

## Tilburg University

### Web communities, immigration, and social capital

Maric, Jasmina

*Publication date:*  
2014

*Document Version*  
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

*Citation for published version (APA):*  
Maric, J. (2014). *Web communities, immigration, and social capital*. [s.n.].

#### General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal

#### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

# **Web Communities, Immigration, and Social Capital**

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor  
aan Tilburg University  
op gezag van de rector magnificus,  
prof. dr. Ph. Eijlander,  
in het openbaar te verdedigen ten overstaan van een  
door het college voor promoties aangewezen commissie  
in de Ruth First zaal van de Universiteit  
op dinsdag 18 november 2014 om 10.15 uur

door

**Jasmina Marić**

geboren op 24 augustus 1968 te Belgrado, Joegoslavië

Promotor:  
Prof. dr. H.J. van den Herik

Co-promotores:  
Dr. R. Cozijn  
Dr. M. Spotti

Promotiecommissie  
Prof.dr. A.P.J. van den Bosch  
Prof.dr. J.G. Lambooy  
Prof.dr. A. Laat  
Prof.dr. E.O. Postma  
Prof.dr. M. van Reisen



SIKS Dissertation Series No. 2014-39  
The research reported in this thesis has been carried out under the auspices of SIKS, the Dutch Research School for Information and Knowledge Systems.



TiCC Ph.D. Series No. 36

ISBN 978-91-628-9193-0  
Copyright © 2014 by Jasmina Marić  
Cover design by Tatjana Koraksić  
Printed by Kompendiet

*All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronically, mechanically, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of the author.*

To David



## Preface

Europe is in the midst of an immigration crisis. Anti-immigrant rhetoric is being heard from mainstream politicians. While xenophobic parties are on the rise, immigrants face an increasing marginalisation in all aspects of everyday life. Europe, whose history has been shaped by migration, is today a highly polarised society, and Europeans are mistrustful and nervous about new and recent immigrants. The way Europe will handle the challenges of immigration will, in greater part, determine the future of the European Union.

Europe needs the immediate development of creative approaches that can help in the restoration of a dialogue between Europeans and recent immigrants. If trust is not recovered, Europe's existential crisis, fuelled by the global economic crisis, can end up creating tragic consequences.

I personally, have had the rare opportunity to be an immigrant in different parts of Europe (South and North), and to experience immigrant lifestyles in different eras – without the web and with the web. The difference between these two immigrant experiences, a difference imposed by the existence of the web, was immense. After I realised that web communication fundamentally changed my experience of being an immigrant I engaged in scientific research in the field of web communication and immigration. My goal is to prove scientifically that the web is a new tool that can help in bridging the gap between immigrants and their host societies.

The aim of this thesis is to argue that the web is the medium in which the dialogue between native Europeans and immigrants is created. The web not only changed *how* people communicate, it also changed *with whom* people communicate. Web users are able to meet people online, even those who they may never meet in person, and in a way that avoids social and distance barriers. I believe that this simple fact is intuitively acknowledged as the feature of web communities which actually provides immigrants with new opportunities. Therefore I argue that web communities may be an appropriate tool to meet some of the challenges faced by immigrants.

My principal motive in writing this thesis is to investigate scientifically the validity and capacity of these ideas. By analysing the nature and the depth of the web communication by immigrants, as well as the social processes that this communication induce, in combination with the technology on which the

whole communication process rests, this thesis offers a scientific perspective on the topic of bridging social capital on the web.

This thesis consists of six Chapters. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the main concepts for my research – the problem statement and three research questions. Chapter 2 offers an overview of the literature on web communities, immigration, and social capital. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 constitute the main body of the research. Conclusions are provided in Chapter 6.

I wish to thank Joke Hellemons who kindly helped me many times with the correspondence and administrative matters. I also wish to thank my three thesis supervisors, Professor Jaap van den Herik, Dr. Rein Cozijn, and Dr. Max Spotti, for their knowledge and support with which they encouraged me to endure throughout the whole challenging process. I owe special gratitude to Professor Jaap van den Herik who believed in my research idea and accepted to teach me. He taught me more in the first four hours of our meeting than I had learned in the three years of my research before I met him. I am privileged for the opportunity to work with Professor Jaap van den Herik.

My indebtedness to David Levy remains boundless for providing me with necessary oxygen for the creation, duration and finalisation of this thesis. Better yet, if everyone had a mentor like David this world would be a different place. I am honoured to call David a friend.

Finally, my special gratitude and love goes to my family, Davor and Vigor, for their patience and unfailing support.

Jasmina Marić  
Gothenburg, June 2014

# Table of Contents

Preface .....	v
Table of Contents .....	vii
List of Definitions .....	xiii
List of Figures .....	xv
List of Tables .....	xvii
1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Immigration.....	2
1.2 Information technology .....	3
1.3 Social capital .....	4
1.4 Historical changes and their development.....	6
1.5 Main concepts .....	8
1.5.1 Immigrants' integration.....	8
1.5.2 Web communities.....	11
1.5.3 Six characteristics of the new web space.....	14
1.5.4 Social capital: building integration networks.....	15
1.6 Problem statement and three research questions .....	20
1.7 Research design and methodology .....	23
1.7.1 Descriptive analysis .....	23
1.7.2 Good practice analysis.....	24
1.7.3 Interviews.....	25
1.7.4 Scope of the research .....	26
1.8 Structure of the thesis .....	27
2 The Internet in everyday life – online in offline.....	29
2.1 The growth of Internet .....	30
2.2 The transformation of social interaction.....	32
2.3 The role of IT in social integration .....	34
2.4 Is a web community a social network? .....	36
2.4.1 Resonance.....	37
2.4.2 Density.....	38
2.4.3 Boundedness .....	38
2.4.4 Range .....	38
2.4.5 Exclusivity .....	39
2.4.6 Social control.....	40
2.4.7 Strength of ties.....	40



2.5	Immigrants' social capital on the web .....	41
2.6	How modern trends influence migration .....	45
2.7	Online and offline synergies .....	49
2.8	The effects of online influences on the offline lives of immigrants .....	50
3	The motivation of immigrants for using the web .....	55
3.1	The research field.....	56
3.2	Analytical approach .....	57
3.2.1	Location .....	57
3.2.2	Classification.....	58
3.2.3	Technological analysis.....	59
3.3	Research restrictions.....	60
3.4	Classification .....	62
3.5	The case of Serbian diaspora.....	71
3.5.1	Location .....	72
3.5.2	Classification .....	72
3.5.3	Technological analysis .....	74
3.6	The case of Swedish immigrants.....	76
3.6.1	Location .....	76
3.6.2	Classification.....	76
3.6.3	Technological analysis.....	77
3.7	Interpretation of findings and comparison of two cases.....	78
3.8	Answer to RQ1 .....	81
4	The acquisition of social capital .....	85
4.1	Indicators of social capital acquisition .....	86
4.2	The historical background of the two communities.....	90
4.2.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	91
4.2.2	THE LOCAL .....	91
4.3	Demographic items .....	92
4.3.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	92
4.3.2	THE LOCAL .....	93
4.3.3	Comparison.....	98
4.4	Research methodology .....	99
4.4.1	Internet-based ethnographic approach .....	100
4.4.2	Criteria for the five KPIs .....	102
4.5	Indicator 1: Community building .....	105
4.5.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	105
4.5.2	Factors and measurements.....	108
4.5.3	THE LOCAL .....	108
4.5.4	Factors and measurements.....	110

4.5.5	Comparison of community building .....	110
4.5.6	Section conclusions .....	111
4.6	Indicator 2: Community norms and values .....	112
4.6.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	113
4.6.2	Factors and measurements.....	115
4.6.3	THE LOCAL .....	115
4.6.4	Factors and measurements.....	116
4.6.5	Comparison of generation of trust .....	116
4.6.6	Section conclusions .....	117
4.7	Indicator 3: Community identity and immigration issues.....	117
4.7.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	118
4.7.2	Factors and measurements.....	121
4.7.3	THE LOCAL .....	121
4.7.4	Factors and measurements.....	125
4.7.5	Comparison of community identity and immigration issues.....	125
4.7.6	Section conclusions .....	127
4.8	Indicator 4: Diffuse reciprocal activities .....	127
4.8.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	129
4.8.2	Factors and measurements.....	130
4.8.3	THE LOCAL .....	130
4.8.4	Factors and measurements.....	131
4.8.5	Comparison of diffuse reciprocal activities .....	131
4.8.6	Section conclusions .....	132
4.9	Indicator 5: Community engagement.....	132
4.9.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	133
4.9.2	Factors and measurements.....	134
4.9.3	THE LOCAL .....	134
4.9.4	Factors and measurements.....	135
4.9.5	Comparison of community engagement.....	135
4.9.6	Section conclusions .....	135
4.10	The division between bonding and bridging .....	136
4.10.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	136
4.10.2	Factors and measurements.....	138
4.10.3	THE LOCAL .....	139
4.10.4	Factors and measurements.....	141
4.10.5	Comparison of bonding and bridging activity.....	142
4.10.6	Section conclusions .....	142
4.11	An answer to RQ2.....	143
4.11.1	Conclusions on the KPIs and the division between bonding and bridging activity .....	143

4.11.2	Validated KPIs and tangibility .....	148
5	Offline effects for immigrants .....	149
5.1	The undeniable impact of IT on immigrants' lives.....	150
5.2	Methodology: online interviews .....	152
5.2.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	158
5.2.2	THE LOCAL .....	160
5.2.3	The discovery of the invisible layer .....	162
5.3	Demographic data of the participants .....	164
5.3.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	164
5.3.2	THE LOCAL .....	166
5.4	Community building.....	166
5.4.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	166
5.4.2	THE LOCAL .....	170
5.4.3	Section conclusion .....	173
5.5	Community norms and values .....	174
5.5.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	174
5.5.2	THE LOCAL .....	176
5.5.3	Section conclusion .....	177
5.6	Community identity and immigration issues .....	178
5.6.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	179
5.6.2	THE LOCAL .....	183
5.6.3	Section conclusion .....	186
5.7	Diffuse reciprocal activities .....	187
5.7.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	188
5.7.2	THE LOCAL .....	191
5.7.3	Section conclusion .....	193
5.8	Community engagement .....	193
5.8.1	SERBIAN CAFÉ .....	194
5.8.2	THE LOCAL .....	196
5.8.3	Section conclusion .....	198
5.9	An answer to RQ3.....	199
5.9.1	An information centre for the real life world .....	201
5.9.2	A communication space .....	203
5.9.3	Relationship building tool .....	204
6	Conclusions and future research .....	207
6.1	The research process.....	207
6.1.1	Descriptive analysis – quantitative analysis .....	208
6.1.2	Ethnographic interpretation – qualitative analysis .....	208
6.1.3	Interviews – qualitative analysis .....	209

6.2	Answers to the RQs .....	210
6.2.1	The main motivation (RQ1) .....	211
6.2.2	Is social capital a tangible acquisition? (RQ2).....	212
6.2.3	The offline effects (RQ3) .....	213
6.3	Answers to the Problem Statement and our Conclusions.....	214
6.3.1	Research methodology .....	214
6.3.2	Connecting the conclusions of the RQs .....	215
6.3.3	Answering the Problem Statement.....	217
6.3.4	Contrasting theory and research results .....	217
6.4	Future research .....	219
	References .....	221
	Appendices.....	241
	Appendix A.....	241
	Appendix B.....	243
	Appendix C.....	245
	Appendix D.....	247
	Appendix E.....	255
	Appendix F .....	261
	Summary .....	327
	Samenvatting.....	333
	Curriculum Vitae .....	339
	SIKS Dissertation Series .....	341
	TiCC Ph.D. Series .....	357



## List of Definitions

Definition 1.1	(Immigrants).....	2
Definition 1.2	(Social Network).....	3
Definition 1.3	(Web Community).....	4
Definition 1.4	(Social Capital).....	4
Definition 1.5	(Bonding Social Capital) .....	5
Definition 1.6	(Bridging Social Capital) .....	5
Definition 1.7	(Network Society).....	6
Definition 1.8	(Incorporation).....	11
Definition 1.9	(Integration).....	11
Definition 1.10	(Web Space).....	13



## List of Figures

Figure 3.1	Porter's classification of virtual communities (Porter, 2004).....	68
Figure 4.1	Invitation to advertise on THE LOCAL web community .....	109
Figure 4.2	The readers of THE LOCAL and their work.....	109
Figure 5.1	The SERBIAN CAFÉ Publishing page.....	158
Figure 5.2	THE LOCAL users' Control Panel .....	161





## List of Tables

Table 1.1	The structure of the thesis.....	28
Table 3.1	Classification of web communities as a function of characteristics of communication (Burnett , 2000) .....	64
Table 3.2	Classification of web communities as a function of supporting platforms.....	65
Table 3.3	Classification of web communities as a function of characteristics of communication (Dube et al, 2006).....	66
Table 3.4	Classification of virtual communities as a function of establishment and relationship orientation (Porter, 2004) ....	69
Table 3.5	Classification of the 67 web spaces of the Serbian diaspora according to Porter’s model (see Figure 3.1).....	69
Table 3.6	Classification of the 67 web spaces of the Serbian diaspora by expanding Porter’s model .....	71
Table 3.7	Classification of 67 web spaces for Serbian diaspora immigrants .....	74
Table 3.8	Daily reach of Serbian diaspora web spaces .....	75
Table 3.9	Classification of 36 web spaces of Swedish Immigration .....	77
Table 3.10	Daily reach of web spaces of Swedish Immigration .....	78
Table 3.11	Comparison between percentages Serbian diaspora and Swedish immigration .....	79
Table 3.12	Chi square statistics for Serbian Diaspora (SD) and Swedish Immigration (SI) .....	80
Table 4.1	Dimensions and components of social capital by Parts (2009) .....	88
Table 4.2	SERBIAN CAFÉ users characterised by place of residence .....	92
Table 4.3	SERBIAN CAFÉ users characterised by age, gender, education level and place of connection .....	93
Table 4.4	THE LOCAL users characterised by place of origin .....	94
Table 4.5	THE LOCAL users characterised by place of residence.....	94
Table 4.6	THE LOCAL users roughly characterised by age, gender, education .....	94
Table 4.7	THE LOCAL users characterised by place of residence.....	95
Table 4.8	THE LOCAL users characterised by place age, gender, education .....	95
Table 4.9	THE LOCAL users characterised by place of origin .....	96
Table 4.10	THE LOCAL users characterised by place of residence.....	96

Table 4.11	THE LOCAL users roughly characterised by age, gender, and education) .....	96
Table 4.12	Combined results of THE LOCAL users' place of origin .....	97
Table 4.13	Combined results of THE LOCAL users' place of residence .....	97
Table 4.14	Combined results of THE LOCAL users, characterised by age, gender and educational level.....	97
Table 4.15	Comparison of data of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL users' place of origin .....	88
Table 4.16	Comparison of data of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL users' place of residence .....	88
Table 4.17	Comparison of data of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL users' age, gender, education level .....	88
Table 4.18	Number of quotations for validation of KPIs .....	104
Table 4.19	Criteria for validation of KPIs and the divide between bonding and bridging activity .....	143
Table 5.1	Three new offline effects in relation to the eight issues .....	200
Table 5.2	Three new offline effects in relation to the five KPIs.....	201
Table 6.1	The five Key Performance Indicators and their seven criteria.....	209
Table 6.2	The five Key Performance Indicators and their interview questions.....	210

# 1 Introduction

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the continuation of migration processes accelerated due to four rather diverse developments and their consequences. They are best indicated by (1) the growing globalisation, (2) modern technology, (3) the new and social media, and (4) cheap flights. For our study we combine the developments and products (2), (3), and (4) into one phenomenon: information technology (IT). The present globalisation is not the first one (cf. Massey and Taylor, 2004), but it is new in the sense of creating new challenges. We observe four factors that can lead to challenges: (a) the growing international mobility of people, whereby millions are not living in the countries of their citizenship; (b) the impact of global markets; (c) the transnational corporations; and (d) the international culture. All four factors have exerted much influence in the past twenty years (for the period 1990-2000, see Castles and Davidson, 2000; for 2000-2010 see Castells, 2010). Research from the UN estimates that the total number of international immigrants in the world in 2010 was around 214 million, approximately 3% of the world's population (<http://esa.un.org>).

At the present time (2013) we see two phenomena interacting: (a) human migration; and (b) the IT revolution. Our research is based on these two phenomena in combination with the concept of social capital. We aim at understanding the mutual relationship of the three concepts. Since IT is too broad a concept for our study, we restrict this concept to web communities. We consider web communities as the main agent of our research. Therefore this thesis is entitled: "Web Communities, Immigrants, and Social Capital".

In this chapter we introduce the reader into the intricacies of the relationships. We start by explaining immigration (section 1.1), information technology (section 1.2), and social capital (section 1.3). Then we focus on historical changes (section 1.4). To understand the research in its full depth we elaborate on the main concepts (section 1.5): immigrants' integration, web communities, and social capital. The concepts used in these introductory descriptions of our ideas are the drivers for the problem statement and the three research questions (section 1.6). In section 1.7, we give our research design and describe the research methodology to be followed throughout the whole thesis. Finally, we provide the structure of the thesis in section 1.8.

## 1.1 Immigration

The first worldwide phenomenon to be discussed is immigration. From the literature and from immigrants' experiences we learn that immigrants: (1) are usually treated differently than native citizens; (2) cope with specific barriers; and (3) remain for generations in lower economic and social conditions, even when living in the richest and most developed countries of the Western world. According to an OECD report (see Rudiger and Spencer, 2003) we observe that, with regard to employment, immigrants and ethnic minorities suffer on a regular basis from many setbacks. The following five setbacks are identified by Rudiger and Spencer (2003): (1) low employment rates; (2) concentration in specific segments of the labour market; (3) low wages; (4) poor working conditions; and (5) under-representation in senior positions in the workplace. Admittedly, all five setbacks are work related and not all setbacks occur in every European country. For the sake of clarity we present our definition of immigrants below.

**Definition 1.1 (Immigrants).** *Immigrants are people who are trying to settle permanently in more prosperous places, migrating from rural to urban, from non-opportunity areas to job available areas, from periphery to core (cf. Li, 2003).*

Here we remark that nowadays migration processes are also taking place between urban locations. Immigrants are moving to other countries, or between two countries other than their own, and between different cities in the same country (Vertovec, 2007). In the definition, we see the notions "periphery" and "core". For a proper understanding these terms should be defined. However, what is core for one person can still be periphery for somebody else. For instance, a migration can be based on ethnic reasons, political reasons, reasons of religion and so on, and then the core can be different for the migrants. In this thesis we maintain the notions as they are, with potentially different interpretations when they are not crucial for our investigations. We believe that they serve our idea of immigrants very well and that they are tractable in our discourse.

In general, European countries have different traditions and different approaches for dealing with immigration. Yet, in all cases, socio-economic data for employment, education, health and housing by the immigrant population has showed that an equal and proportional inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities in vital spheres of life has not been achieved (cf.

Dumont and Lemaitre, 2004). Three years later a study by Buonfino et al. (2007) found that immigrants even brought more polarisation and scepticism into the host society. In the past five years many investigators have emphasised that polarisation and scepticism (Somerville & Goodman, 2010; Wagner, Muller & Scherrer, 2011; Kymlica, 2012). Immigration therefore remains a problem for the immigrants and for the receiving countries. However, since the emergence of IT, important changes have been introduced in the way people communicate and connect with each other, as a result of which we may expect an important change in the situation of immigrants. That is precisely our research topic.

## 1.2 Information technology

A second worldwide phenomenon is the IT revolution. It started around 1990 with the introduction of the world wide web (www) which resulted in an exponential growth in the number of Internet users. By the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was estimated that there were 300 million Internet users (cf. Warf, 2001). According to Internet World Stats, the number of Internet users by the end of March 2011 was roughly 2.095 milliard<sup>1</sup>, which is 30.2% of the world population ([www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm](http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm)). Thanks to the fast development of Internet technology we nowadays have: easy mutual communication, straightforward use of multimedia files, almost immediate interaction, real-time communication, and user-friendly software solutions. The easy usability of publishing software, and the fact that users do not need to make any investment in order to publish, led to an enormous increase in the number of web sites. That increase coincided with the new concept of *interactivity* and the corresponding immediacy of action. Interactivity is a form of communication in which all are able to communicate (i.e., to act and react). As a direct consequence, all individual web users were able to construct a public profile for themselves and to share an arbitrary connection with other users. This is called a social network.

**Definition 1.2 (Social Network).** *A social network is a group of people who mutually interact and share their connections.*

In this thesis social network sites and their users are called *web communities* (cf. Boyd and Ellison, 2007). Below, we provide a brief support for the development of this concept, which returns in definition 1.3. Already in the

---

<sup>1</sup> In American English a milliard is called a billion (=10 to the power 9)

1980s Wellman (1988) acknowledged that a community is the basic metaphor for the most important class of relationship. He argued that *community* is the primary tie that goes beyond a household and connects people in larger social systems. Subsequently, communities provide people with new means for gaining access to the resources of these social systems. Later, Wellman (1996) expanded the “community” concept by defining a computer mediated social network as follows.

“When a computer network connects people, it is a *social network*.”  
(Wellman, 1997; p. 2)

We take this definition and Wellman’s other ideas together, and define web communities as follows.

**Definition 1.3 (Web Community).** *A web community is a group of individuals who mutually interact in a social network by using the web.*

Borkert, Cingolani, and Premazzi (2009) argue that the usage of IT by immigrants is a key factor in creating the dynamics of modern immigration. New IT-based networks create a larger pull factor for further immigration and by doing so they increase the overall extent of migration. As a consequence of that increase we may state that changing the way immigrants are connected has brought a change in the understanding of social capital (see 1.3).

### **1.3 Social capital**

Having defined immigration as the intention of immigrants to settle permanently in a new society (Li, 2003), we will introduce the topic of social capital as one of the positive influences on an immigrant’s integration into the arrived-in society (cf. Cachia et al., 2007). As an aside we mention that we treat immigration in the narrow sense as defined by Li (2003), and not in the broader sense as defined by Vertovec (2007). Moreover, we define social capital as follows.

**Definition 1.4 (Social Capital).** *Social capital represents a single value that is composed of four other values that come from: (1) connections between individuals who are members of social networks; and (2) three elements that are derived from their connection, namely the norms of reciprocity, trustworthiness, and cooperation.*

Discussing social capital as a fundamental concept, Ostrom (2000) analyses four characteristics of social capital: (1) social capital does not wear out with use, but rather with disuse; (2) social capital is difficult to observe and measure; (3) social capital is hard to construct through external actions; and (4) governmental institutions strongly influence the type and the level of social capital available to individuals, in order to pursue long lasting development effects. According to Ostrom and Ahn (2003), social capital is a property of individuals and their relationships that improves their capability to solve collective problems.

Web communities and their features are a prime example of social capital, since they may facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit (cf. Putnam, 1993). Social capital provides at least three vital resources for immigrants: (1) connections; (2) information; and (3) networks that give a sense of identity and a feeling of belonging to the community. Moreover, all three are quite useful as practical support in everyday life. Scholars (Granovetter, 1983; Putnam, 2000; Norris, 2002; Putnam, 2004) made the distinction between two types of social capital, viz. (a) bonding; and (b) bridging; depending on the question of to whom a person is connected. Taking the best from all definitions we define the two types below.

**Definition 1.5 (Bonding Social Capital).** *Bonding social capital is social capital based on strong ties between individuals, family ties, and closest friends, connecting people of the same background and similar beliefs.*

**Definition 1.6 (Bridging Social Capital).** *Bridging social capital is social capital based on weak ties between individuals, acquaintances, and colleagues, connecting people of diverse background and beliefs.*

According to Norris (2002) it is still not clear to what extent IT has the capacity to supplement, restore, or even replace social contacts. Her research strongly suggests that online contacts do bring together people who share the same beliefs or interests. The bonding social capital of a small community enables those of different backgrounds and beliefs to exchange ideas, which may lead to a bridging social capital. However, Zinnbauer (2007) claims that social capital delivered by IT is more often of a bonding than of a bridging nature. By concluding that this might be dangerous, having immigrants mostly using IT to stay connected with their country of origin and thus disconnected from the hosting society, he acknowledges that *social capital acquisition* by IT usage is quite important for the inclusion of



immigrants. Zinnbauer suggests that further research should be performed in order to find a way to use social networking in a positive direction. Furthermore, the contemporary migration dynamic has been changed as a consequence of historical changes, so we next discuss how those changes have influenced the current state of immigration.

## 1.4 Historical changes and their development

From the start of this thesis we have emphasised that we live in a time of great historical changes. At this point we introduce the emergence of social capital and its consequences. The processes underlying the changes thus involve an interaction between three concepts: (a) human migration; (b) the information technology revolution; and (c) the emergence of social capital as a new form of social organisation - *networking*. The interaction between these three concepts creates a new social structure, called a network society (Castells, 2002). In section 1.5 we will examine further the development of these three concepts, leading to the main fields of our research.

**Definition 1.7 (Network Society).** *“Network society is a social formation with an infrastructure of social and media networks enabling its prime mode of organisation at all levels (individual, group/organisational, and societal)” (van Dijk, 2006, p.20).*

According to Castells the new social structure permeates throughout all layers of our society. That fact elevates the concept of the network society to be the starting idea of this research. Assuming that we live in a new form of social organisation (i.e., networking), and assuming that we are surrounded by network technology and the proliferation of web communities (i.e., new social structures in the virtual world), the challenging question is: Why should we not consider these networks as a new opportunity for the easier integration of immigrant societies?

Obviously, all immigrants have a need for information because they are tasked with solving many everyday practical problems in order to adjust to their life in a new and different country. In an attempt to satisfy this need, immigrants are using all available means of technology and human resources. Internet users claim that the Internet provides the best source of information, by virtue of its new and better means of communication, while some ten years ago Internet sceptics claimed that the Internet just keeps people away from the best form of information, which is that provided by real

life experiences and by their communities (cf. Wellman, Quan-Haase, Witte & Hampton, 2001). At the present many results show that no one is completely correct on this matter (cf. Wellman et al., 2001; Maya-Jariego et al., 2009; Ala-Mutka, 2010). According to Wellman and his colleagues, the Internet is becoming normalised and incorporated into everyday life. However, in 2001 they argued that an intensively used Internet would indeed be associated with an increased participation in voluntary organisations and politics, but also that the Internet would supplement the existing acquisition of social capital in real life. Due to progress since then current opinions suggest that the Internet is empowering the individual by: (1) an increased use of information and knowledge (Ala-Mutka et al., 2009); (2) an increase of interpersonal connectivity (Ala-Mutka, 2010); and (3) organisational involvement (Maya-Jariego et al., 2009). Moreover, there is further supporting evidence from: (4) the set of recommendations for using IT for the purpose of immigrant integration in the European Union (EU), proposed by the report of Codagnone and Kluzer (2011); and (5) the positive effects of learning a second language (L2) by using IT literacy programs (Driessen et al., 2011).

From many observations (e.g., Fisher, Durrance, and Hinton, 2004; Chiswick and Miller, 2007; Scopsi, 2009; Diminescu et al., 2009; Nedelcu, 2009; Spotti, Kluzer and Ferrari, 2010) we learn that immigrants are enthusiastic users of technologies. According to Chiswick and Miller (2007), recently arrived immigrants are much more likely (by 15%) to use computers than the native born. Further analysis shows that computer usage has a positive effect on earnings, both for the native born and for immigrants, yet the effects are much larger for the foreign born. An earlier study by Fisher et al. (2004) showed how literacy and coping skills are used to benefit the immigrant users of public library software. That study showed that community services delivered by IT usage can give the immigrants long-term positive results. The line of reasoning is as follows: Immigrants become long-term users, they spread positive effects and satisfactory stories which in turn lead to an increased number of users among friends and family. This holds even for newly arrived immigrants. Fisher et al. (2004) stated that this was a clear example of a strong social impact that enabled the building of social capital, and subsequently scholars confirmed a positive impact of IT usage on social integration (Georgiadou and Kekkeris, 2007; Kluzer, Haché, and Codagnone, 2008; Osimo, 2008; Diminescu et al., 2009; Ala-Mutka et al., 2009; Van Hoyer, Van Hooft, and Lievens, 2009; Rainer and Siedler, 2009; Ala-Mutka, 2010; Spotti et al., 2010; Codagnone and Kluzer, 2011).

The developments of the past ten years have been described and predicted by many authors. We single out two groups of researchers since they were among the first groups within their topic of research to describe and predict the development of the use of IT instruments by immigrants. The first group, represented by Staeheli et al. (2002), pointed out that the Internet is much more effective as an *information tool* than as a tool for the mobilisation of immigrants. Many of the web sites identified in their research were directed at providing services and they served as an advocacy for low-income or otherwise marginalised immigrants, while only government and business-sponsored sites provided information that might also be helpful for “high flying” immigrants.

The second group, represented by Fisher et al. (2004), argues that an immigrant’s need for *emotional security* is driven by a range of social needs, including the need to meet others in similar circumstances, and the need to feel part of a larger, new community, as well as the need to maintain connections with their native culture. The Internet and web communities combine to create one of the best tools to satisfy that need for emotional security. Currently, the emphasis of researchers in the fields of IT and immigration is on providing sufficient information relating to the adaptation possibilities against the five setbacks identified in section 1.1.

## **1.5 Main concepts**

The use of concepts is a delicate matter, the more so when previously chosen concepts change in meaning and application over time. In such cases experienced researchers adapt concepts and their names to handle new research questions appropriately. We follow this course when defining the main concepts of this thesis. The theoretical framework of this study combines three fields of interest: (a) the integration of immigrants (1.5.1); (b) web communities (1.5.2) and six characteristics of web spaces (1.5.3); and (c) social capital (1.5.4). In our discussion below of these three fields we employ seminal publications as well as recent publications, preferring seminal publications so as to provide robust credentials.

### **1.5.1 Immigrants’ integration**

In section 1.1 we provided some background information and gave a selected definition. Below we focus on the term “integration”. Vermeulen and Penninx (2000) argue that the term integration is more appropriate than other terms

and synonyms employed in the literature, stating that integration in Europe exists in three predominant models:

- (1) the assimilation model – as in France,
- (2) the partial exclusion model – as in Germany,
- (3) the multicultural model – as in Sweden.

According to Vermeulen and Penninx (2000) the term integration mostly suggests a need for unity, harmony, and a normative census. Somewhat earlier, a big scientific debate in this specific field had resulted in proposing the new term *incorporation*, hoping that it would be less prejudicial (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc (1995) did not debate the issue of assimilation vs. transnationalism, but instead commented on incorporation that can be local, national, and global at the same time. In the literature the term *assimilation* was abandoned, and the more adequate term *integration* was introduced. Still, there is an argument that the term integration should instead be *incorporation* because it covers a wider area and may function as an umbrella concept. However, Vermeulen and Penninx (2000) use integration exactly as this umbrella concept. No matter how big is the debate on the terminology, it is important to emphasise that there is no disagreement about the goals of immigrants with respect to social and economic incorporation/integration.

The goals of the integration policy for immigrants are: (1) full and active citizenship, which implies rights and duties on both sides. The government is under obligation to provide opportunities and immigrants are obliged to embrace them (see Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000); (2) equal access, both for native and immigrant citizens, to all the important institutions in the host-country; and (3) equal participation in economic and political life. There is a huge debate on how socio-economic and socio-cultural integration influence each other (for the moment we disregard the question as to whether both can be attained at all). And which factors are responsible for successful upward mobility is still a central issue in immigration-integration theories. Two instances of issues are: (1) is cultural assimilation a precondition for upward mobility? and (2) is upward mobility delivered by group solidarity? (cf. Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). The literature shows that, in the long run, almost all immigrant groups integrate into their host society (see Lindo, 2000; Putnam, 2007). What varies between different immigrant groups is the period of time in which the immigrants achieve integration.

It is rather important to keep in mind that the process of integration is not a one-way street. Whether or not they will manage to integrate successfully does not only depend on the immigrants themselves. Integration is a two-way process that also depends on the host society and how and when they will accept the newcomers. According to Lindo (2000), who describes this two-way process, the integration of immigrants “that rarely beat the ideological drums” (p.124) tends to be much easier and faster. He refers to the South European immigrants in the Netherlands who did not have a need to be profiled in terms of ethnic differences. The reason may be that Dutch society, according to Lindo (2000), labelled the “cultural distance” to South Europeans as “small” in comparison with the distance to Turks or Moroccans. He expressed it as follows. “At a more informal level, socio-cultural integration involves the degree to which one develops interpersonal contacts with individuals from the receiving society, or if these contacts remain limited to one’s own group. Ethnic cohesion and participation in society are not mutually exclusive; persons who associate frequently and strongly with members of their own group do not necessarily have fewer contacts with people and institutions outside their own group. In addition, the degree to which one adopts the behavioural patterns that are customary in the surrounding society, and the degree to which one’s lifestyle, habits, and practices are accepted by the surrounding society belong to the domain of socio-cultural integration.” (Lindo, 2000, p.125)

Elaborating further on the characteristics of this two-way process of integration, Vermeulen and Penninx (2000) claim that it is not the size of the differences that is crucial, rather it is the significance that is awarded to those differences – sometimes small differences can make more problems than big ones. According to Glick Schiller et al. (2006), contemporary immigrants that used to be perceived as uprooted people, facing painful difficulties in new societies, are best understood as “transmigrants”, thanks to the new concept of transnational migration – being linked and recognized by more nation states. Glick Schiller puts processes and social relations into focus rather than culture, identity or functional integration. This exploration of ties within and beyond the boundaries of the nation state helps the discussion of the simultaneity, viz. incorporation within a nation state and transnationality (Glick Schiller, 2003). Incorporation is defined as the processes of building or maintaining networks of social relations through which an individual becomes linked to an institution recognised by one or more nation states. Bearing all this in mind, integration is defined in our research somewhat in line with all

previously presented definitions, but leaning the most on Glick Schiller's (2008) definition of incorporation.

**Definition 1.8 (Incorporation).** *“Incorporation can be defined as the processes of building or maintaining networks of social relations through which an individual or an organized group of individuals becomes linked to an institution recognized by one or more nation states.”* (Glick Schiller, 2008, p.10)

Derived from the above-mentioned ideas we arrive at the central claim of this thesis: successful immigrant integration is based on a network-building ability.

In our research we use the following definition for the concept of integration.

**Definition 1.9 (Integration).** *Immigrants are integrated into their new host society when: (1) they communicate on an equal level with all parts of the host society by sharing the communicational modules, connections, and networks; (2) they are as well connected as are their hosts; and (3) the host society fully accepts them, i.e., it ceases to treat them as a corpus alienum.*

Having now defined immigrant integration, in the next subsection we elaborate on our second field of interest – web communities.

### 1.5.2 Web communities

As a sequel to section 1.2 on information technology, we now concentrate on web communities. The word “community” comes from the Latin word “*communitas*” which means sharing, participating, and fellowship. From this it is clear that a community is much more than just a set of people. At the end of the 19th century, Tönnies (1887, 2002) made a distinction between two types of social groupings: community and society, or in the German original *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.

*Gemeinschaft*, or community, represents a grouping based on: (a) a feeling of togetherness and mutual bonds; (b) shared beliefs; and (c) a common system of values. These bases of grouping create a goal to be aspired to by associations that are marked by a “unity of will”. Tönnies (1887) saw the family as a perfect example of *Gemeinschaft*. In contrast *Gesellschaft*, or society, represents a group of people that never takes more importance than the self-interest of the individuals. Social ties in this type of group are usually superficial and instrumental.

At the same time, communities that exist by using features of the web may be described by the term “web communities”. There are many discussions in the literature regarding the *definition* of a web community or any other community mediated through technology, such as online communities or virtual communities. In definition 1.3 we gave our description of web community. However, for a better understanding it is wise to review some other opinions. Woolgar (2002) calls web communities “early enthusiasm”. He gives special attention to confusing ideas and terms such as “virtual society”, “interactive”, “remote”, “distance”, “digital”, “electronic”, “e”, and “network” – terms that are to be found throughout the literature, describing different activities or social institutions. We have adopted the term “web” (see section 1.2) in order: (1) to find a particular term that will encompass this research about communities that exist and function on the world wide web; and (2) to work with a term that refers to where changes are taking place. The adoption of the term “web” was made for five reasons.

- (1) The web is not the Internet – the web comprises almost everything from the first e-mail onwards: IRC systems, e-mails, mail lists, forums, web sites, and even web communities. The web is part of the Internet’s process of evolution. It is a technology developed in the 1990s delivered by the application-level protocol - HyperText Transfer Protocol (HTTP). The technology led to the establishment of the World Wide Web, thus labelled, by Sir Tim Berners-Lee in 1990.
- (2) The latest evolution of user friendly software in the 2000s – software that enabled users also to be designers and contributors – enabled real time interactivity and led to a new conceptualisation of space. Nevertheless, Web 2.0 is not a new technological achievement in the sense of new Internet protocols, different connections or data delivery. It is based on linked data and typed data. Web 2.0 is just another label that intuitively offers more, saying that a shift in communication is made, from passive to active, from a reader to a contributor.
- (3) The web is a network – the meaning of the word web, cobweb, spider web, is a network of silken thread. Therefore, metaphorically, the term web in itself stands for a network of communication lines, so the terms web and world wide web are synonyms.
- (4) The web is encompassing – all terms that exist in the literature such as “virtual”, “interactive”, “remote”, “distance”, “digital”, “electronic”, “e” etc. are comprised in the term web. By picking this term, we left behind numerous discussions and inconsistencies that exist based only on many terms that are mostly used to discuss the same thing.

- (5) Web community has an explicit meaning (see definition 1.3) – it stands for a community that emerged *using* the web and which exists *on* the web.

It is important to emphasise that in this research we distinguish between web space, web site, and web community. Web site and web community are most closely related, but certainly not the same. The main difference between them is that a traditional web site provides one-way information, published information of which the user has the passive role of reader, whereas web community stands for a group of people that interact on the web. They can all design, communicate, publish, and read in the same web environment. In contrast to one-directional web sites and two-directional web communities we introduce the concept web space. To make the difference clear, we offer definition 1.10 – our definition of web space.

**Definition 1.10 (Web Space).** *Web space describes all kinds of web activities associated with a particular web address.*

The term web space is useful, particularly so long as it is not clear that the place involved is a web site or web community. Web community users have a purpose of interaction that is supported by technology – they are guided by norms and policies (Preece, 2000). There are many parameters by which we can distinguish one type of web community from another. The following five parameters are clear examples: the effects of time, frequency of interaction, links within or outside the community, the technology that enables its existence, and the members' motivations for joining the community. Easy-to-use publishing tools have led to many different *types* of web communities. They deal with many topics, for instance: professional, hobby, sport, art, games, open source, file sharing, social, local shared beliefs, knowledge, education, news, or even illicit affairs. Web communities can also be classified according to how immediate is the communication among their members. It can be: (1) asynchronous – when one member sends a message and others read and reply to it sometime later; and (2) real-time – when members send and read messages almost simultaneously. There are many classifications of web communities and they are all based on the main topic of the activities performed by their members.

The reason why this research is centred on web communities as a tool lies in the drastic changes that have been introduced by the emergence of social software (see Boyd, 2006; Hellsten, 2007; Ala-Mutka et al., 2009; Ala-Mutka,



2010), i.e., virtual communities, or here, web communities. To be more precise, the changes are: (1) in the way the technologies are designed; (2) in the way that participation spreads; and (3) in the way people behave. The design of new technologies is shifted from blocked systems toward open systems where users continually make changes depending on how they use the technologies. The systems in the early days of web design, i.e. in the 1990s, were typically closed systems. Only technologically advanced users were able to make contributions or change published information. After 2000 the web evolved into an open system whereby a contribution on the web was no longer only preserved for those who were technically advanced. Currently, every user can contribute, comment, and exchange information, making the system open (Blogger, Twitter, Facebook, Discussion boards etc.). Thus we can see that the process of design changed toward a continuous process of designing and learning from users. At the same time, usability is based on the human interaction paradigm.

The development of the web from a closed to an open system changed the way users communicate with each other. Since easy publishing software enabled every user to be a contributor, the passive role of reading the content on the web changed into active interaction between users. This interactivity changed the way we currently perceive the web and the way we operate in a fully new public space, called a web space.

### **1.5.3 Six characteristics of the new web space**

The proliferation of web communities brought to life a new system of values and a fully new public space. Below we provide six characteristics of the new web space.

- (1) *Democratisation* – The possibility to communicate with the rest of one's society without being censored, controlled or observed, brought the web to a state of real democratisation (Rheingold, 2000).
- (2) *New Identity* - To understand and evaluate communication, which is the primary activity of a web community, one must know the identities of the others with whom one is communicating (Donath, 1996). A particular nickname will be understood and evaluated on the basis of the behaviour of the person behind that nickname. This independent identity is one of the most valuable aspects of the web culture. It allows users to explore roles and relationships that might otherwise be closed to them.
- (3) *Anonymity* - In most cases, social, national or gender issues will only affect membership in web communities if the community is created

specifically to cater for such groups. The members are normally asked for their name, e-mail address, and password. The web provides the opportunity for direct communication, but a user's real identity, sex or race is never certain, since people can have a separate identity on the internet that is not necessarily the same as their real identity. For this reason, web communities create the possibility of transcending many offline (real world) barriers and borders.

- (4) *Social networks* - Wellman (2001) predicted that every individual will eventually become some kind of communication node, and that through telephoning, writing, sending text messages, and e-mailing, they will form a race of "human portals".
- (5) *Self-organising* – The web is a uniquely self-organising innovation, which requires individuals to participate with the technology in order for a community to develop (e.g., [www.wikipedia.com](http://www.wikipedia.com)).
- (6) *Mutual aid* - What made human computer interaction and gathering so impressive is the fact that human interaction, pushed by modern technology, has given rise to interesting and quite positive results in the field of mutual aid.

The web is not only changing how people communicate, it is also changing with whom they communicate. Moreover, the web enables its users to meet people online, even those who they may never meet in person (see di Genaro and Dutton, 2007). The six characteristics listed above are expected to create positive effects in the sphere of immigrant integration. The reconstruction of new communities, now more able to avoid social and space barriers, may provide a new opportunity to immigrant individuals and groups. Therefore, web communities may be an appropriate tool to meet some of the challenges faced by immigrants.

#### **1.5.4 Social capital: building integration networks**

In this section we elaborate on the social capital concept that has been defined and briefly introduced in section 1.3.

Our current global society is characterised by a new social norm of organisation (Castells, 2000). In a world where the Internet is the major mode of communication we have a new pattern of sociability – the *network society*. One peculiarity of the network society is that it brings new sets of information technologies. We have a new informational economy, networked and global; work and employment are transformed; cultural expressions are shaped by

IT; politics is fundamentally affected; the notions of time and space have also changed. The state as the traditional centre of power is going through a drastic transformation.

Today the world around us exhibits a tendency of being organised in networks, and this trend is particularly important for the present study. One of the key issues amongst the social problems of immigrant integration is that the typical immigrant has traditionally been marginalised and discriminated against by the traditional social organisations, and these factors have often prevented immigrants from prospering. Perhaps the network-society will enable immigrants to be better organized socially than they have been with these more traditional social organisations. Whether or not this will be the case is still an open question. To answer this question it is logical to regard the new networks and web communities as social places where social problems can be overcome. Below we review and delineate the concept of social capital, leading to definition 1.4 (given in section 1.3).

