qualitative methods for two reasons: to identify the causes that let people feel alone, and to emphasise the meaning and value that people can find in their solitude within a specific context. Being a migrant in Bergen is the context of my interlocutors.

The Belgian and Dutch sociologists Suzana Koelet and Helga de Valk (2006) suggest that loneliness is an interesting subject from the perspective of migrants. "It can be considered a symptom of the deficit of social integration, in the sense that socially integrated people experience feelings of belonging, of being understood, appreciated and accommodated by a community, which socially

lonely people miss" (p. 2). However, existing research on loneliness among European migrants is few and far between. Studies on loneliness among migrants mainly focuses on those of non-European origin (Koelet and de Valk, 2016): "European migrants might be a special case since the geographical distance to the network in the country of origin is on average smaller for European than for non-European migrants, while the freedom of mobility in the EU creates more travel opportunities to visit and be visited by family and friends" (p. 614). Even so, they point out that to settle in a new European country can be a "socially disruptive event" (p. 611) for European migrants as well. As a case in point, all my informants, intra-European migrants, have experience or experience feelings of loneliness as I am going to explain further in this chapter.

Loneliness: a multidimensional phenomenon

Within the previous studies, loneliness is understood as a complex feeling linked to multiple aspects, which have varied in space, time and even in the different contexts and cultures in which it has been manifested. For the Australian researchers Liesl Michelle Heinrich and Eleonora Gullone (2006), loneliness is a multidimensional phenomenon that varies in intensities, causes and circumstances in which it occurs, and that does not distinguish between age, gender, race, socioeconomic status or marital status. However, the American psychology educator Mary Brown Parlee (1979) argues that feelings of loneliness increase and decrease with age (pp. 43-54). He states that loneliness is experienced more intensely and continuously during adolescence, to subsequently decrease its intensity in adult life, and increase again in elderly age. There is no clear explanation as to why feelings of loneliness diminish as the years go by. It is possible that, as Daniel Perlman and Letitia Anne Peplau (1982) suggest, throughout life, the young man matures, while his aspirations become more realistic and his social contacts more stable and constant (p. 30). The fact that loneliness is higher in older people could be explained by appealing to other reasons, such as a result of their retirement, the loss of family and friends, or abandonment to which their family submit them (Polaino-Lorente, 2011, pp. 1405-1412). However, in this last case, it would be preferable to speak of social isolation, rather than feelings of loneliness.

Loneliness *versus* social isolation

For the Dutch sociologists Jenny de De Jong Gierveld, Theo van Tilburg and Pearl Dykstra (2006), to feel lonely or not lonely is something that depends only on the conception of the person: "Norms and values affect people's ideas about the optimal size of [social] networks" (p. 491). Therefore, he defines loneliness as "the negative outcome of a cognitive evaluation of a discrepancy between — the quality and quantity of— existing relationships and relationship standards" (p. 486). In the same way, José Carlos Bermejo (2005) gives a clear example: "To «be» lonely is to «feel» a lack or loss of companionship. Feeling lonely can occur even having company. For instance, when we are not satisfied with that company or when our relationships are not enough or are not as we would expect them to be" (p. 3). That is, social loneliness is a subjective situation, contrary to the objective situation of being socially isolated: "the absence of relationships with other people" (De Jong Giervald et al., 2006, p. 486), which is not the case of my informants. They had friends and contact with other people, however, they felt lonely. For instance, when I asked Javier about his entry, he told me: "I had friends at that time. But they were not «super» friends. I did not meet them that much. […] I established a good relationship with many costumers here [the bar], but I only met them when I was working. Moreover, my stressful situation made me feel even more lonely".

A negative connotation

De Jong Gierveld et al. (2006) mull over the negative connotation loneliness has: "Lonely people carry a social stigma" (p. 487). For this reason, they note that it is embarrassing to talk about feelings of loneliness, "in particular for men" (ibid.). And therefore, "the use of direct questions including the words «lonely» and «loneliness» to investigate loneliness is likely to result in underreporting" (ibid.). Moreover, in a quantitative study about loneliness, the social scientists Seymour Sudman and Norman M. Bradburn (1974) show that the more anonymous the setting in which the survey is done, the more the results show self-disclosure and reduce the tendency of respondents to present themselves in a positive way. I did not avoid the term loneliness with my informants. However, I did carry this topic in private conversation without the presence of other people or their friends. Moreover, I told them about my experiences feeling lonely while living in Bergen. I wanted to convey to my informants that if they felt lonely, they were not "alone" feeling that way. My idea of doing so was to break down the taboo associated with loneliness.

In chapter three, I introduced Beatriz. She was living alone and moved out to a shared apartment, thinking she could meet more people there. But this did not happen. I asked her about what she said about this situation to her friends and family in Spain: “When they ask me how I am doing, I always answer the same: «Everything is fine!»”, she said. At that moment, I became aware of the taboo of loneliness that I mentioned before. I think in our current Digital Era, people tend to share a positive side of themselves —pictures of trips, motivational quotes, raising money for charitable organisations, etc.— but not their negative side. My theory is that this may get worse while talking about privileged migrants. Their migration to a new country should be perceived as a step further, not a step back. They do not want to deceive or worry the people they have left, and therefore, they would not talk about their negative experiences. The reassuring message of Beatriz is a good example.

Another example was the documentary *Españoles en el mundo* —mentioned in Chapter 1—. In 2013, Javier, who introduced this chapter, appeared in *[Censored: Autonomous community] por el mundo* ([Censored: Autonomous community] around the world) —a version of the original documentary made for [Censored: public channel of an autonomous region of Spain]. There, he showed the city of Bergen, while talking about his life in Bergen, the excellent Norwegian living conditions and his good relationships with Norwegians. He did not mention anything about the challenges he faced up while living in Bergen, and among others, his feelings of loneliness. “I wanted to show to my people that I was doing well”, Javier told me. When I entered Javier’s blog for a second time, I observed that there was nothing there that could identify him. Moreover, all his entries remained without comments. “Did any of his friends read that blog before?”, I could not get out this question of my mind. And to my surprise, he confirmed to me that I was the first person he knew about to read it.

Manuel, the researcher from Sevilla, moved back to Spain in June 2019, after four years living in Bergen. When I met him for the last time, I asked him about his reasons for leaving. “I decided to finish my research a couple of months ago. I need some changes”, he explained to me. After some more minutes talking, he got more emotional and ended telling me he was also feeling lonely for a long time. In both moments with Javier and Manuel, I realised how important it was to demystify loneliness: to talk openly about loneliness and share my experience feeling lonely. But also to establish rapport with my informants. Without our constant meetings and share of experiences, my

compromise to ensure them anonymity, and above all, their confidence, I could not have gathered the stories included in this chapter.

Typologies of loneliness

According to Gierveld et al., (2006, p. 485), the oldest document found about loneliness is the book *Über die Einsamkeit* (About loneliness) written by the Swiss philosopher Johann Georg Zimmermann between 1785 and 1786. In the book, Zimmermann (1785/6) took a detailed look at the advantages and disadvantages as well as the various forms of loneliness. And he differentiated between a positive and a negative type of loneliness. According to De Jong Gierveld et al. (2006), the positive one is related to situations of "voluntary withdrawal" from social life and oriented toward higher goals: study for an exam, privacy or reflection, for instance (p. 487). The migration processes of my informants are a clear example of positive isolation: they left their friends in Spain to find a job, find new adventures, or because of love, as is the case of Cristina. As I explained in the previous chapter, she moved to Bergen in order to live together with her Norwegian partner. However, the stories I gathered while carrying fieldwork place my informants' feelings of loneliness in the negative typology: an unpleasant feeling of lack of social contacts. They felt lonely, and they did not want to feel that way.

Inside this negative typology, I include two subcategories, mentioned by the social therapist Robert Weiss. Weiss (1973) differentiated between social loneliness and emotional loneliness. Social loneliness is the feeling of an insufficient quantity and quality of social relations. He speculated social loneliness would be associated with boredom, depression, aimlessness, meaninglessness and a "drive to search and move among people, along with behavioural deviations such as self-talk and alcoholism" (as cited in DiTommaso and Spinner, 1997, p. 418). On the other side, emotional loneliness is originated from the absence of an intimate-close emotional friend or a feeling of loss of a relationship with another person. The emotional typology is characterised by "intense feelings of emptiness, abandonment, and forlornness and is only solvable by starting a new intimate relationship" (as cited in De Jong Gierveld et al., 2016, p. 6).

Emotional loneliness and old friends in Spain

My interlocutors keep contact with their old friends through social media. Moreover, they reunite with them every time they travel to Spain —on average, all my informants visit Spain twice a year: during Christmas and a short period before or after summer—. At the time of keeping contact and meeting their old friends in Spain, some of my informants expressed feelings of Weiss' emotional loneliness. For instance, Mireia said:

> "I see my old friends differently. Not because I am living far away, but because they have acquired new personalities and behaviours. I do not recognise them as they used to be. […] This makes me constantly feel that I have lost many friends."

And Alejandro said:

> "When I am in Spain, I see that nothing has changed, my friends have the same problems, they are the same people, and they treat me and see me in the same way as before. But I have changed. I feel different and more mature. I am very calm. I talk more softly. I avoid talking about some things as Norwegians do, etc. Therefore, I feel so distanced with my old friends."

Both Mireia and Alejandro felt away from their friends in Spain not only in the distance but also in a weaker emotional connection. However, their feelings of emotional loneliness emerge in different ways. Mireia believes her friends in Spain have changed, while Alejandro thinks he is the one who has changed. In the book *When Friendship Hurts* (2010), the sociologist Jan Yager notes that when lives move in different directions, people have to work harder to find common grounds to keep up their emotional connections. Moreover, in an online interview titled *Why You and Your Friend Don't Click Anymore* (Wikiel, 2015), Yager explained: "If your values or your friend's values have shifted, your relationship won't be as likely to withstand the more superficial changes in your lives" (para. 3). This is the common point of Alejandro and Mireia. Their move to Norway resulted in a break of continued interaction with their old friends. The differences they now perceive on their friends —but also themselves— make them feel a loss of emotional connection, and consequently, emotional loneliness.

Social loneliness during arrival: accompanied *versus* unaccompanied

On the other hand, one of their shared feelings of social loneliness, the other typology of pointed by Weiss (1973), is found in their first time living in Bergen. The same author notes that social loneliness is considerably reported by people who have moved to an area where they are newcomers (p. 132). And in fact, according to Koelet and de Valk (2016), the most common situation in intra-European migration is the beginning of a personal project leaving behind the place of origin, family and friends (p. 2). Many migrants experience the arrival to a new home without contacts nor friends as a break in social ties (ibid.). This lack of social relationships —social relationship that have a role of emotional support— can lead migrants to feelings of loneliness (Goodwin et al., 2001, pp. 225-230). This disruptive and transformative effect of migration on existing networks may contribute to feelings of social loneliness especially when new ties in the country of residence still have to be developed (Handlin, 2002/1951; Zontini, 2004). The cases of Beatriz —in chapter three— and Javier —in the introduction of this chapter— exemplify very well these mentioned theories. Carmen, who came as an aupair and works now in a coffee shop, also moved to Norway alone. She told me: "It is very different if you start an adventure alone or with someone. If you come with nothing then you can feel very lonely".

The above-mentioned sociologist Jenny de Jong Gierveld (1987) carried out a semi structured interview of single, married, divorced, and widowed individuals between twenty-five to seventy-five years old. As a result, the study reported that living with a partner predicted the lowest levels of loneliness. In a more recent study, Jong Gierveld, Theo Van Tilburg and Pearl A. Dykstra (2016) point out: "Persons living alone have smaller networks than those living with a partner. Second, when help is needed, the persons living alone lack in-house support and, by definition, have to orient themselves toward others outside the household" (p. 10). The case of Cristina —who moved to live together with her partner, Helge— supports Carmen's and Jon Gierveld's theories: "When I moved to Bergen, everything was new to me. My partner introduced me to many of his friends. I felt very welcomed", she explained to me. In this sense, the native partner may constitute a "privileged bridge" towards the destination society: easy and quick access to social networks and economic resources (Gaspar, 2009, p. 6). In fact, the day I met Cristina in the bar where I work, she was surrounded by friends made through her partner and, indeed, they were buying her drinks all the time.

However, Jon Gierveld et al. (2006) made a contradiction in an article published ten years before: “Their husbands, however supportive and intimate, cannot fill the gap that is caused by the absence of a group of friends and others with whom to socialise” (p. 487). Teresa —the director of the school— also moved to Bergen with his Norwegian boyfriend who met in the United Kingdom. “During the weekends, I went to the city centre and I did not find anyone to speak with or to greet. The fact of not knowing anyone, because I was new, made me feel so lonely”, explained Teresa about her first year living in Bergen. According to her, it was not enough to love and to be loved by her boyfriend, she also needed to feel part of a meaningful social group. Loneliness was the result of her social needs that were not being met. “It took me some time, but when I started meeting people on my own, I stopped feeling that way”, explained Teresa. In this sense, the Spanish sociologists Verónica de Miguel-Luken, Miranda J. Lubbers, Miguel Solana Solana and Dan Rodríguez-García (2015) notes that “beyond the intimate family incorporated after marriage, there is no evidence to support the fact that having a native partner results in increased relations” (p. 169). Also Matthijs Kalmijn (2012) notes that friendship become less important when a person gets married: “Marriage does not affect weaker ties whereas it does change the nature of the stronger ties that people have: friendships become less important” (p. 177).