Social capital is an elastic term with various definitions in many fields. Many scholars have considered this topic. We begin our discussion by reference to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) who defined *social capital* as:

“the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” (p.14)

With this definition they superseded Coleman’s (1988) definition, stating that social capital refers to resources accumulated through the relationships amongst groups of people. The proposed definitions are slightly different but they all converge to same point. According to Putnam (2001), this convergence occurs at the point where networks and associated norms of reciprocity obtain a value. This idea might be taken as the central idea of social capital. From the literature we have observed that social capital is linked to a variety of positive outcomes such as better health, lower crime rates, and more efficient markets (Adler and Kwon, 2002). Social capital may also be used for negative purposes, but in general it is seen as a positive effect of the interaction amongst participants in a social network (Helliwell and Putnam, 2004). Networks have a certain value for the people in them as well as for those outside them. This introduces two faces of social capital: private and public. Private social capital stands for private networks such as close

friends or family (Brinton, 2000). A good example of public social capital is powerful neighbourhood networks that prevent crime. Therefore, neighbourhoods that are nurturing social capital through barbecues and cocktail parties are creating a safer environment both for those who are participating and for those who are not but who live in the same neighbourhood (Putnam, 2007).

Social capital has two remarkable features, viz. it is *multidimensional* and it has the capability of being *convertible* to other forms of capital. Below we discuss both features in an alternating manner because they are intermingled.

Social capital varies and should be observed as multidimensional (Granovetter, 1973). Some forms of social capital are quite formal, such as unions of any sort, with rather formal structures having a chairman, a president, etc. Some forms are quite informal, such as neighbourhood barbecues. Still, both forms create networks where reciprocity can be easily developed and where gains can be created. In contrast to these positive forms, social capital can have a highly negative form, such as the Al Qaeda network. However, this is a rather good example of social capital where members are able to do something that would be impossible without their network. Yet, most evidence suggests that higher levels of social capital lead to healthier, more educated and safer communities, longer and happier lives, and better working economies and democracies, as was first remarked by Putnam (2000). The properties of social capital – trust, norms and networks – tend to be reinforcing and cumulative. Here we enter the world of ethics and morality. Hirschman (1986) called social capital a “moral resource”, a resource that, through use, increases rather than decreases, and which becomes impoverished if not used. This characteristic makes social capital different from physical capital since social capital creates a sort of socially beneficial *perpetuum mobile*.

The second remarkable feature is social capital's capability of being convertible into other forms of capital, for example, financial capital (Massey et al., 2001). By virtue of this feature, social capital enhances the benefits of investment in human and physical capital. Furthermore, Castles (2000) states that new virtues, when properly combined, create social capital that makes it possible to resolve differences. This particular argument situates social capital quite well in the discussion of solving the problems of immigrants

since, by definition, immigrants at the time of their arrival in their new host country are different from the native born.

Social capital is traditionally seen as a crucial ingredient in the economic development around the world. The old saying “it is not what you know but who you know that counts” vividly describes the traditional importance of social capital. Investigations into the fast growing economies of East Asia frequently emphasise the importance of social networks. Hirschman (1986) coined the term “networking capitalism”. The extraordinary economic development of China during the 1990s was mainly based on personal contacts called *guanxi* (Putnam, 1993). It is the way Chinese people rely on and nurture social capital that made them one of the most successful immigrant groups worldwide. Putnam (1993) also showed the advantages of higher social capital. Where social capital is higher: (a) educational performances are better; (b) the welfare of children is higher; (c) murder rates are lower; (d) people are less belligerent; (e) society is marked with greater tolerance; and (f) there is less economic and civic inequality. Finally, he concludes that social capital has direct consequences for welfare at the individual and the community levels.

“...people feel better off when either they or their neighbours have higher levels of social capital.” (Putnam, 2001, p. 13)

Conversely, being without networks, in a state of isolation, can lead to: (1) a lack of information (Koser & Pinkerton, 2002); (2) low power; and (3) low potential for influence.

In conclusion, the convertibility of social capital is a feature that can be employed effectively when assigning a value to the building block norms of reciprocity, trustworthiness, and cooperation, which brings us back to the first remarkable feature, namely multidimensionality. As stated above, immigrant integration has various dimensions, i.e. it is multidimensional (Granovetter, 1973). For instance, there is the *incidence* dimension, which in itself includes two separate characteristics: *frequency* and *intensity*. Frequency relates to the number of ties with their surroundings that an individual or a group maintains, as well as to the number of actual contacts with others. Intensity relates instead to the nature of these contacts, and therefore to feelings of belonging and familiarity. Actually, frequent and intense contacts with others may lead to a better mutual understanding, and ultimately to a stronger identification with one another (see Cachia et al., 2007; Georgiadou &

Kekkeris, 2007; Valenzuela et al., 2009). In contrast, if people do not identify with other groups in the society to which they belong, they are unlikely to develop frequent and intense ties with members of those groups (see Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). This line of reasoning brings us back to our definition of social capital (definition 1.4).

### **Bonding and Bridging Social Capital**

In section 1.3, we briefly developed two concepts, i.e., bonding and bridging. Below we provide some background on these concepts. Contemporary debates on social capital have noted that some local networks or associations strengthen social cohesion but that others have negative effects (Norris, 2002). This is particularly interesting when observing the effects of social capital on immigrant integration. To understand this phenomenon, Putnam (2000) made a clear distinction between two types of groups: (1) groups that function to connect people with similar backgrounds and beliefs – bonding groups; and (2) groups that function to connect disparate members of community – bridging groups. Web-based social groups are bonding when they connect people of social and ideological homogeneity, and they are bridging when they connect people of social and ideological heterogeneity (Norris, 2002). According to Cachia et al.'s (2007) report on the role of social capital from the perspective of immigrant integration, these resources play an important role in obtaining better health, better education, greater public participation, and a better economic situation.

Some characteristics of the virtual world should encourage interaction within social groups sharing similar beliefs and values (Norris, 2002). If immigrants were given the opportunity to use IT to provide networking, to re-create old networks with their country of origin, and to create new ones with their host society, then that would bring a sense of activity and shared identity, contrary to the sense of passivity and lack of resilience. The sense of activity supports: (1) a feeling of belonging; and (2) the creation of trust and norms of reciprocity. These two reliable feelings of resources make it much easier for people to function in a new society. The acquisition of new networks is the basis of immigrant integration. The web is the space where it is easy to find everything one needs, from human rights discussions and health support to religious groups for instance. Low-cost, easy-entry easy-exit interaction, pluralism, freedom of expression, and social support, all combine to provide quite a comfortable environment for exchange.

## 1.6 Problem statement and three research questions

The driver for this research is the observed effect that two mutually interacting worlds (online and offline) have on social capital. The scientific literature offers many arguments for further research in this area. Kavanaugh and Patterson (2002) show that there is an increase in the social-capital involved in activities with every additional year of increased access to the Internet. Howard, Rainie and Jones (2002) make the distinction between experienced *netizens* and less experienced Internet users by the way that netizens incorporate the Internet into home and work life, enhancing their social relationships. Quan-Haase and Wellman (2002) found that the more time people spend online, the more they are involved in organisations and politics both offline and online. This has been confirmed by other scholars (e.g., Redecker, Haché & Centeno, 2010; Ala-Mutka et al., 2009). Quan-Haase and Wellman (2002) also show that longer-term users of Internet have a higher sense of online community.

The development of this line of thinking was as follows. According to Quan-Haase and Wellman (2002), the use of the Internet supplements network capital by extending existing levels of contact. Internet users are not employing the Internet to act as a substitute for face-to-face encounters, telephone calls, or visits, but in most cases they use the Internet to contact people who live close to themselves. However, what about those who live far apart? It seems that they have less frequent contact, although those with long-distance ties employ the Internet for their mutual contact more than they use other IT tools such as telephones. Quan-Haase and Wellman (2002) point out that the Internet is useful for keeping contact amongst friends. Other researchers (e.g., Georgiadou & Kekkeris, 2007; Haythornthwaite, 2008; Redecker et al., 2010) have distinguished between the socially and the geographically dispersed, and how these respective groups maintain friendships with those with whom they create social capital (Huysman & Wulf, 2005; Kobayashi, Ikeda & Miyata, 2006; Valenzuela, Park & Kee, 2009), while Ellison, Steinfield and Lampe (2007) first introduce the maintaining of social capital. As Donath and Boyd (2004) suggested, bridging social capital, linked to the notion of weak interpersonal ties, is one of the appropriate applications for social software because it provides users with the ability to maintain those ties easily and inexpensively.

Although McQuail (1997) stated that it is not clear to what extent “audiences”, e.g. users, want to be interactive, he argues that the new interactive media

networks will restore the balance of power of the “receiver” against the “sender”. McQuail reminds the reader that users of new media are under the continuous influence of social life and technology. We are aware of the theoretical approach by McQuail, but in this research we do not follow that logical line. However, our analysis is interdisciplinary and adopts different approaches as McQuail argues in his later works (2003, 2010).

As stated before, in this research we would like to combine three concepts: (a) the integration of immigrants; (b) web communities; and (c) social capital. The main interest that fuels this research is discovering to what extent web communities can be used as tools to enhance social integration and the acquisition of social capital. Here it is worthwhile to note that we restrict our research to: (1) immigrants that left Serbia and live all over the world (mostly USA, Europe, and Australia); and (2) immigrants that came from all over the world to Sweden. And we investigate: (3) their web-based communication and actions; having in mind that (4) Serbian immigrants share the same cultural background and language; and that (5) immigrants to Sweden have certain common aspects to their lives in their new location (the same hosting country, the same local language around them, similar situations when they look for work, apartments schools.) So they live in similar social contexts which are defined by Swedish cultural and political everyday life. In summary, the fact that they are in the same country defines their surroundings and some of their living conditions.

For an extensive description of the restrictions we have placed on our research we refer to section 3.3.

A straightforward connection of the two concepts: human immigration and social capital, leads us to the Problem Statement (PS).

PS: To what extent do immigrants acquire social capital by using web communities?

If the outcome of this study were to indicate an extreme result, viz. that immigrants acquire social capital by extensively using web communities, then web communities could be perceived as web-based tools for the acquisition of social capital. Furthermore, from the definition of social capital (see definition 1.4) the tool that can help immigrants in their acquisition of social capital will at the same time help immigrants to become socially integrated.



As a guideline for our research we formulate three research questions (RQs). They are derived from the PS and will help to answer the PS. Moreover, the answers to the research questions are also intended to be guidelines for immigrant integration policy makers. The first research question is as follows.

RQ1: What is the motivation behind the immigrants' usage of the web?

The answer to the first research question will present us with an overview of immigrants' usage of the web. We start from Zinnbauer's (2007) report, which suggests that IT is expanding, transforming, and diversifying social capital by providing: (1) communication tools; (2) collaborative information sharing; (3) online meeting spaces; and (4) collaborative projects. We will then analyse the motivation behind the general usage by immigrants of the web. Our research will enable us to understand: (a) what brings immigrants together on the web?; (b) why do they collaborate?; and (c) why do they share information on the web? Furthermore, this research investigates: (d) the way immigrants use the web in order to differentiate between the roles they have in web life. Are the immigrants only publishing information or only reading information, or are they perhaps coming together in an online meeting space in order to interact (i.e., being a web community)? Finally: (e) we will be able to identify what type of approach attracts most immigrants in one common web space.

Our second research question reads as follows.

RQ2: Is the acquisition of social capital from immigrants in web-communities a tangible acquisition?

As a starting point we use the identification of the main indicators of social capital by Morgan and Swann (2004), viz: (1) social relationship and social support; (2) formal and informal social networks; (3) group membership; (4) community and civic engagement; (5) norms and values; (6) reciprocal activities; and (7) the level of trust in others. We perform qualitative investigations across these seven indicators to see whether immigrants do use web communities for the acquisition of social capital.

The third research question reads as follows.

RQ3: What are the offline effects of immigrants' online activities?

By being complex techno-social systems, web communities and effects of the online interaction can be analysed across a large body of literature that spans different fields. For example, Gershon (2011) looks at the web communities through the lens of media ideologies. Acknowledging that the majority of scholars analyse the ways in which web communities connect people, Gershon is focused on how new media introduced a new way of disconnection. However, in our research we do not follow that line.

The research performed in order to answer the third research question will help us to understand to what extent online activity can give positive results in real life. If the results suggest that the online activities within specific web communities help immigrants in the acquisition of social capital and in the social integration in their real lives, we will be able (by combining these results with the findings of RQ1 and RQ2), to answer the PS. Furthermore, by having a complete overview that answers the PS, we hope to reach our goal, which is coming to an understanding of the role that web communities play in social integration and in the acquisition of social capital.

## **1.7 Research design and methodology**

Our research is interdisciplinary by nature. It is conducted by using three complementary methods of analysis: (1) descriptive analysis; (2) good practice analysis; and (3) interviews. Each method logically derives from the previous one, and each one of them provides different data and knowledge. The research starts by analysing the activities of immigrants on the Internet (1.7.1). Then the best examples of good practice are analysed. The research method is outlined in subsection 1.7.2. To be able to understand what precisely motivates users to participate in the hectic life of identified web communities we will analyse our interviews (1.7.3). Finally, subsection 1.7.4 describes the scope of the research.

### **1.7.1 Descriptive analysis**

Our first step is the analysis of how immigrants use the web, i.e., for what purpose do they use the web. The goal here is to determine the immigrants' "web reality" – those factors, relating to the web, that influence and shape the lives and the behaviour of immigrants. A web space can be used for different purposes: (1) health support; (2) religion; (3) human rights discussions; (4) finding and offering jobs; (5) accommodation, etc. The web provides a comfortable existence in the virtual world where traditional clues of social

identity are hidden, such as gender, race, age, and socio-economic status. It is logical to expect that this comfort given to the web user creates new opportunities for traditionally marginalised people such as immigrants (Norris, 2002). According to Norris, participation in a web community has the capacity to improve the user's experience of community, connecting the user with others of different beliefs and statuses. It can also deepen the user's feeling of community amongst those sharing similar beliefs, thereby strengthening existing social networks.

As stated in 1.5.3, web-based social groups are bonding when they connect people of social and ideological homogeneity, and they are bridging when they connect people of social and ideological heterogeneity (Norris, 2002). At the same time, bonding social capital connects people of similar sorts, while bridging social capital connects people of different sort (Putnam, 2000). This distinction is quite important, not only because it points to two different directions of the social capital function, but also because bonding is at a greater risk of producing negative effects while bridging is likely to bring positive results.

The difference mentioned above is the exact point where we anchored our research, as mentioned in 1.5. It is the fulcrum for looking in a different way at the traditional image of immigrant integration.

### **1.7.2 Good practice analysis**

An analysis of good practice starts by obtaining data of the existing web communities that live and work for a certain period of time. Such a selection offers much more reliable results than an analysis of all identified web communities. This thesis focuses on the results of our analysis of two particular web communities. Out of all the web communities that we identified from an analysis of the Internet description, we selected those that, in our opinion, are adequate representatives. Subsequently, we analysed them in detail. Our analysis consists of two steps.

First, it is necessary to establish criteria for choosing a web community of good practice. In this research we will focus on those web communities that satisfy the following three criteria:

- (1) They have a healthy life for a certain period of time (with a representative number of users);

- (2) They deal with some of the most typical topics of immigration such as language, news, jobs, accommodation, official documents, applications of various types, legal conditions, education; and
- (3) They provide clear cases of users having direct interaction with them, including dialogue.

Second, after identifying web communities of good practice, they are analysed throughout three well-chosen months (from 1-8-2009 to 1-11-2009) with the aim to:

- (1) identify the prevailing topics they are dealing with,
- (2) identify the number of users,
- (3) identify the contact frequencies of the users,
- (4) differentiate between the practices of bonding or bridging,
- (5) identify the behavioural trends of new users,
- (6) identify whether the users connect only through the web or meet in real life, and
- (7) identify the users' demography (age, sex, education).

The outcome of this part of the analysis will be an ethnographic description of the dynamics and culture of the identified web communities. Also, based on this part of the research we will be able to identify to what extent the most successful cases are bonding and bridging social capital. Users of the selected web communities (the criteria will be explained in Chapter 5) will be subjected to the third method of analysis, namely interviews.

### **1.7.3 Interviews**

Thinking about interviews, it was immediately apparent that face-to-face interviews would be impractical, costly and time consuming since the interlocutors were geographically widely dispersed. As our research focuses explicitly on web usage, the interviewees should, almost by definition, be web familiar and experienced at online communication. Therefore, Internet-based real-time interviews with any real-time conversational tool, particularly a tool that users prefer, seemed to be a logical solution, being both convenient and low-cost. To some extent this is an innovative method. In order to obtain a detailed picture of the life trajectory of bridging and bonding web communities, users of the two identified web communities were interviewed. To be able to reach them we presented ourselves on relevant discussion boards, inviting users of those boards to help in our scientific research. After establishing a first contact via e-mail communication, the interviews were performed using textual Skype real-time chat function without camera.

We are aware that this way of inviting users might make that the selection of respondents and interviewees somewhat biased. However, since we are performing our investigations for two well-chosen groups (the choice is justified by their nature), we thus may expect that our findings will be valid for the chosen representatives of the two groups. We believe that these constraints on the findings still lead to new results in this emerging field of research.

For any qualitative researcher, the web offers many ways of observing users and their interactions. The researcher can also interact with users. Through such observations and interactions we can analyse many different effects on users introduced by: the language they use, the technology they pick for their interactions, the cultural codes they express or interpret in that usage, and how their different (local) times, when they interact, influence their interactions. By putting all of these factors and effects together the researcher can get a valid overall picture of web life and the various parameters that are responsible for it.

The online real-time interviewing method has three key advantages:

- (1) It has the ability to conduct real-time interviews, where distance, time and cost prevent the researcher from face-to-face interviewing;
- (2) It has the convenience to log transcripts directly to a computer file, avoiding transcription errors;
- (3) the opportunity for the researcher to work easily at a distance from the interviewees.

Moreover, we have the possibility to analyse the direct dialogs taken from our online interactions with the users, and to formulate detailed questions about the data that we gather. We then may be able to answer the questions as to: (1) how users perceive their usage of a particular web community; (2) what effect that usage has on their private real-lives; and (3) other detailed questions as listed in Chapter 5.

#### **1.7.4 Scope of the research**

The design of our research is based on three elements defined by the nature and situation of the analysis.

- (1) The participating immigrants – having the analysis situated on the web, we are analysing immigrants who are participating in the activities of web communities according to their own interests.

- (2) The choice of group to be investigated – starting from the Problem Statement it is clear that the aim of the research is to investigate the acquisition of social capital for two different groups of people:
  - (1) a bonding social capital group – a group of people with same or similar background, and
  - (2) a bridging social capital group – a group of people with different background.
- (3) The procedure to be followed – to be able to analyse the participation of immigrants in web communities we need: (a) to identify; (b) to list; (c) to measure; and (d) to rank the presence of immigrant web communities among immigrant websites. Each identified item will be a matter of investigation based on three parameters:
  - (1) Location – the identification of web communities and web sites among all web spaces.
  - (2) Classification – three levels of classification.
    - i. The ownership of the web space.
    - ii. The relationship with a group.
    - iii. The main interest of the group.
  - (3) Technological analysis – analysis of two technical features
    - i. Reach
    - ii. Traffic

Following these steps we will be able to identify the examples of good practice as a matter of further analysis (see section 1.7.2 and 1.7.3).

## **1.8 Structure of the thesis**

This thesis consists of six chapters (see Table 1.1). Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the topic. Moreover, the problem statement is defined and three research questions are formulated. Then the research methodology is described and the structure of the thesis is given.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of the literature on web communities, immigration, and social capital. Also it gives an appropriate background for the research design and rationale for following immigrants from two different points of view: (1) when a well-defined group of immigrants resides all over the world, and (2) when immigrants live in well-defined receiving country.

Chapter 3 describes the identified immigrants' web sites by emphasising the location of the web communities among them. Furthermore, it gives a

classification and a technological analysis of reach, and traffic. It identifies adequate and appropriate web communities. This chapter is designed to answer RQ1.

Chapter 4 represents a logical continuation. It describes an ethnographic analysis of the two web communities identified in Chapter 3. The analysis goes into depth and deals with the bonding and bridging web communities by following their contributions and behaviours online. It also provides an answer to RQ2.

Chapter 5 performs an analysis of the users' interviews. In direct online interviews, users answered questions that were designed to enable us to answer RQ3.

Chapter 6 provides conclusions to all three research questions as well as to the problem statement. Finally, in this chapter, recommendations are made for policy makers, and further research.

**Table 1.1 The structure of the thesis.**

Introduction, Problem Statement and Research Questions, Methodology	Chapter 1
Literature	Chapter 2
Field work, Analysis of the web for immigrants, RQ1	Chapter 3
Field work, Ethnographic Analysis, RQ2	Chapter 4
Field work, Interviews with users, RQ3	Chapter 5
Conclusions, Answers to the RQs and PS, Recommendations	Chapter 6

## 2 The Internet in everyday life – online in offline

In this chapter, we will guide the reader through the plethora of descriptions and opinions that have been published about the growth of the Internet in our daily lives, and in particular to the topics that are central to this study: Web Communities, Immigrants, and Social Capital.

The Internet as we knew it in the 1990s changed significantly with the arrival of the first dotcom businesses at the beginning of 2000. That transformation took the Internet from the hands of computer wizards and thrust it into the world of ordinary people for whom the Internet became an integral part of their daily lives. As some scholars (e.g., Fernandez and Maldonado, 2001; Georgiu, 2002; Scopsi, 2009) claimed, community centres and cybercafés helped the Internet to move from being an elitist means of communication to a large-scale supporter of everyday public activities such as communicating, sharing, buying, selling, and the like.

The increased availability of (free) access to the Internet has had an enormous impact on our everyday lives (see Katz et al., 2001; Cachia et al., 2007; Ala-Mutka et al., 2009; Ala-Mutka, 2010). The Internet increased friendship commitments (see Chen et al., 2002; Howard et al., 2002), domestication (see Chen et al., 2002; Haythornthwaite and Kazmer; 2002), work hours (see Nie et al., 2002; Ala-Mutka et al., 2009), and school work (see Hampton and Wellman, 2002; Maya-Jariego et al., 2009). It offered services and a new way of socializing, both of which increase the number of reasons to be an Internet user (see Katz and Aspden, 1997; Lenhart et al., 2010; Maya-Jariego et al., 2009; Komito, 2011), and thereby transformed our society from being a group society to a *networked* society (cf. Castells, 2000).

To demonstrate the deep relevance and the ground-breaking consequences that the development of Internet access has created, we start by presenting the growth of Internet (section 2.1). Then we investigate how the literature perceives the changes that took place as a result, i.e., the transformation of social interaction (section 2.2). The role of IT in the social integration of immigrants (section 2.3) is then discussed. We are not the first to address the question: “Is a web community a social network?”, and we therefore provide an extensive overview of other authors who have dealt with this question (section 2.4). This brings us to an analysis of the social capital of immigrants on the web (section 2.5). Meanwhile we pose the question: “How do modern trends of using the web influence migration?” (section 2.6). We complete the



chapter with two theoretical perspectives, one from the point of view of migration theory (section 2.7), and one from the point of view of the effects of the online influences on the offline lives of immigrants (section 2.8).

## 2.1 The growth of Internet

Internet statistics demonstrate a rapid growth of its use on a worldwide scale. The 2.095 billion users in 2012 ([www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm](http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm)) constitute more than 30% of the world's population. Although the capacity of the Internet to reach far and wide is impressive, a large proportion of the populations in developing countries<sup>2</sup> are not connected to the Internet, have no interest in using it, or are saddled with a bad infrastructure for its use. This difference between having and not having Internet access is known as the *digital divide* (Sawhney, 2000). While some scholars have presented evidence that the digital divide is shrinking in developed countries (cf. Chen *et al.*, 2002), others have demonstrated that this difference in access and use is related to education and age (cf. Nie and Erbring, 2000). Rice and Katz (2003) showed that differences in access and usage are related not only to those two factors but also to gender, income, and race.

According to Fuchs (2009) access to IT is shaped by the interaction of socio-economic, political, cultural, social, and technological factors. All marginalised members of our society have specific needs related to using the Internet. Their needs are regardless of whether their marginalisation is based on their income, gender, race or sexual orientation, or some other factor. One of the basic characteristics of virtual communication which is extremely useful for marginalised people is the possibility of anonymous communication; or switching between (several) different identities so that, for example, in one place you are gay, in another you are Serbian, etc. A second useful characteristic of virtual communication is the possibility of connecting with someone who is in a very different time zone in a different location. Since the Internet is a medium which is of special interest for marginalised people, such

---

<sup>2</sup> We use the OECD definition of developing countries. "There is no established convention for the designation of "developed" and "developing" countries or areas in the United Nations system. In common practice, Japan in Asia, Canada and the United States in Northern America, Australia and New Zealand in Oceania, and Europe are considered "developed" regions or areas. In international trade statistics, the Southern African Customs Union is also treated as developed region and Israel as a developed country; countries emerging from the former Yugoslavia are treated as developing countries; and countries of Eastern Europe and the former USSR countries in Europe are not included under either developed or developing regions." (Glossary of statistical terms, <http://stats.oecd.org/glossary/detail.asp?ID=6326>)

people regard and use the Internet as a tool with the potential for overcoming traditional problems (cf. Norris, 2002; Cachia et al., 2007). The research described in this thesis had as its starting point the need to understand and alleviate the needs of marginalised immigrant users, in order to help them solve the chronic problems they encounter on the path to integration.

One of the greatest changes in Internet access during the past two decades was seen most clearly in the marginalised (and under-represented) groups. According to Ala-Mutka (2010), the use of the Internet by immigrants gives them new opportunities, leading to the empowerment of individuals. Katz and Rice (2002) found that the percentages of women, users in the 40+ age group, low income earners, and those who are not college graduates, all increased during the period 1992-2000. And as users gain online experience they develop into advanced users, and their usage reflects the direction in which use of the Internet itself evolves.

Cole et al. (2000) clearly establish that email and the search for information used to account for most of the Internet's usage. In 2000 email was the number one reason for being online. However, ten years later it was social networking and blogs that accounted for the biggest use of Internet time (Ala-Mutka, 2010), demonstrating that Internet usage has moved towards a more social direction.

The second most important reason for Internet consumption has been searching for information. Long-time users, new users, non-users, and former users all rank search activity as being one of the two main reasons for being online (Katz and Aspden, 1997; Hulme, 2009). Between 36% (Nie and Erbring, 2000) and 51% (Cole et al., 2000) of users are employing the Internet to engage in e-commerce by way of the purchase of goods. According to the Youth Net Report, 75% of 16-24 year old users claimed that they could not live without the Internet, 84% believed that the Internet brought communities of similar people together, 82% said that they use the Internet to find advice or information, while 60% responded that they were looking for information on someone else's behalf (Hulme, 2009). Furthermore, men are more likely than woman to use the Internet for news, buying products, and finding financial or hobby information. They spend more of their online time on sites related to e-commerce, such as e-Bay, while women tend to spend more time on work-related activities. In contrast women carry their offline communication behaviour online – they are more likely to use email for expressive communication – to exchange small talk and engage in

communication to build relationships – and they are more likely than men to continue the offline characteristic of being more noted for maintaining social ties (cf. Wellman and Haythornthwaite, 2002).

It is common knowledge that the Internet takes time away from other things in life. The amount of time spent online increases with the number of years of using the Internet. Up to the year 2000, users with more than four years' experience spent 16 hours or more of Internet time per week (see Cole et al., 2000). Now (2013) it is much higher, though no precise numbers are available. Scholars disagree on whether the Internet has a positive or negative impact on users' lives, suggesting that the Internet might help people making social connections to other users, such as for companionship, emotional support, job advice, etc. We observe that scholars avoid belonging to one or the other group, positivist or negativist, but in contrast we note that some scholars define the influence of Internet usage on our lives as an activity that amplifies what we already do: (1) increasing the sizes of the social circles for outgoing, extrovert users; and (2) decreasing the size of the social circles for everyone else (Kraut et al., 2002). Consequently, social computing can be seen to have introduced a transformation in the nature of human relationships, and at the same time a change in our general perception of the Internet (Ala-Mutka et al., 2009). According to Wellman and Haythornthwaite (2008) spending so much time on the Internet was inevitably going to create a change in human behaviour patterns. Therefore, in section 2.2, we will focus on the social transformation of society that has been introduced by the increase in Internet usage.

## **2.2 The transformation of social interaction**

With the increase of the use of the Internet we can observe see that users are both working and socialising via social networks (Maya-Jariego et al., 2009). This behaviour typifies a socio-cultural activity. Communicating and exchanging information in Internet-based social networks, which are often referred to as “social computing” or “web 2.0”, has transformed the nature of many personal relationships. That transformation ranges from private relationships to public relationships, offering new ways of working within and between public-sector organisations (cf. Ala-Mutka et al., 2009). A remarkable characteristic of social computing is that it empowers individuals through the widespread use of information and knowledge. Users are enabled to acquire knowledge and to create and disseminate content. This ability gives them the opportunity to influence public organisations and political

issues (cf. Ala-Mutka et al., 2009). One of the biggest concerns amongst scholars relates to the activity of lonely web users – those who sit alone in front of the computer (see Wellman et al., 2001). The question is, how does their newly achieved solitary activity affect their local social relationships and their individual sense of well-being? Much research focuses on the well-being of geographically defined communities. Are these communities affected when their members spend their time in their interactions with people outside their geographically defined area? (Wellman, 1999; Ala-Mutka, 2010). While Wellman and Ala-Mutka argue that this activity supports socialisation beyond the users' previously defined area, the research performed by Maya-Jariego et al. (2009) offers examples of a closed community of immigrants who communicate among themselves. When social computing is used only in a closed circle for maintaining and developing community ambitions, there is a risk of exclusion. However, the success of web 2.0 demonstrates the users' hybrid motivations where individual goals have the opportunity of being shared in a public sphere (cf. Cardon and Aiguiton, 2007). Consequently, the social interaction of immigrants through the use of social media has introduced a transformation in social interaction, supporting the bonding form of social capital within transnational communities (cf. Komito, 2011).

At this point, we find it important to answer briefly the question: Does using the Internet mean being alone? Sitting in front of a computer and pursuing one's own individual interests on the Internet might be understood as being alone. Nevertheless, using the Internet today means communicating with others, from e-mails to real time interactions in web communities. Therefore, the answer is that Internet use does not always mean being alone at the computer. Already, ten years ago, a UCLA study reported that almost half of the users questioned reported that they were spending a considerable amount of time each week over the Internet with members of their family (cf. Cole et al., 2000). According to Howard, Rainie, and Jones (2002) more than half of the users they questioned (59%) responded that, thanks to the Internet, they had increased their communication with their families and with their best friends (60%). In addition, 31% reported having communication with a family member with whom they did not previously enjoy frequent contact. Quan-Haase and Wellman (2002) have not found any negative effects of Internet use on respondents' sense of community. Moreover, a study by Chen, Boase, and Wellman (2002) reports that frequent users of the Internet have added their sense of online community to their existing sense of offline community. And a study by Cole et al. (2000) finds that 92% of the users connected to the Internet from home say that they spend the same amount of

time or more together with members of their own household. There are also a number of studies which show that usage of the Internet increases users' contact with relatives and friends (e.g., Hampton and Wellman, 2000; Haythornthwaite and Kazmer, 2002) and sometimes encourages users to move location (e.g., Komito, 2011). Furthermore, scholars find that the social support gained from the membership and participation in online support communities, such as web community groups for mothers with small babies or sick children, or those for immigrants, decrease depression and increase the well-being for all users, the active ones as well as those who lurk (cf. Miyata, 2002; Redecker et al., 2010). These empirical insights indicate that usage of the Internet has a positive influence and provides online support on health-related matters. In contrast, Nie and Erbring (2000) report that the more time users spend online the less time they spend with family and friends. Obviously, as described in the literature review above, the Internet has introduced a transformation in their social interactions for all members of society. In Section 2.3 we will discuss how the transformation of social interaction influences the problem of the integration of immigrants.

### **2.3 The role of IT in social integration**

For all immigrants, and especially for newcomers, finding valid information to help them navigate through their new society is quite a difficult process (cf. Caidi et al., 2010). Immigrants find themselves in a “culturally alien information environment” (Mehra and Papajohn, 2007, p. 13), and in such a situation some immigrants turn to a culturally more familiar environment, while others attempt to gather relevant information, sometimes finding easily accessible information on the web. Describing these new communication practices of immigrants, practices that range from the local to the transnational, Srinivasan and Pyati (2007) coined the term *diasporic information environment*. This term reflects the fact that people are using IT to stay in touch with close friends and to communicate with them more frequently while on the move, away in the host country.

In the social integration process we may distinguish a two-step development. First, the effect of IT usage has been found to enable users to generate new ties and strengthen their old ones (Zinnbauer, 2007). The proliferation of online social networks such as web communities enables the forming of interest-oriented groups and the development of new ties to like-minded people. It facilitates and accelerates social and cultural integration of newly arrived immigrants. It provides learning and training opportunities and it

supports social and economic participation (Redecker et al., 2010). Zinnbauer's (2007) report offers evidence which suggests that IT expands, transforms, and diversifies social capital by providing:

- (1) communication tools and collaborative information sharing;
- (2) online meeting spaces; and
- (3) collaborative projects.

The report acknowledges that social capital is frequently more of a bonding than of a bridging nature (see, Bates and Komito, 2013). Online social networks are mainly used to strengthen the ties with people from their countries of origin, and they are less used to connect people from different backgrounds. Accepting that IT is a tool to help integration, Zinnbauer (2007) stresses three important issues for research and policy implications:

- (1) focus on acquiring bridging social capital;
- (2) making online public services more accessible for immigrants; and
- (3) using IT to more easily obtain counseling, hotlines, legal frameworks, anti-discrimination resources, civil information etc.

Regarding the second step in the social integration process, according to Cachia et al. (2007) addressing cultural diversity through a social capital approach delivered by IT could have a positive influence on the integration of immigrants. Research indicates that social-support networks have an impact on the level of social integration and social support for immigrants (see Kluzer et al., 2008, 2011; Spotti et al., 2010). Language, as one of the essential elements for the successful social integration of immigrants, would be easier to acquire if IT is utilised in a constructive and fruitful way (see Ebenhofer and Knierzinger, 2007; Spotti et al., 2010). In some communities the use of IT in public Internet access points can help in bridging social capital and developing relationships in the host country (cf. Diminescu et al., 2009). According to Codagnone and Kluzer (2011) IT can have both bonding and bridging effects. Their research shows that in many cases the reinforcement of the sense of dignity and identity among immigrants, which is enabled by bonding processes, is conducive to more bridging relations with members and institutions of the host society.

Social computing has enabled governance institutions to enhance collaboration within government agencies and interaction stakeholders, making processes more user-centred, cost-effective, and delivering public value to end users (see DiMaio et al., 2005; Osimo, 2008; Ala-Mutka et al., 2009). According to Haythornthwaite (2008) it enables individuals to build

personal resources combined with a broad diversity of online networks and weak ties, which in turn enables the user's exposure to new information, opinions, ideas that are different from other users' ideas, and new approaches for problem solving. Finally, IT plays an important role in preparing immigrants for their move. Rainer and Siedler (2009) found that immigrants are more likely to be employed and to hold higher paid jobs if they are socially connected to the country of arrival prior to emigrating. In the literature discussed in this section many scholars consider web-based networks as social networks. Since this idea is frequently discussed in the literature, we concentrate in the next section on web communities as social networks.

## **2.4 Is a web community a social network?**

The development and evolution of the web was followed by research on users' web activities. A scientific debate took place regarding the question: whether people using the Internet constituted an online community. In the definition of social capital we included the need for a "social organisation network" (definition 1.4), and therefore relevant questions to be answered here are: (1) is a computer network a social network?; and (2) what are the effects of those networks on our society? In the debates on the effects of the web on society there are two opposite views: sceptics and enthusiasts. Sceptics argue that relationships which are free of smell and touch cannot be the basis for a real community. According to Elison et al. (2007) and Joinson (2008), individuals seek to maintain and increase their online social networks. However, scholars belong to the enthusiast group – they perceive the web as an extension and a transformation of the community (Wellman, 2001).

"When a computer network connects people, it is a social network"  
(Wellman, 1997, p. 2)

The above statement is crucial to our research on the effects that the new social networks might have on our society. In this section we will concentrate on the important effects introduced by social networks that have been established thanks to the usage of computers on the web.

The investment by users in online social networks enables individuals to develop norms of trust and reciprocity that are necessary for successful engagement in collective activities (cf. Valenzuela et al., 2009). The issue as to whether a web community is a social network has been discussed from the

very emergence of the web. The seminal publications by Granovetter (1982), Wellman (1996), and Wellman and Haythornthwaite (2002), will be used extensively in our analysis. According to Wellman (1996, 2001) seven effects of social networks on the web are: (1) resonance; (2) density; (3) boundedness; (4) range; (5) exclusivity; (6) social control; and (7) strength of relationships. We discuss them briefly in sections 2.4.1 to 2.4.7.

### **2.4.1 Resonance**

Survey-based results present a mixed assessment of the effect of the web on the community. Such results show that: (1) people who are online are more involved in the online community; but also (2) online users become detached from their families or they are depressed and detached from others. However, results from Wellman and Haythornthwaite (2002) indicate that the web does not destroy communities – rather it *resonates* with the environment or, in other words, its use is a complementary activity (Wellman, 2001). By resonance, Wellman introduces a term that represents new online activities which complement the old ones. Therefore, users are keeping their old ties with family and friends, but with their web activity they have newly opened spaces for creating new ties with people and communities of interest to them. Furthermore, by having a web that connects users over long distances and different time zones, users can reach other users at any time and in any place, and thereby they erase the traditional space and time problems in communication. However, the change that was introduced with online communication is not only based on the changed importance of space and time. There is also a completely new effect of making it easy to communicate with a large number of participants within a single community and bringing them into direct contact with members of another community. The “big ease” that computer-mediated communication has introduced is connectivity. That is, one can connect with a friend of a friend and through that connection increase the density of communication in the network. Wellman presents results of different studies where online communication helped overcome health problems, and where social contact increased positive impacts on overall interactions with the community. He goes further by admitting that it was logical to expect that a system that can easily overcome time zones and long distances will be used to interact with close friends living at a distance, but what was unexpected is the fact that usage of the web also increased the offline contacts of those living nearby.



### **2.4.2 Density**

Online communication supports both dense bounded groups and sparse unbounded networks (Wellman, 1997). When all participants actively participate by reading and responding to all communications, and when they are directly connected to each other, they are part of a *dense group*. Often dense groups are mutually supportive – a network is used to form “a web of assistance” amongst some of its members. Motivations for providing assistance are based on a reciprocity of norms, so that people who have a strong attachment to a web-based group will more likely participate and help others, even if the others are total strangers. This reciprocity effect in web-based groups is a valuable characteristic of web communication. This is especially true if one considers web communities as a potential tool for providing help to other members of that same web community. Similarly, web-based networks support participation and co-operation in sparse, unbounded groups. Users can easily send comments, mails, messages, to anyone whose address they know. They can send messages even to those who are outside of their web community, and thereby expand the area of their reach.

### **2.4.3 Boundedness**

Boundedness, according to Wellman (1996), relates to the proportion of a network of the members' ties that stays within the boundaries of the social network. Computer networks support unbounded social networks since establishing new contacts with strangers is rather easy and maintaining contacts with distant acquaintances is likewise easy. Granovetter (1982) calls relationships with distant acquaintances “weak ties”. However, they are dominant in larger, more diverse social circles and therefore they represent a bigger potential for becoming sources of new information. Once more this characteristic is directly connected to the idea of social capital. Unlike the situation in classical social networks, in web-mediated networks a user can obtain information outside of his circle by using networks that belong to “a friend of a friend”, or even by using the network of a complete stranger. A social process like this can even make weak ties become strong (Wellman, 1997).

### **2.4.4 Range**

Wellman (1996) suggests that the social characteristics of the contacts within a social network vary considerably, and that tie patterns between contacts are somewhat complex. He uses the term “range” to describe the size and the diversity of the population of a social network within specific boundaries, and he characterizes a large range as comprising:

- (1) heterogeneity in social characteristics; and
- (2) complexity of the tie patterns.

In that sense, computer-mediated networks increase the range of offline social networks and they offer the potential for more and diverse relationships. The web-based community structure transcends physical distance and time differences. This new way of creating and maintaining contacts enables users to make a larger number of ties by virtue of which they are able to maintain more face-to-face contacts (Wellman, 1997). Web-based communities also provide a space for communication in which social and physical cues are absent, allowing those in the community to develop relationships based on their exchanges of communications. They can later decide whether they wish to broaden the relationship in real life.

Communication in online social networks takes place without cues of social status, which fits perfectly with the usage of social networks in a socially heterogeneous society. It makes possible a connection across hierarchical and other forms of social barriers such as race, sex, age, etc. Also, it is a solid base for establishing connections across a culturally homogenous society because members tend to share the same concerns and goals.

#### **2.4.5 Exclusivity**

Regarding the exclusivity of Internet interactions Wellman (1997) starts his discussion by considering traditional social networks. In such networks the degree of control of the access between the members of the community vary from little control and high access in dense-bounded groups, to high control and low access in sparse-unbounded networks. Computer-mediated networks can support both dense bounded groups and sparse unbounded groups. Wellman argues that computer-mediated communication intensifies a privatised and exclusive relationship (Wellman, 1997).

This new way of communication introduced a shift away from dense, bounded groups to sparse, unbounded groups. At the same time, it supports communications that enhance the community by catering for public conferences as well as private exchanges. In this way, exclusivity introduces “comfortability” by allowing the user choose the most fitting way to take advantage of a web based network, employing it as a communication tool. For some specific problems, finding possible solutions might come from a public discussion within a web community. Therefore, although in some cases, with some people, one can rely on the possibility of private (one to

one) communication, in some other cases such a public discussion will be more useful, providing more results in the form of different approaches to the problem.

#### **2.4.6 Social control**

The idea of social control (Wellman, 1997) in computer-mediated, web-based networks opened an interesting debate. On the one hand, managers of professional organisations fear that a free flow of information can threaten the control of their community. This is why there are many organisations in which system administrators monitor and allow “appropriate” usage and disallow “inappropriate” usage (Wellman, 1997). In contrast, what is interesting and new is the possibility of manoeuvring between different computerised conferences, communities, or private relationships, a possibility introduced by computer-mediated communication. One person can have many different roles in different milieus (Wellman, 1997). One user can be a “dignified public persona”, while at the same time the same person can be a “spammer”, a “flamer”, or a “cyberpunk”. When a user is a member of various web communities, none of the other members have any control over him. Acknowledging this fact, some web communities allow anonymous communication when they are looking for free-speaking discussions.

#### **2.4.7 Strength of ties**

As previously mentioned, the idea of weak and strong ties was introduced by Granovetter (1982). Strong ties tend to provide more social support, emotional aid, and help to find goods or services, because they provide good support for feelings of belonging. However, weak ties are also useful. Because the amount of their weakness varies they have the ability to connect people who are somewhat socially different. Weak ties therefore provide new sources of information as well as other resources. Even though the web comprises many social networks with broad interests and multiple relations, those networks are usually most suitable for supporting relationships in which there is a shared specialised interest. Without leaving their homes or office people can search for information much more easily than before. That kind of search reduces the necessity for physical search and the travelling time that it involves. Furthermore, a conversation started in one medium may continue in a different medium and, with time, relationships established online may become more personal – the users might meet, or their relationship might become more intense even though it remains confined to online contact. Probably, the majority of online ties are “intimate secondary relationships”:

moderately strong, informal, frequent, and supportive ties that function within specialised domains (Wellman, 1997).