Otherwise, the Polish sociologists Agnieszka Nolka and Michał Nowosielski (2009) note that a more extended stay in a country involves embedding in existing social networks, and it reduces these feelings of loneliness: “the longer they stay, the less lonely they feel” (p. 38). While their study focuses on Polish migrants living in Spain, I found their theory applicable to my informants. Teresa felt lonely when she moved to Norway. These feelings of loneliness disappeared after she consolidated new friend relationships. On the same way pointed out Paula: “At the beginning, I felt very lonely. I did not have any friend here. I found many barriers to make and keep goods friends. These were new barriers to me”.

Constraints for social interaction

Regardless of the reasons for migration, migrants experience constant challenges in everyday life interactions (Christodoulou, 2015; Høgmo, 1998; Gudykunst and Kim, 2003), which remind them that they are "strange" and "unnatural" in their destination country (Valenta, 2009, p. 181). Such challenges may inhibit migrants' leisure participation increasing their feelings of loneliness (ibid.). In this sense, my interlocutors find different "challenges", "barriers", "constraints" or "obstacles" that make their socialisation in Bergen difficult, even after many years living in Norway. In the previous paragraph, Paula talked about them using the term "barrier". But researchers who had studied these obstacles also differ in terminology.

The anthropologists Duane Crawford and Geoffrey Godbey (1987) use the term "barrier" to define "any factor which intervenes between the preference for an activity and participation in it" (p. 120). In their study, they state that "little empirical research has been conducted concerning barriers to leisure participation" (p. 121). Therefore, they develop a model of barriers —renamed "constraints" (1991)— that deter the pursuit of leisure activities. This model included three types of constraints: intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural barriers. Their first model (1987) studied the barriers to family leisure. However, four years later, Crawford, Edgar L. Jackson and Godbey (1991) did a review of the model, and they pointed out that these barriers —now constraints— can be seen in all contexts of society, and not only in the family context. In a more recent review (Crawford, Godbey and Xiangyou Sharon Shen, 2010), they point out that the model has been used to study leisure participation among different study population (for instance, age, gender, physical or mental ability, family life cycle, ethnicity, etc.). "The common strategy has been each research group identifying the categories of constraints specific to certain research context and/or customising the instrument development to its own needs" (p. 115). In this sense, they state that "constraints must be operationalised within a specific culture or context" (p. 121). Therefore, I am going to analyse the barriers perceived by my interlocutors —Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway— through this model. At the same time, I will point out the connection between these constraints and their feelings of loneliness.

Intrapersonal barriers

According to Crawford and Godbey (1987), intrapersonal barriers are conditioned by attributes and psychological states of the person. Examples of intrapersonal barriers include stress, depression, anxiety, religiosity, kin and non-kin reference group attitudes, prior socialization into specific leisure activities, perceived self-skill, and subjective evaluations of the appropriateness and availability of various leisure activities (p. 122). Therefore, intrapersonal barriers are not concrete to my informants. Everyone finds them. However, some of my interlocutors described different states that they developed during their process of migration. For instance, Manuel mentioned he became more introverted after moving to Bergen: "Often, I wanted to go out because I felt alone, but my apartment was so comfortable that I did not want to leave". Alejandro explained to me how unhappy he was while looking for a job: "It took me a long time to find my current job. I felt so stressed […] I did not want to meet anyone, and at the same time, I felt so lonely". In both cases, these negative states brought them feelings of loneliness. But when they changed these states, they also changed their solitude. "I step outside of my comfort zone. I tried to go out even I did not want to, and I started to meet other people […] I accepted every plan they proposed", explained Manuel. "I was happy again when I found a job, and I started to go out more often", said Alejandro. Both stories show how intrapersonal barriers depend on the psychological state of the person. Another example was the experience lived by Paula:

> "Here in Bergen, my car has been stolen, people have tried to steal from me many times, and a man tried to rape me. This never happened to me in Spain, neither when I was young. […] I was done at work at 2 am. I was exhausted, and I went to Byparken to check if there was any light rail going home. At Festplassen, a 30ish years old Norwegian man was sitting and started to follow me, taking my hands, and telling me he wanted sex, I said «NO» many times. Then, he tried to close my mouth with his hands while taking his pants off. I ran, and he started to follow me. I escaped. This is so far the worst experience I ever had in my life."

This traumatic experience made Paula deeply suspicious of people around her. "For several months, I was afraid of unknown people in the street, I could not go out at night, I did not want to meet my friends, I locked myself in where I was living", she explained to me. However, Paula's situation is an exception to the context of my informants: Any other women —regardless of nationality and status— could have suffered this brutal experience. Moreover, within the example given by Paula is observed the hierarchization and interconnectivity of the different constraints. While the psychological state of Paula is part of the intrapersonal barriers category, I believe the issue of

men's violence against women (i.e., gender-based violence) is universal and systematic, and as such, it should be studied as a global interpersonal barrier.

Interpersonal barriers

According to Crawford and Godbey (1987), interpersonal barriers are associated with communication and interaction with people (p. 123). These barriers emerge from social interaction or relationships between people within social contexts, and in the context of my interlocutors, between them and Norwegians. Therefore, interpersonal barriers differentiate the situations and needs of my interlocutors from those of the Norwegian population. The first interpersonal constraint that I found in the stories told by my interlocutors was communication. Marko Valenta (2019) notes that migrants "may not be able to express their feelings or verbally convey complicated thoughts and explanations" (p. 181). I observed such experience when I met Paula with Carmen for the first time, in the coffee shop. As described in Chapter 3, "the quiet and relaxing atmosphere inside there was broken every time a Norwegian costumer came ordering a takeaway coffee drink that she could not understand nor knew how to make". That she could not speak Norwegian with costumers constituted an interpersonal barrier, and this was, in turn, creating in her an intrapersonal barrier: she was nervous and distracted. Many other informants told me to have experienced similar experiences with the language while socialising with Norwegians. For instance, Alejandro said:

> "I remember being in a bar with a friend. I was introducing myself to all her friends in English. And I felt embarrassed about that. I could not speak Norwegian at that time. When I said I am from Spain, some started to say: «*Una cerveza, por favor*» (one beer, please). I hate when Norwegians say that."

Valenta (2019) also says that "immigrants may also have problems with self-presentation and experience uneasiness and inferiority in everyday life because they speak a foreign language" (p. 181). In the experience commented by Alejandro, he felt that way, inferior. And I asked him why. First, he described, Malaga, Benidorm, Torrevieja and many other Spanish cities as "Norwegian colonies" [sic.] with "cheap prices" and "a lot of fiestas" [sic.]. He continued saying that "Spaniards, however, are on the other side of the desk, working for them. «Una cerveza, por favor» is offensive. It may be a way of colonial thinking [sic.]". Javier did not feel inferior because of the language issue, but because he thinks that the sentence "Una cerveza, por favor" is offensive if said by a Norwegian. However, despite this story of Javier, all my informants agreed on the same. They

do not feel discriminated or socially rejected by Norwegians. The interpersonal barriers of discrimination and social isolation was not mentioned.

For Teresa, the Norwegian language was never a problem. She could speak a little Norwegian when she arrived. Moreover, "Norwegians people do not care about English at all", she explained to me. For her, instead, the problem was in "the cultural codes of communication". She gave me some examples: the gesticulation, the short distance, and the loud tone that characterise Spaniards when they are talking. When I met Paula and Carmen for the first time in the coffee shop, I experienced myself what Teresa said. I was waiting outside when Carmen sent me a phone message: "Come in!". When I entered the location, the first thing I did was to shake their hands. Immediately, Carmen asked me: "How many years have you been living in Bergen?". They were not used to shake hands with Spaniards.

Spaniards usually give *dos besos*, two kisses on the cheek. First the left, then the right —and trust me, this may lead to awkward situations when losing the notion of left and right—, all the while your new acquaintance states their name and "nice to meet you" as they kiss you too. Women kiss both men and women, and men only kiss women. Between men, it is more of a handshake unless they are really close or family. For me, Spanish cheek kissing is very complicated, affective and kind of sexist. Four years ago, at the first Norwegian party I was invited to, I greeted the host —the girlfriend of a friend— with *dos besos*. She got shocked, and I felt embarrassed. My friend made fun of me saying I invaded her personal space. From that moment, I rarely gave *dos besos* again, as I did not give to Paula and Carmen.

Another interpersonal constraint mentioned by my interlocutors referred to the imaginary —or social imaginary, "the set of values, institutions, laws, and symbols common to a particular social group and the corresponding society through which people imagine their social whole" ('Imaginary'). When a migrant faces a new different cultural reality, much of his imaginary with which grew up is no longer valid. The lack of cultural references supposes a challenge to my informants. For instance, Mireia said:

> "Spaniards are people quite friendly from the beginning. I have an immediate connection with them because we have grown and developed in a similar culture. However, I do not have this connection with Norwegians."

Similarly, Javier explained how he perceives this interpersonal barrier:

> "You talk to a Norwegian, and he talks to you about British football, and I have no idea about British football. He tells you that he has a cabin in a place that I have never heard about before. There are always things that you have grown up within Spain, but these are completely different here in Norway: cartoons when you were little, games, songs, etc. For instance, yesterday, a friend told me about an old TV advertisement. I felt completely lost since I have not seen it".

In fact, people talk more frequently to people with whom they feel close (McPherson et al., 2001). Social interactions are easier between people that resemble each other, or people that share the same realities (Bourrelle and Lund, 2016). I wrote about this tendency, homophily, in chapter three. In the context of homophily, and in connection with the imaginary barrier, the social bubble concept takes place. Julien S. Bourrelle, a Canadian social researcher living in Norway, and Nicholas Lund, a Norwegian illustrator and anthropologist, wrote and drew a funny illustrated book about the "complicated" Norwegian social culture: *The Social Guidebook to Norway* (2016). In one chapter, they point out that Norwegians socialise around "frame activities" (sports, games, organisations, etc.) that form social bubbles, and they give some different examples:

> "Norwegians take part in many bubbles, but the bubbles do not interact that much. They are rigid, they do not mix. Outsiders may not join activities organised within a bubble. Even if the event does not relate to the bubble's frame activity. For example, a sports group going to have a beer. It would be challenging to invite an outsider to join in. It is not about you being a foreigner or that they do not like you. It is because you are not part of the right frame" (p. 14).

Many of my informants referred indirectly to the existence of these bubbles. For instance, Paula said: "If you are not into a specific kind of activity or sport, it is tough to get a connection with someone". However, Cristina suggested: "Do not think it is difficult to make Norwegian friends. You need to have something in common with them". For Cristina, the key to make Norwegian friends is to keep an open mind and get inside a bubble.

Structural barriers

The last type of barriers, structural barriers, refer to the external factors that interfere between leisure preferences and actual participation in them. Therefore, these barriers are also universal and not only specific to my informants. Examples given by Crawford and Godbey (1987) include financial resources, available time, and climate. Barriers related to time were associated with the hectic work schedules of my interlocutors. Not only were they were employed full time, but they also had commitments to family, and activities.

For instance, Teresa and Javier have children. They agreed on the fact that having children is a time consuming that reduces their social life. “I cannot go out with my friends, I have to be at home taking care of my children. My family limits my social life, but I accept it. My family is the most important thing to me”, said Teresa. “Since I have a child, I cannot go out as I used to”, said Javier. The first day I met Javier, he was checking his phone all the time. His time with me was limited because he needed to pick up his daughter from kindergarten. Again, as I said before, these barriers are not only specific to my informants: A Norwegian with children may think the same.

Kunal Bhattacharya, Asim Ghosh, Daniel Monsivais, Robin Dunbar and Kimmo Kaski (2016) reveal that on the age of twenty-five, the maximum number of social connections approaches its peak. They explain that young people do not stop making friendships until that age, but then begin to lose them quickly: “It has not so much to do with age but with the circumstances of life: People start working, moving out from their parents to live with their partners or having children”. That is, people on adulthood lose friends because of the structural barriers that adulthood carries: work and family, for instance.

In addition to time and family constraints, money is frequently mentioned as an essential factor in shaping leisure activity. My informants did not compound dissatisfaction with economic status. Many of them came with savings so they could find a job within several months. However, they all mentioned the high prices in Norway compared to Spain. I noted that discussions about money were most likely to arise as a result of asking: “Why do you not do those activities?”, rather than as a concern raised independently by my interlocutors. Some of their replies were:

> "A PhD salary is fair, but Norway is very expensive. You earn enough money to live and cover your basic needs. But I cannot spend a lot of money. I cannot go out and drink a beer with my friends as I did almost every day in Spain." (Manuel)

> "There is a lot of things I would love doing if I had more money. For instance, I loved playing tennis with my friends in Spain, but here, the same activity costs six times more money." (Cristina)

> "Everything is expensive. I do not go out to have dinner every weekend with friends because it is very expensive. You can go with your partner or a friend on a very special occasion, but that is all." (Teresa)

In a way, my informants were aware of the influence that money has on their plans with friends. Still, they seemed to indicate that high prices altered their leisure options rather than preventing them from socialisation.

Summary

In this chapter, I have framed loneliness from the perspective of my informants, Spanish migrants living in Bergen. I started this chapter with a short literature review about loneliness from various researchers perspectives, showing how different academic disciplines use and apply this term. And I have argued that the researcher must establish a friendship involvement with the participants in order to gather stories related to feelings of loneliness. The Polish-born American sociologist Helena Znaniecki Lopata (1969) noted that loneliness involves past (situation of isolation caused by a previous person, object or event), present (current increases or losses, or different interaction patterns), and future (anxiety about social life in the future). Showing different typologies of loneliness, my informants have related some of their loneliness experiences while living in Bergen under Lopata's tenses. In the last part of this chapter, the model of social interaction barriers (Crawford and Godbey, 1987 and 2010) applied to my informants have shown that leisure constraints can help us understand better their feelings of loneliness under broader contextual variables. Referring this model, I have shown that creating a new social life in a new country can be limited by many factors or barriers such as different values, beliefs, norms and ways of acting that a person, a migrant, has never experience before.

CHAPTER 6
Navigating Social Relations in the Digital World

Introduction

Every time I met one of my informants, they were using their mobile phones. Someone called them, they received a message, they sent one, or they showed up the phone on the table with no reason, waiting for the screen to turn on. And it was not because my meetings were boring —I tried to organise them as engaging as possible. In one meeting, one of my informants told me: "Social media and my mobile phone fulfil my need for human interaction". Thereupon, I realised that their phones —their connectivity to the Internet and social media through it— carried "social" importance for them. Friendship, then, was not only embedded within face-to-face interactions, but also virtual ones. They use ICT to communicate with people and groups of people in a particular way. A way that is particular to my informants, and other Spaniards living in Bergen, but that differs from other groups of migrants. Therefore, this last substantive chapter explores the role that ICT, and in particular digital media, plays in the experiences of friendship and identity of the Spanish migrants in Bergen. I argue that for them, social media is a useful tool to keep and create friendship ties.

The chapter starts with a brief discussion about what social media is. It continues exploring relevant literature about migration and social media. Then, it examines some of the private virtual interactions of my informants, supporting it with intercultural theory, in two different ways: when they keep contact with friends in Spain, and when they meet and establish new contact with people in Norway. After that, I explain the difficulties that I found while trying to carry out ethnography in the two previous scenarios. Furthermore, I write about how I carried out ethnography, introducing myself inside public spaces of the virtual world: different Facebook and WhatsApp groups made by Spaniards living in Bergen. In this point, I show how they trigger and facilitate information and create friendship ties as a part of diaspora engagement. The chapter concludes with a summary.

Situating migrants' social lives online

In recent years, the development and expansion of ICT (Information and communications technology) —mobile phones, computers, network hardware, internet, telecommunication systems and so on— has improved social communication at different levels, leading to the emergence of social media: media for social interaction. Social media is a broad term that includes weblogs (e.g., blogs), collaborative projects (e.g., Wikipedia), social networking sites (e.g., Facebook), content communities (e.g., YouTube), virtual social worlds (e.g., Habbo) and virtual gaming worlds (e.g., Fortnite). According to Elaine McGregor and Melissa Siegel (2013), technologies that facilitate private communication, such as Skype or WhatsApp, "do not allow for the creation of user-generated content", but "can be considered as social media" (p. 3) since they allow social interaction.

Mirca Madianou and Daniel Miller (2013) have named "polymedia" to the "emerging environment of communicative opportunities that function as an 'integrated structure' where each individual medium is defined in relational terms in the context of all other media" (p. 170). This concept is linked to what Henry Jenkins (2006) described as "convergence culture": "the flow of content across multiple media platforms, a meeting place between old and new media, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behaviour of media audiences who will go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they want" (p. 2). Both realities address technological and socio-cultural changes with different meanings according to the experiences and expectations of each subject or group, which give meaning to its interactions no matter what device, applications, or platforms are used:

> "Each of us constructs our own personal mythology from bits and fragments of information extracted from the media flow and transformed into resources through which we make sense of our everyday lives" (p. 3).

The sociologist Mirjam Abigail Twigt (2018) points in the same way. According to her, it does not matter what application or platform is used, given that one or another can be used depending on the availability of connection and the preferences of the person. In this sense, migrants explore, examine, evaluate and decide among the different technology options: which have the most efficient

means for their purposes (Aguirre and Davies, 2015). Therefore, different groups of migrants can even use the same technology option in different ways. For instance, Farhad Manjoo (2016) has studied how migrant groups use WhatsApp differently:

> "Syrian refugees flooding into Europe have used WhatsApp to pass along tips, warnings and pleas for help to others along the journey. WhatsApp has turned up along the border between the United States and Mexico, where Donald Trump would like to build his wall. In the last year, a tide of Venezuelans has landed in Miami. The first thing many of them reached for when they landed was WhatsApp." (para. 8)

From a general perspective, social researchers can ask a multitude of questions about how migrants use social media. The Irish anthropologist Lee Komito makes an interesting point while studying the social interactions of migrants on social media. In one of his studies, titled *Social Media and Migration: virtual community 2.0*, Komito muses:

> "Would the strong emotional support of a community provided by social media lessen the motivation for migrants to make social contacts in the society into which they have recently arrived? Will it make easier for migrants to move from one country to another, because the migrant can «carry» his or her community of friends with them, while also providing easier access to advanced information on new locations? Or, if they decide to return home, will it make it easier for migrants to reintegrate into their home society because they have not really left, in terms of social interaction and participation?" (2011, p. 1084)

With these questions, Komito (2011) suggests that the "virtual" setting can be used to study migrants' social interactions and their sense of belonging. Rianne Dekker and Godfried Engbersen (2012) indirectly give answer to some of Komito's questions above. They note that social media "facilitates migration by strengthening strong ties with family and friends; creating weak ties to individuals that can assist in the process of migration; creating a network of latent ties; and creating a rich source of «insider knowledge» on migration" (ibid., abstract).

Breaking the distance barrier between Norway and Spain

For my interlocutors, moving to Bergen meant to leave friends behind. Their old friends were no longer geographically close. Therefore, a new social network was supposed to be created. However, their migration processes did not imply a break with their friends in Spain. It emerged the need to stay in touch with them and to maintain the friendship tie.

The anthropologists Nina Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton (1992) argue that "a new conceptualisation is needed in order to come to terms with the experience and consciousness of the new migrant population" (p. 1). They called «transnationalism» to this new conceptualisation: "The processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement […] transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to *two* or more societies simultaneously" (pp. 1-2). However, when they developed the definition of transnationalism, the world was not connected as it is nowadays: Social media has deterritorialized[10] the relationship and communication of world society, ergo the migrant population (Alexander et al., 2010).

Bayarma Alexander, Dick Ettema and Martin Dijst (2010) write about this process of deterritorialization in the virtual space. They affirm that the advancement of ICT technology has led to a process of "relaxation of time and space" (p. 55). Komito (2011) names this phenomenon as "annihilation of space". According to her, the evolution and improvement ICT has revolutionized communication flows, "allowing people to be always on the move or use more extremely ICT to simply annihilate space" (Balbi and Moraglio, 2016, p. 12 citing Komito, 2011). The Spanish sociologist Maria Carmen Peñaranda (2008, 2010 and 2011) names it as "connected presence", "a new mode of presence, despite the physical distance, made possible and facilitated by a continuous pattern of ICT-mediated interactions" (2008, p. 147); and the British economist Dame Frances Anne Cairncross (1997) applies the term "death of distance" to highlight the reduction of space and loss of meaning of barriers and the consequent transformation of migrant relations in the diaspora. "Yesterday the motto was: immigrate and cut your roots; today it would be: circulate and keep in touch", says the French sociologist Dana Diminescu (2008, p. 568). For Diminescu, the migrants of the 21st century cannot be defined by the concept of fracture or breaking of spaces and borders, but with those of mobility and connectivity. But again, this is a new phenomenon.

[10] In anthropology, deterritorialization is the separation of social, cultural and political practices —such as people, objects, languages, or traditions— from a location (Olwig, 2005).

An unknown place

I met Cristina with her friend Rosario to go for a walk in the city centre. Rosario is 49 years old and comes from Venezuela. She has been living in Bergen since 2004, and before, she lived in Spain for five years. "She is a Spanish woman", said Cristina about Rosario several times. While walking, I asked Rosario about how it was for her to keep in contact with her people in Venezuela. "Horrible!", she answered me. She was horrified to remember the mechanics that communication had for that time.

> "Every time I wanted to call my family or friends in Venezuela, I needed to use telephone booths or go to an internet café. When I moved to Bergen, I had a hard time at first. We, *latinos* [she smiles], need to keep in touch with our people all the time. I had some relatives in Spain, but I was completely alone in Norway. And I could only speak with my relatives every eight or ten days because it was so expensive."

According to Rosario, telephone booths and internet cafés were the only way to get social and emotional support from her family and friends in Venezuela for that time. And next to Rosario, Cristina (who arrived two years ago to live with her Norwegian partner) did not know how an internet café looks like from the inside. "I know what is an internet café, of course, but I have never been in one. Why should I go to an internet café if I have an iPhone?", said Teresa. And then, Rosario continued:

> "In 2007, I bought my first computer. But the Internet was very slow and expensive. […] And not all my friends and family had a computer at home at that time. […] I could not talk with them whenever I wanted. […] Now, I can talk with them anywhere and everywhere, I can make video calls with my mobile phone, and it is like they are half a meter away".

Although there are still more than 8.000 kilometres between Bergen and Venezuela, Rosario was now satisfied. Distant communication is transformed today into a much more frequent, affordable, mobile and personal event. Loretta Baldassar, Majella Kilkey, Laura Merla and Raelene Wilding (2016) say that "through social media, migrants can communicate with the family and receive the social and emotional support necessary to face the negative aspects of migration" (p. 477). The same negative aspects that Rosario alleviated from telephone booths and Internet cafés until just a few years ago.

That same day, Cristina held a phone conversation via WhatsApp, which is one of the most used messaging services in Spain. I was curious about why she was holding a conversation using this cross-platform messaging service —which normally is used for sending text messages—, and not using her phone number. “I do not use my phone number, because I do not want to spend a lot of money calling people. WhatsApp is free”, said Cristina. She was saying that the “relaxation of time and space” —previous mentioned— is additionally free for everyone who has a phone/computer system and an Internet connection. But as Manjoo (2016) points out, not everyone has Internet access or a smartphone. However, in the case of my informants, they all had mobile phones and an Internet connection. With this, I would like to remember the privileged condition that Bygnes (2014 and 2015) connotates to the recent Spanish migrants in Norway, and what I wrote about it in Chapter 1 [Spanish migration in Bergen nowadays].

Sharing content and place with friends online

For my interlocutors, the first time when the use of ICT acquired an emotional and supportive dimension was during their migration trip. I would say a really short trip: three hours if they took a direct plane. However, Beatriz, who added me on Facebook and Instagram, shared the different stages of her trip in 2018. She did not come directly to Bergen. Instead, she travelled for one week among different European countries. “I went interrailing from Spain to Bergen”. In her trip, she shared photos and states, in many using the location function, communicating her own position at all times. Facebook and Instagram were witnessing Beatriz journey and, through these platforms, relatives and friends were following and supporting her. Her states and posts received many “likes”, 18 on average on Facebook, while her pictures on Instagram have hundreds of likes. Moreover, in both platforms, she received many comments from friends and relatives.

Similarly, on an Instagram post, dated in 2016, Cristina communicated to her followers that she had arrived safe to Bergen. A picture of her partner waiting for her at the airport, the geotag: “Bergen lufthavn Flesland”, and a short text: “Starting a new chapter in Norway with the love of my life, Helge”. In a different moment than his arrival to Bergen, Alejandro also posted on his Facebook wall three photos of him in Barcelona, during the Christmas holidays. He was communicating to his social network that he was in Barcelona, for a short period of time. “I wanted them to know that I was in Barcelona, that I was available to meet up”, he told me. In the same way, I found many

Spaniards living in Norway who video-record their daily lives and upload these videos on YouTube. Thus, social medias —such as Facebook, Instagram and YouTube— allow their users to generate content: pictures, texts, stories, feelings and emotions. They serve not only as an emotional support platform but also as an information and story-telling platform, a personal diary.