## **2.5 Immigrants' social capital on the web**

The concept of social capital was introduced in Chapter 1. Following the presentation of web communities as social networks, we now discuss the effects of web-based networks on the social capital of immigrants. Social capital is based on social networks and is a key resource for social integration (cf. Cachia et al., 2007). This resource makes it easier for people to work and live together, and has been shown to play a beneficial role on the health, education, public participation, and economic opportunities for all users. The importance of social capital for the integration of immigrants into mainstream society lies in its availability and in the mixture of bonding and bridging social capital. It has been demonstrated that immigrants' social networks are useful for finding accommodation and work, for providing social support, and for helping new immigrants (see Cartwright et al., 2007; Bidet, 2009; Valenzuela et al., 2009; Bates and Komito, 2013). In their analysis of social capital, Portes and Landolt (2000) distinguished two motivations that cause "donors" to provide their resources for the benefit of new immigrants:

- (1) a moral obligation (parents to children, helping the poor); and
- (2) solidarity with members of the same ethnic, religious, or territorial community – *bounded solidarity*.

Bounded solidarity is based on values of loyalty to a particular group expressed, for example, when helping in providing scholarships - some financial support given to students from their own ethnic group. Bearing in mind that bounded solidarity exists and is a motivation responsible for social-capital actions, the discussion on social capital fits within the context of information technologies and immigration. It is a well-known fact that the current situation of immigrants and ethnic minorities is characterised predominantly by low employment rates (cf. Bidet, 2009), a concentration in specific segments of the labour market, low wages, poor working conditions, and under-representation in senior positions in the workplace (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003). Socio-economic data for employment, education, health, and housing in immigrant populations indicate that an equal and proportional inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities has not yet been achieved in vital spheres of life (cf. Dumont and Lemaitre, 2005). The present situation in Europe is not getting any better; rather it is getting worse by bringing more polarisation and scepticism into the host society by way of discrimination,

racism, and xenophobia (see Buonfino et al., 2007; Cachia et al., 2007; Bidet, 2009; Abdelhady, 2011; Hainmueller and Hangartner, 2013). However, one of the main characteristics of being an immigrant is that, after their arrival, the immigrant has very little or no connection with the host society. They have less access to new social capital, a fact that strongly influences their future.

“Where you live and whom you know – the social capital you can draw on – helps to define who you are and thus to determine your fate” (Putnam, 1993, p. 7).

The significance of social capital is stressed in various studies (e.g., Cachia et al., 2007; Valenzuela et al., 2009; Cartwright et al., 2008; Bidet, 2009) where the authors suggest clear and positive links between social capital and the improvement of economic productivity, community development, and even social inclusion. After their arrival immigrants face many challenges, ranging from problems in finding housing to establishing careers or looking for social support when having just recently changed their social networks. According to Bidet et al. (2009), there is a clear relationship between a low level of social capital and poor work integration, while the acquisition of greater social capital appears to be essential to successful social and economic integration. This is where web communities are useful in providing new forms of social networking and knowledge sharing. They have the potential to build and transform social networks across the boundaries of space and time, and they provide users with new contacts, thereby enhancing their social capital possibilities (cf. Anthias, 2007; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Waters and Leung, 2012). In contrast, the perspective of the welcoming societies is no less dramatic. One of the most important challenges faced by modern societies, and at the same time one of their greatest opportunities, is the increase in ethnic and social heterogeneity. This trend requires a broadening of perspectives and accepting that

“social capital is not a substitute for effective public policy but rather a prerequisite for it and, in part, a consequence of it” (Putnam, 1993, p. 10).

In situations where immigrants are disconnected from their host society and belong to a community of some kind, they are dependent on the ties they maintain.

“The more local bridges in a community and the greater their degree, the more cohesive the community and more capable of acting in concert” (Granovetter, 1973, p. 18)

In the same way as an immigrant’s integration is dependent, amongst many other factors, on how many ties they have, the immigrant maintains various dimensions of ties. Speaking of strong and weak ties, Granovetter mentions that

“bridging weak ties, since they do link different groups, are far more likely than other weak ties to connect individuals who are significantly different from one another.” (Granovetter, 1983, p. 4)

One of these dimensions is “incidence”, which includes two separate characteristics: frequency and intensity. Frequency relates to the number of ties an individual immigrant or a group of immigrants maintains with their surroundings, as well as to the number of ties with others (outside of their surroundings). Intensity relates to the nature of these contacts, and therefore to feelings of belonging and familiarity. Actually, frequent and intense contacts by immigrants with others in their host society may lead to a better mutual understanding and, ultimately, to a stronger identification with one another. In contrast, if people do not identify with other groups in the society of which they may all be part, they are unlikely to develop frequent and intense ties with individual members of those groups (cf. Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003; Kivanova, 2009).

Being without networks creates a state of isolation and can lead to a lack of information (see Koser and Pinkerton, 2002), a low level of power within society, and little potential for influence. In contrast, an increase in the level of social capital involves

“features of social life – networks, norms and trust – that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives” (Putnam, 2000, p. 19)

The fact that when participants in a social network are together they act more effectively in pursuing shared objectives, has benefits for all actors in the immigrant integration process. In order to be integrated and more satisfied, immigrants must be connected to their host society (cf. Anthias, 2007; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Lancee, 2010). In general increased immigration is

not only inevitable, but over the long term it is desirable because it raises creativity, introduces rapid economic growth, helps in balancing the economic effects of the retirement of the baby-boom generation, and it enhances the development of the countries of origin by enabling the immigrant to send money back to their family in their home country. However, in the meantime, in the short term, immigration and ethnic diversity challenge social solidarity and inhibit the creation of social capital.

According to some scholars (e.g., Anthias, 2007; Cachia et al., 2007; Cartwright et al., 2008; Curley, 2010; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Kobayashi et al., 2006; Lancee, 2010; Zinnbauer, 2007), social capital plays a crucial role in the integration of immigrants, providing a sense of belonging and identity as well as practical support. Acquiring links with local social capital comes from the power of weak ties, which are important because of their capacity to create bridges between different groups (see Granovetter, 1983). Furthermore, in their analysis of the Salvadoran immigrant community *Comites*, Portes and Langolt (2000) discuss the many broad social networks created between immigrants who supported and institutionalised cultural, economic, and political ties with their country of origin. They argue that these social networks promoted trust, solidarity, and reciprocity between the members of the networks, which in turn led to their mutual co-operation. These authors arrive at a concrete conclusion, arguing that the role of social capital is not to substitute a material infrastructure, the resources or the corresponding education, but to increase these resources by supporting them with the voluntary actions of participants. Web-based networks clearly play a prominent role, not only in linking immigrants to the job market but also in helping them climb up the employment ladder (cf. Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Van Hoye et al., 2009). Cachia et al. (2007) report claims that social computing, i.e. the engagement in web communities, is of particular interest because of:

- (1) being a new means of self-expression and identity;
- (2) being a media channel for user empowerment;
- (3) strengthening and expanding online relations;
- (4) enabling reciprocity exchanges;
- (5) enabling the sharing of content;
- (6) supporting collaboration;
- (7) sustaining attachment;
- (8) enabling employment opportunities; and
- (9) leveraging for social participation and civic engagement.

Accordingly, the Lancee (2010) results indicate that bonding networks do not affect economic outcomes, and that bridging networks are positively associated with both employment and income. Bearing in mind the effects of social computing on immigration, in the next section we will more deeply explore the effects that modern trends impose on migration.

## 2.6 How modern trends influence migration

By using web services, immigrants create and maintain a social life in more than one society. According to Glick Schiller et al. (2006), immigrants are regarded as *transmigrants* when they develop and maintain multiple relationships that span the borders of the nation state. Interconnected and fragmented social and political experiences, activities that spread across national boundaries, constitute the single field of social relations. In order to describe this social experience the terms *transnationalism* and *transnational social field* began to be used in scientific debates (Basch et al., 1994). This new social transition from immigrant to migrant introduced at least six different dimensions of migrant transnationalism (Vertovec, 1999).

- (1) Social morphology – dealing with a kind of social formation that crosses national borders. Transnational networks are systems of relationships that span across different spaces simultaneously and enable the creation of forms of solidarity and identity beyond the traditional public sphere. In these ways Vertovec argues that the old dispersed diasporas transform into today's (1999) transnational communities.
- (2) Types of consciousness – migrants are simultaneously “here and there”, “home and away from home” or “in between”. According to Glick Schiller et al. (1992), the majority of migrants maintain several identities that link them to several nations at the same time.
- (3) Mode of cultural reproduction – transnationalism is often linked to a fluidity of styles of immigrant behaviour, no matter whether it is behaviour in social institutions or in everyday practices.
- (4) Movement of capital - capital moves through new channels such as transnational corporations and migrant communities. The importance of immigrant remittances to their country of origin is so great in some countries that those countries depend completely on monetary transfers from their nationals who are living abroad.
- (5) Sites of political engagement – transnationalism introduced a transnational framework, a global public space, as the only space where both global and local questions can be debated.



- (6) Changes in the notion of space – transnational life permits immigrants to be in contact with friends and family in many different places, so their lives and their knowledge are created simultaneously in different places.

The rapid evolution and proliferation of IT introduced a revolution in the information era and helped the transnational maintenance of relationships and interests (Vertovec, 2001). Vertovec introduced the subject of the lives of migrants in “*transnational communities*”, suggesting that transnationalism would become another subject for debate in the field of migration. On the one hand, there is a view that because of transnational ties amongst immigrants they are not integrating as well as they might in their new host societies. In contrast, there is a view that the transnational life of immigrants is enhancing democracy by the open recognition of an immigrant’s multiple identities. Vertovec (2001) argues that transnational migrant communities introduced new concerns that affect “homeland politics”, which he describes using terms such as “long-distance nationalism”, “deterritorialised nations”, and the “globalisation of domestic politics”. Technology supported easier and cheaper means of communication the transfer of money, and introduced the growth of immigrant groups built around particular political standpoints. Thus immigrants developed considerable remote influence in the politics of their countries of origin.

According to Komito (2011), discussions of changing communication patterns and the Internet tend to focus on two issues:

- (1) easier migration due to extended social ties; and
- (2) the increased individual ability to participate in the culture and politics of the country of origin (through web-based communities).

New web-based social media applications support both processes. As immigration is on the rise, immigrants and their positions in new societies become politicised and right-wing anti-immigration politics gains momentum (Collins, 2011). Immigrant identity and belonging, especially insofar as Muslim immigrant communities are concerned, became central subjects of political and academic debates. The inability to reply successfully to contemporary immigration challenges consequently led to the proclaiming of the failure of *multiculturalism* in the UK by Prime Minister Cameron, similarly in Germany by Chancellor Merkel (cf. Collins, 2011; Kymlica, 2012). The optimistic sounding term *multiculturalism*, meaning the promotion of tolerance and respect for group identities – particularly of immigrants and ethnic

minorities – suffered from somewhat vocal criticism and antagonism (Kymlica, 2012).

The lack of a theoretical framework and a political approach towards the diverse contemporary society led to the return of the concept of *cosmopolitanism* to “save the day” (Collins, 2011, p.2). Vertovec and Cohen (2002) stated that there are several prominent processes and conditions responsible for bringing back cosmopolitanism into the debate: globalisation, nationalism, migration, multiculturalism, and feminism. According to these authors, cosmopolitanism offers a mode of managing cultural and political multiplicities, which simultaneously:

- (1) transcends the exhausted nation state model;
- (2) mediates actions and ideals tuned to the universal and the particular, the global and the local;
- (3) is culturally anti-essentialist; and
- (4) gives representations of allegiance, identity and interest.

There already exists a longstanding debate amongst those scholars who have attempted to discover the core meaning of “cosmopolitanism” in migration theory. Vertovec and Cohen (2002) quote Delanty (2000) whose discussion of the vagueness of cosmopolitanism states that it is far from clear what exactly it means to be a post-national cosmopolitan, specifically having in mind that the new media of communication and consumption made everybody cosmopolitan. Hannerz’s (1990) argument is employed to make the distinction between true cosmopolitans and globally mobile people. For Hannerz a “true” cosmopolitan is culturally open and interested in continuous engagement with one or another cosmopolitan project. Debating the topics: (1) to what extent cosmopolitanism exists; and (2) to what extent it is only available to the elite, is called either a “true” or a “false” cosmopolitan debate. In the beginning of the 2000s there was an increased awareness that cosmopolitanism actually exists amongst a wide variety of non-elites, especially migrants and refugees. Vertovec and Cohen (2002) argue in favour of new ways of behaving, naming such a form of behaviour “everyday cosmopolitanism”. This approach emphasizes positive socio-cultural and political transformations of meaning (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002). Finally, they argue that cosmopolitanism can be viewed as a:

- (1) socio-cultural condition;
- (2) sort of world-view philosophy;
- (3) political orientation towards building transnational institutions;
- (4) political orientation for recognising multiple identities;

- (5) general orientation of attitude; and
- (6) mode of practice.

As we examined the debates on transnational and cosmopolitan communities, we identified a contrast, a form of tension, between the scientific rhetoric and the reality of such communities. On the one hand, these terms intuitively suggest positive outcomes, such as in transnational versus national, as follows:

- (1) transnationalism means that the immigrant can profit from being present in several geographic locations – one presence in the host society, one in the country of origin, and perhaps even a third possibility when profiting from the experiences of other people who live all over the world;
- (2) cosmopolitan means being familiar with and at ease in many different countries and cultures (Oxford Dictionaries, <http://oxforddictionaries.com>).

In contrast we see an ambiguous situation, with the prevailing question: What benefits do we see for immigrants in these superficially optimistic terms? In answering this question we first see that the new type of social existence – being present in several geographically distant places simultaneously – introduces the interesting perception of being a *double absent* immigrant (Sayad, 2004) who has a problem in dealing with locality (Appadurai, 1995). In addition, a simultaneous existence supports the idea, introduced by Diminescu (2008), of being a *connected migrant*. So far the literature indicates that the new emerging trends are:

- (1) web-based transnational communication;
- (2) the exchange of information;
- (3) cheap flights (Vertovec, 2010).

These three new trends have resulted in an increase in the probability of immigrants making repeated moves to different countries or between the same countries. This is known as the *self-perpetuating* nature of migration. The more immigrants move, the more they learn about immigration, creating knowledge which is known as *migration-specific capital*. The more they have of that capital, the less risk they face in subsequent moves. These factors facilitate *circular migration* (Vertovec, 2007) which comes from two different effects of social migration. One effect is that social capital is negatively correlated with the probability of taking an additional long-distance trip, but it helps in making short distance trips. The other effect is that both weak and

strong ties, contacts and acquaintanceships with friends, have positive effects on planning additional trips that reduce the cost of migration (Massey and Aysa-Lastra, 2011). Finally, instead of producing positive results for immigrants, circular migration tends to keep immigrants in low levels of employment such as agriculture. Whatever the case, whether social capital is good for immigrants because it reduces the cost of additional migration trips, or whether it is bad for immigrants because a consequence of being a circular migrant is that the immigrant remains at low levels within society, we can now at least be clear that web-based social media has a role to play in the process of immigration. How immigrants function while they simultaneously live their online and offline lives, is the main point of interest in the discussion in section 2.7.

## **2.7 Online and offline synergies**

Technologically mediated communication is already incorporated in many aspects of everyday life (see Mann and Stewart, 2000; Clegg Smith, 2004). The clear distinction between online and offline worlds is becoming less useful, if at all possible, since the two are becoming increasingly merged in our society. Both spaces interact with each other and transform each other (cf. Haythornthwaite and Kazmer, 2002). According to Komito (2011), social media also reinforce strong ties (cf. Lenhart & Madden, 2007; Lenhart et al., 2010). The data from the Lenhart and Madden, and Lenhart et al. interviews suggest that immigrants combine all means of electronic communication (social networks, webcams, text messaging) in order to experience a kind of participation in their friends' lives. Social media support relationships of all types, whether they are based on strong or weak ties, or somewhere in between. Our friends and relatives with whom we maintain close social ties are often not physically close. These ties are spread all over the world and most people do not live their lives bounded in only one community. Rather, they live a *glocalised* life: a life where a person is involved both in local and long-distance relationships (see Robertson, 1995; Hampton and Wellman, 2003; Wellman et al., 2003). Existing connections are to people rather than to places, and technology has shifted our lives from linking people in places to linking people at any place. The person has become the portal (Castells, 2000). The technological development of computer communication networks and the vivid life on social networks provide "networked individualism", a term coined by Castells to conceptualize (for social scientists) web users and their connections. People are connected to each other as individuals, and

individuals switch rapidly between their social networks. This is how networked individualism is created.

Based on the research by Haythornthwaite (2005) and her latent ties “that are technically possible but not activated socially” (p.137), Ellison et al., (2007) suggest that a web-community activity makes it easier to convert latent ties into weak ties. These weak ties (again by definition) may provide additional information and opportunities which are expressed as dimensions of bridging social capital, dimensions that speak of interaction with a wide range of people and a more tolerant perspective. Because of these benefits they also suggest that using a web community such as Facebook is related to having a high level of self-esteem, a feeling of well-being. At the same time they found that the (Facebook) web community is not so useful for social bonding. Since a significant percentage of web-community usage (22%) is invested in bonding social capital, it is clearly an important activity, while even more (46%) of the use is dedicated to bridging social capital. According to Cachia et al. (2007), web-based communities appear to amplify the bonding effect which tends to diminish over time, while Maya-Jariego et al. (2009) claim that web-based communities are quite important for inter-cultural mediation.

The research presented in this thesis explores how the Internet fits in with the complexity of everyday life for immigrants. Going from online back to offline, the research aims to understand the impact and consequences of an immigrant’s online activity on their “real” life. In the next section we discuss the process of online influences on the offline lives of immigrants.

## **2.8 The effects of online influences on the offline lives of immigrants**

When speaking about online and offline practices, and how online activities affect offline life, we repeatedly face the question of separation between these two realms. According to Vertovec (2003), communication brought about by digital media, internet-mediated communication, and online practices, can not be separated from offline practices. Certainly, as is demonstrated in the literature, intensive online socialisation enhances the close range of real life contacts and ties (Wellman, 2001; Wellman and Haythornthwaite, 2002). For Silverstone (2003) too, new technologies are appropriated into everyday ways of living and being. He argues that new information and communication technologies take place alongside the traditional ones. Thus, for Silverstone, the actual process of social

engagement with new technologies is evolutionary. In his conclusions Silverstone (2003) argues that the relationship between everyday life online and offline is tight, and the boundary almost non-existent, thereby putting new media and communication technologies in the very centre of the daily routines of mobile individuals. Here we see a useful shift from the notion that online and offline practices are separated realms.

According to Kluzer et al. (2007), immigrants' usage of IT is a prerequisite for starting a useful dialogue with the host society. Chen and Choi (2011) observed that online support has a conspicuous effect on immigrants especially when they are newly arrived and lack social capital in their new lives. Their research suggests that the motivation for using the web is that immigrants expect it to have a positive effect on their socio-cultural and psychological adaptation. Newly arrived immigrants also use the web, or more precisely web communities, as a tool for switching between their multiple identities (Lazzari, 2011; Oirzabal and Reips, 2012). The web is characterized as being easy to use and therefore an effective tool for increasing knowledge about health matters and for decreasing the personal stigma of sick immigrants (cf. Kiropoulos et al., 2011). Extensive work has been performed in the field of web community usage for the purpose of helping prospective immigrants to prepare for their move to their new host country, as well as for the maintenance of diaspora communities and family ties, facilitating adaptation, creating new formal and informal relationships with local people, and interaction with bridging social capital (cf. Lazzari, 2012; Chen et al., 2012; Oirzabal and Reips, 2012). 79% of workers in the study by Ala-Mutka (2010) reported that they use web-based social networks for work-related reasons. The positive effect of web-based networks on job seekers is also confirmed in Van Hoye et al. (2009), where those whose social networks consist of weaker and higher-status ties are better placed to find a job. Komito (2011) indicates that job-related activities are among the main reasons why immigrants use IT. Her research on Ethiopian refugees in the UK supports the idea of IT as a rich resource, a helping resource for migrants. Even older immigrants use the web for support in managing their health problems, their professional interests, for maintaining or extending social networks, and for staying connected with their background culture or leisure activities. The importance of the role that the web plays in the lives of older immigrants is best described by the title of the Khvorostianov et al. (2012) paper: "Without it I am nothing". This study suggests that Internet usage improves an immigrant's quality of life, and thus the Internet becomes a useful tool for following an appropriate strategy of successful ageing.

The web is a medium that has excellent potential for channelling the actions of a large number of individuals into something larger, such as a new place for the emergence of politics (cf. Lindgren and Lundström, 2011). Accordingly, immigrants use the web for political purposes and for raising their voices. They use a bottom-up approach by building new cyber spaces for their own participation (Spaiser, 2012). The web is a space where social networks can mobilise an online movement and transfer it offline (Harlow, 2012). Therefore web usage presents an opportunity for reshaping the status of contemporary immigration. Social computing also offers opportunities for governance: citizen empowerment, data availability, access to resources, multiplication of network capacities, and the exchange of information and knowledge (see Ala-Mutka et al., 2009). In this way social computing offers solutions to problems that are performed online but which have an effect offline. One effect of this transition from online to offline is that it offers a new model for “collective problem solving”. For example, if a particular group of women are being discriminated against for some reason they could create an online group and then, as a group, they could approach an appropriate government or local authority to request help with their problem. Thus their online activity can help them in their offline lives.

Social computing also impacts important collective values such as trust, authority, reputation, self-regulation, and control. IT provides new spaces for self-expression, community organisation, and a space for a struggle of marginalised migrants, without being exclusively used only by highly qualified migrants (Georgiu, 2002). Also, Scopsi’s research (2009) investigates the way in which IT has changed immigrant life. For Scopsi, IT influences changes in the lives of migrants, their perception of space, and their relationships with their country of origin. While Scopsi focussed more on the effects of strong ties, Massey and Aysa-Lastra (2011) identified the significant influence of both weak and strong ties on immigrants and their future migration. Therefore, we may conclude that the literature has identified both weak and strong ties as being important in the lives of immigrants.

In summary, the web introduced a major difference in the immigrant experience by affecting preparation, flow, social inclusion, social capital, identity, participation, and visibility. Thus, the impact of IT on immigration became undeniable. Apparently, many immigrants are using the web driven by different motivations. However, they all use the web as a medium that provides new solutions to some of the traditional immigrant problems.

We may further conclude that the literature on online and offline synergies and social capital has established that IT has changed the lives of migrants considerably. For better or for worse, immigrants are present in several realities introduced to them by living in transnational migrant communities. They live in a so-called transnational space. They have an *everyday cosmopolitan* lifestyle and are continually switching between multiple identities enabled by online life, participating *here and there*. Still, wondering to what extent these positive terms reflect the real feeling that immigrants might have about the effects which IT has on their lives, we conducted a field study. We found the basis for the field work in this literature review. Following Putnam, Granovetter, Norris, Wellman, Haythornthwaite, Li, Lancee, Almutka, we have examined the world of immigration on the web in order to understand to what extent web communities can help the social integration of immigrants. Our analysis of immigrants' preferences and online behaviours begins in Chapter 3, where we will investigate web communities among all the identified web spaces used by immigrants.





### **3 The motivation of immigrants for using the web**

The influence of web usage on immigration has attracted an increased level of attention in recent scientific studies of the general influence of IT on immigration. The interest of researchers ranges from analysing the web as a tool (cf. RQ1) to the various ways in which web usage can help and elevate the quality of life for immigrants (cf. RQ2). The effects of this usage (cf. RQ3), is the main stepping stone to enable us to answer the PS. In this chapter we address RQ1: What is the motivation behind the immigrants' usage of the web?

To understand the various motivational factors for using the web, we first identified web spaces in the field of immigration and classified them. Since the main interest of our research is to investigate how the usage of web communities influences social capital acquisition (see subsection 1.6), during the classification process we separated web sites from web communities. The growing popularity of web communities has introduced a need for consensus in the scientific world regarding the term "web community" and the most appropriate scheme of classification. Our discussion on the most suitable term for this particular research started in subsection 1.5.2. It ended in the formulation of two definitions, those for "web community", and "web space".

The present chapter presents a classification of collected web spaces, aiming to identify a set of the most important parameters behind the motivation for using the web. The empirical research cited is based on a number of these parameters. Moreover, the literature shows many attempts to make a classification of web spaces. The proposed classifications vary considerably for different reasons. The researchers involved tend to categorise their observations in their own way, i.e. to create a classification based on parameters that are of prime importance to their own research (see Armstrong and Hagel, 1995; Burnett, 2000; Dhar & Wertenbroch, 2000; Stanoevska-Slabeva and Schmid, 2001; Dube et al., 2006). In the early days of web spaces, scholars offered classifications that were more general. Later, due to the proliferation of web spaces, the approach changed as the motivation, usage, and structure of the web spaces evolved.

In this chapter, we introduce the field of research (section 3.1) and describe the analytical approach used for further analysis (section 3.2). In section 3.3, we introduce the research restrictions. Further, in section 3.4 we present some example sets of parameters that were used as a basis for introducing a

range of different classifications. Here we mention seven parameters: (1) supporting communication technology; (2) consumer needs; (3) users' needs; (4) information exchange process; (5) relationships; (6) location of interaction; and (7) the strength of social ties. In section 3.5, we analyse how the web has been used in relation to immigration problems as faced by the Serbian diaspora. Similarly, we analyse the web life of Swedish immigrants (section 3.6). And in section 3.7 we offer an interpretation of our findings and use it to compare these two analyses. In section 3.8 we provide an answer to RQ1.

### **3.1 The research field**

In our empirical study we have followed two different groups of immigrants on the web. First, we have focussed on a group of immigrants who are presently worldwide - the case of Serbian diaspora. And secondly we have focussed on all immigrants who have made Sweden their host country. This bidirectional approach is used in order to answer RQ1, to identify the motivations for the web usage of the two groups, and to establish the difference if any between the two cases. Moreover, we aim to identify the links behind the users' motivations, the ownership of the web spaces and the reach of these spaces. Further, we analyse the dynamics behind the web spaces, specifically targeting web communities amongst them in order to understand to what extent web communities play an important role for immigrants. Our selection of these particular web spaces is also motivated by the PS. Thus, we analyse the behaviour of immigrants who use the web to maintain contacts among their own national group - bonding social capital activities, and compare them with those immigrants who use the web to make contact with new people outside of their own national community - bridging social capital activities. This analysis will presumably give more information on the immigrants' acquisition of social capital.

The Serbian diaspora was chosen as a subject of analysis for the following two reasons. First, after the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia, during the 1990s, approximately 5 million people had to resettle, and 700,000 of them emigrated to Western Europe (see Malacic, 2002). Many of those were Serbian, and therefore had similar social, cultural, and ideological backgrounds. Following Norris's (2002) definition, they represent a group of people that will have bonding social capital activities. Second, the majority of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia have settled in the more developed countries of the Western world, and therefore have enjoyed good access to IT and in particular to web services.

The immigrants who selected Sweden as their host country were chosen for the following four reasons. First, in many countries, Sweden stands as a brand name for a socially successful laboratory and a model of a welfare state, with pragmatic social solutions (cf. Runblom, 1994) and with a respectful treatment of the concerns of immigrants (cf. Ålund and Schierup, 1991). After WWII, Sweden swiftly moved from the “Swedishisation” model of cultural and ethnic assimilation for its immigrants, to a multicultural model that officially allows, and even expects and invites, cultural diversity. Moreover, during the 1990s the Swedish multicultural integration model (*mångkulturellt samhälle*) had a positive connotation (Runblom, 1994). The literature shows that in 2005 Swedish immigration amounted to 11% of the population, while 25% of the population had at least one foreign-born parent (cf. Hammarstedt and Palme, 2006). This 11% increased to 14.3% of the population in the 2010 Eurostatistics (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>).

Second, according to Statistics Sweden (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2005), the number of users of the Internet among persons aged 16-74 was 78% in 2005. In 2011, 88% of the population over the age of 12 had access to the Internet and 85% had access to broadband at home (cf. Findahl, 2010).

Third, having a high percentage of immigrants from all over the world in a technologically highly developed country is an excellent precondition for the analysis of their usage of existing web services.

The fourth reason is that, by having a different social and cultural background, the immigrants who chose Sweden as their host country represent a group with bridging social capital activities (cf. Norris, 2002).

## **3.2 Analytical approach**

For our empirical analysis we adopted a multi-layered approach using: (1) location; (2) classification; and (3) technological analyses as mentioned earlier in subsection 1.7.4.

### **3.2.1 Location**

The first goal of the analysis is to locate as many web spaces of interest as possible. That task was carried out during the period 1 August 2009 to 1 November 2009. The reason for gathering a maximally available set of web spaces lies in the expectation that a larger sample will give more information

and a better result. The Google search engine was employed to locate web spaces in the context of immigration. Having in mind that the research target is the Serbian diaspora, the most appropriate keywords for a search are: Serbian immigration, Serbian diaspora, Serbian associations, and other similar phrases. All these phrases were searched both in the Serbo-Croatian and the English language. After gathering the first list of web spaces it was necessary to perform a validity check that would discard those that did not predominantly address the problem of immigration. The list of web spaces which are the subject of our analysis is given in Appendix A.

In the case of Swedish immigration the approach was similar, but of course with a clear difference concerning the search terms used: Swedish immigration, *invandrare* (immigrant), *svenska invandring* (Swedish immigration), *invandrare förening* (immigrant association), and similar phrases, all of which were searched both in the Swedish and English languages. In this case too, a validity check was performed and some of the web addresses were discarded when they did not predominantly address the problem of immigration. The list of all identified web spaces, the subject of our analysis, is given in Appendix B.

The research process required that we had to revisit all of the identified web spaces several times. Although this kind of repetitive check was not planned *a priori*, it resulted in an additional level of quality in our results since the analysis is of a "living system". The information which an observer could garner today might be different from what he<sup>3</sup> would discover tomorrow. Therefore it was necessary to observe certain phenomena over a reasonable period of time. In the course of this chapter we present the dynamics of the identified web spaces over a period of 3 months, as indicated above.

### **3.2.2 Classification**

The second goal of our analysis is to identify different classes of the selected web spaces. The main classification takes place according to the users' and the owners' motivations. The idea is to identify and classify web communities. We treat the principal topic of interest of a particular web space, as expressed on the web space itself, as the driving motivation for the existence and usage of that web space. Our identification of the web communities in the context of immigration is based on using many different lists of web spaces that have been identified as being relevant to an immigrant's activities. The distinction

---

<sup>3</sup> For brevity, we use "he" and "his" wherever "he or she" and "his or her" are meant.

between web sites and web communities is made by using definition 1.3 (section 1.2) and definition 1.11 (subsection 1.5.2). Accordingly, a web community emphasises how a web relationship is initiated and how the dialogue between its partners takes place (Boyd, 2008). Therefore, during the process of differentiation we searched for the web spaces that permit linkage and dialogue between the members of a web-based community.

In order to be able to derive useful conclusions about the way in which immigrants' web spaces function, it is necessary to understand: (1) what are the relationships between the various identified web spaces and what is happening in these web spaces; (2) what are the rules that must be obeyed by the users of these web spaces?; and (3) what are the predominant parameters that drive the activities in a given set of web spaces? Based on these three questions our classification of web spaces took place at three levels.

*Level 1:* The ownership of the identified web space.

The whole set of immigrants is divided into two sets: (1) an organisation-sponsored subset of immigrants; and (2) a member-initiated subset of immigrants. This division describes two sets of people who are organised and financed in different ways. Observing the impact of these two different subsets signals the importance of financing a particular web space.

*Level 2:* The relation toward profit.

We distinguish between: (3) profit acquisition; and (4) non-profit acquisition. A focus on whether or not web spaces create economic gain allows us to describe the way the immigration problem is treated.

*Level 3:* The motivation of keeping the existing web space as it is (i.e., the main interest).

This describes a specific focus among the users of the space.

### **3.2.3 Technological analysis**

Our technological analysis has been performed with the use of the free analytical web tool ALEXA (alexa.com). ALEXA is a free web-metric tool, based on a web crawl and the analytical infrastructure that processes a massive

amount of data. The system offers different types of data on an analysed web space, such as traffic statistics, search analytics, users' demography, reviews, and trends. The categorisation produced by the reach parameter is performed according to: (a) the percentage of global Internet users who have visited a particular observed web space (3 month average); and (b) any change in the trend in traffic (3 month change). In other words, we analysed: (i) the visit; and (ii) the traffic, of a particular web space, in order to identify the web spaces that attract most of the attention from users.

### **3.3 Research restrictions**

In this section we discuss three issues on which it was necessary to make certain decisions in order to execute our research, viz.: (A) the participating immigrants; (B) the choice of the group to be investigated; and (C) the procedure to be followed with respect to location, classification, and technology analysis. As mentioned in section 1.2 and subsection 1.5.2, we employ the term "web communities" for groups of individuals that interact on the web.

#### **(A) The participating immigrants**

The aim of this research is to analyse the influence of the immigrants' web community activities on the acquisition of their social capital. To be more precise, and as previously stated in the problem statement (see section 1.6), we are analysing to what extent immigrants acquire social capital by using specific web communities. Therefore this study is, by definition of its PS, limited to those immigrants who belong to web communities.

#### **(B) The choice of group to be investigated**

It is important to bear in mind that when we speak of social capital we are referring to two different types of relationships between people – bonding and bridging (see subsection 1.5.3). In our study we had to follow both groups, whose members participated in the web-based communities. In order to investigate bonding and bridging social capital on the web, we narrowed down the research to two different contexts: (1) a web community of people with the same or a similar background as an example of a bonding group; and (2) a web community of people with different backgrounds as an example of a bridging group. In this chapter,

we will further elaborate on this context and provide considerations for a balanced selection among the web communities.

(C) The procedure to be followed

In order to execute this research, many factors could have been taken into consideration and many methods could have been chosen, but our research has been restricted by the fact that we analyse usage, by immigrants, of the web communities. In order to obtain more insights into that usage we practise the following four methods with respect to immigrant web sites and web communities: (a) identify; (b) list; (c) measure; and (d) rank their presence. After identifying and listing them we will investigate them based on three factors: (1) location; (2) classification; and (3) technology. We chose these factors for the following reasons.

- (1) Location – A “web space” can be a web site, providing static information without any communication between users, or a web community, which is a dynamic environment where users may exchange information and conduct dialogue with each other. The term “location” means identifying the web communities (see definition 1.3) among all identified web spaces, in order to determine to what extent the web is used as a social network generator (i.e., a space for interaction and dialogue between users). Each web community is a web-based service that allows its users to construct a profile within its system, and provides tools to enable its users to connect and communicate with other users. A web community emphasises the relationship between initiation and dialog (cf. Boyd, 2006).
- (2) Classification – We performed our classification by examining categories in two levels: (1) establishment; and (2) relationship orientation, starting with Porter’s (2004) model. Further, we divided the observed set of web spaces with respect to the following two variables: (a) ownership – in order to answer to what extent money influences the creation of the healthy life of a successful web space; and (b) main interest – to answer for which purposes immigrants use the web.



- (3) Technology – in order to be able to understand the importance of the dynamics created by web spaces, the collected set of web spaces are analysed with respect to two features: (a) reach; and (b) traffic.
- (a) Reach – This is another of Porter’s (2004) ideas, renamed by us from Porter’s original term “population”. Reach refers to the number of users, and the number of interactions among members. This variable will determine the impact that a particular web space exerts. We note that having a public presence – publishing something on the web – is completely different from the impact that a web space may have. It is one thing to have a web site, but quite another thing to publish content that will reach and attract a wide audience of users.
- (b) Traffic – The analysis of traffic is a continuation of our analysis of visits. Identifying the difference in traffic creates more data on the intensity of the interaction. By analysing traffic we will be able to understand how successful is a particular solution – a positive trend means more people and more interactions, while the identification of the trend in a certain period of time might show important directions for design recommendations.

Since the scientific literature describes many attempts towards a proper classification of web spaces, we decided to elaborate on the issue of classification. In our opinion such an elaboration is not necessary for the other two issues: location and technological analysis. Thus, in the next section we review some of the most representative classifications from the literature. Then, in sections 3.5 and 3.6 we present the results of procedure (C) performed on the case of the Serbian diaspora (section 3.5) and on Swedish immigration (section 3.6).

### **3.4 Classification**

Our classification research is executed on web spaces with special attention to web communities. This research regards a web community as a kind of a web space. The research will be performed as follows. We commence with a review of the literature on the classification of web communities, in order to identify the best fitting model to start our research. Then, for all the web spaces collected, we will distill the class of web communities and then classify them. We thus follow the process for methodological reasons. In

brief, there are two types of web spaces, viz. one type containing web communities and one type containing web sites. We collect from the Internet all web spaces that are relevant for our research topic, and then we distill from that collection the class of web communities and analyse the immigrants' interactions within that class.

The impact and evolution of web communities can be perceived from many different perspectives. For this research the perspective of the technical reality of the medium itself is quite important. When examining the influences of web spaces we must be careful not to overlook the fact that technology and society are mutually involved in their construction. In the early days of web spaces they were perceived as *technosocial* constructs that evolved owing to a successful coupling of technical and social systems, to the extent that the two became inseparable (see Ito et al., 1998). The term "technosocial" is borrowed here from Ito et al. and from other examples of technoscience studies (e.g., Latour, 1987).

As stated above, there are many examples in the literature of the classification of web communities. Below we present ten examples of our classification. We have created Tables 3.1 to 3.4, based on various specific studies, in order to make the comparison between the different types of classification in the literature more insightful.

### **Examples 1 and 2**

A classification of web communities based on consumer needs was already presented in the 1990s by Armstrong and Hagel (1995). They distinguished four classes: (1) transaction; (2) interest; (3) fantasy; and (4) relationships. Subsequently, based on the users' needs, the web communities were categorised into utilitarian communities and hedonistic communities (Dhar and Wertenbroch, 2000).

### **Example 3**

Once the Internet, and particularly the web, had become the most successful type of medium ever, which had been achieved by combining the distribution of mass information with the capability of communication between users, Burnett (2000) offered a classification of the varieties of interactive behaviour found in web communities (see Table 3.1). In the course of his research Burnett presented several distinct viewpoints. He first divided users' behaviour into: (1) searching for practical information; and (2) searching for other types of information. Furthermore, he identified the most fundamental

levels of behaviour as: (1) non-interactive (lurking – the passive role of reading); and (2) interactive (active participation and exchange). All these considerations resulted in Burnett's classification of interactive behaviours (see again Table 3.1). This classification is primarily oriented toward the way in which participants address each other or behave, in terms of their information-seeking activities.

**Table 3.1 Classification of web communities as a function of characteristics of communication (Burnett , 2000)**

main communities	main subcommunities	characteristics of communication
interactive behaviours	hostile	flaming – insulting
		trolling – posting inaccurate information
		spamming – extensive unwanted information
		cyber-rape – violently assaultive
	collaborative	not specifically oriented toward information – neutral, humorous, empathic
		directly related to either information seeking or to providing information to other community members - emotional support

#### **Example 4**

Analysing technical and social systems at the same time, Stanoevska-Slabeva and Schmid (2001) proposed a classification based on community-supporting platforms, such as chat, bulletin boards, databases, avatars, and 3D interfaces. They identified four main classes of communities based upon the type of transactions required by the community, viz. discussion communities, task-and-goal oriented communities, virtual worlds communities, and hybrid communities (see Table 3.2).

**Table 3.2 Classification of web communities as a function of supporting platforms**

main communities	main subcommunities	supporting platforms
discussion	direct person to person	chats, BBS
	topic oriented	
	communities of practice	
	indirect	
task-and-goal oriented	transaction	databases
	design	
	online learning	
virtual worlds		avatars
hybrid		3D interface

### Example 5

A classification offered by Dube et al. (2006), see Table 3.3, is a third web community classification to be discussed in table form. It applies to what the authors refer to as “virtual communities of practice” (VCOP), and covers four main classes: (1) demographics; (2) organisational context; (3) membership characteristics; and (4) technology environment. The authors selected the 21 most meaningful structuring characteristics and distributed them into the four classes mentioned above. Table 3.3 shows their resulting classification. Dube and colleagues list the observed characterisations of the web communities in the third column of Table 3.3.

**Table 3.3 Classification of web communities as a function of characteristics of communication (Dube et al., 2006)**

<b>main communities</b>	<b>subcommunities: structural characteristics</b>	<b>characteristic of communication</b>
<b>demographics</b>	orientation	operational
		strategic
	life span	temporary
		permanent
age	young	
	old	
maturity level	transformation stage	
	potential stage	
<b>organisational</b>	creation process	spontaneous
		intentional
	boundary crossing	low
		high
	environment	facilitating
		obstructive
	organisational slack	high
low		
degree of institutionalised formalism	unrecognized	
	institutionalized	
leadership	clearly assigned	
	continuously negotiated	
<b>membership characteristics</b>	size	small
		large
	geographic dispersion	low
		high
	members' selection process	closed
		open
	members' enrollment	voluntary
		compulsory
	members' prior community experience	extensive
		none
membership stability	stable	
	fluid	
members' IT literacy	high	
	low	
cultural diversity	homogeneous	
	heterogeneous	
topic's relevance to members	high	
	low	
<b>technological environment</b>	degree on reliance on ICT	low
		high
	ICT availability	high variety
		low variety

## **Examples 6 and 7**

For a proper overview and a correct description of the development of ideas regarding classification, we mention two examples: Example 6 – the classification by Armstrong and Hagel (1995), being the first to mention such ideas; and Example 7 – the views by Dhar and Wertenbroch (2000). For a better understanding of our choices, we mention below two classifications, namely that by Hummel and Lechner (2002), and that by Hinds and Lee (2008), both using genres, as example 8 and example 9, before we arrive at Porter's model (Example 10) upon which we will elaborate.

## **Example 8**

Hummel and Lechner (2002) studied 50 business-related web communities and proposed another classification based on five genres: (1) gaming; (2) interest; (3) B2B; (4) B2C; and (5) C2C. Hummel and Lechner recognised that other needs-based classifications could be made, so their preferred classification is just one of all possible sets of the genres of web communities.

## **Example 9**

Hinds and Lee (2008) analysed social network structure as a critical success condition for web communities. They observed that users are gathered by different motivations, and therefore that users have different satisfying needs: (1) socialisation; (2) gaming; (3) content sharing; (4) knowledge sharing; (5) activism; (6) development; and (7) exchange.

## **A summary of the nine examples**

Actually, our literature review demonstrates that all of the authors referred to therein are correct. There are many more different sets of classifications and many potential usages of these sets. However, besides identifying various classifications, the main goal of this literature review was to identify the classification that could best explain and encompass a wider field of web communities. Following this review, which we admit is only a partial review but one that provides a good flavour of the possibilities, it becomes evident that there is no single all-encompassing model that can fit all of the possibilities. Rather, there are many classifications that are built with a specific need and with specific criteria, where this specific need defines the criteria. It is clear now that there are not many classifications of web communities in the context of immigration, let alone with an *emphasis* on immigration. This is our focus in the remainder of this chapter.

In the context of immigration, web science scholars have expressed the need to describe the activity of immigrants by: (1) the perspectives of ownership; and (2) the main interest that drives activity. One quite useful system that is also broad and collectively exhaustive, according to the five criteria specified by Hunt (1991), is the multidisciplinary classification proposed by Porter (2004).