Texting lifelong friends

When I asked my informants how they directly communicate with their friends in Spain, all of them pointed to the same messaging service: WhatsApp. Manjoo (2016) says that "because it's free, has a relatively good record on privacy and security, and is popular in so many parts of the world, WhatsApp has cultivated an unusual audience: It has become the lingua franca among people who, whether by choice or by force, have left their homes for the unknown" (para. 4). I found a clarification on Teresa about why my interlocutors use WhatsApp to text and call their friends in Spain: "On Facebook or Instagram, you are sharing content and interacting with other people, WhatsApp is more personal, private", she said. Moreover, my interlocutors use WhatsApp to carry their private conversations because it is "used by everyone in Spain", as Beatriz pointed out. "If you are Spanish, and do not have WhatsApp, you are lost", said Carmen. Less often, they use calls or video calls with their friends, as Cristina used when I met her with her friend Rosario. Carmen gave me an explanation to that: "While texting on WhatsApp, you can do different things at the same time: check other apps, text to other people…". That is, WhatsApp facilitates interconnectivity: to have multiple and separeted interactions with different people at the same time.

About the private conversations that they keep with their friends, my interlocutors pointed to similar topics. "Did you meet someone? Do you have friends? What are you doing? How was work today?". These are some of the questions that the Spanish friends of Javier ask him. In fact, all my interlocutors text their friends about private daily life issues. And as a matter of privacy, I did not explore these interactions in-deep.

Anti-social media?

For the Australian sociologist Raelene Wilding (2006), modern means of communication do not replace face-to-face communications and, in the case of very close relationships, the use of such means may intensify the distance instead of shortening it, because of the suffering derived from the inability to look face-to-face. But this assumption is not new, and unique to migrants. Corinna di Gennaro and William Dutton (2007) note that initial studies on the social role of the Internet has centred on whether its use will tend to "isolate or connect individuals" (abstract) "due to the anonymity, lack of cues and lower social presence provided by the Internet" (p. 592). While talking with Beatriz, she expressed that virtual chatting was not enough for her not to feel lonely:

> "I think I lose every time more contact with my old friends. Some months ago, [when I moved to Bergen] we used to send a lot of messages on WhatsApp, but not anymore… Now it is more about sending messages when something important happens. For instance, a birthday."

With this quote, Beatriz expressed that she feels every time more distanced from her friends in Spain. Teresa related to a similar experience in chapter three [Subchapter: Teresa and her recent need to meet other Spanish migrants]. Moreover, both Teresa and Beatriz expressed feeling of emotional loneliness as explained in chapter five [Subchapter: Beatriz and her lack of Norwegian friends]. But on the other hand, Paula and Cristina continue using WhatsApp in the same frequency. "It is the same, but when I am back in Spain for some days, then, I really get emotional, and I have more excitement to see my friends", said Paula. "I text my friends in the same way as when I moved to Bergen. I do not see a difference", said Cristina. That is, for Beatriz or her friends, face-to-face interactions are preferable above virtual interactions. While in Paula and Cristina, the issue of virtual distance is not so important. Then, it is the person itself who may choose to distance from virtual social interactions. Wilding (2006) ends her research mentioning an interesting anecdote: "Those who wish to escape find that it is even harder to create social distance" (p. 139).

A virtual farewell

In June 2019, Manuel, the researcher from Sevilla, moved back to Spain, as I explained in the previous chapter [Subchapter: A negative connotation]. When the day arrived, he shared on Facebook the following post:

> "Today, I am moving back to Spain. […] I want to say thank you to everyone for making incredible my stay in Norway. I hope to see all you guys soon! […] I am going to spend some time with my family to make this farewell as little sad as possible. And therefore, I will not be using Facebook- WhatsApp for some days."

With this publication, Manuel wanted to inform all his friends on Facebook that he was moving out from Norway, and moving back to Spain. The number of reactions and likes of his post reached the number of 200. —Reactions are Facebook's line-up of emoji that allow people to react to posts with six different animated emotions: *Love*, *Haha*, *Wow*, *Sad*, *Angry*, and, the classic *Like*—. While many "love reactions" were coming with people with Spanish names/surnames —I guess their old friends were happy to have him back—, there were five "sad reactions" given by people with Norwegian names/surnames. Facebook, then, can serve as a virtual diary, and a support platform. With this post, Manuel also expressed his willingness to disconnect from social media, for some days, as he wants to spend time with his family. For Manuel, to disconnect from social media meant to disconnect in some way from his social life.

Socialising in Bergen online

Social media not only serves as support for communication with contacts in the country of origin, it can also be used to communicate and create social ties with locals (Andrade and Doolin, 2018). And while asking about the use of ICT to hold private conversations with Norwegians, my informants pointed out to Messenger (Facebook) and SMS (Short Message Service). "In Spain, Spaniards use WhatsApp, in Norway, Norwegians use Facebook and «old-fashioned» short text messages", said Alejandro. For Mireia, having different apps was "driving her crazy", as she said and expressed: "Look [showing apps on her phone]. Facebook, WhatsApp, FaceTime, Skype, Instagram, Tinder, Mail, Twitter, Telegram… Would it not be possible to have only one app?", she asked herself. That wide range of apps pointed by Mireia brings them to different friends, different groups of people, but also to different ways to socialise and meet other people.

While using social media to meet locals, I found a wide range of experiences and apps. “When I arrived in Bergen, I found a Norwegian girl in a forum who wanted to learn Spanish. Then we met in person, and we are now friends!”, said Beatriz. Alejandro continued talking about how he used dating apps to meet Norwegians: “I have met many friends on Tinder. For me, Tinder is not just about love-dating relations”. In a way, my informants prefer face-to-face interactions to virtual interactions. Beatriz and Alejandro used these different ICT to create ties in the offline world. That is, they find people online and they meet them offline.

Other ICT give them information at the time to socialise. For instance, in one of my meetings with Alejandro, he suggested meeting at Kong Oscar Biljard. We spent that afternoon playing shuffleboard there. “I did not know where to bring you. And I checked on TripAdvisor. There, I found many recommendations about this place”, he said. In a similar context, Beatriz uses Duolingo, a platform that includes a language-learning website and app, to learn Norwegian and use it in the offline world. “In Duolingo, I compete with Facebook friends and other users to see who has the highest *streak* and punctuation.”, said Beatriz. Thus, online communities, as the learning-language community Duolingo or travel community TripAdvisor, can then serve as source of information for my informants at the time to meet their friends. But these interactions seeking for information, rarely get outside the online world, as Alejando expressed: “Is just random people on Duolingo or TripAdvisor, you share opinions and comments, but you do not know anyone there”.

But also Beatriz underlined the importance that ICT and social media offers for bridging cultural barriers. “When I am texting Norwegians, if I do not know a word in Norwegian, I open Google Translate, and I translate the Spanish word in Norwegian in a second. Face to face, I would get stressed out”, she said. For Beatriz, texting in Norwegian online was more comfortable than carrying out a face-to-face conversation in Norwegian. At the same time, this translation technology tool helps her to improve her Norwegian language skills.

Moving ethnography online

On the book *Social Research Methods* —Chapter 28, E-research: Internet research methods—, Alan Bryman (2016) starts the subchapter *Online ethnography* writing this first assumption: "The image of the ethnographer is that of someone who visits communities and organizations. The Internet seems to go against the grain of ethnography, in that it seems a decidedly placeless space" (p. 659). However, Heather A. Horst and Daniel Miller (2013) oppose to Bryman's first assumption:

> "Instead of regarding social networking sites as simply a means to communication between two given localities, it is also possible to start thinking about them as a place in which people in some sense actually live" (pp. 156-157).

Years before Horst and Miller publication, Christine Hine (2000) already conceived the Internet as a place, a cyberspace. She named the approach of conducting ethnography in this cyberspace as *virtual ethnography*, "in which the ethnographer is no longer face-to-face with the participants under enquiry, but interacts with them through the means of electronic communication" (p. 14).

In the previous subchapters, while showing how my interlocutors make and keep friendship ties on social media, I also demonstrated that this cyberspace exists, and that is full of social interactions. However, I could not find the possibility to introduce myself at all in their cyberspaces under the circumstance of private interactions. Private messaging services do not allow for the creation of user-generated content. Moreover, the dilemma between the private and public sphere —inside the cyberspace— became evident. I wanted to respect the privacy of my informants at all times, and therefore, I ended observing some of their social interactions from an external view.

However, the Facebook group of Spaniards living in Bergen: [censored: Facebook group for Spaniards living In Bergen] —with approximately 4.000 members, and where I met some of my informants— is clearly part of the public sphere of the cyberspace: Everyone can access, read and participate after sending a previous request. In this sense, I moved ethnography online, and I introduced myself in a series of "online" exchanges and collective actions while carrying interviews, conversations, and participant observation. This time, I was not only observing but also participating.

Additional ethical considerations

As I mentioned before, I realised that my interlocutors use social media in a particular way while carrying fieldwork, and also after getting an assessment from NSD. In the previous subchapters, I have not included any information or text about other people than my informants. I have only included the stories, opinions, writings, and views of my interlocutors. In other words, I have not collected data from other people without their consent. Therefore, before I carried out an ethnography on Facebook, I sent a new application to NSD, and I followed the following guidelines. On the one hand, I notified the administrators of the Facebook group, once they accepted my request, I published a post (on June 17, 2019) explaining to all the members in this group that I was studying some of their interactions inside this group. Fortunately, I did not receive any complaints. All the extracts included in the following subchapter come from posts that were posted after I notified the members of this group. On the other hand, I only downloaded (copy and paste) small extracts of text from different posts, and I translated them from Spanish to English, adding some text changes to ensure more anonymity. I did not download posts entirely, and I did not take screenshots. I neither collected names or other personal information. Moreover, I do not write the name of this Facebook group to ensure more anonimity.

Spaniards in Bergen: a digital diaspora

According to Elaine McGregor and Melissa Siegel (2013), "a growing body of research has found that the Internet has influenced the creation of diasporic identities by creating a space in which identities and narratives can be expressed, explored, and strengthened" (p. 11). In this regard, Nelly Elias (2013) defines the concept of digital diaspora as "a virtual community of people from the same country of origin that share through the Web a common cultural background, set of symbols and common history" (p. 293) However, Dana Diminescu does not agree with the concept of digital diaspora. "We prefer the term «e-diaspora» to that of «digital diaspora» because the latter may lend to confusion given the increasingly frequent use of the notions of «digital native» and «digital immigrant», in a «generational» sense: distinguishing those born before from those born during or after the digital era" (Retrived from: www.e-diasporas.fr).

Four years ago, when I first became a member of [censored: Facebook group for Spaniards living In Bergen], I quickly turned off the notifications: they were popping up on my phone all the time. It was annoying. But when I reactivated the notifications again, I found myself for the first time in front of a virtual community, full of virtual social interactions, social rules, and interconnected encounters at the level of personality, writing, interest, politics, and taste.

Group rules

[Censored: Facebook group for Spaniards living In Bergen] has defined social rules. The group is being moderated all the time. This moderation work is usually carried out through the figure of the community manager or community managers, "Facebook group administrators". They make explicit their purpose of the group under the following sentences written on the wall of the group: "Meet and work together to improve the quality of life of our community". Moreover, the group establishes a decalogue of contents that are considered acceptable depending on the character of the community:

> "Cultural, community, social, educational events in Bergen related to the Spanish community in Bergen. Questions about the city of Bergen (social services, restaurants, shops). Ads to sell or give away furniture, objects or to search for a house/accommodation. Serious job offers, which "do not involve an investment of money". Recommendations for books, music, movies. Links to articles on topics that benefit and / or affect Spaniards in Bergen or Norway, in general".

From this declaration of intentions, there is the affirmation of the identity and the willingness to establish a specific community based on a common origin. The group has a closed character. It is necessary to send a previous request to participate in the group and visualize its content. This request will be accepted or rejected by a moderator. And in the group, there are several people who act as moderators. Their mission is focused on accepting new members, withdraw offensive comments, mediate discussions or expel community members who have made inappropriate comments. For instance, one day, I found a post of a guy making a racist comment. I kindly asked him to delete the post. But instead, he started insulting me. After reporting the post, one of the moderators deleted it in less than five minutes, and he also sent me the following private message: "Hey Daniel. Thank you for reporting the message. We cannot tolerate such hateful comments here".

Another day, I found a post of a Spanish woman who was really angry and deceived. She wrote that the moderators were deleting all her posts on the group. I sent her a private message asking about this issue. “I am selling nutrition products, and someone is deleting my posts”, she answered me. While writing again to the moderators, one sent me a new private message: “She is not only trying to sell products. She is trying to recruit people for [Censored: pyramid scheme]”. Through this woman’s post, there was an endless discussion among the community about what content should be accepted or rejected.

These moderators also participate regularly creating specific content and marking important issues as relevant. They can mark a post and make it appear as the first one in the group. For instance, someone shared an article about the “NAV scandal”. When the moderator marked the post as relevant, the “angry reactions” (likes) and the number of comments of this post started to increase. Power, then, is hierarchized: the moderators can control the information and its impact. However, it was clear that their aim was not about censorship. As I said, their actions were in the line to give useful information, remove spam and delete hateful comments.

«How are things there?»

Rianne Dekker and Godfried Engbersen (2012) point out that the internet functions as an open information source: “It not only makes information publicly available but also offers access to information through non-institutional, discrete sources” (p. 12). Within their study, they say that social media is a useful way of getting information about a country for people who want to migrate. But as Twigt (2008) points out, the information may have another effect: provoking those who read them to imagine their lives in another part of the world, generating positive hopes and ideas about the future outside their own country of origin. And giving this context, on the Facebook group, I found many examples of Spaniards willing to migrate to Bergen and looking for advices. For instance: (1) “How easy it is to find a job in Bergen?”, (2) “I am moving to Bergen in two months. And I am looking for a job, any ideas?”, (3) “I am looking for a job. Any suggestion?”.

Before Javier migrated to Bergen, he was not a member of this Facebook group. “I guess it was not so popular or did not exist”, he explained to me. And instead, he consulted information on different webpages: “Before I moved here, I surfed many webpages on Google, about life in Norway and

Bergen, the weather, the food, cost of living, how to find an apartment, how to find a job, *et cetera*." Once living in Bergen, he appeared on the documentary ([Censored: Autonomous community] around the world. And there —as I wrote in Chapter 5 [Subchapter: A negative connotation]—, "he showed the city of Bergen, while talking about his journey in Bergen, the excellent Norwegian living conditions and his good relationships with Norwegians. He did not mention anything about the challenges he faced up while living in Bergen". In short, he gave a lot of information and ideas that could make other Spaniards to follow his way. After the broadcasting, he was contacted by many far-off acquaintances and strangers, asking for more information and help:

> "I only wanted to show to my family and friends that I was doing well. I did not want to create false expectations for anyone. […] I remember that many people tried to add me on Facebook. They wanted to move to Bergen and were asking me for information. Information that I did not even know myself how to answer. They were even not my friends. And I had many problems myself. How I was going to help them?"

For Javier, Spanish people who want to move to Norway can now find advice on the Facebook group. "There you find different answers, different points of view", he said. And among the answers of the Spaniards living in Bergen to those willing to move and asking for information, I found three different positions: rarely, a member recommended them to move; many others recommend them for caution, studies and savings before moving; and others were clearly trying to delete their ideas of their heads, as seen on the following examples: "Do not come. The chances for succeeding are close to nil", "If you want to find a job, you need to speak Norwegian", "There is nothing here. Your university titles are not worth it. Spain is much better". When showing these replies to Javier, he said: "They are «trolls», bad people. I guess they do not like competitivity". However, many other members discussed and confronted these replies.

Despite the case mentioned above, I found many excellent recommendations to different post such as: "Is there any good place to learn Norwegian?", "What is the cheapest mobile phone company?", "Any good electrician here? I have an electrical problem at home!". That is, socialisation and involvement on the group bring its members together in different ways of support and help.

Among the most frequent contents shared by this virtual community inside Facebook, I found Norwegian and Spanish issues news, job announcements, patriotic allusions, legal advice or content related to aspects of Spanish culture approached from a nostalgic tone. I also found some posts

linked to viral content based on humour and entertainment. In most of these publications, I detected a strong tendency to preserve the Spanish cultural: announcements for hangouts, concerts, and other events that take place in the offline world.

From the online to the offline world

In the group, many members shared promotional events. For instance: (1) "We are planning a dinner, so we can meet and talk. Who wants to join? Send me a message and I will add you on a WhatsApp group", (2) "Thanks for accepting me. Is there any group here that meets for coffee or conversation? Thanks and have a nice weekend!", (3) "Hello! My name is (censored) and I am 22 years old. I arrived two days ago. I have not been in the city centre yet. Anyone here who wants to meet for a drink this afternoon?".

These posts extend the community outside, in the real world. Back in chapter 3, I wrote about homophily. My informants were not so willing to meet other Spaniards. But those Spaniards wanted to meet other compatriots. My point here is that they, individually, express negativity among homophily. However, when Spaniards are members of this group, homophily is back. [censored: Facebook group for Spaniards living In Bergen] creates offline and smaller communities of Spaniards.

Outside the Facebook group, there are many private groups on WhatsApp. Members there are reduced. For instance, also in Chapter 3, I explained that Manuel added me on a WhatsApp group dedicated to Spaniards living in Bergen. In total, there were 47 users in that group. And I explained that Paula and Mireia met on that WhatsApp group. But they did not know anything about anyone else there. And Paula and Mireia are not acquainted with Manuel and *vice versa*.

Sharing nostalgia in group

The Spanish sociologists Antonio Alaminos and Óscar Santacreu (2011) state that "when it comes to nostalgia for lifestyles and traditions, [inside the European Union] Spaniards are again the most nostalgic in any country" (p. 35). In their study, they point out to significant correlation between the degree of socialisation and the different types of nostalgia that migrant groups experience: The

higher the social integration, the lower the nostalgia for their home countries (p. 38). Marta Marcheva also refers to this correlation: “Nostalgia and outsourcing of such sentiments help migrants to cope with feelings of frustration and disappointment” (para. 17).

Reviewing different posts, I found four different dimensions of nostalgia. First, nostalgia for primary groups (e.g., family and friends). Second, nostalgia for lifestyles (e.g., customs, folklore and social norms. Third, nostalgia for the land (e.g., “Is there anyone from Ferrol [a Spanish city]? It would be crazy to find someone living in Bergen from my city!”). And fourth, nostalgia for political administration (e.g., complains about the red tape in Norway, or posts talking about how good is the Spanish health system compared to the Norwegian one). Writing about these things, they were willing to connect their roots back to Spain: think about the past, when they were living in Spain.

Friendship and political activism

In the context of diaspora and nostalgia, I participated in another group on Facebook: [censored: Facebook group for Catalans living in Bergen], and also in WhatsApp private group with the same name and with many members in common. In chapter three, I wrote about my meeting with Teresa and the other group of Catalans that I met at BarBarista [Subchapter: Teresa and her recent need to meet other Spanish migrants]. They were the ones who added me in these groups. Virtual groups for those Catalans who are living in Bergen. When talking in BarBarista, one of them told me:

> “Everyone can join our Facebook group, but also our meetings. Everyone is welcome. Maybe they want to know more about us. Or perhaps, it is a Norwegian or a Spaniard who is compromised with our cause.”

This Facebook group was very similar to the groups of Spaniards living Bergen. They shared many articles about Catalan-Spanish issues, but also about Norwegian ones. And my interactions in this group were diverse. For instance, one day, I shared a job offer related to the Delegation to the Nordic Countries (in Sweden) from the Government of Catalonia, as they were searching for a person who could speak Catalan and Norwegian.

However, I found two significant differences in this group compared to [censored: Facebook group for Spaniards living in Bergen]. The first difference is that the majority of its members were

constantly interacting, and I guess this was because of the reduced number of members: less than 50. The second difference was the content and activity shared. As Catalans who seek the independence of Catalonia from Spain, I observed many forms of peaceful cyber-activism in their interactions. Both on Facebook and WhatsApp, they were organising political meetings, Internet campaigns, or small protests in the street. And the joint analysis of my encounter with them, the different posts on Facebook, and the conversations on WhatsApp, confirms that the Catalan migrants in Bergen have a critical approach to traditional ethnic associationism and organisational forms. They do not live in Catalonia, but they conceived the implication in the Catalan independence process from other spaces, such as the cyberspace.

Summary

In this chapter, I have shown how the Spanish migrants living in Bergen use the cyberspace to maintain and make social ties. And for that, I have reviewed different literature to show how ICT has changed social relations. This review pointed out that social media has shortened distances on social relations, making them direct, mobile, "free" and interconnected. Moreover, I have shown how migrants use different social media depending on their preferences and context. My informants get social and emotion support while keeping ties on social media. And through social media, they discover new spaces of socialisation, intercultural exchange and identity.

I have also shown how the Facebook group [censored: Facebook group for Catalans living In Bergen] and other virtual communities of Spanish living in Bergen work as a virtual diaspora. Digital diasporas are complex discursive spaces in which migrants are meaningfully connected. Inside these spaces, the Spanish migrants living in Bergen can recognise their identity and express their voice. At the same time, they mould particular ways of community belonging, causing a state of continuous construction of social norms and reconstruction of migrant-group identity.

CHAPTER 7
Conclusion

This last chapter summarizes the most important findings and conclusions, and it considers how successful this study was in achieving its aims, hypotheses and research. In order to do so, the chapter is divided into three parts. The first subchapter draws together the theoretical framework in the first chapter with the main theories analysed and discussed throughout the different substantive chapters. The second subchapter makes recommendations on how further studies about the same topic could be improved, showing some of the weaknesses and strengths of my research. I evaluate the methodology, and explain what I have learned from the particular approaches used throughout my study. Furthermore, I reflect on my own role in relation to my informants and as a producer of knowledge about them. Finally, in the last subchapter, I write my personal thoughts about this master's thesis, and I conclude with an answer to the main research question.

Summing up

I designed this research project to collect and interpret observation-based data. The objective was to carry out an ethnography to understand how nine Spanish migrants living in Bergen develop their social lives, and negotiate and build friendships: examining their meanings, their social networks, the social activities they participate in, their social challenges, among others. In this sense, I explored friendship and social life together as a process of migrant integration and adaptation in a destination society. Therefore, in chapter one, I contextualised my informants with a brief historical framework, and I also examined different theories and concepts about integration and migration network formation. Indeed, friendship formation as a social phenomenon offers a crossroad between various disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, communication, or psychology, which I brought up to the study of migration and interculturality. I stated that friendship relations are an important aspect of migrants' day-to-day reality and their identity creation: friendship can be seen as a dynamic interactional process of integration and identification for migrants.

Over the six months I carried out fieldwork in Bergen, I was able to gain insight into the social lives of nine Spaniards living in Bergen, people that were unknown to me beforehand. Throughout my

interactions with them, I have created an understanding of how they manage their social lives and how they understand friendship. Using inductive reasoning, I have analysed different concepts and theories to back my argument, the stories of my informants and my fieldwork experiences with them. As a result, I divided my study into four substantive chapters, presenting them in an appropriate order. Hereunder, I answer my secondary research questions in chapter one while summing up the four substantive chapters of this dissertation.

The first substantive chapter, *The Nature of Friendship*, dealt with the meaning and understanding of friendship. For me, it was necessary to start defining friendship and introducing my informants before going in deep with other aspects. After detailing different qualities, traits of friendship, and stating that friendship is a very flexible, variable and changing tie, I introduced the anthropological approach of Killick and Desai (2010). They note that friendship is subjected to every persons' ideas and must be studied within a context. Following this approach, I addressed the meaning of friendship from the perspective of my interlocutors, nine Spanish migrants living in Bergen. The diverse ways that my informants relate to friendship define their understanding of the word. For them, friendship is about trust, company and support, good fellowship, spending time together, and affection. Their selectivity of friends is expressed through their ethno-social preferences. Their election to not have Spanish friends is opposed to the tendency of homophily. Moreover, they challenge themselves —through assimilation processes— in order to make Norwegians friends.

The second substantial chapter, *Places of Friendship*, dealt with places and spatial practices of friendship. There, I showed how my informants place friendship in space through their relationships to place and spatial practices. I argued that everyday spatial practices and relationship to place are powerful tools in expressing their identities and shaping their social interactions. I also described some of the spatial differences that my informants experienced in Norway compared to Spain. And I found out that the way my informants inhabited and "made place" was determined by their unique interactions with their expressive culture and by their subsequent social networks, movements and practices that they mobilised in those spaces.

I conceptualised chapter five, *On Loneliness*, as an anti-friendship chapter. This chapter sought to understand the different social needs of my informants. Social needs that bring them feelings of loneliness. In this sense, I emphasised to find the meaning and value that they found in their

solitude within their specific context. I also argued about how important it was to establish rapport with the participants to gather stories concerning this topic. Showing different typologies of loneliness, my informants related some of their loneliness experiences while living in Bergen. Explaining a theoretical model of social constraints, I stated that creating a new social life in a new country can be limited by many factors or barriers such as their different values, beliefs, norms and behaviours.

The last substantive chapter, *Navigating Social Relations in the Digital World*, placed my ethnography in the virtual world. In this chapter, I have shown how they use the cyberspace to keep and make social ties. I have also demonstrated how social media has shortened distances on social relations, making them direct, mobile, "free" and interconnected, and how my informants take advantage of them. I argued that they get social and emotion support while keeping ties on social media. And through social media, they also discover new spaces of socialisation, intercultural exchange and identity. Moreover, they are part of a digital diaspora: complex discursive spaces in which they are connected in a meaningful way, recognising their identity, expressing their opinions, and reconstructing migrant-group identity through virtual group encounters.