### Example 10

Porter (2004) follows the concepts of web communities, to which she refers as “virtual communities”, from the perspective of their establishment and relationship orientation. In her first step she divides web communities according to establishment, i.e. in member-initiated and organisation-sponsored virtual communities. In her second step she divides both according to their relationship orientation. For the member-initiated virtual communities the division is made according to social and professional relationship orientation, whereas for the organisation-sponsored communities it is according to commercial, non-profit, and government relationship orientation (see Figure 3.1).

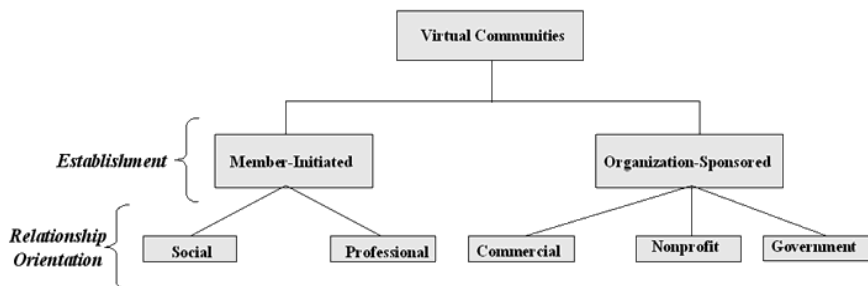


Figure 3.1 Porter’s classification of virtual communities (Porter, 2004)

The main part of our empirical research starts by using Porter’s model. In accordance with this model our proposed classification consists of two levels of categories. The first level is based on establishment, and the second level is based on relationship orientation. For clarity we transform Porter’s (2004) tree into a classification table form of the type presented thus far (see Table 3.4)

**Table 3.4 Classification of virtual communities as a function of establishment and relationship orientation (Porter, 2004)**

<b>virtual communities</b>	<b>subclass</b>
member-initiated	social
	professional
organisation-sponsored	commercial
	non-profit
	government

Porter (2004) continued by offering five attributes that could be used to characterise a web community: (1) purpose; (2) place; (3) platform; (4) population interaction structure; and (5) profit model. She indicated that these attributes could be used to describe any web community regardless of its class. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, we applied Porter's model as being the best fitting model for the identified web spaces of immigrants. Following Porter's model, 67 web spaces were analysed (see Appendix C) and distributed across the various slots in the table (see Table 3.5). Not included were 10 web spaces which did not offer any information at the time of our analysis (they were reconstructions of pages or they were inactive). It is difficult to draw many conclusions from the distribution in Table 3.5 because this classification is not very descriptive. It is quite justifiable to state that the majority of web spaces (47 in number) are member-initiated, and the majority of the organisation-sponsored group (15 in number) are commercial.

**Table 3.5 Classification of the 67 web spaces of the Serbian diaspora according to Porter's model (see Figure 3.1)**

<b>main communities</b>	<b>subcommunities</b>	<b>#</b>
member – initiated	social	47
	professional	
organisation – sponsored	commercial	15
	non-profit	4
	government	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>67</b>

This classification does not provide a clear picture for a better understanding of the identified convergences (see Table 3.5 – 47 social and 15 commercial). From the classification shown here it is impossible to discover more about the 47 member-initiated web spaces that are at the same time also social web communities, and the same holds for the organisation-sponsored commercial web sites. To obtain a more discrete picture of the analysed sample, it is



necessary to introduce a new model that presents the main interests as separate classes.

### **Our model: including main interest**

Starting with Porter's model (2004), in order to better understand and describe the forces that shape the relevant dynamics of the web, we divided the observed set of web spaces according to the two following variables (see Table 3.6).

- (a) Ownership – This distinguishes web spaces which create economic value, where value is defined as revenue generation. The division along this variable will say more about: (i) motivations that create the dynamics on the web for immigrants (do they support communication and provide purposeful content or just generate revenue); and (ii) the background necessary to establish a successful web space.
- (b) Main interest – This refers to the specific focus of the discourse among members (Porter, 2004). We expect that this variable will shed light on the most interesting topic(s) in the world of immigration on the web.

Table 3.6 is designed with the aim of showing a classification of websites that will be fit for our research into the Serbian diaspora. The four main entries are: Class (meaning ownership), Subclass, Main interest, and Number (#) of web spaces. In the class=ownership column a division is made according to member-initiated and organisation-sponsored classes. The organisation-sponsored web spaces are then divided into non-profit and profit web spaces. At the subclass level, member-initiated web spaces are divided into subclasses: general, social, and culture/sport. For the organisation-sponsored class the non-profit group is divided into religion, government, and charity. The profit group is divided into commercial and media subclasses, where media splits into radio, newspapers, TV, and Internet magazine-media portal. The main interest column follows at the third level, and the number of web spaces are presented at the fourth level.

**Table 3.6 Classification of the 67 web spaces of the Serbian diaspora by expanding Porter's model**

class = ownership		subclass		main interest	# of web spaces			
member-initiated		general		general immigration issues	7			
		social		social gathering	1			
		culture / sport		folklore, culture and sport	39			
organisation-sponsored		non-profit		religion	folklore, language, religion	2		
				government		ministry activity	1	
				charity		charity, culture, education, language	2	
		profit		commercial		information & selling various products: books, cds, music etc.	7	
				media			radio	2
							newspapers	2
							TV	2
							Internet magazine – media portal	2
		<b>Total</b>					<b>67</b>	

In summary, in Table 3.6, a new classification of web spaces is designed by adding column three (main interest). The reason for adopting this new classification lies in the wider spectrum of information that is available via the list of main interests. The reader is invited to examine the table as follows. The first two columns can be considered as a qualitative description of the classification. The full new classification (with main interest and number of web spaces included) can also be used as a quantitative description tool, even in the case that the additional columns with the descriptions of the main interest (a qualitative description) are added. Combining a quantitative and a qualitative approach at the same time maximises the value of the information provided by the gathered data.

In sections 3.5 and 3.6, we analyse web spaces from the Serbian diaspora and Swedish immigration, by distributing them across the proposed classification method presented in Table 3.6.

### **3.5 The case of Serbian diaspora**

As stated in section 3.2, our analytical approach is a three-layered analysis using: (a) location; (b) classification (based on typology); and (c) a technological analysis. We follow this design below.

### **3.5.1 Location**

Searching the Internet using Google, and employing the earlier mentioned terms (see section 3.2), resulted in an extensive list of web spaces. After a first validity check many of those web spaces were discarded. That was a necessary step, since there were many web spaces that contained the key words of interest but did not actually deal with the problem of immigration or did not professionally address immigrants. Instead those web spaces mentioned these terms from other points of view (news articles, lyrics, etc.). Moreover, ten web spaces were discarded because of a lack of information at the time of analysis.

Thorough qualitative analysis identified 67 web spaces that addressed immigrants or were created by immigrants. The list of these web spaces is presented in Appendix A. Our experience from this phase of the analysis clearly showed that it was not easy to differentiate web spaces for immigrants from other web spaces which are irrelevant for this study. Since the web is one of the prevailing world phenomena, it is easy to find within that vast arena something that mentions “immigration” simply by searching for that word itself. But it is also easy to be side-tracked towards irrelevant mentions of immigration or immigrants. So it was necessary, for the purposes of our research, to “cleanse” the list of identified web spaces, in order to identify those spaces that are interesting for this study. The results presented here are therefore taken from web spaces that appear to be made strictly for purposes related to immigration, spaces that are made by or for immigrants.

### **3.5.2 Classification**

After identifying 67 web spaces of interest we classified them according to the proposed method of classification (Table 3.6). Table 3.7 presents the results. Here we provide five prevailing observations which will guide our further analysis<sup>4</sup>.

- (1) The majority (70%) of web spaces, 47 in number, are concentrated in the member-initiated group, which clearly signifies that immigrants adopted the web as their chosen space for expression. They are not dependent on mediators.
- (2) The majority (78%) of web spaces, 52 in number, are concentrated in the non-profit part (member-initiated + organisation-sponsored/non-profit). This signifies that the dynamic activity of immigrants on those

---

<sup>4</sup> In our analysis we use integer percentages, since we believe that using decimals leads only to pseudo-precision.

pages – whether the immigrants are posting some information, responding to advertisements, making money for themselves, etc. – is mainly driven by positive motivations: providing general information about immigration, organising socialisation, preserving folklore, native culture, enjoying sports, and learning language.

- (3) The number of member-initiated places is some 2.4 times higher than the number of organisation-sponsored places. Together with the results from (2) it is evident that member-initiated and non-profit approaches are larger in number than organisation-sponsored and profit oriented approaches.
- (4) Relatively few (22%) web spaces exist, 15 in number, specifically to contact immigrants with a view to making some financial gain from them. It is interesting to note that these web spaces identified music, books, and news from the country of origin as the most interesting products to offer to immigrants.

The number of web communities is 9 (i.e. 13.4% of all web spaces are web communities). The majority of them (78%), i.e. 7 in number, are concentrated among the member-initiated web spaces, and only 2 of them (22%) are in the organisation-sponsored/profit group. The number of identified web communities here is quite small.

**Table 3.7 Classification of 67 web spaces for Serbian diaspora immigrants**

ownership		class		main interest	web sites	web communities	%web spaces	%web communities
member-initiated	non-profit	general		general immigration issues	3	4	70	78
		social		social gathering	1			
		culture / sport		folklore, culture and sport	36	3		
organisation-sponsored		religion		folklore, language, religion	2		30	
		government		ministry activity	1			
		charity		charity, culture, education, language	2			
	profit	commercial			6	1		
		m e d i a	radio		information & selling various products: books, cds, music etc.	2		
			newspapers			2		
			TV			2		
Internet magazine – media portal			1	1				
<b>Total</b>					<b>58</b>	<b>9</b>		

The classification of the 67 web spaces by their names and locations can be found in Appendices A and C.

### 3.5.3 Technological analysis

Our technological analysis deals with: (1) the percentage of the daily reach of global Internet users; and (2) the state of the traffic that this reach induces in a 3-month period. The ALEXA web analytic tools provide results as percentages of the number of global Internet users. The results of this part of our research are shown in Tables 3.8 and 3.9. In Table 3.8, we mention the percentage of global Internet users who visit a specific Serbian diaspora web space at least once during a period of three months. For ease of readability we introduce a new quantity, referred to as M%. Here 1M% is equal to 0.000 001%, i.e., it is 0.000 000 01 of the whole.

**Table 3.8 Daily reach of Serbian diaspora web spaces**

<b>M% of global Internet users</b>	<b>number of web spaces</b>
1000-9000	1
100-900	6
10-90	10
1-9	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>

From Chapter 1 we know that nowadays more than 2 milliard<sup>5</sup> people are Internet users (i.e. 2,000,000,000). Thus 1M% means 20 Internet users. From Table 3.8 we can observe that, over a three-month period, between 20,000 and 180,000 users per day have visited exactly one Serbian diaspora website (represented by 1,000-9,000 in Table 3.8 column 1).

Over the same period of three months, the changes in traffic of each web space were monitored in order to identify the trend of the traffic. The ALEXA web tools provide a change in traffic trend – what we might call “visiting trend” – to indicate that it is a change of visiting habits on daily, weekly, and monthly bases. ALEXA provided traffic trend results for 37 web spaces. (Three of the web spaces were without reach and traffic change data.) 23 of these 37 web spaces had an upward trend and 14 a downward trend.

By analysing the results obtained by the ALEXA web tools we identified the following.

- (1) The majority (58%) of Serbian diaspora web spaces, 23 in number, were visited less frequently, with 20 to 180 visits per day.
- (2) There were 10 web spaces, 25% of the total, in the mid-range of daily visits, i.e. some 200 to 1,800 visitors per day.
- (3) Web spaces that attracted a high number of visits were 6 in number (15%). They had between 2,000 and 18,000 visits per day.
- (4) Only one web space (3%) attracted more than 20,000 visitors per day, and that web space is identified also as a Web community. It is the Serbian Café (<http://www.serbiancafe.com>).
- (5) The majority (62%) of Serbian diaspora web spaces, 23 in number, showed a rising trend in traffic.

In the next section we employ the same parameters to analyse the web spaces created by Swedish immigrants or for their benefit.

---

<sup>5</sup> A milliard is called a billion in American English (=10 to the power 9)

## **3.6 The case of Swedish immigrants**

Analogous to section 3.4, web spaces identified in the field of Swedish immigration are analysed by: (a) their location; (b) their classification; and (c) their technological analysis.

### **3.6.1 Location**

In the case of Swedish immigration the first step of analysis was a validity check. Here too the validity check discarded a number of the web spaces. Finally, 36 web spaces were identified that specifically address immigrants or are created by immigrants. The list of these web spaces is presented in Appendix B. Five of them were discarded since at the time of analysis they were under construction or without any data. In the case of Swedish immigration, there was a specific problem of identification caused by the use of various languages – not all of the web spaces that we found were usable for our research because of the existence of many different languages among the Swedish immigrants. Considering that we are analysing the content of Swedish immigrant web spaces in order to make a precise estimation of their purpose, only those web spaces that provide information in the Swedish, English, or Serbo-Croatian language were used in our analysis.

### **3.6.2 Classification**

After the identification of web spaces and the application of the proposed classification model (Table 3.6) we were able to make the following five observations.

- (1) The majority (89%) of web spaces, 32 in number, are concentrated in the member-initiated group.
- (2) The majority (94%) of web spaces, 34 in number, are concentrated in the non-profit part (made up of the member-initiated part plus the organisation-sponsored/non-profit part<sup>6</sup>), signifying that the dynamics of Internet use by immigrants is mainly driven by positive motivations: providing general immigrant information, organising socialisation, preserving folklore, native culture, enjoying sports, and learning language.
- (3) The number of member-initiated spaces is 8 times larger than the number of organisation-sponsored spaces. Together with the results

---

<sup>6</sup> Note the minor reformulation of “non-profit” in Table 3.9.

from (2) it is evident that member-initiated and non-profit spaces are more present than organisation-sponsored and profit spaces.

- (4) The number of web spaces that exist on the web specifically in order to reach the immigrants and thereby to make a financial gain, is small, only 2 in number (6%).
- (5) The total number of web communities is 4 (11% of all web spaces). Three of them (75%) are concentrated among member-initiated web spaces, and only one (25%) is in the organisation-sponsored/profit group.

Table 3.9 represents the results.

**Table 3.9 Classification of 36 web spaces of Swedish Immigration**

ownership		class		main interest	web sites	web communities	%web spaces	%web communities
member-initiated	non-profit	general		general immigration issues	3	2	89	94
		language		learning languages		1		
		culture / sport		folklore, culture and sport	26			
organisation-sponsored	non-profit	political			1		11	6
		government			1			
	profit	commercial		services	1			
		media	Internet magazine – media portal	Info, banners, services		1		
<b>Total</b>					<b>32</b>	<b>4</b>		

The classification of the 36 web spaces by their names and locations can be found in Appendices B and C.

### 3.6.3 Technological analysis

Analogous to subsection 3.5.3 the technological analysis of the case of Swedish immigrants also deals: with (1) the percentage of the reach per day calculated over all global Internet users; and (2) the average state of the traffic reach in a three-month period. Over the same period the change of traffic trend is monitored, based on the results provided by the ALEXA web analytical tool. Analogous to section 3.4 some of the web spaces are without



reach and without traffic change data. Analogous to Table 3.8, the results for 16 web spaces are presented in Table 3.10.

**Table 3.10 Daily reach of web spaces of Swedish Immigration**

M% of global Internet users	number of web spaces
10000 – 90000	1
1000-9000	1
100-900	0
10-90	7
1-9	7
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>

Our analysis of the traffic trend gives the following result: there are 12 web spaces having a rising trend, and 4 that have a falling trend.

By analysing these results we observed the following.

- (1) The number of web spaces visited infrequently was 7 (44%).
- (2) The number of web spaces with mid-range numbers of daily visits was also 7 (44%).
- (3) There were 2 web spaces (13%) with a high number of daily visits. The most successful identified web space, the one that attracted the most visits per day, was also a web community, called The Local (<http://www.thelocal.se>).
- (4) The majority (71%) of web spaces related to Swedish immigration, 12 in number, showed a rising trend in traffic.

The results of this part of our research are shown in Tables 3.11 and 3.12. Analogous to Table 3.8 (see subsection 3.5.3) we employ the measure M%.

From Table 3.11 we can observe that over the three-month period studied, one of the Swedish immigration web spaces attracted 10,000-90,000 visits on a daily basis.

### **3.7 Interpretation of findings and comparison of two cases**

In this section, we offer an interpretation of our findings and make a comparison between the two cases, the Serbian diaspora and Swedish immigration. Examining the results we discuss the identified trends from both social capital perspectives – bonding and bridging – and provide conclusions. By extracting results from Tables 3.7 and 3.9, and placing them in one table, i.e., Table 3.11, we can compare the two analysed cases: (1) bonding social

capital – as is the case with the Serbian diaspora; and (2) bridging social capital – as is the case with Swedish immigration.

**Table 3.11 Comparison between percentages Serbian diaspora and Swedish immigration**

<b>Serbian diaspora – bonding social capital</b>		<b>Swedish immigration-bridging social capital</b>
70%	member-initiated	89%
30%	organisation-sponsored	11%
78%	non-profit	94%
22%	Profit	6%
13%	web communities	11%
87%	web sites	87%

The comparison of the two cases led to the following seven tentative conclusions.

- (1) The results presented suggest that most of the activities behind the usage of the web by immigrants is created by immigrants themselves. 70% of web sites in the case of bonding, and up to 89% in the case of bridging social capital are member-initiated. It seems that immigrants acknowledge the web as their preferred space of expression, presentation, and communication. They are not passive bystanders, rather they are active in showing that they expect the web to serve them, as it does everyone else.
- (2) A substantial majority of the web sites, 78% in the bonding case and 94% in the bridging case, are created with positive, non-profit motivations: providing general immigrant information, socialisation, preserving folklore and native culture, learning language, and enjoying sports.
- (3) Interpreting the results from Table 3.11 and performing a Chi squared test, the results of which are presented in Table 3.12, led to the conclusion that bonding social capital is more profit-oriented than is bridging social capital. The differences within the other categories were not significant.

**Table 3.12 Chi square statistics for Serbian Diaspora (SD) and Swedish Immigration (SI)**

	SD(O)	SD(E)	SI(O)	SI(E)	$\chi^2$ (SD)	$\chi^2$ (SI)	$\Sigma \chi^2$
member-initiated	47	51.39	32	27.61	0.37	0.70	1.07
organisation-sponsored	20	15.61	4	8.39	1.23	2.30	3.53
non-profit	52	55.94	34	30.06	0.28	0.52	0.79
Profit	15	11.06	2	5.94	1.41	2.61	4.02*
web communities	9	8.46	4	4.54	0.03	0.07	0.10
web sites	58	58.54	32	31.46	0.01	0.01	0.01

\*p < .05

- (4) Making a profit from the situation of immigrants is a present but not predominant activity on the web. The nature of the web, its user friendliness, and its fast evolution, combined to open a new space for offering e-commerce services for immigrants. This shows in 22% of the cases for bonding social capital, and in 6% of the cases for bridging social capital.
- (5) Web communities, as a tool and a means of communication, have only begun to penetrate the world of immigration on the web, at present constituting between 10% and 15% of all web spaces in the field of immigration. We believe that this range reflects the fact that the proliferation of web 2.0 and the availability of easy publishing tools are relatively recent phenomena.
- (6) The results presented in this chapter indicate approximately similar percentages of web communities in the immigrant web space – 13% in the case of bonding and 11% in the case of bridging social capital – to the range of percentages indicated in (2) above.
- (7) The ownership background of web communities related to the Serbian diaspora is similar to the ownership background of those communities relating to Swedish immigration. 7 web communities out of 9 (78%) in the case of bonding, and 3 out of 4 (75%) in the case of bridging social capital, are member-initiated web communities, while only 2 web communities (22%) in the case of bonding social capital, and only 1 web community (25%) in the case of bridging social capital, belong to the organisation-sponsored and profit group.

The research presented here, as mentioned above, was carried out using the free web analytic tool ALEXA, and without the cooperation of the owners of the web sites. Therefore, the analysis is fractional – created from different components. The ALEXA tool is incapable of providing data for all of the identified web spaces, especially those that are created in quite large

domains such as facebook.com. In those cases the ALEXA tool offers statistical data on reach and traffic for the whole domain and not for sub-domains. The results of the technological analysis, in both cases, creates a similar picture. Most of the web spaces in the field of immigration belong to low or mid-range spaces in terms of their numbers of visits. But in each case, Serbian diaspora and Swedish immigration, there was one web space that stood out as being the most successful. These web spaces were profit-oriented and organisation-sponsored web communities: Serbian Café and The Local.

The difference in the percentages of web communities among all web spaces, 13% in the case of bonding social capital vs. 11% in the case of bridging social capital, is small, but admittedly in favour of bonding social capital. And this difference is not sufficiently descriptive as to justify solid conclusions. Nevertheless, we tentatively conclude that bridging social capital on the web is more based on a non-profit motivation than on extracting a profit from the users.

In summary, when comparing bridging and bonding social capital web spaces, the results presented in this chapter show that there were more web sites among those which facilitate bonding social capital than those that facilitate bridging social capital. Approximately 10% to 15% of the web spaces were web communities. Furthermore, a majority of bridging and bonding social capital on the web existed mainly because of the users themselves, and they did not have a profit orientation. However, web communities that create the most reach and traffic, and therefore have the most influence, are created not only with an organisation-sponsored background, but also with a profit orientation.

### **3.8 Answer to RQ1**

Following the analysis presented above, and with the help of the comparison given as a result of our analysis, we are now able to provide an answer (based on four provisional conclusions) to RQ1: What is the motivation behind the immigrants' usage of the web? We start by providing four conclusions based on our empirical research. We stress that our research has an explorative nature and that it is not in all aspects representative of the findings. Nevertheless, we believe that it signifies a trend worthy of mention.

Our first provisional conclusion is that there is a small difference in motivation between immigrants who aim at a bonding social capital and immigrants who aim at a bridging social capital. The members of both groups, bonding and bridging, are online, with the intention (the hope) to be informed about the following topics.

- (1) general information on immigration issues (visas, housing, job, relocation)
- (2) socialising
- (3) culture, language, and sport (both native and foreign)
- (4) following traditional (radio and TV) and new Internet media (newspapers, magazines, blogs, webTV )

Our second provisional conclusion is that the majority of cases identified by this research are deployed by immigrants themselves with a positive, non-profit motivation. It seems that immigrants have acknowledged the web as their preferred space for expression, presentation, and communication. Immigrants on the web are not passive bystanders, rather they are active in showing that they expect the web to assist them. This also signals that immigrants are not any longer dependent on top-down approaches defined by their native or hosting governmental bodies. Intuitively, and because of their repeated favourable experiences, they learn that having a web presence gives them the opportunity to address their problems through a bottom-up approach.

Our third provisional conclusion is that a profit making orientation is also present on the web for immigrants. By its very definition, the web is a perfect tool to connect people simultaneously with two physically remote cultures, for example Sweden and the former Yugoslavia. At the same time the web is also a perfect tool for allowing immigrants to switch between their separate but parallel identities in their native country and in their new host country. It is therefore hardly surprising that many e-commerce services specifically target immigrants, which leads us to acknowledge that making a profit is also identified as a motivation for being on the web. This conclusion is well in line with the previous conclusion – namely that immigrants have identified the web as their new space of expression and action. Therefore, together with their increase of web-usage, and owing to their positive experiences of the web, there is also a growing interest amongst immigrants in making a profit in the same field.

Our fourth provisional conclusion is that groups of immigrants with an interest in bonding social capital are more profit oriented than those with an interest in bridging social capital. However, the most interesting perspective of this provisional conclusion, derived from our technical analysis, is that the most successful web spaces in both cases are profit oriented web communities. Following this result, we may conclude that the evolution of the Internet in an advanced social interaction direction has been more than welcome to immigrants.

In summary, our four provisional conclusions suggest that the answer to RQ1 is as follows. Both immigrants and entrepreneurs have acknowledged that web communities are quite interesting. The possibility of instant interaction between users of similar interest (i.e., their motivation) delivered by web community interactive tools, attracts the most attention in the field of immigration. Immigrants themselves use the web as their space of expression, communication, and action. The immigrants' motivation for web usage is directed at bonding social capital and bridging social capital, simultaneously. The difference between bonding social capital on the web and bridging social capital on the web is not identified, except in the field of profit acquisition. This research has identified that bonding social capital web spaces are more motivated by profit than bridging social capital web spaces.

In the next Chapter we will go deeper into the analysis of the two web communities that have been identified in this chapter, Serbian Café (<http://www1.serbiancafe.com>) and The Local (<http://www.thelocal.se/>), in order to understand the parameters that attracted such activity.



## 4 The acquisition of social capital

In this Chapter we aim to answer RQ2: Is the acquisition of social capital by immigrants in web-communities a tangible acquisition?

Whether social capital acquisition is tangible is determined by various social capital acquisition indicators which describe the users' lives in web communities (see section 4.1). We have chosen the following five Key Performance Indicators (KPIs): (1) Community building, (2) Community norms and values, (3) Community identity and immigration issues, (4) Diffuse reciprocal activities, and (5) Community engagement. Arguments to support our choice are given in the text. A successfully validated KPI means the existence of tangible acquisition for that indicator. For instance, if community building between web space users is an activity that is successful, then we consider social capital acquisition for community building to be a *tangible* asset.

With tangible acquisition in mind, we analyse the change that occurs in immigration practices in relation to Internet technology. This approach can be labelled as *technological determinism*. We believe that this label makes the complexity, caused by the interaction between technology and our society, *transparent* and *understandable*. The value of technology in a social context is based on the *social construction of technology*, i.e., on the one hand how designers create it, and on the other hand how people use it, comprehend it, and change it (cf. Boyd, 2008). At the opposite end of the social construction of technology lies "analytic scepticism" which questions the impact made by technology (cf. Woolgar, 2002). For our purposes two questions are important, viz. (1) What is the nature of the new "social glue" in a society that is shaped by technology? ; and (2) Does IT introduce significant changes in the way we communicate, socialise, and participate? Building upon his scepticism Woolgar (2002) pays special attention to the range of terms to which technology has given birth: "virtual society", "interactive", "remote", "distance", "digital", "electronic", "e", and "network". While it is still unclear how and to what extent these labels differ (and if so, in what respect they differ), the intriguing area of research for this thesis is how the actions behind these labels have actually modified the user's everyday activities in the past ten years. Thorough research is needed to show whether it is really true that new ideas always imply something concrete that is new and something better.



In this chapter we continue the investigation of the two cases identified through quantitative analysis and described in Chapter 3. The investigation is carried out through a parallel ethnographic interpretive approach of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community and THE LOCAL web community. We study the way users interact on the web, and we analyse: (a) the content of that interaction; and (b) the acquisition of social capital. In section 4.1 we start by introducing the indicators of social capital acquisition (see also above). In section 4.2 we present the historical background. Section 4.3 examines the demography of the users. Further, in section 4.4 we discuss our research methodology. In sections 4.5 to 4.9 we discuss the five KPIs: (1) we analyse the web community ecosystem and the way a community is built (section 4.5), (2) we examine the community norms and values by observing the generation of trust and, consequently, the generation of reputation (section 4.6), (3) we analyse how community identity is constituted (section 4.7), (4) we investigate generalised reciprocal activities by identifying users' understandings of theoretical concepts, such as local and global simultaneous living and the concepts of *personal* and *collective* (section 4.8), and (5) since it is important to grasp community engagement and the way users profit from web-based communities, we investigate the accumulation of knowledge (section 4.9). In section 4.10 we attempt to establish the dividing line between the theoretically different processes of bonding social capital and bridging social capital on the web. Finally, in section 4.11 we provide our answer to RQ2.

#### **4.1 Indicators of social capital acquisition**

The ethnographic study presented in this chapter relies on first-hand observations of daily participation and on asynchronous interaction in the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL web communities. To be able to grasp the complexity of data created by users' social relationships on the web, we have chosen to employ the ethnographic interpretive approach.

In order to be able to give an adequate answer to RQ2, the aim of this ethnographic study is to identify and value the indicators of social capital acquisition in both web communities. The literature in the field of social capital identification is not abundant. Yet, we found sufficient authoritative publications from which we take the most representative works, viz. those by Putnam (2000), Morgan and Swan (2004), Williams (2006), and Parts (2009) as our points of departure. In our choice of authoritative publications we have

taken into account those within the timeline 2000–2010. In order to evaluate the Key Performance Indicators we faced analogous challenges.

As people came to spend more time online, scholars tried to understand how Internet usage affects offline social networks and what happens in the newer online networks. In order to measure social capital scientists tried to identify and define indicators of social capital. According to Morgan and Swan (2004) the main indicators of social capital are: social relationship and social support, formal and informal social networks, group membership, community and civic engagement, norms and values, reciprocal activities, and level of trust in others. Williams (2006) considerably influenced the scholars by proposing Internet Social Capital Scales (ISCS). ISCS became a starting point for much of the research into social capital on the web (see Ellison et al., 2007; Steinfield et al., 2008; Steinfield et al., 2009; Valenzuela et al., 2009). Below we sketch the historical development of the indicators. Close observation and thorough analysis led to our choice of five KPIs.

Accepting that new forms of measurement must be based on a sound theoretical background, Williams (2006, p. 8) starts from Putnam's (2000) four criteria that describe behaviour in bridging networks. He uses the criteria as categories for question development by distinguishing between those that:

- (1) are outward looking,
- (2) are in contact with a broad range of people,
- (3) promote a view of oneself as part of a community, and
- (4) exhibit reciprocity with a specific community, or diffuse reciprocity.

Putnam (2000) stresses that altruism, doing good for other people, is an empirical consequence of community involvement and not a measurement factor. For that reason altruism is not included in his list of indicators. In order to develop measures of bonding social capital Williams (2006, p.9) employs four dimensions of bonding social capital, viz.

- (1) emotional support,
- (2) access to scarce or limited resources,
- (3) ability to mobilise solidarity, and
- (4) out-group antagonism.

To discuss the contribution made by Williams (2006) we sketch the context from which the ideas of measuring social capital on the web emerged. There is a general agreement that new norms are needed for measuring social capital online (cf. Quan-Haase and Wellman, 2004; Williams, 2006). The

main reason for this is the introduction of a new medium, the Internet. Clearly, social interactions occur in many different ways on this new medium, and they simultaneously affect the users' realms of being "offline" and being "online". In the discussion of the impact of IT on social capital and vice versa, Resnick (2001) introduced at an early stage the term *sociotechnical capital*. Resnik's research aligns with our research because it seeks indicators of the online acquisition of social capital, aiming to understand the consequences and implications in (offline) real life. In a similar way, Williams (2006) aimed to identify precisely how online interaction affects social capital. While Putnam (2000) and Morgan & Swan (2004) introduced indicators for social capital in general, Williams (2006) offers new scales, Internet Social Capital Scales, for creating the functional differences between the Internet and older media. Acknowledging that he started from criteria built for older media (the pre-Internet era), he distinguishes questions by means of a bonding subscale and a bridging subscale, and combines experiences on the web with offline experiences.

Parts (2009) separates two determinants of social capital: individual-level and aggregate-level. After a thorough analysis of recent social capital theory, Parts arrives at the following dimensions and components of social capital in his empirical analysis (see Table 4.1).

**Table 4.1 Dimensions and components of social capital by Parts (2009)**

dimensions of social capital	components
networks	membership and voluntary work for different organisations
	relationships with friends and colleagues (bridging)
	family relationships (bonding)
trust	interpersonal (general) trust
	institutional trust
civic commitment	following social norms (trustworthiness)
	interest in politics
	political action
sense of community	concerned with others
	prepared to help others

For creating our indicators of social capital acquisition, we start with the observation that research has shown that social capital analysis converges when taking into account the importance of: (1) networks, (2) trust, (3) social norms, and (4) sense of community (cf. Putnam, 2000; Morgan & Swan, 2004; Williams, 2006; Parts, 2009). On the basis of this observation we thoroughly investigated Putnam's (2000), Morgan and Swan's (2004),

Williams' (2006), and Parts' (2009) indicators to design our own set of indicators in order to find an answer to RQ2.

In order to establish whether social capital acquisition in the web communities under investigation is tangible for a particular aspect (i.e., it has a successfully validated indicator) we envision the use of the following five indicators which we consider as our Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) for establishing tangibility.

- (1) Community building – This is perceived as an outward looking activity, looking outside of one's narrow individual existence. Group membership and community building activities also imply being in contact with a broad range of people (Williams 2006). Our analysis of the interaction between the members of a community is conducted in order to understand how those members create social relationships (Morgan and Swan, 2004). So far as Parts (2009) is concerned, these are relationships with friends, colleagues, and family. In our opinion Williams' (2006) approach is the most applicable for this study.
- (2) Community norms and values – This refers to the creation of a user's reputation based on shared norms and values, and the manner in which the generation of trust emerges. Here we follow Putnam's (2000) vision of community norms as a set of expected behaviours that are based on community values (Putnam 2000). This approach was also adopted by Morgan & Swan (2004). According to Parts (2009), following social norms, i.e., trustworthiness, exists as a component of civic commitment, while trust (interpersonal and institutional) is a particular dimension of social capital.
- (3) Community identity and immigration issues – the user's view of himself as a part of the community. Important questions here are: (a) what binds users together? i.e., what is the social glue?; and (b) how do users help each other? i.e., what is social support? Having in mind the nature of our research, we find Williams' (2006) idea of "a view of oneself as a part of a broader group" an important and inherently connected notion representing the feelings of the immigrant.
- (4) Diffuse reciprocal activities – This refers to generalised norms of reciprocity, i.e., the way in which members of a community interact

and give material and other forms of support to others without expecting anything immediate in return. We find “diffuse reciprocal activities” crucial for gaining a functional understanding of immigrant web communities. At the same time, we examine how immigrants relate to the concepts *local* and *global*, and to the concepts *personal* and *collective*. Our starting point for theory forming was Putnam’s (2000) development of the criteria of diffuse reciprocity with a broader community, which was later adopted to some extent by Morgan & Swan (2004), and completely adopted by Williams (2006). Parts (2009) calls that activity “prepared to help others” (see Table 4.1).

- (5) Community engagement – the way users accumulate knowledge about the community. Morgan & Swan (2004) speak of community and civic engagement in general, while Williams (2006) analyses the contact by users with a broad range of people (the advantage of weak tie networks). For Parts (2009) this particular indicator is a general “sense of community” – the way that users are concerned with others and prepared to help others. From Parts’ perspective our diffuse reciprocal activities overlap to some extent with community engagement. Yet our understanding of community engagement, where users accumulate knowledge of the community and refer to it, is by its very nature clearly separated from diffuse reciprocal activities.

In section 4.4, we describe the research methodology adopted to answer RQ2. There we also provide criteria for the five KPIs mentioned above.

We remind the reader that in this chapter we aim to position and to analyse *bonding* and *bridging social capital* activities. As indicated above, we attempt in section 4.10 to establish the dividing line between these two theoretically different categories of activities. For the KPIs and the dividing line, the historical background (see section 4.2) and the demography (see section 4.3) are important.

## **4.2 The historical background of the two communities**

In this section we provide a brief contextual background for each of two communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, and we discuss their respective roles in the lives of immigrants. We should remark at the outset that both are profit-oriented communities.

#### 4.2.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ

The web community SERBIAN CAFÉ was established in 1996 (ALEXA), to accommodate the needs of immigrants' to communicate and to exchange information by providing them with web-based user-friendly tools. It was established by Yugoslav-Serbian immigrants in Toronto. After 17 years of existence its users are still eager to use this type of communication. The owners of the SERBIAN CAFÉ still attract a good number of daily visits (more than 50,000 per month) by immigrants from the USA, Canada, EU, as well as users based in the former Yugoslavia, of which most are in Serbia. Thanks to this level of use, the SERBIAN CAFÉ is highly ranked amongst those web spaces that target immigrants. The site's choice of using *immigration* and *diaspora*<sup>7</sup> as a background motivation was a good decision in terms of making a profit online, since it attracted many visits and thereby created an environment of significant influence.

#### 4.2.2 THE LOCAL

The web magazine and web community THE LOCAL was established in 2004 by immigrant journalists residing in Sweden. They started a web magazine to offer "something" which according to them, was missing in Sweden. Even though Sweden is well known as a technologically well developed country with relatively high levels of Internet penetration and Internet awareness, journalists realised that for immigrants not much was offered on the web. Based on their personal experience, the journalists were able to identify what immigrants needed and, as a result, they satisfied those needs on the web. Nowadays THE LOCAL offers Swedish news in English, a guide to non-Swedish visitors on Swedish life and tourism, advice on real estate, it gives nightlife reports, makes available several job-search databases, presents a market place, and provides, amongst other things, a blog area, a discussion area, and a weather forecasting service.

Their successful web community is advertised with the words:

"Wondering what THE LOCAL is? That means that you are probably Swedish. Welcome!"

which immediately invites an inclusive, bonding activity paid for by those who are willing to advertise on the site. Employing the same approach as the one adopted by the SERBIAN CAFÉ, the owners of THE LOCAL are creating revenue by displaying advertisements which receive numerous daily visits and many

---

<sup>7</sup> Here we use "diaspora" as the dispersion of any people from their traditional homeland.

interactions. They have shown that using the issue of immigration as a means of attracting visitors to their site was an excellent way to establish a business venture on the Web. At present (2013) they estimate that the site has more than 500,000 visitors per month.

### 4.3 Demographic items

Understanding *who* the users of these specific web communities are provides useful information which helps us to reconstruct the composition and complexity of the web community. However, it is difficult to find reliable data in cases where the research is carried out only by outside observation and without any cooperation from the owners of the web site. For this reason we once again used the ALEXA analytical tool to provide us with external demographic information (see section 3.2).

#### 4.3.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ

Below we present the demography for the SERBIAN CAFÉ in two tables. Table 4.2 presents the demographic data by place of residence. Table 4.3 presents the data based on the age, gender, education, and place of connection.

**Table 4.2 SERBIAN CAFÉ users characterised by place of residence**

place of residence	% of visitors
USA and Canada	34
EU (Germany, Sweden, UK, Iceland)	21
Dominican Republic	6
Serbia	18
Former Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina)	5
Others	16
Total	100

**Table 4.3 SERBIAN CAFÉ users characterised by age, gender, education level and place of connection**

demographic item	> 50%	< 50%
age	18-44, with a higher concentration of 25-34	44+
gender	male	female
education	lower	higher
place of connection	home	work

It is clear that the majority of the users of SERBIAN CAFÉ (55%) reside in North America and Western Europe. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that 23% reside in parts of former Yugoslavia (Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina). From Table 4.3 we learn that more than 50% are in the age range 18 to 44. According to ALEXA, users are mostly male, with some kind of college education but not at the highest educational levels, and most of them browse from home.

#### **4.3.2 THE LOCAL**

We identified three different sources of demographic results: (A) THE LOCAL owner's demography report, (B) the ALEXA tool, and (C) the users of THE LOCAL, who voluntarily filled out a questionnaire on one of THE LOCAL'S online discussion forums. The results gathered from these three sources vary considerably depending on the source. To make a comparison possible we present the collected data from the three sources in three distinct sets of tables (Tables 4.4 - 4.6 (set A), 4.7 - 4.8 (set B), and 4.9 - 4.11 (set C)).

##### **A: THE LOCAL owners**

In order to attract advertisers to their web space, the owners of THE LOCAL published their demographic data online. Table 4.4 offers the demographic data presented by place of origin, Table 4.5 presents the data by place of residence, while Table 4.6 provides the data by age, gender and education level.



**Table 4.4 THE LOCAL users characterised by place of origin**

place of origin	% of users
USA	26
UK	18
Canada	4
Australia	4
Sweden	5
Other	43
Total	100

From Table 4.4 we learn that majority of users (52%) come from native English-speaking countries (USA, UK, Canada, Australia) and 5% are Swedish.

**Table 4.5 THE LOCAL users characterised by place of residence**

place of residence	% of users
Sweden	51
USA	20
UK	9
EU	12
Asia	5
Other	3
Total	100

According to the owners of THE LOCAL, the majority of their users (51%) are based in Sweden, and 41% are based either in native English speaking countries (USA, UK) or the EU, while 5% are based in Asia.

**Table 4.6 THE LOCAL users roughly characterised by age, gender, education**

demographic item	> 50%	< 50%
age	18-44, with a higher concentration of 26-35	44+
gender	male	female
education	high	low

We learn from Table 4.6 that, in THE LOCAL, and relative to other age groups, there are significantly more male users aged between 18-44 who have a high level of education.

## B: ALEXA

The second set of demographic data is offered by the ALEXA tool. Here the place of a user's origin is unknown. The reader can see below the demographic data separated out by place of residence (Table 4.7) and by age, gender, and education (Table 4.8).

**Table 4.7 THE LOCAL users characterised by place of residence**

place of residence	% of users
Sweden	35
USA	23
UK	6
India	4
Bangladesh	3
Canada	3
EU	6
Other	20
Total	100

From Table 4.7 we learn that according to the ALEXA tool the demographic data for places of origin are slightly different from the data obtained by the owners of THE LOCAL: 35% are based in Sweden, 32% are based in native English speaking countries (USA, UK, Canada), 7% are based in India and Bangladesh, and 6% are from the EU.

**Table 4.8 THE LOCAL users characterised by place age, gender, education**

demographic item	> 50%	< 50%
age	18-34, with a higher concentration of 25-34	34+
gender	male	female
education	high	low

According to the results from the ALEXA tool presented in Table 4.8, in THE LOCAL, and relative to other age groups, there are significantly more male users aged between 18-43 who have a high level of education.

## C: THE LOCAL users

The third set of demographic data is provided by the users of THE LOCAL themselves. In the course of discussion one of the users posed the question as to the place of origin, residence, age, gender, and education of each of those taking part in the discussion. That resulted in spontaneous replies as follows:

**Table 4.9 THE LOCAL users characterised by place of origin**

place of origin	% of users
USA	25
UK	42
Canada	3
Australia	6
Sweden	3
India, Argentina and New Zealand	8
Other	13
Total	100

According to the users of THE LOCAL, a majority of them (76%) are from native English speaking countries (USA, UK, Canada, Australia), 8% are from India, Argentina, and New Zealand, and 3% are Swedish (Table 4.9).

**Table 4.10 THE LOCAL users characterised by place of residence**

place of residence	% of users
Sweden	67
Moving to Sweden	8
Other	25
Total	100

From Table 4.10 we see that majority of THE LOCAL users (67%) reside in Sweden and a further 8% are about to move to Sweden.

**Table 4.11 THE LOCAL users roughly characterised by age, gender, and education**

demographic item	> 50%	< 50%
age	20-40, with a higher concentration of 30-40	40+
gender	male	female
education	high	low

According to that same user survey, we learn from Table 4.11 that, in THE LOCAL, and relative to other age groups, there are significantly more male users aged between 20-40, who have a high level of education.

### **Combined results**

Although the combined results are not easy to interpret, it is possible to draw some useful conclusions. In Tables 4.4 and 4.9, users from North America (USA and Canada) and the UK are identified as having the highest percentages for their places of origin (Table 4.4: North America and UK, 48%,

Table 4.9: North America and UK, 70%). Therefore we can conclude that most of the users have North America or the UK as their place of origin, followed by the EU, and then Asia and Australia (Table 4.12).

**Table 4.12 Combined results of THE LOCAL users' place of origin**

place of origin	indication
North America and UK	most
EU	some
Asia and Australia	few

Similarly, in Tables 4.5, 4.7 and 4.10, the highest percentage amongst the places of residence is for Sweden (Table 4.5: 51%, Table 4.7: 35%, and Table 4.10: 67%). Lower percentages of users reside in the USA, the UK, the EU, and Asia/Australia (Table 4.13)

**Table 4.13 Combined results of THE LOCAL users' place of residence**

place of residence	indication
Sweden	most
USA, UK, EU	some
Asia and Australia	few

The most populous age group for the users' is 20-34 (Table 4.6: 18-55, Table 4.8: 18-34, and Table 4.11: 20-40). Combining all sources we find that the majority of users are male with a high level of education.

**Table 4.14 Combined results of THE LOCAL users, characterised by age, gender and educational level**

other demographic data	
age	20-34
gender	male
education	high

Tables 4.12, 4.13, and 4.14 represent the combined results of THE LOCAL's demography. The background of THE LOCAL's users is mostly North American and UK, rather than being from the rest of the EU, Asia, or Australia. Most of these users reside in Sweden, which is to be expected, since THE LOCAL targets English speaking immigrants in Sweden. This wide distribution of THE LOCAL users includes not only those who reside in Sweden, but also those who used to live in Sweden, and it also covers those who are preparing to move to Sweden. Typically they are 20-34 years old, male, and with a high level of education. There are also users who reside in the USA, the UK, the rest of the EU, Asia, and Australia.

### 4.3.3 Comparison

According to the data presented in the tables above, users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ generally have the same place of origin, whereas users of THE LOCAL have a wider range of national backgrounds (Table 4.15).

**Table 4.15 Comparison of data of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL users' place of origin**

place of origin	
SERBIAN CAFÉ	THE LOCAL
former Yugoslavia / Serbia	North America and UK

The majority of the SERBIAN CAFÉ users reside in the most developed parts of the world, while THE LOCAL users mostly reside in Sweden (Table 4.16).

**Table 4.16 Comparison of data of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL users' place of residence**

place of residence	
SERBIAN CAFÉ	THE LOCAL
North America and EU	Sweden

Finally, in the next table (4.17) we compare the results gathered from the two communities with respect to the age ranges, genders and educational levels of their users. We can see that the majority of users in both cases are male and in similar age groups: 25-34 (for the SERBIAN CAFÉ) and 20-34 (for THE LOCAL). However, the SERBIAN CAFÉ users are less well educated, while THE LOCAL users are more highly educated (Table 4.17).

**Table 4.17 Comparison of data of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL users' age, gender, education level**

other demographic data		
SERBIAN CAFÉ		THE LOCAL
25-34	age	20-34
male	gender	male
lower	education	high

The combined results coincide well with the bonding nature of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community where users have the same or similar backgrounds and are geographically spread out. The results also coincide well with the bridging nature of THE LOCAL, where the users have different backgrounds and the majority of them are living in Sweden.

#### 4.4 Research methodology

Technological innovations such as Cloud computing in the first decade of the 21st century, propelled a new generation of visions in the networking and computational capacities available to researchers and to computer users in general. We are witnessing the emergence of a wide range of initiatives that employ technological innovations to enable research through collaboration. Labels such as e-Science, e-Research, and e-Humanities, represent trends in digital research. Many academic groups have emerged which aim to study the *social shaping of technology* (see Dutton and Jeffreys, 2010). This approach introduced different perspectives for different scholars. Computer scientists and engineers, i.e., non-social scientists, are interested in obtaining more insights into the motivations of IT users, in order to assist them in designing more effective systems. For social scientists, the social shaping of technology is not limited to the technical performances of computer systems, but includes the effects of technology on people and their practices (cf. Dutton, 2012). However, there is no unified conceptual framework for the social shaping of digital research that would explain how so many interlaced factors shape the development, usage, and impact of IT.

The Internet increasingly plays a key role in facilitating research into virtual events (see Fielding et al., 2008). An acknowledgement of the richness of social interactions enabled by the Internet came together with the development of ethnographic methodologies for documenting online interactions such as computer-mediated discourse analysis (Androutsopoulos, 2011).

In order to answer RQ2 we have chosen an Internet-based ethnographic approach. Before explaining the motivation for making this choice, it is important: (a) to highlight what ethnography is, (b) to explain what implications Internet ethnography has for this aspect of our research, and (c) to explain how a researcher may tackle the perils of Internet ethnography (Lee, 2010; Boellstorff, 2010; Rotman et al., 2012; Markham and Buchanan, 2012; Hesse-Biber and Griffin, 2013).

Ethnographic research has its characteristic “going native” and observing the daily life of the web community at hand. In attempting to understand the general culture of the socio-cultural space which we are analysing, our investigation into the cultural ecology of the web community is performed carefully and from the inside. Together with our research into the relevant

scientific concepts in this field, it has thus been possible to develop patterns of expectations. By comparing the identified cultural ecology of a specific community with the corresponding theoretical concepts, a researcher may understand the goings-on observed in that community, and make connections between the observed social interactions. The research can then offer explanations of identified events. Ethnography describes and helps us to understand the complex activities that emerge during social interaction, by producing theoretical statements which, however, are neither "facts" nor "laws" (Blommaert and Jie, 2011).

#### **4.4.1 Internet-based ethnographic approach**

We identify the following benefits of using the Internet for ethnographic research.

- (1) Internet interactions enable the creation of new social formations online, namely web communities where the activities are independent of physical space and time (Hine, 2008).
- (2) By following Internet-based interactions, the researcher obtains a rich insight and contextualises patterns of users' communication (Kytölä and Androutsopoulos, 2012).
- (3) Internet-based ethnographic research offers a holistic description of web community practices, as well as valuable information for the interpretation of online events.
- (4) Online communication positively influences the researcher-participant relationship (Barrat and Lenton, 2010). Lack of physical presence and separate physical settings all reduce the control and power of the researcher, potentially leading to a more balanced power relationship between researcher and participant (Hewson, 2007). The lack of physical presence of the researcher makes it easier for the participant to withdraw or opt out (Kazmer & Xie, 2008).

According to Hine (2008) three key challenges in choosing an Internet ethnography approach are: (1) presence, (2) authenticity and trust, and (3) ethics.

- (1) **Presence** – Two questions that arise with Internet-based ethnographic research are: (i) how does the researcher manage his presence as: (1a) a user of a web community, and as (1b) a researcher? And (2) how can someone simultaneously be a participant and observer, who actually studies the development of conceptualisation? Hine (2000; p. 65) argues that virtual ethnography

is "ethnography in, of, and through the virtual". The double role of the researcher in the Internet-based ethnographic procedure, where a researcher is a user, raises questions for discussion. Beaulieu (2004) criticises what he calls the ethnographic "lurking" of researchers since, in his opinion, "to lurk" implies a lack of engagement. But Hine (2000) argues that "lurking" is a useful part of the virtual ethnography methodology – the "lurking" researcher identifies the practices of the users and goes through the important process of cultural familiarisation.

- (2) **Authenticity and trust** – Internet-based ethnography has frequently been placed under the magnifying glass by questions relating to the authenticity of various accounts (cf. James and Busher 2006). Carter (2005) reports that her trust in a member's accounts was enhanced by face-to-face meetings. According to Markham (2004) Internet-based ethnography also offers the opportunity to re-examine notions of "real" and "authentic" in relation to ethnography, suggesting that it would be a mistake to question authenticity only in relation to virtual ethnography, while face-to-face interaction is traditionally taken as a "gold standard" for rich and truthful interaction. In other words, according to Markham (2004), a discussion should not separate Internet-based ethnography from the ethnographical process. There is no guarantee that informants are trustworthy, and considerable efforts may be invested in creating a credible online persona (Sanders, 2005).
- (3) **Ethics** – after much debate, the literature nowadays speaks about informed consent, meaning that researchers must be clear about the purposes of their research and any potential risks to the participants, and must make it clear that cooperation is a voluntary choice.

Following Hegelund's (2005) definition of objectivity in ethnographic research (which rules out the intrusion of any individuality), the crucial question, which is itself another challenge to ethnographic research, is how to deliver authenticity and trust – "how to synthesize objectivity with the perspectivism that is inherent in the ethnographic process" (Hegelund, 2005; p. 662). Acknowledging the inherent nature of the researchers' perspective, Hegelund (2005) stresses the importance of researchers' presence in and experience of the analysed world.



Being aware of the benefits and challenges of Internet ethnographic research, the discourse life of two online web communities (SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL) is analysed for a five month time span from January to June 2010. The data was analysed on a daily basis (half of the time was devoted to the SERBIAN CAFÉ and the other half to THE LOCAL) by following the users' public discourses, recording their selected interactions (see subsection 4.4.2), searching for positive instances (as presented in the Appendix to this chapter), and recording the researchers' feelings of "amazement and surprise" (cf. Blommaert and Jie, 2011). Agar (1995) calls such observations "rich points". For Agar, "rich points" are key moments that have a strong implication for the researcher. In these moments researchers' feelings of "amazement and surprise" come from their theoretical knowledge that is juxtaposed to identified events. Therefore, in further analysis the researcher has to explain the reason behind the emergence of "rich points". Following theoretical concepts it is possible to unravel cultural patterns of the communities that have been analysed by means of lurking. While analysing different facets of users' interactions, gathered pieces of community micro-reality can be understood, or linked to create a bigger picture. At a later stage, an understanding of the macro principles can prove or disprove theoretical expectations.

After spending five months with users online, in the analysis of their everyday interactions, it is interesting to note that the more time one spends in such a web community, the more one becomes a part of it. In the next section we offer representative examples of relevant behaviour. In order to protect their privacy, if the names are mentioned during the discourse<sup>8</sup> they are hidden behind the character strings "(" and "xxx".

#### **4.4.2 Criteria for the five KPIs**

To perform our analysis of Key Performance Indicators (KPI's) (section 4.1), we first needed to establish approximate criteria. Having in mind that we analyse the users' discourses, we here offer seven criteria for the analysis of the quotations which we gathered. For each KPI, a specific criterion is defined (in two cases, two criteria are defined).

---

<sup>8</sup> Each quotation is numbered, with the posting date and the name of the discussion where the quotation was published.

### **KPI 1 – Community building**

In order to understand how the building of a community is established, we examined the users' quotations to find deictic pronouns and shared topics.

**Criterion 1:** Instances of in-group pronouns (e.g., "us" and "we").

**Criterion 2:** Instances of shared topics.

### **KPI 2 – Community norms and values**

For grasping the norms and values of a community we followed the appearance of different roles that users play in their particular community.

**Criterion 3:** Instances of roles played in the community, e.g., experts, information leaders; the roles that emerged are based on trust.

### **KPI 3 – Community identity and immigration issues**

We looked for users' self-perception and discussions on emerging facets of immigration.

**Criterion 4:** Instances of self-perception on being an immigrant.

**Criterion 5:** Instances of a discussion on emerging facets of immigration.

### **KPI 4 – Diffuse reciprocal activities**

Following the definition of diffuse reciprocal social relations we follow helping occasions among users.

**Criterion 6:** Instances of helping.

### **KPI 5 – Community engagement**

In order to analyse users' levels of community engagement, we look for events demonstrating support among users.

**Criterion 7:** Instances of interactions concerning health, advice, and fighting injustice.

For a proper assessment as to whether the acquisition of social capital from immigrants is a tangible acquisition, we have now formulated five KPIs and seven criteria. We aim to validate the KPIs with the help of the criteria. During a period of five months we have collected material from both the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL. At that time (2010), it was not common to rely on big

data and to collect all relevant communications. Throughout the five month period we divided our acquisition time equally between both the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL. On each side we therefore spent roughly 2.5 months. Since we were searching for KPIs and their criteria, we considered the concept we created in order to conduct our research as a positive research tool, i.e., we searched for positive instances. This means that we were interested in communication fragments which contained instances of the chosen criteria. In order not to collect all communications, we selected 101 characteristic extracts which contained positive instances of the criteria. The extracts that we have retained for our study are presented in their original form in Appendix D and Appendix E. For our analysis we have selected phrases from Appendix D and Appendix E and categorised them according to the five KPIs. For a proper overview of our research we aimed at a roughly comparable number of instances for each KPI (at least 4 for the SERBIAN CAFÉ and at least 4 for THE LOCAL). With reference to the contents of section 4.5, we observe that the distribution is as follows (see Table 4.18).

**Table 4.18 Number of quotations for validation of KPIs**

KPI	#Quotations in SERBIAN CAFÉ	#Quotations in THE LOCAL
1	5	3
2	4	5
3	7	10
4	4	2
5	170	138
dividing Bo&Br	5	4

We remark that the number of quotations for the validation of the KPIs 1,2,3, and 4 are in the range of 4 quotations, with two exceptions (KPI 1 has a 3, and KPI 4 has a 2). This also holds true for the number of quotations used for the validation of KP1 dividing Bo (bonding capital) from Br (bridging capital)<sup>9</sup>. However, for KPI 5 (community engagement) we faced a different setting. Details are given in section 4.9 where we delve more deeply into this subject and explain what lies behind KP5.

---

<sup>9</sup> Here, by “dividing”, we mean the quotations we gathered which are useful for separating the bonding and bridging activities. We use this division to determine whether there are any bridging activities in the bonding community of The SERBIAN CAFÉ, and whether there are any bonding activities in the bridging community of THE LOCAL.

## **4.5 Indicator 1: Community building**

According to Norris (2002), web community participation will widen and deepen a user's experience of their community, helping them to: (a) connect to others with different beliefs or backgrounds; and (b) to strengthen existing social networks. Therefore, during this study, a substantial amount of time was spent on understanding how the cultural ecology of each web community was built, and to discover the most important characteristics of its functionality.

For the validation of KPI 1, community building, we formulated two criteria, viz. Criterium 1: Instances of in-group pronouns (e.g., "us" and "we"), and Criterium 2: Instances of shared topics. Criterium 1 followed the instances of "us" and "we", but even more importantly it implicitly considered the common feeling of a group (we belong to a group, i.e., we feel attached, cf. Williams, 2001). An example is: we share war feelings and so we share the wish of leaving the country. For our example of a shared topic we have chosen "discrimination".

In subsection 4.5.1 we show the results from the SERBIAN CAFÉ. Then in subsection 4.5.2 we discuss the precise validation procedure with the two chosen criteria, the relevant factors, and the corresponding measurements. In subsection 4.5.3 and 4.5.4 we perform the analogous procedure for community building in THE LOCAL (the shared topic here is "being an immigrant in Sweden"). In subsection 4.5.5 we make our comparison of the two communities (the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL). Finally, in subsection 4.5.6 we offer section conclusions.

In this section, we select five quotations from the SERBIAN CAFÉ, and three quotations from THE LOCAL, in order to support and describe the community building process.

### **4.5.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

The majority of users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community have a similar ethnic background and immigrant status. They were born in former Yugoslavia and they speak Serbo-Croat as their mother tongue, or as users call it "the Serbian language". The aftermath of the 1990s wars treats Serbo-Croat as a non-existent language. All immigrants experienced wars and bombardments in some way, and these events promptly changed their life situation. Suddenly, they were immigrants. In their communication they often

mention the 1990s wars as a reason for becoming an immigrant. Speaking the same language is usually a form of social glue and therefore, for these users, a motivation to visit the SERBIAN CAFÉ.

The most prominent topic of discussions in the SERBIAN CAFÉ is a feeling of discrimination. Users feel that they are discriminated against in their host societies on the basis of their ethno-national affiliation and, more generally, that they are regarded as foreigners. This topic is present many times in the users' interactions that we encounter. For instance, in quotation (1) below, upper case letters are used as a sign of a raised voice, to express the anger of being discriminated against so many times. This particular user also quotes other users who repeatedly mentioned the problem of discrimination.

- (1): "...„THEY DON'T LOVE ME BECAUSE I AM SERBIAN..." „THEY DON'T LOVE ME BECAUSE I AM MUCH SMARTER THAN THEM" ...I CALL THAT BALKAN PREJUDICES AND I CANNOT LISTEN TO THAT ANYMORE.."  
[posted 09. February 2010. 22.00, Serbian Café Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English]

The problem of discrimination presented in the next quotation demonstrates an attempt to analyse the causes and manifestations of discrimination in mainstream society.

- (2): "...It (discrimination) is felt immediately when you say your name (you don't have to mention the surname) and also when they decide on the tasks you have to do and how much you have to work....They changed their opinion about us as a nation because I try, whenever I can, to introduce myself as a man first and then introduce my beloved Serbia! Now we have fun together over tennis and football, especially watching the Serbian teams, and together we also watch other games, so it means they are very interested and are ok when they get to know you a little better...".  
[posted 09. February 2010. 22.30, Serbian Café Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English]

In quotation (2) we see that a criterium for discrimination is to have an original Serbian name or surname. These are the identification marks of a person's origin and patrimony. The SERBIAN CAFÉ user (2) argues that it is not necessary to say the surname, since it usually ends with "ić", which indicates a Yugoslavian ethnic origin (the majority of surnames in former Yugoslavia end in "ić"). After his first comment about discrimination, this user introduces a second discriminatory statement which relates to the amount of work that a

discriminated person has to do. Implicitly, this user introduces the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community as an “ic” web community, signalling that the web community is based on the same background.

- (3): “You are 100% right, they hate us like the plague...”  
[posted 10. February 2010. 14.53, Serbian Café Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English]

Replying to previous posts (1) and (2), the user in (3) agrees and uses a metaphor of a horrible illness, to give a better description of something to be avoided. By using the in-group pronoun “us”, he refers to a group of people within this web community, but at the same time he refers to a group of discriminated immigrants. Quotations (4) and (5) offer more insight into the first community building factor, viz. shared experiences of war. They read as follows.

- (4): “..Man, there was a war. We left because we had to..”  
[posted 19. May 2010. 03.30, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrated?; translated into English]

- (5): “...most of us emigrants here in this immigrant community, experienced that war story, would anyone emigrate from a good life, leave everything behind, house, job, friends, .. “  
[posted 19. May 2010. u 06.23, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrated?; translated into English]

The users in quotations 3, 4, and 5 use the in-group pronoun “we”, as a community building denomination, and use war as their mutual connection. So it is not a rare occasion when users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ clearly refer to the civil war in Yugoslavia during the 1990s as a background to their migration history and motivation. The very same background and experience of civil war is the precise feeling (where Criterium 1 and Criterium 2 are involved) that is accountable for community building in this particular web community. Sharing traumatic experiences in fact works well as a social glue that connects people willing to share their frustrations with those “who know what we are talking about”, as users put it.

These quotations are just the most direct examples. The SERBIAN CAFÉ discussions which we observed are full of “we Serbian people”, “we in the war”, “we in Yugoslavia”, and “us immigrants”. While the use of “we” is an attempt of constructing an imagined community of fellow country nationals,

the “us” immigrants presents a neat opposition term in contrast to “them” non-immigrants.

#### **4.5.2 Factors and measurements**

Following Criterium 1, we measured 15 instances of the in-group pronouns “us” and “we” in the quotations (see also Appendix D). For Criterium 2, we measured 6 instances of the topic of “discrimination” and 64 posts in the professional ethnic discrimination discussion (see subsection 4.9.1), which makes 70 instances altogether (see also Appendix D). Moreover, the intensity of the use of the in-group pronouns is in our opinion even more telling than their frequency. In summary, we may state that the indicator of community building is certainly present in the SERBIAN CAFÉ.

#### **4.5.3 THE LOCAL**

The users of THE LOCAL have different national backgrounds, they all speak English and they are immigrants. Users speak about their shared experiences of being an immigrant in Sweden. This is the topic that sometimes creates tensions and therefore provides sufficient reason to feel part of THE LOCAL community. A telling example is the following.

(6): “What a strange question to ask of immigrants...”  
[posted 16.Sep.2009, 02:11 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: What was Sweden like before the immigrants?]

In (6) the user of THE LOCAL implicitly introduces THE LOCAL web community as a community of immigrants. For users of THE LOCAL the answer appears to be self-evident. While the owners of THE LOCAL web community advertise users as “professionals” on the move (Figure 4.1), users themselves feel their immigrant status. THE LOCAL advertises its capacities by inviting visitors to a “unique audience of 2.5 million professionals”. The term unique in web advertising means unique IP addresses.



The Local Europe AB  
Östgötavägen 12  
116 25 Stockholm  
Sweden

**Figure 4.1 Invitation to advertise on THE LOCAL web community**

Since THE LOCAL as an online business venture tries to attract more advertisements, it is much more attractive to call users “professionals”. That label implies that they have a comfortable position on the social ladder. Figure 4.2 shows how the owners of THE LOCAL address and present their users, or as they call them their “readers”. It is clear from the way they describe their users that THE LOCAL is more turned towards “posh” immigrants.

**Our readers and their work**

- 53.7% are employed and 14.4% are self-employed
- Of those employed, the largest industry sectors are education, technology, public sector, engineering and government
- 44.1% work as a director or a manager
- 9.3% are responsible for more than 10 million SEK/1.1 million EUR/1.4 million CHF/ 8.6 million NOK of the company spending
- 16.6% of the readers earn more than 750 000 SEK/82 000 EUR/105 000 CHF/645 000 NOK per year

**Figure 4.2 The readers of THE LOCAL and their work**

With this description of its users (Figure 4.2), THE LOCAL attempts to introduce itself as a place of interest for those who can generate economic value. They



do so implicitly. THE LOCAL invites potential advertisers to a web community offering financially interesting social capital.

However, in examples where users themselves reflect on their actual social positioning and their relationship to the society in which they live, they will state that they are English speaking immigrants gathered in THE LOCAL web community. In the next quotation (7), a user connects the members of the community by using “us”, showing that “us” is a well understood pronoun. Once again “us”, represents those who moved away from their countries of origin and are gathered in the same web community.

(7): “...That is why many of us has moved..”  
[posted 16.Sep.2009, 10:04 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden:  
What was Sweden like before the immigrants?]

User (8) clearly introduces three facts about THE LOCAL web community. First, the user is aware where the majority of the members of the community come from. Second, he introduces the English language as a tool to obtain a job. Third, he introduces the English language as a community building cornerstone. Moreover, the user does not simply introduce English but “proper and correct English”. The user is thus aware of the monoglot language ideology which grants access to a job, but also of semiotic consubstantiality – the user becomes what he speaks and writes (Spotti, 2011).

(8): “... We have lived in english speaking countries before and u could get job with your own accent provided u speak proper and correct english...”  
[posted 2.Mar.2010, 12:46 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish themes:  
News via THE LOCAL]

#### **4.5.4 Factors and measurements**

In order to analyse Criterium 1, we identified 13 instances of the in-group pronouns “us” and “we” in users’ quotations (see Appendix E). Further analysis of the factors for Criterium 2 identified 12 instances of the shared topic of being an immigrant in Sweden (see Appendix E).

#### **4.5.5 Comparison of community building**

When comparing the way these two communities were built, it becomes clear that shared experiences bring users closer. In the case of SERBIAN CAFÉ the notion of community is given its meaning based on four similarities amongst

the users: (1) mother tongue, (2) cultural background, (3) experience of war, and (4) feeling of being discriminated. Simultaneously, the notion of community in the case of THE LOCAL web community derives its meaning from two similarities of the users: (1) the language; and (2) their immigration status. In both web communities, users employ the in-group pronouns “us” and “we” in order to denominate themselves as immigrants on the move.

Having spent a substantial amount of time online to gain an understanding of the users’ general social culture (Shenton, 2004; Hegelund, 2005; Hine, 2008; and Blommaert and Jie, 2011), we may argue that the cultural diversity of the users of THE LOCAL makes them more cautious (more polite) in expressing their thoughts, than in the case of the users’ communications in the SERBIAN CAFÉ. Users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ are direct, behaving as though they know to whom they are speaking, or as one of the users said – as though they are “among their own”. The prevailing atmosphere in THE LOCAL web community resembles one where the user is sitting with new acquaintances and does not yet know what kind of slang would be acceptable around that particular table. It is a kind of “we just met” atmosphere. They communicate in English and in most cases they are quite careful.

#### **4.5.6 Section conclusions**

From the observations of the subsections above we may conclude that in the SERBIAN CAFÉ, the meaning of community building is based on: (1) mother tongue, (2) cultural background, (3) experience of war, and (4) feeling of being discriminated, whereas in THE LOCAL it is based on (1) the language and (2) the immigrant status. We found that the users of both web communities have a sense of community, or a common created network. They use “us” and “we” in their interactions to denominate their feelings of belonging to a particular web community. In the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, users are gathered around feelings of immigrant discrimination, war memories, and coming from the same background. The building feeling in THE LOCAL community is based on experiences of life in Sweden, immigrant status, but also on the basis of what the users can offer, in a similar way to what THE LOCAL offers in its advertisements.

From the statistics derived from posts on the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL (see Appendices I and II), we observe that for Criterion 1, the number of instances of in-group pronouns, the count is 15 in the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 13 in THE LOCAL. For Criterion 2 the number of instances is 70 in the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 12 in THE LOCAL. From these observations we conclude that the way in

which both groups employ in-group pronouns is similar for both groups. However, there are many shared topics clearly present in the users' discussions in the SERBIAN CAFÉ, but very few in THE LOCAL discussions. The reason for this disparity might lie in the diversity of the topics in THE LOCAL. The consequence of this difference is reflected in the precise meaning of the notion of community building – those in the community who exhibit more instances of in-group pronouns (the SERBIAN CAFÉ) are perhaps more connected by the notion of community than are those in THE LOCAL, who exhibit fewer instances of such pronouns.

#### **4.6 Indicator 2: Community norms and values**

In their host country immigrants face an accumulation of complexities. They are in a new culture, functioning in a new language, facing a new system of organisation rules, and dealing with new institutions. Vertovec (2007) argues that conviviality in multi-ethnic interactions, i.e. cooperation regardless of ethnic background, is normal everyday practice. Naturally, by being aware of this everyday complexity, immigrants turn to web communities that cater specifically to immigrants, in order to find help, to reduce the level of complexity that they face, and to find a short cut to solutions for their problems. Below we discuss some examples of the way in which the users in both web communities look for help.

In this section we focus on community norms and values. For a community it is important that membership is based on trust. Therefore, a main point of research is: how do people in a community generate trust? Having many users in direct communication, exchanging information, and giving advice all raise the question of trustworthiness of the source. Arrow (1974) indicates that trust is a lubricant of cooperation, while Parsons (1968) discusses the *integrative function* of trust, and considers system-level trust in normative systems as a main source and contributor to the maintenance of social order. Insights into a second function of trust are provided by Luhmann's (2000) research, what he refers to as a *reduction of complexity*. He argues that people increasingly need trust because of the growth of complexity of modern society and because the consequences of decisions are more uncertain in the modern world. Both Parsons and Luhmann find trust beneficial for the social system as a whole. Even more interesting to this study is how trust functions on an individual level. According to Buskens (2002), trust is generated after positive experiences with a trustee, so a "trustor's trust in the trustee will then generally increase" (Buskens, 2002, p. 11).

For testing KPI 2, community norms and values, we have formulated Criterium 3, which states that: instances of the roles played in the community, e.g., experts and information leaders, are roles based on trust. During users' interactions, i.e. the community building process, some users analyse the interactions of other users and estimate their value. In this way those users who are evaluated as being good informants, "experts in the field", are proclaimed as experts or information leaders in the group. And this reputation-building process is based on trust. The way that the trust is built is that first a particular user is identified as being someone who often makes a certain type of comment or provides a certain type of information. Then that identification can be checked and if seen to be true, by verifying repeated instances of that user's postings one comes to the conclusion that that user is an expert on the particular subject.

Criterium 3 follows the reputation-building process based on trust. Implicitly, the emergence of the reputation-building process shows that certain norms and values are accepted in the community. Thanks to the accepted community norms someone may become regarded as a "community expert".

In subsection 4.6.1 we present the gist of our examination of the SERBIAN CAFÉ. Then we discuss the validation procedure in subsection 4.6.2. In subsections 4.6.3 and 4.6.4 we perform the analogous procedure for counting the instances of specific roles in THE LOCAL web community. The comparisons of community norms and values in both web communities are performed in subsection 4.6.5. Finally, in subsection 4.6.6 we provide our section conclusions.

In this section (4.6) we selected four quotations from the SERBIAN CAFÉ to support and describe positive instances of a specific event that we had already established as one of our research tools, and we selected five quotations from THE LOCAL, relating to community norms and values.

#### **4.6.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

Users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ address the community with a clear confidence and shared experiences of facing different obstacles, challenges, and even deep problems. Below we present two quotations taken from the SERBIAN CAFÉ (9) and (10).

- (9): "Buy or rent a house, apartment in the USA? The question is now ...  
I'm interested in how you manage to do this in the long-term?..."  
[posted 21. March 2010. 23.17 SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: Emigration: Buy  
or rent a real-estate for living?; translated into English]
- (10): "Danxxe, Thank you for reply...I hope that someone else who knows about  
the topic and the calculation too, will comment here...."  
[posted 22. mart 2010. u 14.00, SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: Emigration: Buy  
or rent real-estate for living?; translated into English]

While living a "web life" in their web community, users become acquainted with the iterative reactions of particular users and start to treat these sources based on the reactions they have experienced. If a source behaves well, and provides information that is relevant and truthful for the community, the community awards him with more respect and he becomes a "local expert" or "informal leader" for a particular topic (such as language, law, real-estate, or immigration). The opposite holds if a user misbehaves, is vulgar, and/or does not contribute to the community's well-being. In such cases the user gets a poor reputation and is treated accordingly, possibly becoming an outcast (see quotation 12, below).

One example of a "local expert" is the SERBIAN CAFÉ user Danxxe, who is an expert on real-estate. Users publicly praise her contribution. Quotation (10) was posted as the answer to a question asked earlier in the same conversation. Here the user is expressing his satisfaction, thanking Danxxe for the information he obtained through her; and at the same time he validates her contribution and gives her a recommendation. In the next quotation (11), the user promotes Axxx(64) as a community expert on translation matters.

- (11): "Dear Axxx(64) thank you for replies (translations). ...Many regards from  
Goxxx since I see you speak excellent English."  
[posted 15. February 2010. 15.35, SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: Employment:  
Translation; translated into English]

At the same time as particular participants receive some positive comments, some members of the community also use the public discussion forum to evaluate users whose contributions might appear futile or disrespectful of the web community. The following quotation (12) is from a local real-estate expert, clearly someone with a good reputation, defending other users' behaviour by attempting to keep the community more open to different views.

(12): “ Why ban Grxx(Brxxy)? Everything that he says about life in USA and NY is almost true. I agree that his way is a little bit childish and immature, but why ban him because of that? Just because we do not like to hear that for most of us in the USA life is pure survival?...”

[posted 01. April 2010. 00.17, SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: New York: Petition to ban GrxxBrxxy; translated into English]

#### 4.6.2 Factors and measurements

By analysing Criterium 3 we identified 4 specific roles played in the SERBIAN CAFÉ. The four roles that we identified are: (1) the real-estate expert, (2) the language expert, (3) the visa expert, and (4) the expert on local life conditions.

#### 4.6.3 THE LOCAL

Similar processes of building trust and offering expertise are present in THE LOCAL web community. In quotation (13) the user addresses THE LOCAL community on a residence permit issue, and (14) contains a reply.

(13): “Hi all, Just wondering if anyone ever tried applying for Residence Permit to join partner in Sweden, while you are residing in the middle east? I am not middle eastern just happen to live here at present....”

[posted 27.Oct.2009, 02:53 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish themes: Visas/permits: Residence Permit Applying from Middle East]

(14):” If you are NOT married then you would be applying based on family ties i.e. a sambo permit. I have one of these and as I am NOT married to my partner I of course did not have to supply a marriage certificate. Have you told migrationsverket that you are married? I know that as part of my application I had to show my divorce papers from a previous relationship...Bottom line is, is that you do not have to be married to a swede to apply for a permit to come and live here with them. But you must be able to prove that your relationship is real. Good luck.”

[posted 27.Oct.2009, 03:30 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish themes: Visas/permits: Residence Permit Applying from Middle East]

Users of THE LOCAL feel comfortable in their community and they do not hesitate to engage in a public discussion about their personal issues. The user in quotation (15) asks for medical help. In (16) we find a reply to an urgent legal matter.

(15): “Hi there, Am registered with the local barnmorska clinic but was dismayed to learn that my first ultrasound won't be until the 18th (!! ) week of pregnancy. I had several complications in my last pregnancy and am disturbed to know that something could be wrong and I won't know until 18

weeks/fetus won't be monitored closely. Does anyone know of places in or north of Stockholm where I can get an ultrasound earlier?..."  
[posted 19.Apr.2010, 02:27 PM, THE LOCAL: Discussion: Life in Sweden: Getting an ultrasound before 18 weeks?]

(16): "You got a dependent RP because that is what you applied for. You could have applied for two primary RP based on SE, but it could get really complicated if one of the applications got rejected or delayed."  
[posted 9.Jun.2010, 10:24 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden: Oh my god! Migrationsverket, I need help! SOS!]

The following quotation (17) is a piece of advice given by THE LOCAL web community expert on Swedish education.

(17): "Have you had your teaching credentials authorised by HSV? Because of the new rules that will require municipalities to hire only licensed teachers this may be an issue. The rules are here - you will need gymnasiet Svenska B or TISUS to get registered  
<http://www.hsv.se/qualificationsrecognitio...7480002102.html> ..."  
[posted 21.Apr.2010, 02:17 PM, THE LOCAL: Discussion: Life in Sweden: Applying for teaching posts in secondary schools]

The above quotations are all examples of what is called the *web-street economy*, analogous to being on the street in the offline neighbourhood where the participants can exchange local tricks and tactics with their neighbours. This also happens on the web, where users exchange tips on how to deal with legal matters, institutions, education, etc. The *web-street economy* is one of the most prominent motivations for taking part in the web community discussions on THE LOCAL. Sharing the same offline life – the same cultural, political, educational, and health environment – they turn to each other for advice.

#### **4.6.4 Factors and measurements**

Our analysis of Criterium 3, resulted in identifying 3 instances of specific roles amongst the users of THE LOCAL web community. The roles are: (1) the visa expert, (2) the real-estate expert, and (3) the Swedish educational system expert.

#### **4.6.5 Comparison of generation of trust**

In both web communities trust is created by an iterative positive experience. Trust and social capital are mutually reinforcing – trusting relationships generate social capital and then in turn social capital generates more trusting

relationships. Both Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1993) define trust as a key component of social capital and a precondition of healthy social capital. As mentioned earlier, the mechanisms of generating trust in both the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL web communities are the same. By combining conviviality with web-street economy behaviour, they profit. They share their personal knowledge or experiences, and they create positive experiences that result, first in trust and then in the creation of social capital. Members of a web community identify the behaviour of other users and act accordingly, either by promoting web community experts or by discussing and criticising negative behaviour that is not useful to the web community. In this way, the web community by itself, following its own norms and values, creates or destroys reputations. In doing so the community reflects the fact that the generation of trust in web communities is insensitive to the inherent nature of the web community.

#### **4.6.6 Section conclusions**

The examples presented in the subsections above demonstrate that, after iterative positive experiences in both web communities, trust can be created. Users of both web communities profit from conviviality and web-street economy practices. The web community itself promotes specific social norms that are employed for the generation of reputation and trust. According to the norms of the web community, a specific user interaction is either proclaimed as positive (and the user becomes recognized as a “local expert” or “information leader”), or it is perceived as negative, not useful to the community, so those users acquire a poor reputation and they become outcasts of the community.

From the statistics that we have derived we can conclude that 4 roles can be identified in the SERBIAN CAFÉ community: the real-estate expert, the language expert, the visa expert, and the expert on local life experiences. In THE LOCAL there are 3 identifiable roles: the visa expert, the real-estate expert, and the expert on the Swedish educational system. Our provisional conclusion is that both communities have a similar structure, with similar norms and values.

### **4.7 Indicator 3: Community identity and immigration issues**

In this section we present the analysis of a user’s own understanding of the important issues of community identity and immigration. Having in mind that immigration is a sensitive issue, and that the view of a community is unknown



*a priori*, we closely examined the way in which users perceive their community identity and their position in the community.

For the validation of KPI 3, i.e. community identity and immigrations issues, we formulated two criteria. Criterion 4 is: Instances of self-perception of being an immigrant — to be precise it is how the process of creating community identity succeeds through the users' self-perceptions of being an immigrant. Criterion 5 is: Instances of a discussion on emerging facets of immigration.

In subsection 4.7.1 we present the discussions from the SERBIAN CAFÉ. Then in subsection 4.7.2 we discuss our validation procedure using the two criteria in the SERBIAN CAFÉ. In subsections 4.7.3 and 4.7.4 we perform the analogous procedure for THE LOCAL. In 4.7.5 we perform a comparison and in subsection 4.7.6 we provide our section conclusions.

We selected seven quotations from the SERBIAN CAFÉ, and ten quotations from THE LOCAL, in order to support, describe, and illustrate the indicators of community identity and immigration issues.

#### **4.7.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

Users discuss many immigration topics, such as accommodation, visas, jobs, administration, legal issues, salaries, emigration, citizenship, retirement, investment, and cooperation. It is interesting to see that they do not strictly follow the web community designer's idea of categorisation (dividing discussion topics into sections). Instead users shape discussions in their own way, posting their questions wherever they wish. As mentioned earlier, users call the SERBIAN CAFÉ an "immigrant community" and many times they end up in a very long discussion comparing the realities of immigrant life in the USA with Canada, Germany, or Sweden. On many occasions users aim to compare different countries in order to discover which is the society where discrimination is at its worst, or to discuss the difficulties of being a Serb, surviving the war, or the reasons that made them decide to emigrate. Below we provide an example of the last of these three topics.

(18): "What made me emigrate? The war. Since I am Serb but living in Croatia, and for us there is no life there, I was banished first in 91 from one of the bigger cities in Croatia, then in 98 again from RS Krajina, after that so called peaceful reintegration, easier to say after Slobodan Milosevic's treason, which is my reason to emigrate. If there had not been a war most probably I would never emigrate."

[posted 19. May 2010. u 04.57, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrated?; translated into English]

Quotation (18) above depicts the multi-faceted nature of the web community. In this example the “tone” in which the user’s opinion is presented amplifies the message. The web community is a space for sharing emotions, thinking of the past, expressing the sorrow for what all of them left behind. On top of this it introduces a group identity that bonds them together: “us... in this immigrant community”. The Serbian identity problem, and the memories of war are dominant and hard to talk about, see quotation (19).

(19) “...most of us emigrants here in this immigrant community, are from that war story. Would someone emigrate from a country with a good life, leave everything behind, house, job, and friends.. “  
[posted 19. May 2010. u 06.23, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrate?; translated into English]

Even though it is not possible to draw a clear line between Serbian immigrants and the people still living in Serbia, because different opinions can be found within both groups, it is evident that this web community functions well as an “outlet” for subjects that often bother a user, things that a user would like to share, argue, or even fight about, but with someone who knows what the complaining user is talking about, someone who is one of “your own”. The everlasting dilemma “to be or not to be an immigrant” is one that definitely intrigues many of the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ. Posts that discuss this type of topic are always much visited and give rise to lengthy discussions (usually more than 20 posts, and up to 69 in our data). An example is quotation (20):

(20): “ You are annoying me and I feel sorry for you! Your Serbian is horrible!.. You cry when you are in the USA that you miss Serbia, Belgrade and your village, and then when you come to Serbia, once in three years, then you cry that you miss the USA and you are weaned off of our food, our flies, our dirt, our friends, and that our cigarettes suffocate you and scratch your throat, you do not understand our humour and our world anymore, you do not understand how come we cry that we do not have money but we are out every night having fun, and we are dressed much better than you. You just say stupidities without anyone asking you anything”  
[posted 16. April 2010. u 15.26, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: USA: How do you live in the USA? I am really interested?; translated into English]

This particular user criticises the behaviour of those who left Serbia. He clearly depicts certain characteristics of the lives of Serbian immigrants in

North America – the way they are forgetting the Serbian language, the infrequency of their visits to Serbia, the way they accept new values and become distant to those left behind in their homeland, the communication gap between them, and even their economic status. The repeated use of the “our” word exhibits the elements of *belonging of doing*<sup>10</sup>, whereby those still living in Serbia are authentic Serbs, while those who emigrated are not. The content of quotation (20) is an example of loyalty expressed through language, so the disloyal immigrant becomes the “other” who does not understand how it works any longer in Serbia. User (21) replies to user (20) regarding the language matters, and that usually provoke a long and passionate debate on the topic: mother tongue vs. English language, using English and the Serbian language in the same post, using the English language to explain something.

(21): “HA HA HA HA..... “cry” and “sick”...HA HA HA AND MOURNS THAT WE MIX SERBIAN AND ENGLISH... O mother, what an idiot ... HA HA HA”  
[posted 17. April 2010. u 12.02, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: USA: How do you live in the USA? I am really interested?; translated into English]

Naturally the discussion about whether to return to Serbia or not to return also creates vigorous debate. This is another dominant theme of this web community, as we can see from quotations (22), (23) and (24).

(22): “...I personally have the wish to go back and hope I will in two years, if God allows, and I wonder whether there are any like me, thanks!”  
[posted 08. November 2009. u 21.27, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: NY: Return to Serbia yes or no...; translated into English]

(23): “From experience, I returned from NYC<sup>11</sup> to BGD<sup>12</sup> – do not come back!!!!”  
[posted 26. November 2009. u 20.12, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: NY: Return to Serbia yes or no...; translated into English]

(24): “You will return to BGD only if you are completely mad!!!!!!...”  
[posted 12. March 2010. u 07.43, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: NY: Return to Serbia yes or no...; translated into English]

---

<sup>10</sup> “belonging of doing” is a term from semiotics, meaning a type of belonging to a group that comes from doing the same things. Those who do not do these same things are considered to be outside the group.

<sup>11</sup> New York City

<sup>12</sup> Belgrade

In most cases, topics of these types will bring about very long discussions and opinions from all over the world, and then the discussion group will split into two, i.e., those in Serbia vs. those abroad, “us” and “them”. Frequently a discussion evolves into a very rough exchange, and many upper case letters (shouting) in the written sentences in the postings. It is not rare that these discussions end up with immigrants saying something like “thank God we left”, thereby expressing a clear lack of loyalty, and those who remained in Serbia replying “thank God we are free of you”.

#### **4.7.2 Factors and measurements**

Following Criterium 4, we counted the number of instances of self-perception of being an immigrant. And, following Criterium 5, we looked for instances of discussing the other emerging facets of immigration rather than their self-perception. Our analysis of the discourse among SERBIAN CAFÉ users resulted in identifying 3 instances of immigrant self-perception, and 4 instances of discussing facets of immigration. These form only a small indication of what might have been expected.

#### **4.7.3 THE LOCAL**

The users identified THE LOCAL web community as an “immigrant site/forum”. The example quotations (25) and (26) illustrate that type of use. THE LOCAL is used to discuss the traditional topics of immigrants, such as accommodation, visas, jobs, administration, legal problems, salaries, emigration, citizenship, retirement, investment, and cooperation.

(25): “Since you are posting on an immigrant site ...”  
[posted 8.Apr.2010, 09:19 AM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden: The Multicultural fate]

(26): “... I’m an immigrant writing on a immigrant forum, and my intention is to promote a debate on this subject, reason, as far I’m know, forums like this exist.”  
[posted 8.Apr.2010, 10:19 AM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden: The Multicultural fate]

Starting with the insight that he is communicating via an “immigrant site”, user (25) clearly provides a general feeling of the nature of this web community. Users of THE LOCAL web community do feel as immigrants in a new country. Here too, the topics of immigration and discrimination are again rather frequent. Many times users of THE LOCAL end up in long discussions

comparing the immigrant reality in the USA, Canada, and Germany, with that in Sweden (see user 27).