Throughout these chapters, and similarly to the studies and theories explored in my theoretical framework, I have not measured integration. Instead, I have connected integration and assimilation processes with ideas and stories about how social life and friendship are becoming part of the Norwegian society. In this sense, I believe I have successfully shown how my interlocutors draw meaning and attribute to their social lives and friendship experiences. For them, to have friends and to have an enjoyable social life make them feel happy and included in their new socio-cultural reality.

Strengths and weaknesses of the study

However, at the same time, I found different problems when drafting, conducting and writing this research. Caution is needed in order to interpret the findings of this master's thesis. Therefore, in this subchapter, I note the weaknesses I found, how I dealt with them, how I tried to convert them into strengths, and to which degree I succeed in this conversion.

As I explained in the third chapter, friendship has multiple facets. Therefore, there are many possibilities to study friendship and social life. That is to say; there are unlimited ways this study could have been approached and analysed. These include a stronger emphasis on, for instance, gender or family. Every topic —also chapter— could have been so extensive. I could not give more information because of the length limitation given: a master's thesis. Therefore, I have chosen the topics of friendship that I believe are important for the study of my informants. I strongly recommend to researchers interested in this field, to focus and choose the essential parts of friendship that their participants are positioned with. This will avoid many problems at the time of carrying out the study, but also at the time to limit-cut all the information gathered. While in the beginning, my fieldwork meetings were badly organised, and my fieldnotes were chaotic, the structure of chapters has been successful for me at the time to tidy up and study the chosen topics of friendship.

My condition of Spanish migrant myself and my political view of the world were significant challenges while conducting and writing this research. My informants and I have the same situation: we are Spanish migrants. Moreover, I am also conditioned with my ideology: against individualism and inequality, for social justice, for progressivism and not conservatism, for social rights, respect for all religions and cultures, caring of people, among others, and as I am Catalan, against Spanish nationalism. Therefore, it was important, and challenging, to be as impartial and objective as possible. While carrying out fieldwork, I identified myself many times with my informants, but I also disagreed with them. While writing, then, I tried to avoid my own opinions and prejudices. All the studies I read, the literature reviews included in this thesis, and the chosen approaches have helped me to "friend" myself as a researcher, distancing myself from my subjectivity, and carrying out a valid research.

My informants experience life events that are unique to them. The stories reported show how each of them experience friendship and social life on their own, and how their cultural and migration context bring some similarities. However, my nine interlocutors possess a set of similar features that differentiate them among other Spanish migrants living in Bergen. All they have —and came to Norway— with resources: economic savings, studies, high level of other languages than Spanish, work experience, or a Norwegian native partner, among others. They had and have a privileged status. On account of this circumstance, their post-migration experiences may have even more

similarities. For instance, I believe a Spanish migrant struggling with the economy would have experienced quite the opposite: a sense of no belonging, a terrible experience, and a search of normality looking for a job. I believe they exist. Therefore, it comes to my mind a crucial question. Why my informants did not possess such characteristics? Perhaps, people with hard experiences would prioritise their time finding stability, instead of dedicating it to a student. Facebook —where I met most of my informants— did not allow me to connect with people facing challenging circumstances. I must emphasise, then, that the social life of migrants depends not only on their actions and strategies: it also depends on their social circumstances, the access they have to different types of resources and relationships, as well as the acceptation by the country of destination. In this last regard, my informants did not mention to suffer discrimination, as other migrant groups do. Racism and classism, then, are two other exciting topics in the study of migration and friendship formation. Moreover, in this sense, it should be beard in mind that migrants reflect their values and beliefs through the people with whom they choose to associate and those whom they avoid, as I explained in chapter three.

A massive amount of informants, through qualitative data, could have shown in percentages and numbers how they experience social life, but I could not have gathered stories, opinions, or information about how they understand and shape friendship. In this sense, I never wanted to focus on numbers nor formulas. Focusing on nine informants helped me to gather qualitative data, but also to build strong friendship ties with them. The quality of my fieldwork experiences show the way I related to my informants: the most I strengthened a friendship tie with them, the more details and experiences I wrote about them. This was especially important while talking about the topic of loneliness. Rapport must be built. In this sense, seven months carrying out fieldwork were short for creating a strong tie with my interlocutors, as well as to see an evolution in their social lives, and our friendship relationship.

As I finish this dissertation, I am aware that during my fieldwork, it is not all clear if I was being "friend" or just trying to be a "friend" as an ethnographer. This identity line is blurred as I co-existed within the identities of my informants and my status as a student. The basis of this study was fieldwork, which put me in touch with my nine informants, their sorrows and their joys, their fears and their hopes. It was during fieldwork when I got to know them, their friends, their subjectivities and their stories. During that time, they were friends above all, or at least, I have

always strived to be a friend above a researcher. However, once my fieldwork was finished, I have left them behind: I have not had the dedication to meet them while writing. Therefore, I have paused (and not stop) this journey, hoping that the so deep complicity that I established with them during my fieldwork will continue now, while you are reading these lines.

In this regard, I do not know if my experiment has been successful yet. But I know that when I learnt the most about my informants was when they also learnt about me, when they knew and participated in my life. We shared our lives, and that is why, in a way, our stories came together. During that time, both of us were between two worlds, two countries, two cultures or societies, between Norway and Spain, between migrants and Norwegians, between our social imaginary and a new reality. These worlds touch and blend, and are part of larger systems. But they are also sealed, separated from each other. In many ways, they are far away. This research allowed us to meet, but also put barriers between us: so far, I have observed, researched, searched for information, written about them; while my informants have been somehow in the dark. Our relationship has been unequal: they have not studied and written about me. I believe that such barriers have to be recognised and broken down.

In terms of transferability, I do not think this research is transferable to other contexts. Each culture, each migrant, even each country, are diverse and different. Friendship and social life must be studied inside a contextual perspective. Yet the experiences of my informants differ. In this sense, anthropological approaches and their statements against ethnocentrism have been the key to gather the subjectivities of my informants in their particular context. The reading of this study may also be affected over time due to the evolution of migration policies and economic and technological changes. Thus, the value of this study must be read in its context, since it is foreseeable that in the medium-long term the context will change: new crisis may arise in the coming years, which could significantly alter current conditions. In fact, while this thesis is written, changes are being negotiated in our political and economic system: Brexit process, European Union, refugee policies… Political and economic changes that affect people.

Personal concluding remarks

To my way of thinking, mobility is and will be a fundamental and changing cultural element in societies, and so, research is needed to be done and updated. In this sense, the European Union has claimed that intra-European mobility is the key to "a stronger and more integrated Europe". The European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training, an agency of the European Union, notes:

> "Mobility should be seen not as an end in itself, but as a preferred means of strengthening European citizenship and competitiveness, expanding and enriching the training and experience of young people, enhancing their versatility and employability and developing their intercultural understanding through language skills and exposure to other cultures."[11]

I believe they are right, but that above these examples mentioned, it is essential to strengthen friendship ties. Moreover, as a European citizen myself, I cannot fail to mention that Europe has lately become a kind of an "enemy", a place of privileges for (a part of) its citizens, that ignores a reality: humanitarian crisis. Let us not forget, therefore, that the context of improvement must be global, and not only for the most privileged people. Friendship should be a bridge of cooperation between people, but also countries, that can connect our differences in the world. In this regard, I sincerely believe that this thesis can be useful to know where we are, and how we can direct our efforts to achieve the ultimate goal: improve the lives of all people.

I also see my thesis and this research project as a contribution to the previous meaningful literature concerning migrants' lives. The Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano, whom I used one of his poems in the epigraph, wrote many times about globalization and its causes of inequality an social injustice in Latin America. He was especially concerned about Latin American migrants. He wrote a poem that says: "Storytellers seek the footprints of lost memory, love and pain that cannot be seen but are never erased".

[11] www.cedefop.europa.eu/en/news-and-press/news/council-conclusions-20-and-21-november-2008-youth-mobility [Last accessed: February 2020]

Sometimes, there is the assumption that our recent past and present is not “history”. While some might say that this research might seem insignificant at this time, I believe, as Galeano, that not writing down our recent past, and documenting our present, the community history would be lost. Moreover, people pay little attention to labour migrants. With this dissertation, I gave attention to them, documenting how they become a part of society through their social lives and their understanding of friendship.

After reviewing this master’s thesis, and as a last conclusion answering my research question, I affirm that friendship —the spaces, stories, people and ideologies that allow social life and shape friendship— creates a place for goals, happiness and social and cultural belonging for my nine informants, Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway.

Thank you for taking your time in reading this master’s thesis!

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Appendix

A1 — Profile overview of the informants (as November, 2018)

Living in Norway since	Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Civil status	Partner in Bergen?	Type of housing in Bergen	Number of children	Employment	Level of studies	Job related to studies	Level of Norwegian
2007	Teresa	F	45	Married	Yes, married, Norwegian	Owns a house	1	Director public centre	PhD	Yes	Fluent
2010	Javier	M	36	Married	Yes, married, Norwegian	Owns a house	1	Industrial technician	Post-secondary vocational education	Yes	Fluent
2012	Paula	F	39	Divorced + Civil partner	Yes, Norwegian partner	Lives with her partner	0	Restaurant manager	Post-secondary vocational education	No	Fair
2014	Mireia	F	33	Single	←	Rents an apartment	0	Researcher	Bachelor's degree	Yes	Fair
2015	Alejandro	M	27	Single	←	Rents an apartment	0	Student and waiter	Bachelor's degree	No	Fair
2015	Manuel	M	28	Complicated	No	Rents a room in a shared flat	0	Researcher	PhD	Yes	Basic
2016	Cristina	M	44	Divorced + Civil partner	Yes, Norwegian partner	Lives with her partner	2 in Spain	Self-employed	Post-secondary vocational education	-	Basic
2018	Beatriz	F	25	Single	←	Rents a room in a shared flat	0	Receptionist	Bachelor's degree	No	Fair
2018	Carmen	F	38	Single	←	Host family (au pair)	0	Waitress	Post-secondary vocational education	No	Poor

A2 — The interview guide

(1) Preliminary questions	• Where are you from? How old are you? What is your higher level of studies? What do you work with? Marital status? Do you have children? • For how long have you been living in Bergen? • Why did you move to Bergen? • Can you tell me about your experience finding a place to live, how you got this place and so forth? • How is your experience living here? • How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? • Which topics about Norwegian society you heard before moving to Norway? Are they true to reality?
(2) Social life and the informant	• Define what the words “friend” and “social life” means to you? • Identify the people (not family) you feeel closest to. • Are you happy with your social life at the moment? • Would you describe yourself as a social person? • Do you sometimes feel lonely while living abroad? • How many friends do you have in Bergen (or other parts of Norway)? • Where do your friends come from?
(3) Instrumental help	• Suppose you need something to prepare a meal (like an egg, etc.) and the shops are closed. Who would you ask? • Suppose you urgently need tools to fix something in your house and the shops are closed. Who would you ask? • Suppose you have problems with Norwegian bureaucracy (like answering a questionnaire concerning your residence permit)? Who do you ask for help?
(4) Social status vs social life	• How is your social life affecting your social status? • Do you have a person here who helped you giving you recommendations? Helping you with bureaucracy? Finding a job?
(5) Interacting with people / making new friends	• How satisfied are you with how safe you feel? • Can you explain different situations where you met Norwegian people? • Do you use any method to meet or interact with people? For instance: Tinder, Facebook, alcohol, etc.
(6) Barriers	• Which barriers did you encounter while making new friends? • Did you find the Norwegian language as a barrier while meeting new people? • Did/do you find it difficult to relate with Norwegians? Why? • Does it make you stressful to interact with local people?
(7) Activities	• Which kind of activities do you do with your friends in Bergen? • Do you participate in any kind of organization, activity or meeting?
(8) Social interactions in the neighbourhood	• Do you know your neighbours? • Do you have any direct contact or relation with your neighbours? • Is there any place in your neighbourhood where you go often?

(9) Social interactions in the workplace	• How satisfied are you with the balance between your work and social life? • Do you consider your colleagues as friends? • Do you participate in any kind of activities with your colleagues outside the workplace? • How affected your social life situation at the time of finding a job?
(10) Marital status	• How does your marital status affect you at the time of meeting new people? For instance, having a Norwegian partner, or having a Spanish partner with you / in Spain, being single, etc.
(11) Stereotypes (how informants feel they are being percepted)	• Describe a stereotypical “Norwegian”. • Describe a stereotypical “Spaniard”. • Describe a stereotypical “Spaniard” as how you think Norwegians see them. • Describe a stereotypical “Spanish immigrant” as how you think Norwegians see them.
(12) Differences	• How different was your social life in Spain? • Do you do the same kind of activities with your friends in Norway than the activities you were doing with your friends in Spain?
(13) Friends in homecountry	• Do you keep contact with your friends in Spain? How? • Do they visit you? • What kind of questions are they asking you related to your social life in Norway? • When you visit your home country, do you see your friends there differently?
(14) Social interactions and discrimination	• Have you ever felt discriminated in Norway? • Have you felt discriminated while being with friends?
(15) Virtual social life	• Do you use social media to connect with other people? • Could you tell me about your experience using different social media while living here?