(27): "The Swedish judicial system is openly racist with 95% ethnic Swedes as judges and lawyers. Swedish policemen are 99% ethnic Swedes and they discriminate and persecute immigrants. Coming back to Sweden from UK I was stricken by a photo of an immigrant with an arabic name saying "Welcome to my city Stockholm". How ridiculous! They need photos! In UK when you arrive at the airport you can see many immigrants or people with immigrant descent working in the airport, all kinds of people with strong foreign accents, women with muslim scarfs, sikhs with turbans working as immigration officers."  
[posted 18.Mar.2010, 11:08 AM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden:  
Are we really racist?]

This quotation is just one of many on THE LOCAL web community site, in which users discuss discrimination in Swedish society. Also, user (27) successfully presents two sides of the coin, that is two sides of the Swedish approach to immigration. On the one side there is a strong effort to present Sweden as a tolerant multicultural society and "moral superpower" (Borevi, 2012), as this particular user points out when referring to the welcoming photo. For many years Sweden invested in building the image of a "moral superpower" or "global conscience" (Becker-Jakob and Hofmann, 2013). Sweden was neutral during the World War II, it sought to play a role between the two cold war blocs that emerged after WWII, it is a welcomed mediator in many conflicts, it invests a great deal to enjoy a good reputation as a poverty-fighting country, etc. In contrast, immigrants in Sweden are aware of and frequently discuss the silent discrimination of "foreign looking/sounding" persons, and the multifaceted nature of Swedish social segregation (Kamali, 2006; Slavnic, 2008). The quotation from the next user demonstrates that at least this user agrees. Yet, he is not explicit in stating that Swedish society discriminates and persecutes immigrants as pointed out by the previous user. User (28) is attempting to be more politically correct and he is saying that Swedes are "inclined to discriminate".

(28): "It seems true that Swedes are inclined to discriminate against foreign-looking/sounding persons."  
[posted 18.Mar.2010, 11:43 AM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden:  
Are we really racist?]

Furthermore, this discussion reveals and opens up the question of discrimination in Swedish society.

(29): "As of Autumn 2010 it will be much harder to get into university in Sweden if you are not Swedish....This actually goes against any EU mandate, in sense the rules are being broken by Sweden and it is a form of discrimination to us who are not Swedish. What are your thoughts on this matter?"  
[posted 26.Feb.2010, 12:41 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish News: Foreign Students discriminated against...]

It is clear that user (29) is giving an example of exclusion on the basis of the citizenship of the immigrant. After realising that the tension and the need to express discrimination are great, it is surprising that THE LOCAL web discussions are full of posts that are highly negative about immigrants and immigration in Sweden. We find it extremely interesting that such users are full of passion to explain how Swedish society discriminates against immigrants, their discussion is "hot" – full of emotional tension. But in contrast that same web community exhibits many posts which openly display an anti-immigrant mood, thereby creating a somewhat paradoxical situation to which we refer as the "immigrants' anti-immigration paradox". Having in mind that this is an immigrant web community, how is it that the community can behave in a negative way towards immigrants? User (30) discusses the question of anti-immigration.

(30): "I also think that in general Swedes are not so anti immigration as it may appear. I've had discussions with people who welcome SD<sup>13</sup> rising and getting so much support, even though they don't welcome it or when challenging the immigration fobia, they will say that they don't have a problem with immigration in general. Instead it is some group they target they hate against, like muslims who come from a culture which is alien to Swedes. I think it is very easy to target them, because many of them have an extremely hard time to integrate into Swedish society and end up on the debit side of the welfare state and most Swedes cannot see how they can ever cross over to the credit side."  
[posted 27.Dec.2009, 07:23 PM, THE LOCAL Disussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll]

It is logical to assume that the "immigrants' anti-immigration paradox" mentioned above exists because all immigrants do not feel the same in

---

<sup>13</sup> SD – *Sverige Demokraterna*, Sweden Democrats, a far-right nationalist political party whose increase in popularity has been compared to other similar anti-immigration movements in Europe.

Swedish society. Quotation (31) begins with the question and unravels a discussion on the hierarchy of migration.

(31): "How British rate themselves here, Immigrants or Locals ??"  
[posted 27.Dec.2009, 01:31 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish themes:  
News via THE LOCAL: Swedes positive about immigration: poll]

(32): "The question should have been asked differently because not all immigrants are equal. If they had asked if European immigration to Sweden had been beneficial the number of 'Yes' votes would have probably been much higher. If they had asked if African, Mid-East, or South Asian immigration had been beneficial to Sweden the numbers would have probably been much lower."  
[posted 27.Dec.2009, 04:51 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish themes:  
News via THE LOCAL: Swedes positive about immigration: poll]

Quotation (31) makes a very good point, creating a hierarchy of the various immigrant groups, asking directly for the British part of the web community and how they rate themselves in Sweden, "Immigrants or Local". Apparently those who are regarded most highly and have the best reputations, i.e., the most desirable immigrants, are those immigrants from the USA, the UK, and countries in the western EU. Many times these people are not even perceived as immigrants from a Swedish society perspective, rather they are referred to as "mobile professionals". At a lower social position are immigrants from the south of Europe, but in the 1990s their number seriously decreased. Somewhere on the same level as the southern Europeans are immigrants from eastern Europe, and further down the social rankings come South Americans, those from the Middle East, the Far East, and last of all dark skinned, Muslim people. User (32) expresses the views of many users of the way that Swedish society has split the notion of immigration in Sweden. THE LOCAL web community is used mostly by the highest positioned immigrants, and when they discuss further immigration to Sweden they become "protectors of Sweden", speaking openly that they are strongly against more immigration. Posts similar to (33) and (34) are not rare.

(33): ".. I feel and see all around that Sweden is getting to be a free home for the Islamic extremists !!"  
[posted 28.Dec.2009, 03:19 AM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish themes:  
News via THE LOCAL: Swedes positive about immigration: poll]

(34): "Vikxxx, just to make things more complicated - in Uk, we have many European migrants or workers, from places like Poland, Lithuania, Romania etc, who are violent criminals, rapists, human traffickers etc. They are not

Black or Muslim. But they are in the EU. So they have freedom of movement. Many of Poland + Romanis' most wanted criminals are in UK. So it is also a question of poor immigration control and security, as well as race and religion”

[posted 28.Dec.2009, 11:23 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll]

From these quotations the reader can extrapolate examples of the “securitisation of territory”, an attempt to protect their offline territory from “poor immigration” and “Islamic extremists”. Also, it represents a valid example of the transformation of the notion of immigration. Here, immigration is no longer based only on ethnic grounds, but on religion as well, and those who belong to other religious groups are depicted as being extremists.

One can easily establish that an immigrant’s identity becomes fluid and conditioned by their situation, or by the topic they are discussing (Boyd, 2007). If the topic is life in Sweden they will all be immigrants with traditional problems, but if the topic is further immigration to Sweden, users who take part in the discussion will all of a sudden split into two groups: an immigrants/Swedes/native-English-speakers group and an immigrants/no-native-English-speakers group. The users of THE LOCAL follow mainstream news, where religion is often the headline of items about the “war against terror”, and they reproduce such news stories in their web community discussions.

#### **4.7.4 Factors and measurements**

In order to evaluate KPI 3 we performed an analysis of the users’ discourse on THE LOCAL following Criterium 4 and Criterium 5. The analysis identified 3 instances of users’ immigrant self-perception, which is a factor of measurement for Criterium 4, and we identified 8 instances of discussion on emerging facets of immigration, which is a measurement factor of Criterium 5. This number is somewhat higher for Criterium 5 than in the SERBIAN CAFÉ case, but here too the results form only a small indication of what might have been expected.

#### **4.7.5 Comparison of community identity and immigration issues**

It is clear that in both web communities, member-immigrants feel discriminated against and the topic of immigration creates a large number of passionate discussion posts. The SERBIAN CAFÉ appears as one whole community, which expresses loyalty up to a point. Depending on the topic of discussion, participants in the discussion spontaneously form themselves into



groups. In the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ they tend to form a single group if they are discussing their respective positions in their host countries. But when they discuss whether to stay in Serbia or to leave, they become two groups. The immigrant identity then splits into “us” (immigrants outside Serbia) and “them” (who stayed in Serbia), or the split might be between “us” (those who stay) and “them” (those who return). The “them” group are then those who left and who now despise Serbia, and they show a lack of loyalty to Serbia. The users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ exploit their web community as a tool that satisfies their needs, to overcome some obstacles, and as a physiological workshop where they can release their stress. We can also argue that the immigrant identity is not constant, it is rather fluid, splitting from a monolithic “us” to a polarised community of “us” and “them”. The quotations from “them” also show a clear lack of loyalty to Serbia.

The case of THE LOCAL web community creates, to some extent, a similar effect. As Harvie Ferguson (1999) explains, in the postmodern world all distinctions became fluid and “identities, thus, are continuous oscillations” (p.10). Many users shroud themselves in anonymity, with the result that we often cannot be certain who is who. Therefore, and depending on the situation, a user can switch between several identities. In one discussion someone can be an immigrant, in another discussion they can be an expatriate, in a third discussion a protector of Sweden with anti-immigration opinions, so the users’ identity is fluid, not solid. While “huddling in the warmth of a shared identity dump of (or hope to banish) the fears which prompted them to seek communal shelter” (Bauman, 2000, p.172), THE LOCAL web community splits into two groups, *pro et contra*, as a consequence of strong tensions created when discussing further immigration to Sweden. This results in creating the “immigrant's anti-immigration paradox”. In their discourse practices, users reproduce middle class news stories, making the discourse in THE LOCAL community sensitive to religion. THE LOCAL discussions are employed by the community’s users for promoting a “securitisation of territory”, protecting Sweden from further “Islamisation”, since the Islamic religion is associated, in many people’s minds, with terrorism. The “anti Islamist atmosphere” is so strong that users who do belong to the Islamic religion never expound their religious background in public. Instead they hide behind British and Swedish nicknames, trying not to give away any clues of their offline identities.

#### **4.7.6 Section conclusions**

Users of both web communities identify both of the web spaces we examined as immigrant web communities, and therefore good spaces for discussing in public their immigrant feelings, their self-perceptions and the ways in which they are treated. We can argue that immigration is a cornerstone of the creation of community identity. However, even though both of these web communities are web spaces specifically designed for immigrants, and used by immigrants, the immigrant identity is not expressed as a straightforward and constant concept, but is rather fluid. Depending on the topic of discussion, participants spontaneously gather themselves into one or more groups and switch between several identities. In this way the immigrants' identity splits into more discrete levels according to the topic they are discussing.

From the measurements of the KPI 3, in the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, we may tentatively conclude that the number of instances of Criterium 4 is 3 in the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 3 in THE LOCAL. The numbers for Criterium 5 are 4 in the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 8 in THE LOCAL. Based on these results, we may provisionally conclude that the self-perception of being an immigrant is expressed within the same range on both web communities (Criterium 4). But, discussions on the emerging facets of immigration double the level of attention on THE LOCAL (Criterium 5).

#### **4.8 Indicator 4: Diffuse reciprocal activities**

Users of both web communities live in their real world, solving real problems in their countries of residence. They are immigrants who came to stay. A contrasting group consists of the transit migrants, who come to work and travel across territories and cities, and who go back home or move on to somewhere else (Diminescu, 2008). Still, thanks to their existence in their web community the immigrants easily jump over traditional borders, over time and space, even over the limitations in their personal knowledge. Since they are active users in a web community they easily come into contact with users in the USA and Australia, they might talk with someone who is located 12 time zones away. As a result, and thanks to the Internet, users can become friends with those who they will probably never be able to meet in real life. These immigrant users owe a huge debt to the web because they are empowered by having more options than those immigrants of former years who did not have (access to) the web. These immigrant community users also have at their disposal a greater variety of information and the possibility

to acquire new knowledge. Bauman (2000) introduced the term *light modernity*, when speaking of the era of software. In the online world time and space do not fulfil the roles they did previously, in the pre-software era. Roberts (1995), while addressing the same effect of changing our perception of space and time, introduced the term *glocal* this newly emerged simultaneity (i.e. being in one geographical place and at the same time talking to someone who might be as far away as on a different continent.) This term, *glocal*, combines the global and the local, the universal and the particular. Appadurai (1996) calls this a *production of locality in modernity*, while Bauman (2000) discusses it in terms of the *instantaneity of fluid modernity*. The new era of globalisation is a source of worry for immigrants (Appadurai, 2006).

Our world has evolved into a *liquid modern world* (Bauman, 2010), and is continuously changing. We therefore have a need for more information than we did previously, information about what is going to happen. Therefore, living in a state of constant liquid change and uncertainty, we have turned to the means of communication that goes beyond local time and space – we have turned to web communication, which connects us with global ideas and perspectives in order to find help and exchange information.

Thinking about social relationships on the web, Williams (2006) introduced *diffuse reciprocity* as a generalised set of norms of reciprocity, where users give to others without expecting to receive anything in return. Discussing Coleman's concept of social capital, Claiburn and Martin (2000) argued that "people in social relationships issue 'credit slips' to one another, representing social obligations and providing some insurance against shirking". According to Valenzuela et al. (2009), exchanges among community members are based on community reciprocal activities where each individual contributes to the welfare of others. In the following sections we present quotations that describe generalised reciprocal activities of users in both web communities.

For the validation of KPI 4, diffuse reciprocal activities, we created Criterium 6: Instances of helping. This Criterium relates to helping other users, either by offering help directly to a particular user or by having an answer published in a discussion forum.

In subsection 4.8.1 we present the discussions from the SERBIAN CAFÉ. Then, in subsection 4.8.2, we show the validation procedure of Criterium 6. In subsections 4.8.3 and 4.8.4 we perform the analogous procedure for helping others in THE LOCAL. Subsection 4.8.5 presents a comparison of diffuse

reciprocity in both web communities, and in subsection 4.8.6 we present our conclusions for this section (4.8).

For this section we selected four quotations from the SERBIAN CAFÉ and two from THE LOCAL.

#### 4.8.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ

Users are aware that they inhabit different geographical spaces. Therefore they try to profit from their local experience, and by sharing that experience with others they transform it into a global asset. The SERBIAN CAFÉ web community is full of posts in which users compare their local experiences with their earlier ones, debating where life is better, where to move next, etc. At the same time as their personal local experiences are transformed to global ones, the same process happens to personal experiences which, by being shared in public, become collective assets. User (35) compares his local and personal experiences of life in Florida with his earlier experiences when he was living in Belgrade.

(35): "...and Belgrade is the centre of the world, [compared to Florida] even though Belgrade has been tortured with sanctions and poverty from the many crises that the city survived during the last 20 years. That someone from the centre of Belgrade would really be very happy [ironically] to arrive in Florida . . ."  
[posted 26. mart 2010. u 11.21, SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English]

With the next quotation the user (36) adds another quality to the same discussion, reporting from his own experience as to what are the main characteristics of life in Scandinavia.

(36): "...Scandinavia was always and will stay a peaceful place for life."  
[posted 26. mart 2010. u 14.00, SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English]

Comparing users' experiences from all over the world, we can see that they profit from the global dispersion of members of their community and analyse their options for their next move. For two examples, we refer to users (37) and (38).

(37) "...What are the sommelier's salaries in the Americas? And what are the possibilities to find a job? Thanks."

[posted 13. March 2010. SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: NY; translated into English]

(38): "Here is little bit of my experience. You must go to Canada, USA or Australia. All other countries are in such a bad economic situation, that if someone did not go to one of these 3 countries, it would be smarter for them to have remained in the Balkans."

[posted 25. March 2010. u 15.30, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English]

#### **4.8.2 Factors and measurements**

Starting from Williams' (2006) recommendations for the measurement of online social capital, in order to analyze Criterium 6 we examined helping situations among users. In the SERBIAN CAFÉ we identified 26 instances of helping<sup>14</sup>.

#### **4.8.3 THE LOCAL**

A similar situation is created in THE LOCAL web community where personal migratory experience and professional experience are publicly discussed. They became collective resources, available to all users. User (39) shares his personal experience and expertise from the UK with the users of the web community. He is making a comparison of the tax regulations in Sweden for Swedish residents and for those who do not reside in Sweden.

(39): " Because I am English and based in London, I had to get a 'non-residential' mortgage - which I assume you will have to get unless you get a UK bank-based mortgage. The downside of having this non-residential mortgage is firstly, the interest rates are slightly higher to offset the risk of a foreigner defaulting and also, you will not be able to claim back the interest payments from your income tax as Swedes can do (mortgage interest is non-tax deductible in the UK)"

[posted 20.Apr.2010, 12:01 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden: Should I buy house now or wait?]

In the next quotation, user (40) shares one of his personal experiences in order to explain how the social system works.

(40): "I got my personal number. We contacted "Försäkringskassan", we got our 12,000kr and then some, because for our son's first year we were not getting the "Barnbidrag". I did not even know about it until my mother-in-law asked if we were getting it."

---

<sup>14</sup> If we deviate and count not only the quotations but also the examples of long discussions (Appendix I) the number of identified instances on the SERBIAN CAFÉ would be 208.

#### **4.8.4 Factors and measurements**

Analogous to the measurement process of Criterium 6 in the SERBIAN CAFÉ, we also examined helping occasions among the users of THE LOCAL. In THE LOCAL we identified 25 instances of helping<sup>15</sup>.

#### **4.8.5 Comparison of diffuse reciprocal activities**

The web community users who we studied clearly acknowledged that the web community is a suitable space for the exchange of experiences, asking for help and offering personal expertise or experience as a potential solution for such requests for help. These exchanges come as a consequence of diffuse reciprocal activities in communities (cf. Williams, 2006; Valenzuela et al., 2009). When a member of a community realises, after seeing several times positive exchanges occurring, whereby other members of the community help each other by means of public exchanges, he also wants to become part of that exchange and offers his personal expertise in order to do so. As mentioned earlier (subsection 4.6.3), trust and social capital are mutually reinforcing. More trust creates more social capital, and more social capital creates more trust.

A predominant characteristic of those we have studied is that people who participate in both web communities and have good intentions try to help each other. This creates a nice atmosphere, and gives a feeling of safety. "There is someone who has been in the same situation before and he is willing to share this information." Thanks to sharing their personal experiences, the so-called web-street economy, they transform their own knowledge into a collective resource that each member of the community can access. By sharing their local experiences and comparing them with global experiences, their existence evolves in local-global simultaneity. This is how members of both web communities, through generalised reciprocal activities, transform the personal and the local into collective and global, making their knowledge a collective resource.

---

<sup>15</sup> If we deviate and count not only the quotations but also the examples of long discussions (Appendix II) the number of identified instances in THE LOCAL would be 231.

#### **4.8.6 Section conclusions**

Users of both web communities try to help other members by sharing local information and personal expertise. When a user identifies that other users have helped by sharing information, he becomes motivated to answer in a reciprocal way and he offers help publicly. Helping others in both web communities is a mutual activity, i.e., a diffuse reciprocal activity (cf. Williams, 2006). By transcending traditional barriers of space and time, and living in the instantaneity of the liquid modern world (cf. Bauman, 2010), users of both web communities immediately use personal and local experiences, and transform them by sharing their experiences with a collective and global community resource.

From the measurements of the KPI 4, we observe that for Criterion 6, we can identify 26 instances of helping activities in the SERBIAN CAFÉ, and 25 in THE LOCAL. From these results we may conclude that both websites are rather similar with respect to diffuse reciprocal activities.

#### **4.9 Indicator 5: Community engagement**

As Granovetter (1973) points out, weak ties have a specific strength; they provide the opportunity of benefiting from a wider spectrum of information, and from knowledge that would not be available thanks to the strong ties.

One of the quite useful characteristics of software solutions in the web communities is that all discussions are archived. Thanks to this, web community discussions that gather knowledge about a particular topic are organised by topics, archived and always available to users. Users can refer to this knowledge, disregarding any disparity of time. This opportunity is noticed and welcomed by all users. There are two immediate consequences. First, they differentiate more important topics from less important ones; and they continue adding content to the more important discussions, transforming them into more reliable resources. Second, they address the appropriate discussion in the archive when necessary. Using the technical characteristics of web-based technology, web users intuitively upgrade the quality of their social interaction, adding to it the accumulated knowledge, for example collections of links to information on a particular topic. These users realise that it is easy to use web technology to save and back-up the information that they acquire from the web.

For the validation of KPI 5, community engagement, we created Criterium 7: Instances of interactions concerning health, advice and fighting injustice. We observe the way that the user's trust each other and turn to others for help in health matters, other types of advice, or to fight injustice.

In subsection 4.9.1 we present examples of the discussions from the SERBIAN CAFÉ, and in subsection 4.9.2 we discuss measurements of Criterium 7. In subsection 4.9.3 and 4.9.4 we perform the analogous procedure for THE LOCAL. Subsection 4.9.5 offers a comparison of the community engagement in both web communities. Finally, subsection 4.9.6 offers conclusions for this section.

In four examples taken from discussions from both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, we see the number of posts in each of these particular discussions. In these four examples they vary from 28 posts to 110, and can stretch over several years. Clearly, users pay more attention to questions of a higher importance, while being completely aware that the technology that they use is reliable and can provide an archive of their contributions.

#### **4.9.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

In the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ one of the most prominent topics is discrimination. A discussion on professional ethnic discrimination started on 8<sup>th</sup> February 2010, and lasted until 27<sup>th</sup> February 2010. This debate extended to 64 posts, which signals that the topic caused vigorous discussions.

SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: Employment: Professional ethnic  
discrimination – started 8. February 2010, last post 27.  
February 2010, 64 posts

Beside discrimination, the problem of housing represents the second most interesting topic in the world of immigration. Users need to address this problem, so they turn to their web community in order to find the best possible solution. A discussion on this topic lasted from 21<sup>st</sup> March 2010 until 21<sup>st</sup> April 2010, and the topic extended through 106 posts.

SERBIAN CAFÉ: Discussion: Emigration: Buy or rent real-estate for  
living? – started 21 March 2010, last post 21. April  
2010, 106 posts



#### 4.9.2 Factors and measurements

Criterion 7 measures instances of help and enabled us to identify 170 such instances in the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community.

#### 4.9.3 THE LOCAL

Users tend to know what is happening where in their web community. They are aware that the discussions are archived, and when a new user asks a question on one of the important questions, the more experienced users in that web community refer the new user to a particular earlier discussion. In the following example the discussion on banking continued through 28 posts, from 29<sup>th</sup> May 2010 until 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2010.

THE LOCAL: Discussion: Swedish themes: Finance: Handelsbanken and nordea refused? – started 29.May.2010, last post 3.Jun 2010, 28 posts

An important topic in the world of immigration – that of obtaining a residence permit and its waiting time, was the subject of a discussion that started 13 September 2009 and had 110 posts, with the final post being published on 6 June 2010.

THE LOCAL: Discussion: Swedish theme: Visas/permits: Residence permit waiting times – started 13.Sep.2009, last post 6.Jun.2010, 110 posts

Even though SERBIAN CAFÉ users have a lower level of education compared to the more highly skilled users of THE LOCAL, we see that archiving important information is acknowledged by both communities and used equally by both of them. This fact is quite important since it extends through many definitions of social capital. For Coleman (1988), those social capital resources consist of activities involved in archiving important information, which achieves something useful for a group. They are resources accumulated through the relationship that exists between a group of people. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) define it as resources that accumulate by having a network. For Putnam (1993) social capital resources are networks, norms or feelings of trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for the benefit of the whole community. Cachia *et al.* (2007) claim that the resources which make life easier also play a beneficial role for health, education, public participation and the realisation of economic opportunities. Combined new virtues create social capital that enables the solving of difficulties (cf. Castells, 2000).

#### **4.9.4 Factors and measurements**

In the case of THE LOCAL, our analysis of Criterium 7 resulted in 138 identified instances of help.

#### **4.9.5 Comparison of community engagement**

Judging by the quite high number of identified instances of help, we may argue that helping others is one of the predominant activities in both web communities. The process of identifying someone in need of help, and offering them help, is the same in both web communities. Users create public discussion lists where they state their problem and wait in the hope that someone else might reply. Other users, in this case those who offer help, identify a posed question during their time in the web community and offer help by publishing the answer on the same list. In other words, those who are helping do not have to be in closer contact with the user that published the need for that help. Users help others as a community engagement, following the general helping culture of the web community.

#### **4.9.6 Section conclusions**

In many sections of this chapter we have provided examples of interactions amongst users across the two web communities, where they access or offer help or advice, or fight injustice (sections 4.5 - 4.9). They address the whole community confidently with the expectation of finding advice, help or just to talk to someone in a similar situation. The topics range from general immigration topics such as visas, accommodation, language, the culture of their host countries, circular migration, education, health, and kids, to concrete legal problems, business offers, or even recommendations to third parties (i.e. an expert) as a provider of a known solution. These users accumulate knowledge according to the technical characteristics of the medium they use (section 4.8 and 4.9). This is why important questions for a specific community are saved, and users know how to refer to them if some new person arrives and asks for the same or similar advice. The accumulation of knowledge represents a clear example of community engagement, which combined with the characteristics of web technology becomes a predominant behavioural characteristic of the immigrants' web communities.

From the measurements of the KPI 5, we observe that for Criterium 7, we identified 170 instances of supporting others in the SERBIAN CAFÉ, and 138 instances in THE LOCAL. In both the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL this activity

is identified as an important interaction which frequently appears in a form of reference (to a specific post) across many discussions. Judging by the high number of instances, we may conclude that, without any external control, the web community organises itself spontaneously and protects its community's knowledge.

#### **4.10 The division between bonding and bridging**

Even though we identified the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community as a bonding social capital space, and THE LOCAL web community as a bridging social capital space, based on the theoretical armour outlined at the beginning of this chapter, when it comes down to the actual praxis the situation seems to be different. In the following subsections we try to reconstruct our findings regarding a clear line of differentiation between the processes of bonding social capital and bridging social capital.

In this section we will examine how users in both web communities use their web space to make a direct connection to each other, i.e., to exchange personal details or to refer to a third person. Following the theoretically based concepts of bonding social capital, e.g., as a concept that connects people of the same background and similar beliefs (see definition 1.5), and of bridging social capital, e.g., concepts that connect people of diverse background and beliefs (see definition 1.6), we analyse the users' discourses in order to understand the division between the activities of bonding and bridging social capital.

In order to do this, we present in subsection 4.10.1 five posts from the SERBIAN CAFÉ, and then in subsection 4.10.2 we discuss the division. Similarly, in subsection 4.10.3 we present four posts from THE LOCAL web community, followed by a discussion in subsection 4.10.4. In subsection 4.10.5 we discuss the comparison between bonding and bridging activities in both web communities. Finally, in subsection 4.10.6, we provide a conclusion for this section.

In this section we offer five quotations from the SERBIAN CAFÉ, and four quotations from THE LOCAL.

##### **4.10.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

Users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community talk about topics that connect them: a common background, language, Yugoslavia, civil war, religion etc.

They publish direct questions to bridge their concrete problems they experience in their new society (how to obtain a visa, how to find legal help, how to find a flat, where to move, how to buy real estate etc.). As a consequence of sharing the same web life they become even more connected. They exchange more personal details such as e-mail addresses, phone numbers, etc.

(41): "Pexo contact me on my e-mail. I have a space in the middle of Belgrade, perfect for an agency but I do not have experience. I am in the mood for any deal. I am 34. Regards. sigulxxx@yahoo.it"  
[posted 19. January 2010. 04.07, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Employment: Start job from zero; translated into English]

User (41) publicly shares information about owning real estate, and indicates that she would gladly use it for purposes that could mutually benefit her, as an owner, and benefit some third party, should they make a "deal". In order to make this open business proposal stronger she states her age and the actual place of her real estate, as well as her e-mail address. Some users publish their personal details to make contact faster, for example in the case of user (42), urgently trying to find an employee amongst the users of the web community or their acquaintances.

(42): "I am looking for a girl, 19-30 years for working in café restaurant, 2-3 months in Canada. English is not necessary (domestic place ;- ) it would be good if she is communicative and reliable. Accommodation, food and visa and return ticket are paid. Salary - agreement. Urgent!  
enemyxxxx@hotmail.com")  
[posted 19. February 2010. 10.11, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Employment: Looking for employee Urgent!; translated into English]

User (43) answers a question about what kind of life he is living in a particular part of the USA and the way one can find a job there. He is offering his help and invites users who posed this question to call him before they make a decision on relocation.

(43): ".. If you are interested, call me on 980 xxx 1640"  
[posted 14. April 2010. 12.08, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Emigration: Moving to denver (colorado); translated into English]

Users recommend real-estate agencies, doctors, lawyers etc. They even offer some personal experience by recommending a specific contact and saying something about that contact's background, in order to build a stronger case

to support the reliability of the contact. User (44) recommends a lawyer in the USA who has a Serbian background. It is an example of when people make direct contact with a third person through a web community activity.

(44): “.. He told you nicely, give money to the lawyer, here is our man Pauldjxxic@hotmail.com he will explain you everything”  
[posted 09. April 2010. 23.48, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Emigration: Naturalization; translated into English]

Although users are normally quite direct when making recommendations, they almost never use a public section of the same web community to socialise in real life. The only example we could find of this is user (45). In his comment this user leaves the reader with the impression that he has already made contact, in the public section of the SERBIAN CAFÉ community, at a more personal level, contact which gives some hint that it might lead to a real-life offline event, for example meeting face-to-face.

(45): “...Hello Viloxxx3rd, you have guts and I respect that ☺ If you are in Toronto, I agree –let’s have a coffee.”  
[posted 14. February 2010. 13.49, SERBIAN CAFÉ Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English]

Users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ employ slang. They do not hesitate to swear and be direct. They behave as though they are sitting around the same table in a café in Belgrade. When starting an analysis of the postings in SERBIAN CAFÉ the tone seems to be somewhat rude – too “loud” for people who do not already know each other. But with the progress of time, when one becomes a part of the web community, when one “meets” users and develops a certain degree of familiarity with the general culture of the participants (cf. Shenton, 2004), one becomes somewhat relaxed about the tone. At that point the users start to appear to be more like typical Internet users. So having a presence in this web community gives one a feeling of familiarity, being “among your own people”. Perhaps that is the explanation for the general tone of this particular web community.

#### **4.10.2 Factors and measurements**

From their use of slang with their SERBIAN CAFÉ contacts we may state that these users can be characterised as bonding users. And from the quotations of the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ it is clear that, to some extent, while they are bonding they are also bridging. In accordance with the definition of bonding social capital we can conclude that, by having the same backgrounds, their

exchange of personal details should be perceived as a *deepening* of their bonding activities. But at the same time they also bridge in the following way. In order to help each other, to find new people to talk to, or to exchange ideas or find a solution to some problem, these users bridge to third parties such as doctors, lawyers, etc., asking these third parties for help in satisfying their needs. The information and data which users obtain from these third parties in the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community include: names, e-mail addresses, telephone numbers, and real-life addresses.

We identified 8 instances of a user referring to a third party in the SERBIAN CAFÉ discussions. According to our definition of a bridging social capital activity, a third party is a connection outside the user's familiar circle. The contact with the third party represents a bridging social capital activity.

#### 4.10.3 THE LOCAL

The users of THE LOCAL, when compared with users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, are connected with people who have fewer similarities to themselves. They speak English and the majority of them are immigrants living in Sweden. As Amin (2002) argues, multi-ethnicity in an environment does not have to result in social breakdown. For understanding the dynamics of multi-ethnic interactions, Vertovec (2007, p. 24) reaches out for Gilroy's (2004) term *conviviality*, which is explained by its actual everyday manifestation "cohabitation and multi-ethnic interaction in ordinary life". Gilroy employs the term to explain something that is actually happening every day on the streets. As in offline multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, the immigrants create connections on the web and employ them to address each other – asking for help with their everyday offline problems. When these users reply by providing a direct address where help might be found, they do so mostly by publishing web addresses. For example, user (46) is responding to someone's need for an ultra-sound check-up in Stockholm. In this case the published data are the web address and the part of the city where the recommended place is located.

(46): "You can try this private practice next to Stadion tube station:  
[www.tittxxultraljud.se](http://www.tittxxultraljud.se)"  
[posted 19.Apr.2010, 02:03 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Life in Sweden:  
Getting an ultrasound before 18 weeks?]

User (47) shares their own personal experience and recommends a nursery school for day-care in Stockholm. As mentioned above in the section devoted

to accumulative knowledge, users normally consider the sensitivity and importance of the question when they reply. Here, since the topic deals with child care, user (47) adds additional information about where the nursery is located, what type of place it is, and what type of people are working there.

(47): "Check out: <http://www.filiuxxilia.se/> It's in Huddinge, not Flemingsberg, but it's right near the train station. Great place, great people. My youngest went there and I worked there a while."

[posted 25.Sep.2009, 04:59 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: English speaking daycare Stockholm]

The users in THE LOCAL community, without hesitation, refer to Swedish institutions by posting newspaper articles and links to institution websites, but it is rare in these posts to find e-mail addresses or phone numbers of a recommended third party. Those who recommend seem to be protective towards the third party's privacy.

The overall atmosphere on THE LOCAL for those who are there for the first time, is that they appear to be more distant and they normally employ more formal language. However, in messages that are posted there in order to identify specific ethnic groups with which they wish to socialise, such as South Africans and Americans, the atmosphere is more relaxed, their conversations are much more direct, and they are willing to meet in person and start exchanging personal data such as e-mail addresses and phone numbers – see user (48). This user asks without any hesitation for the mobile phone numbers of other people in the discussion; the user's tone is relaxed and direct. User (48) posts in this discussion in order to meet people in real life, and since that is his purpose he finds it justified to publish his own phone number and to ask for the numbers of others.

(48): "...Maybe one of you guys could send me your mobile number? just so that i dont look like such an idiot if i get lost, or your not there! my email is whiyxxx@yahoo.co.uk, and numeber is 0774xxx8018 ;-)  
ciao for now"

[posted 20.Oct.2006, 03:14 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Regional life: Gothenburg: Team Gothenburg]

With the evolution of web technologies the members of web communities started using other software advantages in order to socialise more easily. Today it is not rare that after one of the users proposes a meeting, the other

user starts a Facebook event and the two of them agree to move their discussion to Facebook (see user 49).

(49): "Hi, I'm from SA - came here from CPT 4 years ago. I'm sure the South African Society in Sweden (Facebook: <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=28492987040>) would like to hear from you, and the Stockholm Expat Meetup group (Facebook:<http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=321575880144>) is also great for meeting English speakers. Of course you'll become one of the Borg once you learn the language, but until then there is enough expat company ☺ Cheers en sterkte,GD"  
[posted 5.Jan.2010, 08:36 PM, THE LOCAL Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: South Africans in Stockholm]

In this post user (49) is welcoming another South African on his arrival to Sweden. At the same time he is offering online resources for South Africans and other English speaking expatriates in Stockholm. His welcoming is warm and friendly. It is interesting and surprising to see how frequently THE LOCAL web community was used to establish direct contact for socialising. Users of THE LOCAL treat this web community as their social club and without any hesitation start posts proposing new real-life meetings.

These users are aware that they have a different ethnic and cultural background from each other, and most probably for that reason they are more reserved. Nevertheless, they help each other, they talk, and they create a community which serves their purposes to the extent that they find it comfortable because it does not require much commitment. When they access their web community so as to gather with others of the same ethnic background, the tone of their communication becomes more relaxed, more open, and more direct. THE LOCAL users try to nourish a relaxed relationship with the community. They come and go when it pleases them, and they debate, help others, laugh, and criticise.

#### **4.10.4 Factors and measurements**

Based on the definition of bridging social capital, users of THE LOCAL gather in the bridging social capital web community. In parallel, all four of the quotations presented in this section demonstrate bridging activity to a third party. In other words, while being a group of weak-ties, when they exchange personal contact details between themselves they bridge. But, when they are directly referring to a third party, outside that circle, they simultaneously *deepen* a bridging activity.



The same quotations presented in this section (and other quotations in Appendix E), show that while they bridge they help each other by creating trust, sharing advice on decision making or fighting injustice, looking for new people with whom to talk, exchanging ideas, and even performing offline activities. All of these are indicators of bonding (Williams, 2006), so we can say that users simultaneously bridge and bond. Indeed, as mentioned earlier (see sections 4.8 and 4.9), in our analysis of the quotations from THE LOCAL we have identified 163 bonding activities: 25 of KPI4 and 138 of KPI5. According to a strict definition of bonding social capital, these actions can only be identified as bonding.

#### **4.10.5 Comparison of bonding and bridging activity**

Users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, make use of the communication space within the web community in order to satisfy their needs. Unaware of the concepts of bridging and bonding social capital activities, which theoretically are strictly divided, the users mix both types of activity. While bonding they bridge, and while bridging they bond. Therefore, even though our scientific research analyses these two web communities from different theoretical perspectives, the actual events in the real-life existence of both web communities show that bonding and bridging social capital activities happen simultaneously in both web communities. As observers we must accept this, and as a result we must convert our observations into in proper conclusions.

#### **4.10.6 Section conclusions**

The results of analysis of the bonding and bridging activities of both web communities indicates that the bonding web community (here the SERBIAN CAFÉ) could be used for bridging social capital. Similarly, the bridging web community (here THE LOCAL) could be used for bonding social capital as well. These conclusions need to be verified in the final step of our research, during the interviews with the users (see Chapter 5). However, at the present point in our research, we may conclude from the results already obtained that there is no clear distinction. It is not the case that in a bridging web community we find only bridging activities. And vice versa, it is not the case that in a bonding community users perform only bonding activities. They do both, bridge and bond, at the same time. So the two types of bonding that are divided in theory are not actually divided in practice, since both activities are identified in both web communities.

Unlike the users of SERBIAN CAFÉ, the users of THE LOCAL are generally more reserved. They help each other, they give advice, but when it comes to pointing someone in a concrete direction they prefer to give a web-site address rather than the name of the person or their personal contact details. However, users of THE LOCAL are more likely than those of SERBIAN CAFÉ to socialise in real-life as a result of the chance encounters they make in the community. In this respect the users of THE LOCAL are quite different from those of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, where members of the community rarely socialise in real-life.

#### 4.11 An answer to RQ2

After the above bidirectional analysis on the two web communities, an analysis in terms of bonding and bridging activities for the fostering of social capital amongst their users, we are able to provide an answer to RQ2: Is the acquisition of social capital from immigrants in web-communities a tangible acquisition? We start by providing our conclusions in subsection 4.11.1. Then, we discuss the validated KPIs and the tangibility question.

##### 4.11.1 Conclusions on the KPIs and the division between bonding and bridging activity

Below we present the results of our measurements of all 7 criteria and the division between the bonding and bridging activity in both web communities (see Table 4.19).

**Table 4.19 Criteria for validation of KPIs and the divide between bonding and bridging activity**

KPI	criteria	#occurrences in SERBIAN CAFÉ	#occurrences in THE LOCAL
1	1	15	13
	2	70	12
2	3	4	3
3	4	3	3
	5	4	8
4	6	26	25
5	7	170	138
dividing bo & br	bo activities	(all)	163
	br activities	8	(all)

The numbers of instances are taken from the corresponding subsections (determined by KPI 1 to KPI 5). We have included the results of dividing the

bonding activities from bridging activities that are mentioned in the section conclusions, namely that all users in the SERBIAN CAFÉ exhibit bonding activities (by chatting in their slang language, for example), and 8 of them are also bridging; while in THE LOCAL we counted 163 users also exhibit bonding activities.

Below we formulate conclusions regarding the users of both the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL. All these users actively interact in the life of their respective web communities, and in so doing they have demonstrated behaviour as recorded in Table 4.19, which forms the bases of our conclusions.

(1) Community building

In section 4.6 we demonstrated that users gather in web communities, mutually tied with shared similarities. When interacting they employ the in-group pronouns “us” and “we”, to denominate their feelings of belonging to a particular web community. In a similar way these users build their feelings of community around shared topics.

From Table 4.19 we can see that, for Criterium 1, the ratio of the number of instances of the in- group pronouns is 15:13 (15 in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 13 in THE LOCAL). For Criterium 2, the ratio of the numbers of instances of the shared topic of discrimination is 70:12 (70 in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 12 in THE LOCAL). Based on these results we may conclude that the building of a community, as expressed through instances of in-group pronouns, is similar in both web communities, while the building of a community as measured by instances of the shared topic of discrimination is expressed much more in the SERBIAN CAFÉ than in THE LOCAL. All in all the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ share strong feelings of discrimination in their host countries. This conclusion matches the theoretical perception of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community as a bonding social capital web community, a community of people with similar backgrounds.

(2) Community norms and values

We showed in section 4.6 that a web community promotes specific social norms that generate reputation and trust. Following established community norms the interaction of certain users is seen as being positive, and these users become known as “local experts”, or

“information leaders”. Simultaneously, the users’ whose contributions are perceived as negative, i.e. not useful to the community, develop poor reputations, and the community regards them as outcasts. We may therefore conclude that positive reputations and trust are created after a number of positive experiences. In such a communal system of values, a web community creates a profitable climate for its users, offering them the opportunity to profit from conviviality and from street economy behaviour.

From Table 4.19 we see that, for Criterium 3, the number of instances of roles played in the community, is in the ratio 4:3 (4 in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 3 in THE LOCAL). Based on our results we may conclude that community norms and values in both web communities are created in a similar way. By being people in a similar situation, viz. immigrants in a new host society, users of both web communities face almost the same obstacles. Therefore, in both communities, they look for the solutions to their problems from experts and information leaders in the community that they trust.

(3) Community identity and immigration issue

The users of both web communities identify their chosen community as an immigrant web community, and perceive themselves as immigrants. Depending on the topic of discussion, participants in the discussion spontaneously form into groups and switch between several identities, thereby introducing a multifaceted immigrant identity. In the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ the group immigrant identity splits into “us” who remained and “them” who returned, according to whether they stayed in Serbia or left there. In the case of THE LOCAL, the expression of immigrant identity extends through a kind of hierarchy. Starting from the fact that native English speakers do not like the use of the term “immigrant”, since it has negative connotations in the host country, users also differentiate between themselves according to their country of origin, introducing a hierarchy among immigrants’ groups. The process of splitting into different immigrant hierarchies is actually an expression of the “securitisation of territory”, in an attempt to protect Sweden from further “poor immigration”. In other words, the unifying group notion of being an immigrant splits along religious grounds, as we have seen from the immigrants’ anti-immigrant paradox in Sweden (section 4.7) whereby users wanted to protect Sweden from further immigration.

Depending on the topic of discussion, users regroup, becoming members of one of the hierarchised identity levels. In this way they can create a clear anti-immigrant climate.

Examining Table 4.19, we can see that the ratio for Criterium 4, i.e. the numbers of instances of self-perception of being an immigrant, is 3:3 (3 in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 3 in THE LOCAL). The ratio for Criterium 5, i.e. the number of instances of discussing emerging facets of immigration, is 4:8 (4 in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 8 in THE LOCAL). Based on these results we may provisionally conclude that the self-perception of being an immigrant is expressed at the same level in both web communities. But when we speak about Criterium 5, counting the numbers of discussions about emerging facets of immigration, it becomes clear that the formation of immigrant groups into hierarchies in THE LOCAL created greater tension between users.

#### (4) Diffuse reciprocal activities

In section 4.8 we showed that the users of both web communities help other members of their web community without any expectation of an immediate gain. In this way they create diffuse reciprocity (Williams, 2006). By helping each other they convert their personal expertise into a group resource, as they transform their local experiences to global, communal assets of their web communities.

From Table 4.19 we see that the ratio for Criterium 6 (the number of instances of helping) is 26:25 (26 in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 25 in THE LOCAL). The number of instances of helping in both web communities signifies that web communities are identified and used by immigrants as helping resources. By establishing a network that transforms personal expertise into group assets, and transforms local information into global assets, the process of diffuse reciprocal activities clearly expands the helping capacities of immigrant web communities. We may therefore conclude that diffuse reciprocal activities are a useful and recognised asset among immigrants' web-based communities.

(5) Community engagement

We have demonstrated that the users of both web communities address their web community with the expectation of finding help and advice, or to fight injustice, or just to find someone to talk to (see section 4.9). The users of both web communities are aware of the technical characteristics of the medium they use. Employing all options offered by web-based technology, these users accumulate knowledge by focussing on the discussions which are of high importance to users. The accumulation of knowledge is a clear example of community engagement, and it has become a behavioural characteristic of immigrant's web communities.

The results from Table 4.19 indicate that the ratio for the Criterium 7 (instances of supporting other people) is 170:138 (170 in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 138 in THE LOCAL). The high number of instances here is proof that the predominant activity in the immigrants' web communities is supporting other users, i.e., supporting the community. These users are aware that they belong to a web community that deals with traditional topics of immigration, and they employ the web space predominantly to give advice, to help in fighting against injustice, or to support other users. By helping each other through the use of the technological features of the web, for example storing posts that contain information of special interest to their web community, users express satisfaction and confidence in the web as a communication and information medium. We may therefore conclude that communication via the web community is a successful solution to the problem of how best to support others.

(6) The division between the bonding and bridging activity

In accordance with the strict theoretical concepts of bonding social capital and bridging social capital (see definitions 1.5 and 1.6), the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community is defined as a bonding social capital web community. Following the same logic, THE LOCAL is defined as a bridging social capital web community. However, the users' activities are not strictly divided into bonding or bridging. They bond and bridge simultaneously regarding the nature of the web community. Those who use the bonding characteristics of the SERBIAN CAFÉ also try to bridge – they reinforce their stronger ties, they use a “friend of a friend” ties, and they might reach some person outside their normal circle of contacts, i.e., outside of their original reach. Similarly, those

users of THE LOCAL who employ their bridging characteristics attempt to bond. They offer help to each other, give support, and in some cases they even try to transform a weak link into a stronger link by means of a bonding activity. We may therefore conclude that no clear division has been identified between the bonding and bridging activities.

#### **4.11.2 Validated KPIs and tangibility**

Bearing in mind that we defined tangible social capital acquisition as characterised by the indicators listed as KPI 1 to KPI 5, we are now ready to provide the answer to the research question RQ2. In brief the answer is that: the acquisition of social capital from immigrants in web communities is a tangible acquisition. As it emerges from the two immigrant web communities which we have studied, the usage of both communities is motivated by the acquisition of social capital. Users of both web communities build trust, and through their online communities they help and give support to each other, they find new people to talk to, they fight injustice, and they even employ their online forums to organize offline activities.

The evolution of web-based technologies has allowed immigrants to identify a new, user-friendly web tool, which they employ in the most logical way – to get connected to those living around them, those who they have not met before, in order to bridge and bond their social capital. In Chapter 5 we will analyse how these users perceive their lives on the web.

## 5 Offline effects for immigrants

In this chapter, we will investigate RQ3: What are the offline effects of immigrants' online activities? When speaking about online and offline practices, and how online activities affect offline life, there is always the question of separation between these two realms. According to visionary scholars such as Wellman and Haythornthwaite (2002) and Vertovec (2003), communication delivered by digital media, internet-mediated communication, and online practices cannot be separated from offline practices. Truly, as shown in the literature, intensive online socialisation enhances close-range, real-life contacts and ties (cf. Wellman, 2001; Wellman and Haythornthwaite, 2002; Jenkins and Thorburn, 2004; Ala-Mutka, 2010; Chua et al., 2011; Gruzd et al., 2011). By becoming part of the daily routines of their members, IT and web technology made considerable impacts on the immigrant communities. Many scholars acknowledged that new technologies are appropriated into the everyday life of immigrants (cf. Chen and Choi, 2011; Lazzari, 2012; Chen et al., 2012; Oiarzabal and Reips, 2012). New information and communication technologies take place alongside the traditional ones. The relationship between everyday lives, online and offline, is a tight one, and the boundary is almost non-existent. The new media and communication technologies are at the very centre of the daily routines of individuals. Therefore, it is logical that scholars show an interest in: (1) offline effects per se; and (2) offline effects of online usage (cf. Oiarzabal, 2012).

Below we continue our explorative analysis of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community and THE LOCAL web community. We qualitatively study: (1) how users perceive their web community activities; and (2) how their online activities affect their lives offline. In section 5.1, we start by introducing key concepts dealing with online and offline processes of identification and community building and, within the community activities, we focus on the concept of trust. We then move on to discussing the method used for this part of the study in section 5.2. While doing so we deal with the position of the researcher and its move from inactive lurking to active participation in both communities. We continue by analysing the demographic data collected from the interviewees, and we report in section 5.3 on how they discovered their particular web community. Then we investigate the way in which community building emerges (section 5.4). Subsequently, we analyse community norms and values based on trust (section 5.5), and we look at the ways in which community identity issues and immigration issues are perceived in section 5.6. Further, we register whether and how web users offer help to others



(section 5.7), and how users' interactions affect community engagement (section 5.8). Finally, we provide our answer to RQ3 in section 5.9.

## **5.1 The undeniable impact of IT on immigrants' lives**

When performing our analysis on the immigrants' web community, the researcher and her readers need to keep in mind that the object of the analysis is the core concept of sociology, viz. a *group*. In this case, it is the group of people on the web. Talking about the ethnicity of members of such a group with respect to our everyday lives automatically implies talking about ethnic groups, or as Brubaker (2002) calls it *groupism*. He stated: "I mean by "groupism" the tendency to treat ethnic groups, nations and races as substantial entities to which interests and agency can be attributed" (Brubaker, 2002, p. 3). Brubaker argues that "groupness" varies across and within groups, and that ethnicity should not be reduced to groupness (Brubaker, 2004). In order to grasp the effects of an immigrant's life online and offline, we analyse the two web communities and their activities. Based on a flexible understanding of ethnicity, we follow: (a) the SERBIAN CAFÉ, a web community where the majority of users have the same ethnic background; and (b) THE LOCAL web community where users with different ethnic backgrounds are gathered.

Discarding the cliché distinction between online and offline life, Feenberg and Bakardijeva (2004) argue that web communities either exist for pleasure or they are functional. These two categories of communities may range in their purpose from superficial fun and spiritual experiences to practically useful exchanges, thriving in "clubs" where the subjects under discussion are important to many members (cf. Jenkins and Thorburn, 2004). According to Feenberg and Bakardijeva (2004, p.4) "users colonized a technical system in order to increase information exchange, simultaneously implanting in it new forms of human sociality". In other words, web usage is driven by fleeting interests, not by strong commitments. Furthermore, Ridings and Gefen (2004) suggest that people join web communities to exchange information and/or social support. According to Ridings and Gefen (2004), the usage of web communities is driven by people's need to belong to a community and to be affiliated. Social groups provide individuals with information and help them in achieving goals, give them rewards, and support newcomers to obtain a social identity based on the values of the group. Typically, a users' perception of their own identity comes from self-inclusive membership, in particular from

a web community. The question now arises: what are the offline effects of the online activities?

Web communities are found to be particularly important for the process of immigrants' adaptation in the receiving society (cf. Chen, Bennett, and Maton, 2008; Tufekci, 2008; Croucher and Cronn-Mills, 2011; Croucher, 2011). As stated above, people have a need to belong to a community, which is a basis for sociability, support, and a sense of identity (cf. Gruzd et al., 2011). Croucher (2011) also remarks that the immigrant's usage of web communities influences the perception that members of those communities have of the host culture, to the extent that their communication begins to have an impact on the members of the host culture. Studies show that a range of web communities have been accepted as a means of social interaction and social integration for a number of people and communities (cf. Haythornthwaite 2005; Quan-Haase 2007; Spaiser, 2012). People are increasingly using the expressive Internet in ways that complement or further their offline socialisation. Complementary usage has been identified by many scientists (Wellman et al., 2001; Hampton and Wellman, 2003; Hampton, 2007; Harlow, 2012). Nowadays scholars generally acknowledge web communities as resources for maintaining or creating new ties in the host society (cf. Oiarzabal and Alonso, 2010; Reizu and Artexabala, 2013). Here again the question is: what are the offline effects of the online activities?

The impact of the Internet on migration is undeniable (Oiarzabal and Reips, 2012). For instance, research on Ethiopian refugees in the UK supported the idea of web spaces as a rich, helping resource for migrants in providing opportunities for self-expression and community organisation. Life was a struggle for the marginalized migrants. Still, web spaces are not exclusively used by highly qualified migrants (cf. Georgiu, 2002; Khvorostianov et al., 2012). Scopsi (2009) favours the same perceptive. According to her, usage of the web changes the lives of migrants. It influences the users' perceptions of space, and the relationships they have with their country of origin. Therefore, these effects are examples of the offline effects of online activities. Now, the question is: can we identify them precisely and properly?

To understand any societal communication and the potential change that online socialisation might bring into the offline lives of the members of a web community, we will focus on *trust* as a crucial concept (cf. Quandt, 2012). This holds particularly when we analyse the scenarios where user-driven content based on trust becomes a solution to some of the immigrant

integration problems. In such cases, trust is accepted as one of the crucial prerequisites of social capital acquisition (cf. Putnam, 2000; Morgan and Swan, 2004; Williams, 2006; Parts, 2009). In online networked communication the trust of a community is based on an accumulated perception of the trust of the individual members, and consequently it is accepted as such. Therefore, it is important to analyse the concept of trust more deeply. For instance, according to Lu et al. (2010) trust is a major factor that positively influences the prosperity of a web community, since members of a web community are more proactive when they trust the community environment and the other members of their community.

Moreover, trust is closely connected to communication and information. The following analysis supports our interest in trust. While analysing a community of twitter users, Gruzd et al. (2011) argue that people rely on Twitter in order to connect to other people and to connect to information, confirming Ridings and Gefen (2004)'s conclusion that information is a valuable currency in web communities. Gruzd et al. (2011) also argue that Twitter is a very good example of how people use and adapt IT, both to form new social connections and to maintain or even strengthen existing ones. They found that web users keep in touch using different communication channels of IT, a factor previously introduced by Haythonthwaite and Wellman (1998) as the concept of *media multiplicity*. Openness to web-community newcomers, and replies to newcomers' tweets, create a good atmosphere that Gruzd et al. (2011) explained as trust, professionalism, and informality among the active members of the community. "In this way, weak ties become strong ties, and both weak and strong ties convey information – and connectivity – to and from other social circles." (Gruzd et al., 2011; p. 22). Therefore, trust and openness are important drivers for a change in the feelings and behaviour of newcomers, but can we also identify precisely the offline effects for immigrants?

In this Chapter, we analyse users' perceptions of the effects that their online activities, create on their offline lives. In section 5.2, we describe the research methodology adopted to answer RQ3.

## **5.2 Methodology: online interviews**

In order to talk to users and hear how they perceive their web activities and the way that this activity influences their lives, semi-constructed, synchronous online interviews were chosen. According to Reips and Buffardi (2009)

Internet-based research is particularly useful in studying the behaviour and ideas of immigrants. As a methodological approach, online interviews are acknowledged as a useful resource for ethnographers (cf. Schaap, 2002; Shoham, 2004; Williams and Copes, 2005; Campbell, 2006; Garcia et al., 2009). According to Campbell (2006), what users write on the web conveys important information about their identities, self-presentation, and the way they define and perceive their world. Moreover, online interviews appeared to be the best tool for conducting interviews of geographically dispersed people. We remark in passing that the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ reside all over the world, while the users of The Local are mostly based in Sweden. It would therefore be quite expensive and difficult to organise a field study that would follow the “gold standard” of face-to-face interviewing (cf. McCoyd and Kerson, 2006). For this reason, our interviewing was conducted in the online realm, using a tool that is familiar to web community users – the Skype chat tool.

The ethnographic study presented in this chapter is performed by analysing material from direct online interviews, gathered from 12 users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 12 users from THE LOCAL web community. The decision to conduct 24 interviews, which were held during the period from 1-9-2010 to 1-2-2011, was driven by our wish to have direct contact with sufficient interviewees who would prove important for our research. Since the nature of the research was explorative, it was believed that contrasting 12 opinions on either side would be sufficient to obtain an understanding of the immigrants’ feelings and behaviours, and to identify the prevailing offline effects.

It is important to emphasize that this stage of our analysis was designed in order to answer RQ3, which is different from RQ2. In order to answer RQ2 we analysed the tangibility of social capital acquisition in web-communities by following the users’ public contributions. Here, in order to answer RQ3, the method differs. We analyse the offline implications introduced to the users as a result of their online activity, and we do this by interviewing the users. In addition, the people we investigate for RQ3 are different. We are now performing direct online interviews with a completely new slate of users. We further point out that this is a different type of observation from that employed in Chapter 4. However, the topic of the immigrants’ web usage is the same here, only the research approach and the RQ differ. For reasons of measurability and comparativeness we will use the same system of measurement as we employ in Chapter 4, namely the five KPIs. Below, in

subsection (C), we will present the themes of questions developed to unravel the five KPIs for the research performed in this thesis.

For the preparation of the interviews we had to resolve three questions: (A) the language to be used; (B) the communication tool; and (C) the question themes. Below we first provide an overview description of how we handled these three issues, and we then elaborate on them. We begin to focus on the change of roles of the researcher. Once the researcher has spent twelve months analysing particular web communities, (s)he becomes an invisible part of it, with a great understanding of the particular communication culture and interpersonal processes (see Baym, 2009). It is then quite difficult for the researcher to find the best way to change roles, i.e., from being a member of the invisible realm to becoming a visible agent in the community, particularly if one is going to ask users to join the research process and take part in interviews. Before the chat interview is conducted, the users were publicly invited to assist with our research effort by becoming interviewees. Stepping out from an invisible role to a visible one, from being a participant observer to becoming an interviewer, to some extent creates a measure of resistance in the users. Many researchers have reported such resistance from users (cf. Chen, Hall, and Jones, 2004; Clegg 2004; Smith, 2004; LeBesco 2004; Bakardijeva, 2005). However, those users who accepted the invitation to be interviewed were informed in an email of the nature of the research project.

The interviews were conducted online, real-time, by using a chat tool (Skype). Interviews with the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ were performed in the Serbo-Croatian language, and with the users of THE LOCAL in the English language, at the times that were most convenient for the users. The formulation of the questions was influenced by the outcome of RQ2 as described in Chapter 4.

#### (A) The language to be used

Which language should we use? The native language of each community is specific. As scholars point out (cf. Mitra and Watts, 2002; O'Sullivan, 2010), every community has its own voice, in which members of the community express themselves. In past decades, researchers stressed the importance of language from the perspective of culture sharing (Beck and Geer, 1957). Therefore, even if the researchers speak the same language and share the same ethnic background of the observed community, it cannot be assumed that the researcher understands exactly what another person, a member of a particular community, means every time that she uses a specific word. In

addition, while being in the role of community participant one can learn the meaning of the words by analysing the content of publicly posted interactions and conversations between users, but once the researcher changes his role and becomes a visible interviewer, the chances for mistakes are greater, since there is no time to check the understanding of particular words against other interviews.

#### (B) The communication tool

A second task is choosing an adequate software tool. The SERBIAN CAFÉ web community and THE LOCAL run on completely different software platforms. These software solutions belong to different Internet eras. The SERBIAN CAFÉ runs on software that was dominant in the 1990s (delivered as a combination of first html + php software language possibilities + first CMS forum options). THE LOCAL runs on much more sophisticated software (appropriating web2.0 approaches), and therefore it offers more options for users.

Technology influences research methodology in a direct way. The appropriation of different technologies results in different approaches: if users are only using forums and e-mail then those will be the only ways they can manage to interact. However, if the researcher and the interviewees are using different technological solutions simultaneously, a new space is open for the researcher to find the best methodological solution. For example, the researcher can take up contact with a future interviewee by e-mail. Then she may interact in real time over Skype or any other VOIP (voice over IP) protocol, and subsequently she may talk in real time while she and the interviewee see each other. Thereafter she may use online survey software for interviewees who are separated from her by a significant distance.

As mentioned before, the Skype chat tool was used for conducting the interviews. The advantages of using a chat service with VOIP technology are the following (cf. Hay-Gibson,2009).

- (1) It is cheap – the communication is free, (PC to PC over Internet protocols),
- (2) It is recordable – chat is, by its very nature, already a record of the conversation,
- (3) It is user friendly – recording on camera recording was perceived as a disadvantage by Hay-Gibson (2009), so in the case of using chat

- where there is no camera recording (which is what we did), the participants did not feel nervous about being on camera,
- (4) It is practical and available – all users were already familiar with the tool.

Also, according to Hanna (2012, p. 241), “using Skype internet technology for interviewing will keep both the researcher and the interviewee “in a ‘safe location’ without imposing on each other’s personal space”. The anonymity introduced by using online chat tools is therefore perceived as a positive factor, since those who are interviewed are less concerned about the impression they are making (cf. Riva, 2002).

### (C) Question themes

Having in mind the purpose of the interviews, i.e. similar to previous research studies that employed interviews as a research methodology (cf. Williams and Copes, 2005; Lange, 2007; Hussain and Griffiths, 2009), we created question themes for conducting the interviews. The themes identified during our Internet-based ethnographic analysis (see Chapter 4) were used as the basis for the interviews and were expanded upon during the actual online interview process. The aim was to formulate open-ended questions that would motivate the interviewee to expand on the topic under discussion (cf. Guion et al., 2011).

In direct communication, i.e., our online interviews with the 24 subjects, it would not be justified to look for specific instances that are in line with the KPIs (see Chapter 4). In Chapter 4 we followed the users’ public online interactions. But now, since we were recording and analysing the outcome of a dialog, i.e., an interview with a user, we needed to design a specific set of questions. The questions were designed in order to offer the interviewee a chance to speak about a specific topic, and to express their feelings (in line with the KPIs) in whatever way they found most comfortable. We therefore decided to categorise the questions and answers of the users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, as follows.

- (1) KPI 1 – Community building
  - How did you discover a particular web community?
  - Why did you use it?
  - What did you expect from your activity in the web community?

- (2) KPI 2 – Community norms and values
  - Do you trust information you find?
  - Do you trust informants?
  
- (3) KPI 3 – Community identity and immigration issues
  - Do you use web community discussions to be better informed about your host country?
  - Do you meet new people online thanks to your interaction in the web community?
  - Have you made important contacts online, outside of your usual circle of friends or acquaintances, thanks to your activity in the web community?
  
- (4) KPI 4 – Diffuse reciprocal activity
  - How does your online activity influence your offline life?
  
- (5) KPI 5 – Community engagement
  - Whom do you address with your questions most of the time?
  - Do you use the web community to meet people in your real real, offline life?
  - What kind of information can you discover thanks to the web community?

The interviewees were allowed to talk and express their views in their own idiosyncratic ways (Baym, 2009). Following the general themes, sub-themes evolved accordingly to the particular interviewee. The responses were analysed with special attention to themes arising from the Internet-based ethnographic stage of analysis. The responses were then analysed again: (1) to check whether they contained any further relevant information; (2) to seek contradictions in the data; and (3) to identify patterns in the data (Baym, 2009; Silverman, 2010).

Below we show with practical examples how we applied our methodology. In 5.2.1 the examples are taken from the SERBIAN CAFÉ interview procedures. We describe how we approached the potential interviewees, their reactions and their ways of answering. Analogously, we do so for the users of THE LOCAL in 5.2.2. In 5.2.3 we discuss the discovery of the invisible layer.



## 5.2.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ

In order to publish a comment or post a question on the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community, a user is first required to login. After a successful login, the database recognises the user and allows him to use the web community. That is all that the software offers to SERBIAN CAFÉ users – a space for publishing a comment or a post (see Figure 5.1). Therefore, in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, the researcher does not have any other way to make contact with users apart from introducing herself openly to the community. In other words, the researcher must become one of the users, have a user name and a password, and publish her own status and intentions on some of the available discussion lists. Since the software that runs the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community does not support private messages between users (PM's), publicly addressing the users was the only way to invite users to contact the researcher by e-mail if they were willing to become interviewees.



Figure 5.1 The SERBIAN CAFÉ Publishing page

We invited the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ to cooperate by publishing the invitation for cooperation in the public domain of the web community. The message was written in Serbo-Croat, the native language of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community. By openly approaching the community and by: (a) avoiding the researcher-lurker role (see Chapter 4); (b) publishing our personal details (name, e-mail); and (c) publishing the motivation of the research process, we expected to create trust in the web community which we were observing.

However, the users did not seem to be very pleased to “see” a researcher amongst them. As mentioned earlier (section 5.1), once a researcher comes out onto the stage, ceasing to hold a lurking position and instead taking a visible role, some users will resent the researcher’s presence. Below we give the first reply by a user. It was publicly published on the discussion site (quote 1<sup>16</sup>).

quote 1: “Obviously your research went down in W(ater) C(loset) if after so many years in the “West” you haven’t learnt the main rule in America, especially in NY...TIME IS MONEY!!! Someone of us, immigrants should sit and waste time with you for nothing... for “YOUR” benefit. Take a walk sister!”  
[Translated into English]

As argued in the previous chapter, users are fully aware that the analysis of their interactions will shape their reputation within the web community. They actively participate in the reconfiguration of their multiple identities (cf. Nedelcu, 2010). This supports the argument that, within social groups on the web, immigrants renegotiate their identities in their relationships with others (cf. Mitra 2001; Mitra, 2005; Elias and Lemish, 2009; Oropeza et al., 2010; Jandt, 2012; Trandafoiu, 2013). It appears that immigrants renegotiate their identities, not only: (a) to overcome traditional misconceptions; but also (b) to “hide” if they have made an unpleasant communal comment. Therefore, immigrants in the web communities can take the opportunity to be anonymous if they wish to do so (cf. Panagakos & Horst, 2006; Marcu, 2013), and by promoting their personal views (within private discussions) they can, at the same time, interact in a positive and a negative way. The way in which they will interact might depend on the topic of discussion, or on the identity of the person with whom they are interacting. For example, a person might say

---

<sup>16</sup> After the researcher invited the users to the interview, users reacted by posting public comments. Examples of these comments are marked in the text by quote x. They are not the quotes from the interviews.

something in private conversation but take a different (and possibly more politically correct) position when making more public postings.

Following a rough start to the interview process, it seemed that this method was not going to give any useful results. There was a period of silence. Then, suddenly, without any visible reason, the published e-mails inbox in the SERBIAN CAFÉ discussions started to be filled with mails of those SERBIAN CAFÉ users who were willing to take part in the research and to become interviewees. Users' e-mails tended to be long and intimate. They wrote about their immigrant situations, how they had become immigrants, and how they had moved from their host country. The letters were open and emotional personal stories. The fact that a publicly visible refusal can be transformed into a personal-invisible acceptance introduced the idea that a collaborative attitude is an important invisible activity.

### **5.2.2 THE LOCAL**

THE LOCAL web community runs on a more sophisticated software tool than does the SERBIAN CAFÉ. After the users have introduced themselves to the system they can enter their private "Control Panel" section (see Figure 5.2). This allows THE LOCAL users to use a personal mailbox, providing an option to send and receive personal messages (PMs). Furthermore, they can subscribe to discussion forums, they can track their messages, and so on. Because the software offers more to the user, the researcher has more options for addressing the web community.

Logged in as: **redjasna** Control panel

• Discuss > **Your control panel** Forum index · Members · Today's acti

<b>Menu</b>	<b>Welcome to your control panel</b>										
<b>Messenger</b>	<b>Your account summary</b>										
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <b>Compose New Message</b></li> <li>▶  <b>Inbox (6)</b></li> <li>▶  <b>Sent Items (18)</b></li> <li>▶  <b>Saved (Unsent) PMs</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Empty PM Folders</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Edit Storage Folders</b></li> <li>▶ <b>PM Block List</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Archive Messages</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Message Tracker</b></li> </ul>	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <b>Recent Attachments</b>             No recent attachments to display         </td> <td style="width: 50%; vertical-align: top;"> <b>Your account summary</b>   <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Email address</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">redjas</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Posts</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">29</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Registered on</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">6.Aug PM</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Average posts per day</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">0.02</td> </tr> </table> </td> </tr> </table>	<b>Recent Attachments</b>  No recent attachments to display	<b>Your account summary</b>  <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Email address</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">redjas</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Posts</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">29</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Registered on</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">6.Aug PM</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Average posts per day</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">0.02</td> </tr> </table>	<b>Email address</b>	redjas	<b>Posts</b>	29	<b>Registered on</b>	6.Aug PM	<b>Average posts per day</b>	0.02
<b>Recent Attachments</b>  No recent attachments to display	<b>Your account summary</b>  <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Email address</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">redjas</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Posts</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">29</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Registered on</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">6.Aug PM</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;"><b>Average posts per day</b></td> <td style="padding: 2px;">0.02</td> </tr> </table>	<b>Email address</b>	redjas	<b>Posts</b>	29	<b>Registered on</b>	6.Aug PM	<b>Average posts per day</b>	0.02		
<b>Email address</b>	redjas										
<b>Posts</b>	29										
<b>Registered on</b>	6.Aug PM										
<b>Average posts per day</b>	0.02										
<b>Subscriptions</b>	<b>Recently Read Topics</b>										
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <b>View Topics</b></li> <li>▶ <b>View Forums</b></li> </ul>	No topics to show										
<b>Personal Profile</b>	<b>Your personal note pad</b>										
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <b>Edit Profile Information</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Edit Signature</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Change Personal Photo</b></li> </ul>	<div style="border: 1px solid #ccc; padding: 5px; min-height: 100px;">           You may store post snippets, or any other information you need to hand here         </div> <div style="text-align: right; margin-top: 5px;">           Notepad size: <input type="text" value="medium"/> <input type="button" value="Update"/> </div>										
<b>Options</b>											
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <b>Manage Ignored Users</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Email Settings</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Board Settings</b></li> </ul>											

**Figure 5.2 THE LOCAL users' Control Panel**

Here too, we chose to go public by inviting users of THE LOCAL to take part in our research. The public disclosure by the researcher led to a long discussion. In general the users criticised the researcher's work, the manner in which they were approached, and they offered other, and in their views better solutions for conducting the interviews. It was also clear that they were worried about their privacy, cf the following quote (see quote 2).

quote 2: "I think that you are going about this the wrong way... First, you send out unsolicited PM's to The Local members (I got one last Friday) which read a bit like a spam email, and then start this thread under Stockholm which is not really appropriate. Then you try to get members to email you so that you can send them a questionnaire, which then takes away any anonymity, which is mistake number 3. You can not expect people to part with personal information to somebody they do not have a clue about to a Yahoo email. The best way to get information would be to setup an online survey and post the link so that people can go online and answer and maintain privacy.!"

After a few public debates on the research methodology, and in particular on the issue of privacy, some of the users accepted our invitation to become interviewees. They used a private - invisible way to contact the researcher by sending e-mails with their Skype names. Unlike the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community, the users of THE LOCAL did not send long e-mails with their personal stories. They were more distant, as though they understood that they were involved in a professionally conducted interview.

In private and direct communication with the researcher there was no trace of hostility or bad manners. The atmosphere for communicating was completely different from the publicly visible one. Users were quite polite, cooperative, in the mood to talk. Moreover, as the interviews progressed it seemed as though the interviewees were looking forward to sharing their thoughts on their lives in the web community. The interviews also revealed another dimension of web community life, much different from the earlier expectations and much more subtle than the observer can identify by analysing only publicly published posts.

### **5.2.3 The discovery of the invisible layer**

When users started to reply positively to the invitation to cooperate - an invisible event performed behind the public space of the particular web community - we realised that, in general, positive replies would come from people other than those who, in their public discussions on both web communities, were against both the research itself and the researcher (see above and Chapter 4). This is an interesting observation, which may indicate that the responses are biased in some way. What happened is that a positive replier started sending emails or chat messages to the researcher, and so they became visible in some sense. In this first contact they had mentioned that they were following the public discussion but did not wish to take part in it, but now they were willing to help the research.

Web spaces for communication are usually conceptualised between those who post and those who interact and create replies etc. The web community ecosystem also comprises some visitors who never post or discuss anything. This non-interactive passive behaviour is called lurking (cf. Mitra, 1997; Burnett, 2000). Many scholars have tried to determine the percentage of lurkers in a web community. According to those who published such percentages in the 1990s the percentage sometimes even reached 90% (see Katz, 1998; Kraut et al., 1992; Rafaeli and Sudweeks, 1997; Stegbauer,

1999), while those who published in the 2000s and later claim that the percentage reaches 50-60% (see Nonnecke, 2000; Soroka et al., 2003). This big difference in the percentages of lurkers, between the results from the 1990s and those collected from the 2000s, can be seen as a transformation of some users from lurkers to contributors, probably because of the new web2.0 technology. Still, the number of lurkers in a web ecosystem is significant and should not be neglected.

Ignoring the lurkers would be a logical systematic error. Bearing in mind that data for analysis can only be that which is made visible, for example what is published (see also Chapter 4), the researcher is not able to identify the existence of something which is invisible. The prevailing question is: How to identify the user who is present but only as a reader, or someone who rarely gives any comment? By employing only a quantitative research method it is impossible: (a) to identify activities that exist in the space of exchanging private messages; or (b) to identify lurkers. This is why, in the analysis of web-based social networks, research must be managed by employing different methods of data collection. If one wants to argue that a rather complete analysis of a web community is being carried out, then the completed analysis must combine quantitative and qualitative analysis. The results obtained in the intersection of different approaches will, in our opinion, give an accurate picture.

After the first interviews the importance of the invisible layer of support was acknowledged. The majority of our interviewees said that they combined lurking and public contributions in their web communities. Nevertheless, some of the members who were also our interviewees said that they were only lurkers. According to some of the interviewees' private letters sent to the researcher, the members who are invisible at first sight influence the life of the web community using invisible ways of communication – participating in a more subtle way. Perhaps they communicate less loudly than those who are visible users but using private messages, only reading and analysing the content etc. Yet, even though invisible, they exist, and they are willing to talk and help in their own ways, specific for their invisible layer of existence. According to Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) quantitative analysis is deductive (and is conducted to test hypotheses against theories), while qualitative analysis is mainly inductive (and is intended to explore the topics and to examine specific issues). In order to avoid the non-compatibility of both approaches (cf. Blommaert and de Vijver, 2013) and to profit from both approaches, combining quantitative and qualitative methods (observing

users' posts, and interviewing users), proves to be a satisfactory way to analyse complex systems such as web ecosystems. This combined approach, where the object of research is relevant to both analytical approaches, can discover new behaviours that may generate a new theory. In this study, due to a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, the invisible layer of immigrant communication was detected, and became an additional help to our research.

### **5.3 Demographic data of the participants**

The demographics of the 12 users from each of the two web communities correspond to the demographic data presented in Chapter 4. Below we discuss the data in detail.

#### **5.3.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

Users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ were mostly male, Serbian, born and raised in ex-Yugoslavia, now living in Western Europe (Germany, Sweden, UK, and Iceland) and North America (USA and Canada) and are 18-44 years old. However, unlike in Chapter 4, the interviewees were more educated; on average they had a higher level of education than high school. It seems that the automatic tools for the demographic analysis of web sites (ALEXA in the case of Chapter 4) are not sensitive to recent changes in the users' statuses. In most cases users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ completed some years of education in their new host countries, so that their average education level at the time of the interview was college education.

The specific name of the web community, the SERBIAN CAFÉ, is by definition an inviting environment for Serbian people. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that the majority of people from former Yugoslavia speak the same language (even though, after the wars in the 1990s, we witnessed the emergence of five to six different languages as by-product of the nation building processes) the SERBIAN CAFÉ is also a forum for some people who are not of Serbian origin. But due to the tense relationships between members of the different former-Yugoslav nationalities after that war, the non-Serbian people who visit the SERBIAN CAFÉ seem to keep their silence, or perhaps we should say that they remain invisible.

Here is what one Muslim visitor reported after he did not receive a reply to his mail for a few days (quote S7-1<sup>17</sup>).

quote S7-1: "Hello! Yes, I am relieved that you replied. Few days passed without a reply, and I never doubted your story, but in one moment I thought that maybe you do not want help from me....after all that happened in our country there are prejudices.... I am glad that I was wrong ☺" [Translated into English]

There has been an extensive debate in the media about the representation, or rather the underrepresentation, of immigrants. In recent years this debate has resulted in the topic of "visible minorities" being raised in the political arena (see Rigoni, 2009; Walton-Roberts, 2012; Tastsoglou and Preston, 2012). Commenting on the way that Muslims are portrayed as "alien others" in the British media, Saeed (2007) suggests that this misrepresentation is linked with racism, calling it "Islamphobia" (cf. Saeed, 2012; Moten, 2013; el-Aswad, 2013). Similarly, Muslims and Serbs from former Yugoslavia have suffered from the same additional burden since the wars in the 1990s. Therefore, many users from former Yugoslavia are particularly cautious when communicating with someone new. For example, the interviewee responsible for quote 3 stated that he does not publicize his ethnicity since he knows it would not be welcome. Instead, with the safety of his nickname, he takes the same advantage of the web community as any other user. Knowing that their identity is an essential factor for others to use when evaluating their interaction, immigrants often use their web community existence to "renegotiate" their identities (cf. Mitra, 2001; Oropeza et al., 2010; Jandt, 2012; Trandafoiu, 2013) and use an identity that best suits the particular situation.

Conversely, some interviewees "felt" the presence of non-Serbian people and reacted to it in a negative way (quote S8-1).

quote S8-1: "I do not know are you aware of it, but on the SERBIAN CAFÉ there are many other [non-Serbian] nations that hate Serbians, and want to destroy the website and to set us at odds" [Translated into English]

---

<sup>17</sup> The quotes in the text are indexed by SX-Y. The letter S stands for the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, number X (from 1-12) is an ordinal number corresponding to the interview, and Y is the ranking number of quotes used from a particular interview. The same system is used for indexing quotes from THE LOCAL users' interviews (LX-Y). For example S5-1 stands for 1<sup>st</sup> quote from the 5<sup>th</sup> interviewed user (S5) of the SERBIAN CAFÉ.



### 5.3.2 THE LOCAL

The demographic data of interviewees corresponds exactly with the data presented in Chapter 4. A majority of THE LOCAL users are male with high educational levels; they come from the UK and North America, plus quite a few from the EU. The majority resides in Sweden and are between 18 and 55 years of age. In most cases they are native English speakers, and therefore English is the predominant language of communication in this web community. In the case of THE LOCAL, those who accepted to be interviewed were comfortable speaking in English and did not express any conflicting feelings about their different backgrounds.

## 5.4 Community building

In this section, we discuss the users' reactions to the ways they arrived at a web community and their motivations for joining in. Twelve users explicitly report how they used each of the two web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, to obtain information. They focus on: (1) how they arrived at their chosen web community; and (2) why they used it. In this section, we will address the users' answers on theme 1, viz. Community building (section 5.2 (C): question themes). The manner in which we reproduce the quoted texts is described in a footnote in subsection 5.4.1.

### 5.4.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ

Eight (out of 12) users reported that they started to use the SERBIAN CAFÉ due to the recommendations of other users. They were recommended by cousins living in some other country, or by friends who used this website when they needed similar information, or by acquaintances in their host country who had used it during the period after their arrival. Most of the users were looking for information about their host country when preparing their move from their country of origin, or when they arrived in the host society. Using immigrants' web communities as a tool for preparing them to leave their country of origin is an important characteristic of immigrant web communities that directly influences the migration pattern. Thus the web community becomes a migratory tool. For example, here is a statement by user S5 (quote S5-1).

quote S5-1: "I started using the SERBIAN CAFÉ when leaving Belgrade was certain, and when I started to search the information about the country I am going to move in." [Translated into English.]

This user is making a clear statement about using the SERBIAN CAFÉ as a migratory tool. From this and similar observations, we can confirm Nedelcu's

(2010) argument that prospective immigrants tend to follow the experiences of current immigrants and make their new decisions based on those experiences. In the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, the interviewees become users by word of mouth, normally via elderly users who network with people similar to themselves for the practical purpose of exchanging information, as for example in quote S11-1.

quote S11-1: “My motivation was to make a contact with people I do not know, but who are similar to me. I was looking for those who feel a need for communication, a need for information exchange, and exchange of personal experiences.” [Translated into English]

The users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ identified two main reasons which motivated them to use this particular web community: (a) to find information about a new society (practical information); and (b) to establish some new contacts – people with whom to communicate or to provide psychological support. All interviewees mentioned one of these reasons and the majority of them referred to both. Users generally describe their start in their new societies as difficult, silent, and sad. Without knowing the language and the rules of the local administration, and without friends, they turned to the web to find someone.

quote S1-1: “I wanted to meet new people. To find people that will give me the information about what I need to survive on “the other side” ☺ .. Today I would say because we are speaking the same language, this is why I looked for our people on the net... to give me the information, to tell me WHERE to go to enrol, and WHERE and HOW one looks for the job when you are a student” [Translated into English]

User S1 in quote S1-1 reports that he used this web community for the purpose of meeting new people and finding information about life in his new society. Newly arrived immigrants mostly search for the answers to the five most important immigrant questions: accommodation, job, administrative help, legal help, and health issues, as for example in quote S7-2.

quote S7-2: “I tried to obtain some first-hand information, where to find a job, where to look for a flat, what are the costs and similar... Because I didn't know many people. Also, because I wanted to help those who are in similar situation, like me, who do not have any other way to obtain to these information” [Translated into English]

In quote S7-2, the user states that he was using the web community to find “first-hand information” on how to find a job, find a flat, to compare prices, and at the same time to offer help to other people in a similar situation. Many users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ used it when they decided to move, or when they had just arrived in their new host society, and consequently they mostly asked questions about their place of arrival. They showed some awareness of their new position: they talked about lacking local contacts, local knowledge, and even about having no command of the local language. With that awareness, they approached the SERBIAN CAFÉ community as a local information database. They aimed to address someone in the SERBIAN CAFÉ who knew how things can be managed, both: (1) when the user was preparing to move; and (2) when the user had already arrived. For example, user S8 in the quote S8-2, describes the SERBIAN CAFÉ as a resource of valuable information (about visas, citizenship, and taxes).

quote S8-2: “There [on the SERBIAN CAFÉ] are always advices what and how to do! Do you understand me? About visas, getting citizenship, the tax decrease...you can find many useful information, you just have to search for them” [Translated into English]

As newcomers, users typically post questions that worry all newcomers, knowing that in the SERBIAN CAFÉ they are among local people who have arrived in their new host country from all over the world.

quote S4-1: “I looked for the salary info, rent, prices of food, taxes, life expenses, electricity bills, water, plane tickets..” [Translated into English]

In the quote S4-1 above, user S4 reports that he used the SERBIAN CAFÉ in order to learn about the salary he could expect to earn, about living expenses, and even about flight tickets. In the case of immigrants who are on the move again, i.e., looking for a new host country, nowadays they employ the immigrant web community as an information resource to take them beyond national borders and to offer them insights into what they might experience far away from their present place of residence. In this way, users take advantage of their deterritorialised social lives, and place themselves in the position of a global-player by collecting and comparing different experiences, which helps them in their decision-making processes.

quote S4-2: “I use to read the news, recipes, and sometimes I use a forum to find information... information, experience exchange... for example, what is the life-style in some other country, health care, relation between the salary and

the reality.. I compare it with the country where I live, since I realized that I do not belong here, I want to find out where to go next... you can find almost everything you need." [Translated into English]

User S4 in quote S4-2 compares the quality of life in other countries with the life in his host country in order to prepare for his next move. At the same time, this user expresses his personal feelings of "not belonging here", and shares his experience of his current host country.

In the scientific debate of the last decade, and thanks to the effects of IT on the life of immigrants, they are optimistically referred to as "connected" (Diminescu, 2008), cosmopolitan migrants, and "global players" (Nedelcu, 2010). Immigrants live a "global" way of life that starts with a "deterritorialised" social life (see Vertovec, 2001; Hassan 2012). They often lack a sense of belonging to their new host society but instead have a feeling of a continuously on-going mobility. In scientific research this feeling is observed in a large number of people who are not rooted in one place: they revitalise or reconstruct their traditions and political ideas within any host society, disregarding the territories from where they have come (cf. Schiller et al., 2006) and making themselves "long distance nationalists" who consciously feel that they belong to several geographic spaces simultaneously. That specific form of belonging is reactivated and intensified by the extensive usage of IT (cf. Scopsi, 2009).

Relationships between users with the same ethnic background are multifaceted, which results in the effects of membership of the community growing beyond the value of a mere provider of information. At the same time such users create a system of conduct as well as mechanisms for dealing with those who violate the established norms of the community (cf. Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993; McLaughlin and Vitak, 2012). Once they are in a position to help other immigrants, having the same ethnicity represents the social glue binding such users. The reasons for this are that: (1) immigrants tend to increase the opportunities of their own ethnic group (cf. Waldinger, 1998); or (2) they rely on each other as a substitute for the social support normally provided by a family (cf. Nannestad et al., 2008). Therefore, newly arriving immigrants use the SERBIAN CAFÉ as a good place to address others in similar situations to themselves, in order to find help in their mother tongue. In this way, the obstacle created by the fact that some of them do not speak the language of their host society was overcome by seeking help online in their mother tongue community. When describing their lives and needs in the

SERBIAN CAFÉ, many immigrants expressed a strong desire to share their anxiety, loneliness, and experiences. Clearly they were looking for any kind of support, and sometimes, if nothing else occurred, they used their anonymity to vent their anger at being in a powerless situation for so long, as for example in the following quote (S6-1).

quote S6-1: "It is like emptying yourself, psychological faucet...you arrive, find some "victim", you do not know him, you either laugh or wine, and you sleep calm... I am using it to kill some time and talk to someone when I do not have anyone in my real life." [Translated into English]

User S6 in quote S6-1 describes his usage of the web community as a space for sharing his anxiety, loneliness, and desire to communicate. For this user, communication in the web community fills the void created in his real life. In some cases users stay connected to the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community, looking for information about local cultural events on a local discussion list.