A3 — Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet
Friends, friendship and social life in Norway: An ethnographic study of Spanish migrants living in Bergen [Provisional title]

I want to invite you to take part in my research study (master thesis). Before you decide to participate, you will read what this research study is about and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part in this study. **Participation is voluntary.**

What is the purpose of the study?
The purpose of this study is to explore friendship and social life among the Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway.

What will happen to me if I take part?
The study is an ethnographic study: you will be interviewed, and you will participate in different social encounters with the researcher. You will meet 3-5 times the researcher, in places where you usually meet your friends. Therefore, I will kindly ask you if you can bring some of your friends to some of those meetings. The interviews, meetings and activities will be written down and described in fieldnotes.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?
The inquiries deal with sensitive private information, such as your job position, personal motivations, family situation and networks, among others. For this reason, your identity and your direct and indirect information will be anonymised and protected. All the information (data) collected will be kept strictly confidential and protected. And it will be removed of all my electronic devices when this master thesis is delivered and approved: February 2020. On behalf of NLA Høgskolen, NSD - Norwegian Center for Research Data has considered that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with the privacy regulations. NSD Form: 600473. As long as you can be identified in the data material, you have the right to access which personal data is registered about you, to have your personal data corrected, to have your personal data deleted, to have a copy of your personal data (data portability), and to submit a complaint to the Privacy Ombudsman or the Data Inspectorate regarding the processing of your personal data.

Expenses and payments?
There are not any expenses or payments. However, some of your small expenses will be covered by the researcher: coffee, bus ticket, etc.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
This study seeks the improvement of the Spanish community living in Norway. Moreover, there is not much literature addressing the Spanish migration in Bergen.

What if there is a problem?
If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should speak with the researcher: 48394131 Daniel González. You can contact the institution supporting this study, if you remain unhappy, wish to complain formally, or have any concern about the study / the researcher: 55540700 NLA Høgskolen Bergen.

What will happen if I do not carry on with the study?
If you are not comfortable or you do not want to participate in some of the activities, please, notify me so that we can skip them. If you wish to withdraw from the study, all your information and data collected will be destroyed and removed from all the study files. It will not have any negative consequences for you if you do not want to participate or later choose to withdraw.

What will happen to the results of this study?
On January 2020, the substantive chapters will be written. By this time, you will get a pdf with these chapters. On that moment, you can agree or disagree with the content, and make the researcher notice about your opinion (ask to delete information, add more details, made some features more anonymous, etc.). This step will take place before the thesis is delivered for examination.

After reading this participant information sheet, **do you want to participate in this study?** If so, I will need your name and signature below.

The participant	**The researcher**
	Daniel González
Date: ____/____/_____	Date: 03/11/2018

A4 — Exploration phase: an online questionnaire

As I explained in the first chapter, I could not find previous studies about the Spanish migrants who lived/live in Bergen. Therefore, I carried out a field review through an online survey. I formulated this survey as a multiple-choice survey with shorts questions, and I covered different types of measures such as: demographics, dates, behaviours, values, judgments, and opinions, among others. In addition, I also included different open-ended questions to get a small sample of qualitative data. While all the multiple-choice questions were mandatory to answer, the open-ended ones were not. Moreover, the completion time was less than 3 minutes. In this way, I thought that people who were unable, unavailable or unwilling to write would complete it. Since I wanted to collect a large number of answers and avoid a problem of representation, I shared this survey in different groups on Facebook dedicated to Spaniards living in Bergen. In total, I received 117 responses. With these responses, I made some infographics, which are enclosed in the following pages. I have not used the information included in my master's thesis: I did not want to focus on quantitative data. Again, I only carried out this survey to find a topic for my research study.

I did not notify this survey to NSD as (1) the questionnaire and data collected do not contain information that can identify individuals directly or indirectly and/or (2) the questionnaire and the results are not connected to identifying information about the respondents (e.g., IP address, email address, cookies, browser information, etc.). Moreover, following the recommendations given by NSD, I introduced the questionnaire with this text:

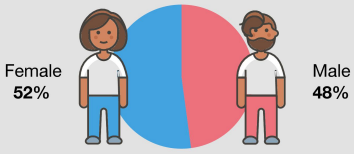
> "Hi! I am a student in Intercultural Studies at NLA Høgskolen (Bergen). I am conducting this survey to prepare an ethnographic study. With the results, I want to find a topic (about the Spaniards living in Bergen) for my master's thesis. Please, do not answer this survey if you do not live in Bergen. The survey is completely anonymous and confidential: do not include personal information that can identify you. Thank you for your help!".

Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway

Some personal indicators

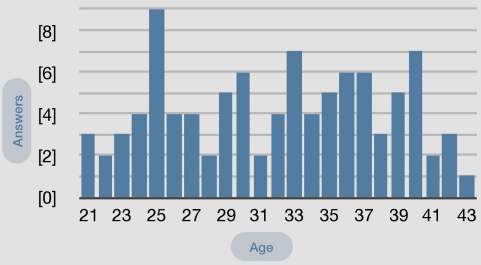
117 responses collected between the 20th and 30th of September, 2018
The survey was sent on a Facebook group for Spaniards living in Bergen

1 To which gender identity do you most identify?

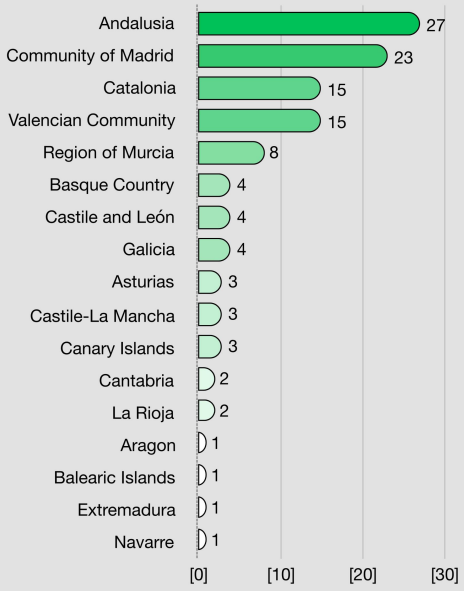


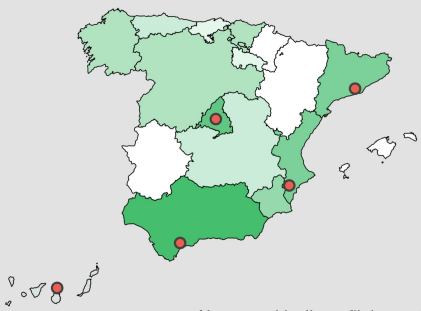
Other/Prefer not to say: **0%**

2 What is your age?



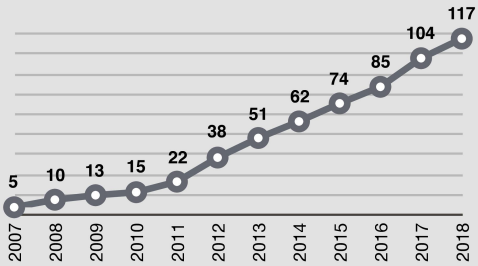
3 Where in Spain are you from?





= Airports with direct flights to Bergen

4 Evolution of arrivals



5 Is Bergen the only place you have been living in Norway?

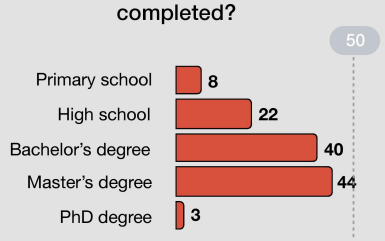
6 Why Bergen?

- Work [23]
- My partner got a job in Bergen [9]
- My partner is from Bergen [7]
- I thought it was easier to find a job in Bergen [6]
- I was an Erasmus student in Bergen [3]
- It is cheaper than Oslo [3]
- Friends and other contacts [3]
- The nature [2]
- I wanted to live in a small city [1]

Translation
Responses: 57

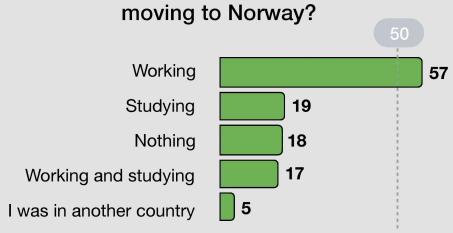
Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway
Education, employment and Norwegian language

7 What is the highest level of school you have completed?

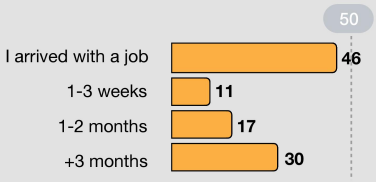


8 Employment status

9 What were you doing in Spain before moving to Norway?

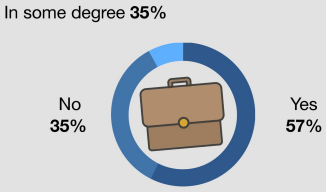


10 How long did it take you to find your first job in Norway?



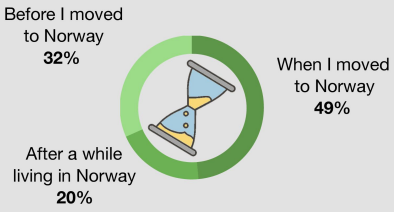
Responses: 104

11 Is your job related to your academic field?



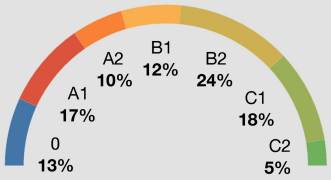
Responses: 103

12 When did you start learning Norwegian?



Responses: 101

13 Level of Norwegian language



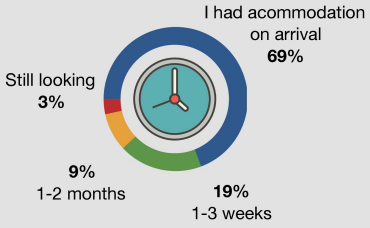
*Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

14 Did you move to Norway because of the economic situation in Spain?

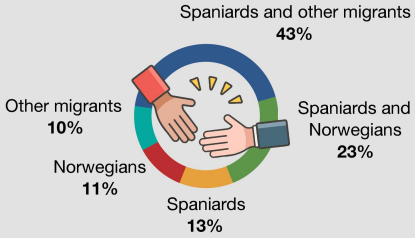
Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway

Life in Norway

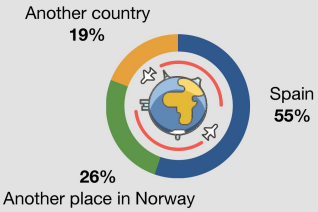
15 How long did it take you to find accomodation?



16 Your friends in Bergen are...

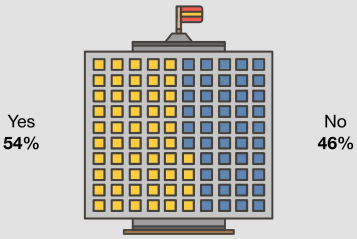


17 If you left Bergen, you would move to...



18.1 Are you thinking about moving back to Spain?

19 Are you registered at the Embassy of Spain in Oslo?

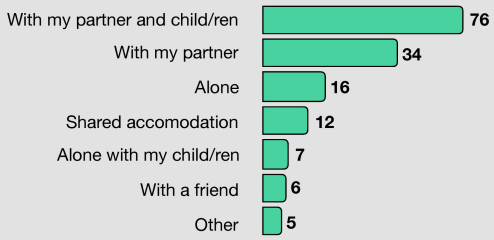


18.2 If so, why?

- Family [5]
- I would leave Norway if I find a job in Spain [3]
- I will leave Norway when I am retired [2]
- The weather [2]
- I do not like Norway
- I am just working here
- I miss quality of life, family and friends
- I miss Spain
- I lived better in Spain with less money
- Living in Bergen is hard, too much rain
- Cultural differences
- Norway is our present, but not our future
- The constant feeling of not belonging
- My couple cannot find a job
- I do not see my future in Norway
- I am tired of living in Norway
- The darkness and the lack of social life
- I am not happy here
- I do not feel integrated
- The weather and the Norwegian people
- Life is hard in Norway
- I cannot find a job
- Lack of social life and abscence of work challenges
- Loneliness
- I want to rise my child in Spain

Translation
Responses: 33

20 Describe your living situation



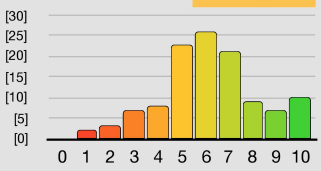
Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway
Feelings, perceptions and discrimination

21 Ratings

10 = Very good
0 = Very poor

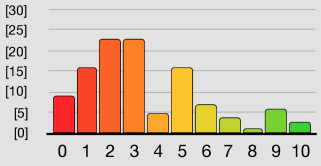
Personal economic situation

6,1



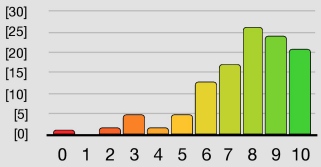
Prices

3,5



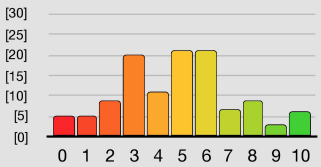
Work

7,6



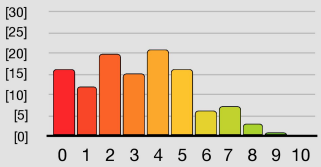
Leisure

4,8



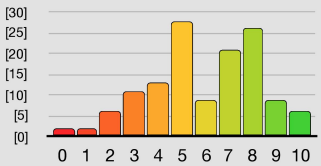
Weather

3,2



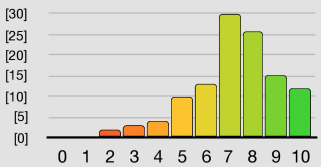
Norwegians

5,6

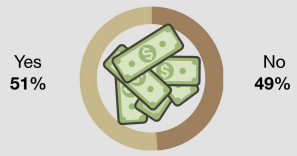


Your experience

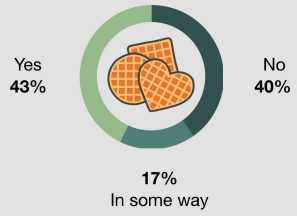
7,2



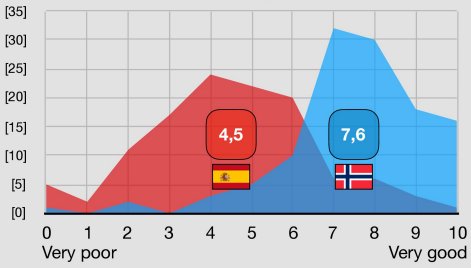
22 Do you consider yourself as an economic migrant?



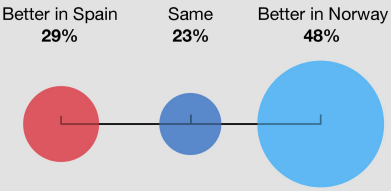
23 Do you feel integrated in Norway?



24 What is your perception of Spain and Norway?

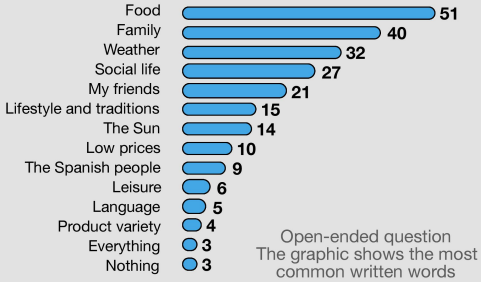


25 Do you think your quality of life was better in Spain than in Norway?



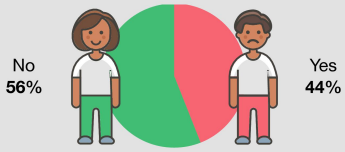
Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway
Feelings, perceptions and discrimination (2)

26 What do you miss about Spain?



Open-ended question
The graphic shows the most common written words

27.1 Have you suffered any form of ethnic discrimination in Norway?



27.2 If so, can you explain what happened?

Violence:
- "Once, a Norwegian grabbed me by the neck and pushed me to the ground."
- "I have been assaulted three times in the street."
- "I've been assaulted a couple of times for not speaking Norwegian fluently."

Linguistic discrimination:
- "Linguistic discrimination." *(Unspecified situation/s)* [5]
- "I work as a nurse, and some patients and colleagues feel irritated if I do not speak Norwegian perfectly."
- "I was forbidden to speak Spanish in my private conversations at work."
- "A lot of people have complained to me because my Norwegian is not perfect."
- "I have seen how people treat me differently because I do not speak good Norwegian."

Public administration:
- "Some Skatt workers have been treating me improperly for being a foreigner."
- "It was really difficult to open a bank account since I am not Norwegian."
- "They did not let me donate blood because I was not Norwegian."
- "When my second child was born, I did not receive the barnetrygd, even though I was already in the Norwegian system, and my first child got it. NAV confirmed that it was because I am a foreigner. I had to request everything again."

At work:
- "Employment discrimination." *(Unspecified situation/s)* [4]
- "I have a lower salary than my Norwegian colleagues." [3]
- "I have been discriminated several times by my colleagues."
- "At work, some of my ideas have not been taking into account because I am not Norwegian."
- "They did not renew my contract."
- "I had difficult times looking for a job. In all positions that I applied, I was discarded because of my origin. They told me in several jobs that they were only looking for Scandinavians."
- "Unequal treatment at work: Norwegian staff is favoured even if they do not have the competence."
- "Once, they told me that I was not hired in a job because I am not Norwegian."
- "I am feeling rejected by my colleagues all the time."
- "Two times, I did not get a job even I was the most qualified."

Other forms:
- "I have been accused of stealing."
- "Some people think that I am Polish and treat me differently." [sic.]
- "A security guard did not let me enter a nightclub because I was not Norwegian."
- "Some people do not want to talk to me because I am an outsider."

Translation
Responses: 35

Spanish migrants living in Bergen, Norway
Open-ended answers

28 Do you have any comments or additional concerns that you would like to share?

(1) "In Norway, I live in peace. There is a lot of civility and a very good academic environment for children. The education system is better than Spain: more practical, and you learn strategies and skills that are more useful for everyday life. The school schedules are more suitable for family life and leisure time. In Spain, education is quite dense, theoretical and impractical.

I think it is difficult to integrate socially into Norwegian society or make Norwegian friends, which is easier in Spain according to the experience of foreigners there. Moreover, Spain offers a wider range of leisure activities that are free or at more affordable prices.

I also think that the Spanish health system is more professional than the Norwegian one. I feel safer when I am treated there than here."

(2) "Norwegian people are very affable at the beginning, but they live in their bubble, and their social life is very excluded from foreigners. There is racism, but it is hidden."

(3) "Norwegians have a reputation for not being racist, but you will never be able to have a Norwegian friend unless you like to travel. They just talk all the time about the places they have been in Spain: Torrevieja, Malaga or Gran Canaria. But they see us in the same way we see the Moroccans. It was really difficult for me to get the skattenummer and to find my first job. Because without the number, you can not get a work contract and vice-versa." [sic.]

(4) "The bad or good experiences that you have living in a country that is not yours depends 100% on your attitude."

(5) "I am very happy in Norway. We all have bad days. One of the few friends that I still have in Spain says that those who stay also suffer, since they have to deal with our absence. And that is not reflected in any study. I miss many things about Spain, but I am very comfortable with my life here and my career. In Spain, I think it would be impossible for me to have such a career, and in the end, it is very important to be happy with your job in order to have a good quality of life."

(6) "Norway is not for everyone. You have to like it and have a willingness to adapt yourself. And be really sure before taking the step."

(7) "You need to know how to live outside your home country to understand what it looks like to start from scratch: language, cultural differences, etc. But one thing is clear: The more effort you put into, the more you get in return."

(8) "Living in Norway is a good way to work and save money, and then, after a few years, move back and pay debts or buy a house."

(9) "Norway is, in my opinion, a very beautiful country and is more advanced than Spain (economically, etc) but not in the social and gastronomical area."

(10) "It is true that there are a lot of jobs. But in my case, my salary is so low in proportion to the prices that my quality of life is also low".

(11) "Since I came been here, I've seen many Spaniards who came here thinking that they would become millionaires and the truth is that adapting to this country is difficult. Then, they live depressed and hate this country simply because it is not Spain: you cannot find the same weather, people and culture."

(12) "Here you live well and in peace if you are working, but the quality of life in the Canary Islands was much better. Of course, the economy is terrible there…"

(13) "People migrate out of necessity. Painting a false picture of it will make people feel disappointed."

(14) "Your perspective changes over time… I do not think the same today as when I arrived, after a year, or four years…"

(15) "The best way to have a good experience in Norway is having a circle of close friendships; otherwise, it is a very sad country to be living in."

Translation
Responses: 15

A5 — NSD assessment

NORSK SENTER FOR FORSKNINGSDATA

Project title: Friends, friendship and social life in Norway: An ethnographic study of Spanish migrants living in Bergen
Reference number: 600473
Registered: 03.10.2018 av Daniel González Expósito - danigoex@gmail.com
Data controller (institution responsible for the project): NLA Høgskolen AS
Project leader (academic employee/supervisor or PhD candidate): Ole Johannes Kaland
Type of project: Student project, Master's thesis
Contact information, student: Daniel González Expósito, danigoex@gmail.com, tlf: 48394131
Project period: 01.11.2018 - 10.02.2020
Status: 28.01.2020 - Assessed

Assessments (3)

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(1) 15.01.2019 - Assessed

Our assessment is that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, presupposing that it is carried out in accordance with the information given in the Notification Form and attachments dated 15.01.19, as well as dialogue with NSD. The processing can begin.

NOTIFY CHANGES
If you intend to make changes to the processing of personal data in this project it may be necessary to notify NSD. This is done by updating the Notification Form. On our website we explain which changes must be notified. Wait until you receive an answer from us before you carry out the changes.

TYPE OF DATA AND DURATION
The project will be processing special categories of personal data about ethnicity, and general categories of personal data, until 01.06.19.

LEGAL BASIS
The project will gain consent from data subjects to process their personal data. We find that consent will meet the necessary requirements under art. 4 (11) and 7, in that it will be a freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous statement or action, which will be documented and can be withdrawn.
The legal basis for processing special categories of personal data is therefore explicit consent given by the data subject, cf. the General Data Protection Regulation art. 6.1 a), cf. art. 9.2 a), cf. the Personal Data Act § 10, cf. § 9 (2).
It is necessary to add the following information to your information sheet:
- Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:
- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

PRINCIPLES RELATING TO PROCESSING PERSONAL DATA
NSD finds that the planned processing of personal data will be in accordance with the principles under the General Data Protection Regulation regarding:
- lawfulness, fairness and transparency (art. 5.1 a), in that data subjects will receive sufficient information about the processing and will give their consent
- purpose limitation (art. 5.1 b), in that personal data will be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes, and will not be processed for new, incompatible purposes
- data minimisation (art. 5.1 c), in that only personal data which are adequate, relevant and necessary for the purpose of the project will be processed
- storage limitation (art. 5.1 e), in that personal data will not be stored for longer than is necessary to fulfil the project's purpose

THE RIGHTS OF DATA SUBJECTS

Data subjects will have the following rights in this project: transparency (art. 12), information (art. 13), access (art. 15), rectification (art. 16), erasure (art. 17), restriction of processing (art. 18), notification (art. 19), data portability (art. 20).
NB! Any exceptions must be justified and have a legal basis. These rights apply so long as the data subject can be identified in the collected data. (refer to arts. 21-22 if applicable).
NSD finds that the information that will be given to data subjects about the processing of their personal will meet the legal requirements for form and content, cf. art. 12.1 and art. 13.
We remind you that if a data subject contacts you about their rights, the data controller has a duty to reply within a month.

FOLLOW YOUR INSTITUTION'S GUIDELINES

NSD presupposes that the project will meet the requirements of accuracy (art. 5.1 d), integrity and confidentiality (art. 5.1 f) and security (art. 32) when processing personal data.
To ensure that these requirements are met you must follow your institution's internal guidelines and/or consult with your institution (i.e., the institution responsible for the project).

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

NSD will follow up the progress of the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded in accordance with what is documented.

Good luck with the project!

Contact person at NSD: spesialrådgiver Kjersti Haugstvedt
Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)

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(2) 01.07.2019 - Assessed

NSD has assessed the change registered on 26.06.2019.
The research period has been extended until 15.12.2019.
Please note that in case of further extensions, it may be necessary to inform the sample.
NSD will follow-up the project at the new end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the rest of the project!

Contact person at NSD: Jørgen Wincentsen
Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)

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(3) 28.01.2020 - Assessed

NSD has assessed the change registered on 13.01.2020 and 28.01.2020.
We find that the processing of personal data in this project will comply with data protection legislation, so long as it is carried out in accordance with what is documented in the Notification Form and attachments, dated 28.01.2020, as well as in correspondence with NSD. Everything is in place for the processing to continue.
The changes consist of some now methods of data collection, as well as adding new special categories of personal data (political opinions, religious beliefs, philosophical beliefs and sex life or sexual orientation). The participants, including "Third persons" have consented to the processing of personal data.
The research period has also been extended until 10.02.2020.

FOLLOW-UP OF THE PROJECT

NSD will follow-up the project at the planned end date in order to determine whether the processing of personal data has been concluded.

Good luck with the project!

Contact person at NSD: Jørgen Wincentsen
Data Protection Services for Research: +47 55 58 21 17 (press 1)