#### **5.4.2 THE LOCAL**

There are two ways in which visitors to THE LOCAL typically became users. In the majority of cases (the dominant way) it happened by searching for information about Sweden, while in other cases (a lesser but still considerable number) by following a recommendation from a friend who lives or used to live in Sweden. Many users discovered THE LOCAL for the first time as a result of a casual search for information on Google (e.g., quote L1-1).

quote L1-1: "I was searching for jobs online so typed in english speaking jobs sweden and it came up"

THE LOCAL network grew in a similar way to the SERBIAN CAFÉ. People arriving in Sweden receive a recommendation from "old" users to come online and look for answers to their questions. The users of THE LOCAL search for English language information about what is going on in Sweden – practical information; and they try to find people with whom they can communicate and, if possible, socialise. Based on the content and dynamics of their discussions, users become aware that they are among others with different experiences or different lengths of stay in Sweden. They address the community with a variety of questions, typically about practical information (see the quote L3-1 below). Examples range from applying for and obtaining visas, obtaining information about local laws such as civil rights, local administration rules and taxes, and about the job market, the real estate market, cultural differences, norms and climate characteristics.

quote L3 -1: "I got more involved with the local for personal use when I discovered the "discuss" feature. I discovered that there were a lot of people out there who were going thru the same adjustments of living in a foreign culture as I had experienced. I became intrigued and it functioned for me as an interesting cyber community.... but I mostly use the discussion forum where the information varies a lot but can be most useful for practical things like getting a drivers licence etc"

Understanding and then adopting the cultural norms of the host society, as well as learning the language of the host-country, are part of the socio-cultural integration process (cf. Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000; Penninx, 2005; Georgiou, 2006; Bailey et al., 2007; Elias, 2008; Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2010). No matter what kind of difference exists between the tendencies of different nationalities and their approaches to integration, it is important for immigrants who are on the road to integration to communicate with their host society and to comprehend new cultural norms. Intuitively and practically, immigrants are aware of the importance of the appropriation of cultural norms. To discover and understand how things work in their new society, they rely largely on the experiences of other users who have lived in Sweden for longer than they themselves have done.

quote L3-2: "Information about cultural norms from expats who have lived here long term is useful. For example, I found out that it is frowned upon to drink alcohol during the week. This clarified to me why I got bad vibes off neighbours in my building after I had invited them in on a week night and offered alcohol with the food. I found out from other posters that is totally acceptable on Sat. is taboo on Wednesday! Another example is if you do land a job it is VERY important to attend all coffee breaks which are quite formal and organized. It is actually more important than the work you do as social interaction is. Other practical information that one can find is simply how to deal with the bureaucracy in Sweden which is quite complex"

User L3 in the quote L3-2 describes his experience of appropriating cultural norms over THE LOCAL as being useful. A few interviewees reported that, thanks to their discussions on THE LOCAL, they were now thinking about buying a property instead of renting one. They analysed the contents of posts on the discussion list for real estate, and obtained a new perspective that led them to think about taking advantage of the present situation, both in terms of bank loans and the real-estate market. They found the information on THE LOCAL to be quite useful, since there are not so many places where they could find such assistance in the English language.

quote L2-1: “some regular questions and topics that could be of interest around housing, driving, and things concerning foreigners in Sweden, the cultural mishaps or differences. ... something about dealing with it... equally I am now exploring buying instead of renting and there is a whole selection of articles etc. on the topic with the bank I found useful a good few weeks ago”

The quote L2-1 shows how people use THE LOCAL for questions about housing, driving and cultural specifics. By using THE LOCAL for information about the local cultural norms, the local economy, the housing market, legal processes etc., immigrants move one step closer to understanding and adopting those norms, and therefore to integration into their new society.

Many users indicated clearly that they feel a great need to socialise and that they use THE LOCAL for that reason. They describe their life in Sweden as being not so easy when they want to talk to someone. In addition, they expressed their need to be in contact with others who are in a similar situation (see quote L7-1). As for the interviewees of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, having the same native language works like a kind of social glue. Vertovec (2004) argued that cheap mobile calls are the social glue of migrant transnationalism. We believe that currently web communication plays the same role. When being in their new host country, without the knowledge of that country's language, the best way to ask for help or to socialise is by using one's native language via cheap means of communication.

quote L7 -1: “To socialise and ask questions about living in Sweden. because everyone needs interaction with others in the same circumstances (expat). I have tried to find some friends or contacts not on Swedish language”

User L7 in the quote L7-1, states clearly that THE LOCAL helps him to manage questions about living in Sweden and to communicate with others in a similar situation. Even though the users never stated explicitly that they need some psychological support, in an implicit way it is clear that using THE LOCAL helps them to share some of their more frustrating experiences. This might be because they have a lack of people to talk to, or because they experience difficulties with the local administration, immigration, acculturation, and discrimination (see Liebkind and Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Kaestner et al., 2009; Lueck and Wilson, 2011; Lähde, 2013).

In brief, immigrants live in a new environment and face new cultural norms; they are far away from their family and friends; they live in a society with a

new language; they do not have people to talk to and with whom to share experiences; they need advice, jobs, flats, and doctors; they need all sort of local tips. This type of stressful situation requires psychological support that immigrants, at least partly, will satisfy in their online immigrant community. Web communities will be a help, acting as a “web of assistance” (a notion by Wellman, 1997). As Gil de Zúñiga (2009) argues, it is not the media per se that affects the individual, but the specific ways in which individuals use media. Immigrants find it rather easy to get on THE LOCAL discussion list and share their experiences with others in their native language. The fact that they can communicate in their native language means much to them.

### **5.4.3 Section conclusion**

The users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, became users because of: (1) the recommendations of other users; or (2) when they searched for information about their host society. The users of both communities gave two reasons for using their web community: (1) to find information about their new society – practical information; and (2) to establish new contacts, to find people with whom they could communicate. The users of THE LOCAL, unlike the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, also reported that they would like to find someone with whom to socialise.

The users of both communities profit from the information published in those web communities. They report that in a web community they can find all sorts of information (a variety that suits them well). In both cases they mostly look for information about managing their lives in their host society: visas, housing, job opportunities, salaries, taxes, health, education, language, banking system, and cultural norms. Many of the users reported that, in order to “release the pressure” they go online to find someone to talk to, someone in a similar situation, and someone who speaks the same language.

A minor identified difference between the usage of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL is that some users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ compare their quality of life with that of other people in other countries, and because of such comparisons they can prepare their next move to a new host country. The users of web communities designed for immigrants are generally highly practical and operational.

From the above we may conclude that immigrants use these web communities as a tool to satisfy their needs. However, we have not identified any perception of enjoying a cosmopolitan way of life thanks to using the



web, as the theory suggests (e.g., see Nedelcu, 2010). Therefore, our second conclusion is that the research should continue and that the theory should be revisited.

## **5.5 Community norms and values**

In the analysis of community norms and values we investigate those events that find as their pivotal point the emergence of trust amongst community members. As mentioned earlier (see section 5.1), trust is a crucial factor in any form of societal communication (cf. Quandt, 2012) and trust functions as a lubricant for the process of cooperation (see Bjørnskov, 2005). Trust is also a facilitator of coordination and cooperation that provides mutual benefits (cf. Putnam, 1993, 2000; Nannestad et al., 2008; Lu et al., 2010). Therefore, a thorough analysis of trust in web communities, and the way it is generated, represents one of the most important questions. In this section, we will discuss the users' answers on matters of trust, which is a key point in terms of bridging and bonding social capital.

Users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, are intuitively aware of the importance of trust. In web-based communities, "relations[hips] are established in which reciprocity is reinforced so that individuals contribute to collective goods that are contingent on others doing likewise" (Nannestad et al., 2008, p. 4). Logically, if one is looking for information then trust plays a crucial role. In both web communities the majority of users are quite cautious. Therefore, in this section we will address the users' answers on questions that reflect on their perceptions of trust (question theme (2), section 5.2 (C)).

### **5.5.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

The users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ invest time in identifying trustworthy information. A telling example is searching for the person behind a nickname. Many interviewees stated that they start to analyse the writing style of a posted message. Then, they link the content to the person posting the message, and to the nickname (see quote S4-3). With the progress of time they collect sufficient information to develop an opinion about the person behind a particular nickname. What they are hoping for is to be able to distinguish whether or not that person is sincere.

quote S4-3: "I doubt everything. If you follow the forum it's easy to know who is who. You remember their nick-names, and you sense from their writing style whether they are sincere or not" [Translated into English]

Users are cautious and patient. After analysing the content of postings, and connecting the content to the person behind the nickname, users move one step forward. If they find that the person has been sincere, they have the confidence to start some direct and more personal communication with that person. This represents the next step of their investigation, wherein the user analyses how that person will behave under the conditions of direct contact.

quote S1-2: "I have never given my personal details at the beginning. Only if we "see" each other more frequently, than we would use some other way of communication, icq or some other system... after I realise that someone appears normal and decent...and I have to admit that all [advices] were true, up to a single detail" [Translated into English]

This type of user invests the appropriate amount of time in such an analysis. He is able to gather sufficient material and to arrive at the correct conclusion. These users give the impression of being cautious people. By doubting everything (see quote S1-2), and believing that generating trust takes time, users take care in the way they perform the analyses of their communication patterns.

The following two quotes represent the general atmosphere of the SERBIAN CAFÉ. A significant number of interviewed users (4 out of 12) replied that they do not trust others blindly, or that trust on the web comes after some time, for example after the analysis of the other user's contribution (see quote S3-1).

quote S3-1: "Up to some extent, I do not trust anyone blindly...I think that a creation of the trust on the Internet is a slow process, and one should always be cautious" [Translated into English]

One user reported that he trusts the information published on the SERBIAN CAFÉ without any doubts. He relies on the values of the community, believing that since he was honest in making contributions - other users will also be honest (see quote S11-3).

quote S11-3: "I do trust, because I was also one of those who offered his own experience, and I was honest while doing that. Therefore I trusted others" [Translated into English]

Finally, a majority of the SERBIAN CAFÉ users we interviewed (7 out of 12) reported, both implicitly and explicitly, that they do trust the information

published there. In general, web community users are social behaviour investigators who perform their own research: (1) to estimate the quality of the information provider; and (2) to have a clear picture of the personality on the other side of the screen. After their analysis has been completed most users arrive at a satisfactory conclusion and then they feel safe. At that very moment, they allow themselves to create closer contacts with the other person, sharing more personal details and creating relationships on a more personal level.

### **5.5.2 THE LOCAL**

Users of THE LOCAL go through the same process of analysing the content of posts and the person behind the nickname. Some of the interviewees do not find this process to be different from any other process of information evaluation, no matter from which source the information comes. One has to follow the source through time, analyse the content, analyse the way that a particular source deals with certain topics, and finally make an estimation of the validity of the information source. In quote L7-2, the user explicitly uses the word “research”, clearly describing the process in which he has been engaged when interacting with his source.

quote L7-2: “I trust as much as I trust any information from any source and the evaluation is made in the same way. by research or gut feeling.”

Many of the interviewees said that they check the information they are given, compare it with information from other sources, and check it once more against their own personal experience. To reach the necessary level of trust one has to pass a validity test. As shown in Chapter 4, the level of someone’s trust is directly responsible for their reputation in the community, which can promote the reputation of a particular user to that of a “local expert” or an “informal leader”.

Our earlier step of qualitative analysis (on community building) has shown that users of THE LOCAL are more distrustful and much more cautious than the average Internet user. Quote L3-3 shows that after a few months, or even a year, one gets to “know” a few people.

quote L3 -3: “I trust some. I check up on information to see if it sounds like they know what they are talking about. After a few months or a year one gets to regard or “know” a few posters because of what they reveal about themselves, their opinions on issues , humour”

A small number of interviewees (3 out of 12) stated explicitly that they do not trust information on THE LOCAL. They mentioned that they feel the presence of “others” who are not benevolent. As argued before, users feel the presence of lurkers who are, according to scientific researchers in the past, 50% to 60% of all users (see section 5.3). Some of the invisible users are benevolent and some are not, but most interesting are the following two facts: (1) the community is sensitive to invisible presence; and (2) the invisible activity is driven by its different motivations (positive and negative). This presence creates an uncomfortable feeling of exposure, which makes other users more reticent, and much more suspicious. The following quotes (L8-1, and L10-1) are examples. The users’ answers are clear, in response to the question as to whether or not they trust the information encountered on THE LOCAL.

quote L8-1: “Not really. I actually think there are some “official” people on here, i.e., from other governments, trying to swing political views of foreigners in Sweden.”

quote L10-1: “No - there is a tendency for the same contributors to monopolise discussions - and be somewhat intimidating if you express a contrary opinion. Have happily (& profitably) used other expat websites in the other countries I've lived in - but have to say thelocal.se has produced levels of misery I didn't think could exist!”

These negatively charged emotions and opinions also create a negative atmosphere. Comments are harsh and may create strong feelings of intimidation. That kind of atmosphere is not a fertile ground for creating trustworthiness. Consequently, having trust directly responsible for cooperation and the creation of social capital provides mutual benefits (cf. Arrow, 1974; Putnam, 1993). But the atmosphere as expressed by L8-1 and L10-1 is dangerous and counter-productive for social capital acquisition, which might lead to making the distance between users far from close. And it will be quite difficult to create a more amicable atmosphere.

### **5.5.3 Section conclusion**

The users of both communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, alertly follow the online activities of their community, accurately identifying the positive and negative activities. Those users who identify negative activities usually make a public statement, report the identified activity, and isolate any negative activities and those responsible for them, while simultaneously supporting the positive (useful) contributions. Users start their membership by being quite sceptical of the trustworthiness of published information. Being

intuitively aware that trust is crucial, users invest time in analysing the contribution behind specific user names, they check the information, and the validity of the contributor. Only after an iterative process with multiple positive experiences will a user develop a feeling of trust.

Although the process of creating trust is the same in both web communities, the level of trust differs. From our admittedly limited data, we may provisionally conclude that the SERBIAN CAFÉ web-community users show more trust in their community exchanges than those of THE LOCAL. They are more relaxed when the topic of trust is discussed, and one easily gets the feeling of a close, trustworthy atmosphere. Contrary to the trustworthy atmosphere of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, users of THE LOCAL are generally more distant and much more suspicious.

## **5.6 Community identity and immigration issues**

Participating in the life of a web community, either in the visible or the invisible layer, implies that members of that particular community are in some kind of contact. The members can be merely readers of the postings of other participants, they can be people who take part in discussions, post questions, give answers, or they can just lurk. Although lurking often sounds like a negative activity, in the web community ecosystem that particular activity does not have a traditional meaning (lurk: to be or remain hidden, to wait in ambush for someone or something – Oxford Dictionaries). Instead, and as mentioned earlier, lurkers are those whose behaviour in the network is passive but who benefit from the activities in the network (cf. Mitra, 1997; Burnett, 2000; Thompson et al., 2013; Munzel and Kunz, 2013).

When considering the members of a web community, the importance of the invisible layer must be emphasized. It should be accepted that the emergence and reproduction of social capital (both negative and positive) occur simultaneously in the visible and the invisible layer. Sometimes important activities such as community building (theme 1) happen in an invisible space from the perspective of the web community (for example, if users of both web communities started to reply via e-mail, supporting and defending a researcher outside the public space of web communities). Users are typically gathered in a web space around shared identities, interests, and common languages. However, the ways in which they conduct their activities and interconnections is a matter of personal choice and individual characteristics.

Bearing in mind one of the original reasons for conducting this study, namely identifying the effects of web communities that could help immigrants in a new host society, it is crucial to understand and analyse to what extent users are online in order to obtain information about the particular host country and to make useful contacts. In other words, while expressing their community identity, do users access web communities to establish contacts with other users and deal with immigration issues? In this section, we will address users' answers to questions that target the way they make new contacts online (question theme (3), section 5.2 (C)).

### **5.6.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

It seems clear that users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ typically recognise the diffuse information capacities of their web community. Realising that they share a communication space with people who have different experiences regarding their education, integration, language, etc., and different geographical locations, they turn to their web community to handle important questions concerning immigration. The following quote S11-4 is an example of how community members talk about obtaining a legal status in the USA.

quote S11-4: "Then, I needed help with papers. That way [by using the SERBIAN CAFÉ] I tried to hear the experiences of others. They didn't really help me, but I reached many information, or experiences, from other people about obtaining a legal status in the America [the USA]" [Translated into English]

Users in this web community are practical; they know exactly for which purpose they address others in the same web community. Many users mentioned that the SERBIAN CAFÉ handles typical problems of immigrant integration such as papers, legal status, taxes, etc. (see quote S8-3).

quote S8-3: "There [the SERBIAN CAFÉ] you can always find advices how and what to do. You understand that? Visas, how to obtain citizenship, how to get tax deduction, you can get a lot of useful information. You just have to look for it." [Translated into English]

The next user, in the quote S4-4, reported that he was using the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community when he was looking for a flat, during his preparation to move to New York.

quote S4-4: "I was looking for a first-hand information. Where to look for a flat, job, what are the prices...and in general the life in NY" [Translated into English]

Some users reported that they use the web community to be better informed about local events (see quote S9-1), local services, and/or local religious organisations (see quote S2-1).

quote S9-1: "I use it to see when some play is on. I read news, discussions about Toronto" [Translated into English]

quote S2-1: "I use it to see when our [Serbian] theatre is arriving. To see the dentists who advertise there, who is doing tax, ophthalmologists, cultural and religious life of Serbian community in Toronto." [Translated into English]

After analysing the content of the users' interactions online, (Chapter 4, subsection 4.10), where it is shown that, because of their web community activities, many users deepen their bonding activities, it was surprising that users seldom showed traces of an intention to become more personal, closer. The users appear to be gathered in a web community that exploits the same language, but do so only to exchange practical information and to share their experiences. They have not expressed much interest going one-step further by making deeper social contacts. Having in mind their initial situation, which users described as feelings of loneliness, without any contacts in their new environments and no one to communicate with, it was somewhat surprising to find that they maintained a distant position from each other.

However, the majority of interviewees (8 out of 12) reported in the interviews that they established more personal contacts with other users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ. For us, at first, it was quite surprising that this significant number remained invisible, in particular when looking from the perspective of the ethnographic interpretive method (see Chapter 4). Nevertheless, a scrupulous analysis of their stories showed how that was possible.

Below we reveal, via a thorough analysis, the existence of the invisible layer. After users had completed their own evaluation process of trustworthiness, they usually transferred their communication to some other personal means such as e-mail, mobile phones, Facebook, etc. Thanks to the *technological transfer* (see Chapter 4 and section 5.1), which scholars usually call *media multiplexity* (cf. Wellman and Hogan, 2004; Haythornthwaite, 2005;

Miczko et al., 2011), private communication by the users remains hidden, i.e., separated from the public space of their web communities. Thus, it remains unknown to visitors of the web community. Our main finding is that, even by combining numerous communicative possibilities, users are able (and apparently still wish) to isolate their personal communications with each other from the SERBIAN CAFÉ community. That is the reason why the communications were invisible to the ethnographic analysis discussed in Chapter 4.

Let us now go back and investigate whether we could have detected this invisible layer by straightforward analysis. Massey (1987) suggested that for developing an immigrant network it is necessary that a user must be in the right place at the right time and have a way in which he is able to distribute his advice and favours to others. Nowadays, in the age of the Internet, the right place is on the web, which is the current forum for distributing advice and favours to others. And the right time is any time after the helping user has posted information from which other users can profit when they themselves go online, which could be simultaneously or it could be later. A review of migration literature by Massey is quite appropriate for understanding how patterns of migration and networks may create patterns of social change (cf. Curran and Saguy, 2013). What we see is the following. Over time, new people in new networks connect with other new people, and the immigrant presence automatically grows. It is a self-feeding process such as in cases where the immigrants may distribute jobs to each other. Continuing with the traditional self-feeding practice of immigrant communities – recruiting friends and relatives to join the community (cf. Bailey and Waldinger, 1991; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Giulietti et al., 2013), immigrants use the web for the same reasons, but now they gain influence outside the geographical limitations of the local space. One user (see quote S11-5) reports that, thanks to the SERBIAN CAFÉ, he met many people, and due to his activity in the SERBIAN CAFÉ his network of friends is immense.

quote S11-5: “For example, I met few people connected to the Red Star [Belgrade football club], I am their supporter. The Red Star played in Chicago, I needed tickets, and I saw on [SERBIAN CAFÉ] the discussion: the supporters organise a group visit. I mean, few people bought 2000 tickets to organise people to be together. After they published [their] e-mails, I contacted them. Thanks to them, later, I met in Chicago people from Miami, Arizona, and other American and Canadian cities. Then, I connected them to those I know.. So today, we are over 200 who are in contact.” [Translated into English]



quote S1-3: “New people you first meet on the Internet, then live...Even today I have real friendships from the net...I guess that was my secondary goal, kind of if it happens-happens.. After that both sides [one side, an interviewee, and the other side, a new person met on SERBIAN CAFÉ] realised that the one on the other side is ok, than we exchange mobile phone numbers, or the e-mail, and make an agreement to meet in person.. Back then, I used the ICQ for the chat, or we corresponded by e-mails that are, I think, more relaxed [communication] for both... We arranged meetings both using the e-mail and the chat” [Translated into English]

According to quote S1-3, it seems that some users approach the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community as though it were an “exhibition” space – a place where they can choose potential contacts after analysing the content each person publicly posts. Nevertheless, only *one* interviewee reported that he did that intentionally. For others, this is a side effect of using the web community. So, it is an *unintentional consequence*.

quote S3-2: “One could say that the discussion led to the encounter...I never went there [the SERBIAN CAFÉ] with intention to find some friend” [Translated into English]

Not being aware of any intention explains why the intention did not become explicit. This is the cause of the invisible layer. Most users state that they never used the SERBIAN CAFÉ with a conscious intention; they were never really expecting to make some personal contacts there (see quote S3-2). During a live chat interview, users expressed an uncomfortable feeling when talking about the possibility of meeting other people online. It appeared that saying that one makes personal contacts online is not something to be proud of. One user compared that to online dating in a quite ironical way, trying to stress that he is not that kind of guy (see quote S10-1).

quote S10-1: “I am not using it to meet new people in my real life. Just when I arrived to Canada and when I was lonely I used the chat, but I realized that was the way to meet someone just for one weekend, so I stopped with that. I know few [users] who got married like that.” [Translated into English]

The quote S10-1 shows this ambiguous feeling. On the one hand, this user states that he is not using the tool to meet new people, but on the other hand he said that he was using it when he was lonely. He even goes further, by stating that he knows people “who married like that”. All interviewees who reported making some personal contacts thanks to the SERBIAN CAFÉ (8 out of

12), stated that these contacts were made outside their normal circle of friends. These are *new people* or weak ties, in Granovetter's (1984) meaning of the term. Some of these new contacts did not last long – with time they just faded away. Yet, some of the new contacts remained alive on a quite superficial level. Half of the interviewees who made some contacts online (4 out of 8), stated that the contacts lasted for some period without leaving any significant trace on their lives. Either they were only online relationships, or they occurred in an offline relationship; however, they were assumed by other users never to evolve into more important contacts.

quote S3-3: "Of course, there [on the SERBIAN CAFÉ] I met some nice people with whom I still hang out; they became friends of mine.. I am talking about the people I never saw before. I met them in that club and, all of them were and still are on the SERBIAN CAFÉ." [Translated into English]

Yet, with reference to quote S3-3, some of these contacts did evolve into strong relationships, even friendships. Some users (3 out of 8) stated that they established strong friendship relationships with contacts they made in the SERBIAN CAFÉ. This statement is one more sign of the existence of the invisible layer.

### **5.6.2 THE LOCAL**

Similar to the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, the users of THE LOCAL addressed the web community with topics that are typical for the immigrant integration. User L1 (see quote L1-2) reports using THE LOCAL for reading the news and being informed about property regulations in Sweden.

quote L1-2: "i use it now mostly for the news rather than the jobs and also the property section. i read about things i am interested in sometimes, visa advice or life in sweden i dont post very often tho"

Quotes L4-1 and L2-2, show that web community users also look for information about the Swedish lifestyle, rents, and habits.

quote L4-1: "everything related to the life in Sweden, rents, habits. property section"

quote L2-2: "I like to know the local news but without swedish that wasn't possible. so to be able to understand what colleagues in the office were talking about i check in on it every day"

Not infrequently THE LOCAL users report being online in order to find a way for getting around through Swedish everyday life (see quote L1-3), or to understand the characteristics of the Swedish culture.

quote L1-3: "i am addressing a variety of people hopefully who have experiences of life in sweden and I have found out some information about swedish clases and what to expect in winter and where to buy spray on deodorant"

Getting into contact with someone who is in a similar situation to oneself is acknowledged as a useful way of dealing with feelings of loneliness, but it can be difficult to achieve. This is how user L2 describes the process in quotes L2-3, and L2-4.

quote L2-3: "the cultural mishaps or differences. like the 'but this is Swden' stuff. information about how other people have adapted or are struggling. and that to me is of value because sometimes you think you are the only one going through this stuf and yet a whole bunch of other people apparently are too"

quote L2-4: "to make conversation I guess because after only 2 months here i don't have many people i could call friends"

We have shown in Chapter 4 that users of THE LOCAL use the technological transfer to maintain newly established contacts. However, we do not claim that seeking contacts on the web is an adequate substitute for the traditional way of looking for contacts. Still, until the interviews were analysed it was impossible to discuss either the user's conscious intentions to make contacts or the nature of the contacts established thanks to THE LOCAL exchange.

A majority of the interviewees (8 out of 12) reported that they made online connections with people *outside their circle* of friends by using THE LOCAL. These weak ties (cf. Granovetter, 1984) are an important resource for finding diffuse information. For immigrants this is of great importance since the members of a network that are connected to those outside of their own circle of friends (cf. Wellman, 1983) provide access to more diffuse types of resources, because each person operates in different social networks and has access to different resources. Thus, the accumulative knowledge of the network becomes greater and, therefore, more useful for someone who is in need of information. Thanks to these newly established weak ties, connections, individual users, and the whole network can profit from new knowledge.

Due to the more advanced software solution in the case of THE LOCAL, more personal communications can be kept away from the more public space. Users often send private messages (invisible to most other users of THE LOCAL) when they want to communicate. Nevertheless, that does not mean that personal contact will be established. Some users tried to establish contact that is more personal but they failed. User L3 in quote L3-4 expresses his feeling of having a connection.

quote L3-4: "Responding to these posters on a particular thread sometimes leads to a dialogue and bantr that is almost like flirting. One can feel a connection. This is what I consider a positive interaction – Once again it's the feeling of "I am not alone" It's not just ME that sees things this way – there are others out there" Also it's often a battle of wits which is very stimulating intellectually....For me it is a one dimensional relationship almost like having a pen pal but with usually total anonymity so you get to know a persona rather than a person. But then I am not interested in meeting people in 3D. The Local for me fulfills the function of giving a sense of belonging or rather of not being alone in the expat experience. I like the anonymity. I also like the intellectual engagement and banter that goes on between folk. It's like a cyber pub where you go to hang out and comment on the world without having to commit to other people. Its an exchange of opinions and views without any expectations. It's a matching of wits and a lot of intellectual posturing as well. It is often hilarious which is what keeps me coming back constantly to read it."

From quote L3-4, one can see that, in this instance, the usage of THE LOCAL took place in order to make contact with someone in a similar situation, and to deal with feelings of loneliness. Other users of THE LOCAL approached the same theme of questions in a simple and direct manner, just using "yes" or "no". When we were conducting our first few interviews it was surprising that a subject which the members of the SERBIAN CAFÉ found it difficult to talk about was taken for granted, by users of THE LOCAL, as a normal subject for discussion, a subject where they could answer questions with a simple "yes" or "no". But after spending more time talking to users of THE LOCAL it became clear that the simplicity of dealing with questions in that way came from the nature of their usage of the web. The users of THE LOCAL are accustomed to making new contacts online and then perhaps take those contacts offline. They do not feel uncomfortable in doing so, and therefore they do not feel it necessary to explain their actions in the way that users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ do.

Users who were successful in increasing their number of personal contacts generally found THE LOCAL easy to use – an interesting and enjoyable place to hang out. They find that THE LOCAL is useful “for day to day issues of integrating into the Swedish culture”; it brings them together as “foreigners in the same situation”. Therefore, making more personal contacts by using private messages, or joining meet-up groups comes naturally to those users, and they do not exhibit any uncomfortable feelings when discussing the subject. For them, this is a straightforward activity. Nevertheless, the users of THE LOCAL describe the contacts they established there as not being very important. Only two interviewees (2 out of 12) reported that a contact they made there means something more to them, calling that person a friend. In THE LOCAL, users find someone to talk to, someone with whom they can exchange ideas or experiences, someone to laugh with, even someone with whom to go to pub nights, but with no greater expectations.

### **5.6.3 Section conclusion**

The users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, profit from their exchanges in the web community by acquiring information about their host society. When it comes to making contacts with new people, the situation differs.

For the SERBIAN CAFÉ we arrived at the following three conclusions:

- (1) Users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ express an uncomfortable feeling when they speak about meeting new people online. It seems that, in general, within the culture of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, meeting someone online has a pejorative connotation. Therefore, the users’ replies in the interviews are somehow ambiguous.
- (2) Most users do not start out with the intention to meet someone else within the community, and if this happens it does so as an unintentional consequence of their usage of the web community. Still, a majority of the users interviewed (8 out of 12) reported that they established more personal contacts with new people, i.e., other users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, who were outside of their usual circle of friends.
- (3) Finally, 3 out of 8 users who reported establishing more personal contacts, stated that with time their new contacts evolved into strong relationships. We may therefore conclude that new contacts can have positive consequences for members of the invisible layer.

For THE LOCAL, we arrived at the following three conclusions:

- (1) From the research items available we may provisionally conclude that the majority of the users of THE LOCAL (8 OUT OF 12) reported that they established contacts with new people outside of their circle of friends.
- (2) Unlike the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, users of THE LOCAL are rather comfortable talking about the subject – for them making new contacts online is not a taboo subject for discussion. They socialise offline, either by meeting others through active meet-up groups (3 out of 12), or by using other channels of communication (4 out of 8 who reported establishing new contacts).
- (3) Only 2 users out of 12 reported that their new contact could be called “a friend”.

Overall, we may provisionally conclude that the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ implicitly indicate that making new contacts is an identified activity, while the users of THE LOCAL express the same observation explicitly.

## **5.7 Diffuse reciprocal activities**

Our empirical findings reveal four characteristics of modern relationships that are due to the existence of mass transit systems and modern means of communication. Many modern relationships are: (a) physically distant; (b) sparsely-knit; (c) socially diverse; and (d) weak in strength. The Internet provides people with networks that are physically distant; it easily connects people over time and space; it connects users with new contacts and sometimes even with people of different social positions to themselves (cf. Di Gennaro & Dutton, 2007). Scholars who claim that the Internet supplements our lives by adding to the overall volume of communication between us, argue that to some extent web users are also trying to shift their online contacts so that they create offline support (cf. Boase and Wellman, 2004). But how do the users of the two web communities feel about this? Moreover, what do they feel they have gained or lost by using the Internet? In summary, how did they handle the diffuse reciprocal activities (a term introduced in Section 4.1) available to them as a result of using the Internet? The answer to this question will most probably influence their future engagement online. Below we report on how they perceive the influence of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL respectively on their real, offline lives. In this section we will discuss the users' answers to question theme 4 (see section 5.2 (C): question themes).

### 5.7.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ

The majority of users (9 out of 12) reported that they visited the SERBIAN CAFÉ in order to find help in the form of information about their new host society (see quote S1-5).

quote S1-5: “[I used it] to find people that will give me the information on surviving “over there” ☺. Today I would say because we speak the same language...this is why I was looking for our people on the net...to give me the information, to tell me WHERE to enrol, and WHEN and HOW you look for a job if you are a student” [Translated into English]

In addition, as mentioned earlier, users from whom we have taken the quotes S7-2, S7-3, and S11-2, (see subsection 5.4.1) said that they use the SERBIAN CAFÉ to help others in similar situations to themselves. User S7 describes the same process (see quotes S7-4, and S7-5).

quote S7-4: “people are able to find my old posts, if they encounter similar problems, write to me and ask, I help” [Translated into English]

S7-5 “I expect an honest information and help. I always help someone if I can” [Translated into English]

It is clear that these users visit the SERBIAN CAFÉ to exchange helpful information. However, when asked how their web usage influenced their offline lives they replied somewhat ambiguously. User S4 in the quote S4-5, reported using the SERBIAN CAFÉ for recipes and for comparing advice on how to live in different countries, since she was preparing to move again. This user even made some friendships, both online and offline. Yet, the quote shows how she judged the influence of the SERBIAN CAFÉ on her life.

quote S4-5: “I wouldn't say that influences, it is more like an auxiliary tool, makes me feel closer to my homeland, maintains my native language, it doesn't have some influence. Now the Facebook took over that role [making contacts]” [Translated into English]

In most cases users said that their usage of the SERBIAN CAFÉ is helpful, but at the same time they state that it does not influence their real-world lives. Some users managed to relate the influence on their lives according to when they spent time in the community, comparing the time they spent there when they were starting their immigrant life with the time they spend there now that they have become experienced immigrants. Below we show that the following elements play an important part in how they assess the value to

themselves of their usage of the community: positive effects (S6), pioneering role (S3), a mixture of motivations (S7), evolution (S11), and living info (S1).

quote S6-2: "We survived thanks to the Internet! Today (before I am going to move to Scandinavia) I visit discussion Scandinavia....Then (at the beginning of my life in Athens) it was serious [the influence]...many hours spent in front of the computer" [Translated into English]

User S6 in the quote S6-2, is rather direct in expressing the *positive effects* that the web usage had on her life, and on decisions about her future.

quote S3-4: "The SERBIAN CAFÉ was one of the first forums where people could find someone, emigrants before all... ten year ago the SERBIAN CAFÉ was a starting point." [Translated into English]

For user S3 in the quote S3-4, the SERBIAN CAFÉ was an important starting point when he arrived in the host society. The emergence of the Internet in the 1990s coincided with the beginning of the civil war in former Yugoslavia. It is clear from the above testimonies that many immigrants identified the SERBIAN CAFÉ as the first place on the web where they could find someone in the same immigrant situation as themselves. In the 2000s, with the proliferation of web sites on the Internet, we witnessed the emergence of a massive use of IT for "banal transnationalism" practices (cf. Rigoni, 2002) in which ethnical, national, and religious identities tended to be emphasised as crucial. Bearing in mind that the SERBIAN CAFÉ emerged in 1996, one can argue that the SERBIAN CAFÉ had a *pioneering role*, in addition to which a majority of the interviewed web users emphasised its usefulness by testifying that they managed to find helpful information that made their lives easier (see for example quote S8-4).

quote S8-4: "Many times I found a very good information that made some things easier in this *gastarbeiter* [guest worker in Germany, a name for immigrants] life...the SERBIAN CAFÉ makes *gastarbeiter*, immigrant life easier by providing easy accessible information" [Translated into English]

The SERBIAN CAFÉ users expressed a *mixture of motivations* that prompted them to visit over a period of time. At the beginning of their usage they visited the SERBIAN CAFÉ to be informed. With the progress of time users remained there because it had become part of their social lives, and at the time of our interviews with them they were still there just to offer help for new visitors. They do not forget how difficult it was for them in the beginning of their stay in



their new host society, and therefore they are motivated to share their experiences. This motivation, and the way they regard the SERBIAN CAFÉ, both evolve with time. This process conforms to the network's norm of mutual reciprocity (see Putnam, 2001) as one of the most important benefits of social capital. Accordingly, Wellman (1996) also argued that those who have a strong attachment to a web community would be more likely to participate and help others, even if the others are total strangers. Therefore, once a user finds help in one group, the norm of reciprocity converts him in the future to the new role of helping someone else. Consequently, the process of reciprocity takes the community to the level of a social capital reproduction process, and this is what users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ reported in the interviews (see quote S7-3).

quote S7-3: "At the moment I am helping people that are in the same situation like I used to be, and mostly because I have had quite uncomfortable experiences" [Translated into English]

In quote S11-2, this user explicitly describes the *evolution* of his usage.

quote S11-2: "I looked for the help more when I lived in Chicago [in the past] than in Canada. Here [nowadays in Canada] I was helping more than then I was asking for the help" [Translated into English]

For user S1 (see quote S1-4), the SERBIAN CAFÉ is a *living info centre*, a way to obtain information from other people.

quote S1-4: "Before I came here. And, at the beginning, when I did not have much information. It helped me [the SERBIAN CAFÉ]...living info centre :)... I got information from the other people." [Translated into English]

It is important to emphasise here that in the majority of cases web users did not define their usage of the SERBIAN CAFÉ as being an influential activity (7 out of 12). However, implicitly, when they described how and for what purpose they used the SERBIAN CAFÉ, they gave us a strong basis for understanding the influence that the SERBIAN CAFÉ had on their real, offline lives. They made new contacts online, obtained information, practiced their own language, and maintained old contacts. Therefore that interaction made their lives easier. A majority of them (9 out of 12) reported that they found some useful information on the SERBIAN CAFÉ at some point of their immigrant experience, usually at the very beginning.

### 5.7.2 THE LOCAL

The users of THE LOCAL also reported that there was a large amount of information and help available online. Below we show that the following elements play an important part in how they use the community: offering advice to others (L2, L11); finding helpful information (L4, L5, L7); getting emotional support (L10); helping them to take their first steps in the Swedish community (L4, L2); helping them to make a new life in a new culture (L2). Users L2 and L11 (see quotes L2-9, and L11-3) both talked about *offering advice to others*.

quote L2-9: “and having just moved here from ireland i gave my advice and then some nasty character joined the discussion and started criticising irish people and became vry offensive.”

quote L11-3: “To help others, to get advice and at times to simply touch base with people who have a similar culture and perspective of life as I do.”

Many of the THE LOCAL users reported that they found plenty of *helpful information* online (see quotes L4-3, L5-1, and L7-3).

quote L4-3: “the local can give informations about rent and other useful thins on Sweden”

quote L5-1: “I am not sure I understand, but surely I had plenty information that helped...like where is the doctor, and how do you get the card that allows you discount ....etc...”

quote L7-3: “information about how to go about things such as how the burocracy works, what is going on socially with other expats, tips on how to survive the winter, travel tips, places worth seeing.etc.”

In some cases the help they looked for was in the nature of *emotional support* – one of the ways to help them combat feelings of isolation in their host country (see quote L10-3).

quote L10-3: “I also look for support from other 'expats' (from their comments) when you feel 'isolated' in another country.”

Users of THE LOCAL are more restrained than the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ. In the majority of cases, when asked how their online experiences influenced their offline lives, web users said that THE LOCAL was not influential. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Internet is already an indispensable part of our everyday lives. Whether employed for “banal”, every day practices, or for satisfying important needs, it is used to such an extent

that it becomes a taken-for-granted part of everyday life (cf. Georgiu, 2006). Users say that their use of THE LOCAL does not really influence their lives, while simultaneously, during their descriptions of their internet activity they implicitly suggest that THE LOCAL means something to them after all.

quote L4-2: "its a space seen an immigrant space, a from our eyes, it is a kind of "immigrants space", you can't see the swedish community from there, but only our representation, first step only"

User L4 in the quote L4-2, gives an important insight into this user's perception of THE LOCAL web space as a *first step into the Swedish community*. Thanks to their usage of THE LOCAL, users find helpful information and they experience feelings of belonging. They feel better knowing that they are not alone in this new experience (see quote L2-5).

quote L2-5: "it makes you feel part of a segment of swedish society namely the expat one, people living away from original country. it makes me feel as if i am at least part of a community where i do have other people going through similar challenges...i think more from the point of view of understanding that it isn't you that they have a dislike against but just the way the swedish system works. from an information about sweden point of view it is useful, hints and tips for living i find useful"

From quote L2-5, we can identify what an important role THE LOCAL has on the feelings of the users of belonging, a place where one can find people who face similar situations to oneself, and a place where one can obtain helpful information about living in Sweden. Many users reported that they found quite useful advice on the cultural differences between Sweden and their home countries,

Being able to understand events in the host society, and the reactions of the hosts around them, is helpful to immigrants and leads to socio-cultural integration (cf. Vermeulen and Penninx, 2000; Heckmann, 2003, Croucher and Cronn-Mills, 2011). Users indicated that they were unable to cope with some of the cultural differences in their host society until they encountered the discussions on THE LOCAL and learned about the local customs. By sharing their personal experiences with the web community (see quote L2-6), their knowledge becomes a communal resource from which other members can profit and thereby be in a position to adopt particular cultural customs, and to understand certain cultural differences.

quote L2-6: “For day to day issues of integrating into the Swedish culture many persons are helpful and full of advice. It brings together people who are in the same situation (foreigners living in Sweden)....Just by getting a bit of advice. Also it's given me different perspectives of things to think about.”

Here too, in THE LOCAL, users are not reporting that the community significantly influences their lives. However, implicitly they indicate that thanks to their usage of THE LOCAL they have acquired a feeling of belonging, they have obtained useful information about the local culture, mannerisms, Swedish administration, Swedish law, the real estate market, and visas, and they have found people to speak to. In the case of THE LOCAL, some users even find someone to go out with.

Starting a new life in the new culture can be quite difficult, but quote L2-7 shows that finding someone with whom you can make an emotional exchange is sometimes essential.

quote L2-7: “I find at times my Swedish colleagues can be so serious and so super non-emotional so to read an emotional take on stuff can be good”

### **5.7.3 Section conclusion**

In both cases, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, our main conclusion is that web users are not explicitly reporting that their web usage creates any important influences on their real, offline lives. However, after a thorough analysis of their answers we may conclude that there is a *hidden* discrepancy between the explicit and implicit meanings of their usage. While explicitly the users of both web communities deny any influence, implicitly they indicate that as a tool their web usage helped them considerably with at least eight issues: (1) giving them a feeling of belonging; (2) finding someone with whom to communicate; (3) making them better informed; (4) giving them emotional support; (5) helping them to make new contacts; (6) keeping them in touch with their native language; (7) helping them to learn about their host culture; and (8) enabling them to find practical advice. These eight explicit indications of the impact of their online communications on their offline lives is to be considered as a great asset for improving the actual lives of immigrants in a foreign country.

## **5.8 Community engagement**

From the perspective of the engagement with the community by web users, it is interesting to discover whether the members of web communities go online

in order to meet people in their real, offline lives. Research shows that web services are often used to contact others with whom the user has existing relationships. According to Dutton and Blank (2011), more than 40% of Internet users have met someone new online. Yet, many of the relationships (56%) that survive the test of time and exist for a longer period show a tendency to migrate offline. Scholars (e.g, McKenna et al., 2002; Georgiu, 2006; Khvorostianov et al., 2012) have demonstrated that people who feel physically isolated or dissatisfied with their own self-image turn more to using an online forum for making friends. Once an online friendship is established there is a common desire to meet in person. When online interaction combines with offline interaction, the overall relationship might become stronger (cf. Xie, 2008).

Many immigrants describe their lives as being lived in a state of loneliness, being without someone with whom to share their experiences. They are not satisfied with their social lives and the contacts they have. Therefore, because they are lonely, we might expect them to feel a need to transfer their online contacts to their offline life. But if web communities are convenient places for close interpersonal reactions, the question arises – how is this transfer managed to one’s offline life? Here, in this section, we will address the answers to question theme 5 (sub-section 5.2 (C)).

### **5.8.1 SERBIAN CAFÉ**

When asked to whom they mostly address in their web community interactions, the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ answer in an ambiguous manner. It seems that is difficult for them to give direct answers to that question. Only three users (3 out of 12) managed to answer in a direct manner: users S10, S4, and S12 (see quotes S10-2, S4-6, and S12-1).

quote S10-2: “It depends on the topic of my interest. No one special” [Translated into English]

quote S4-6: “not anyone, I address the [discussion] group where my topic belongs” [Translated into English]

It also seems that users follow their topics of interest (quotes S10-2 and S4-6), rather than following a specific person. Most probably this is the reason for the ambiguity of their replies. Quote S12-1 is a good example of the users’ intuitive feelings about their web community. In his answer this user is

actually describing his intention not to address a specifically defined group of people.

quote S12-1: "I address the World. To those who do understand, and know how to listen, and who can say something smart.... No one specific" [Translated into English]

Users often continue their answers by explaining what they actually do in the SERBIAN CAFÉ, how they perceive their web community activity (see quote S4-7).

quote S4-7: "if I am interested in something I haven't found, I start a new topic" [Translated into English]

SERBIAN CAFÉ users reported establishing offline contacts with people living in other cities, and even other countries. By its very nature, being a community of Serbian people, the SERBIAN CAFÉ presents a global space that connects people in many different time zones and over large geographical distances, and thereby becomes a source of diffuse types of information. Some users express doubts in the sincerity of contacts that they made with people who reside in Serbia, believing that most of these people are using the SERBIAN CAFÉ just to find someone who will provide them with a way to leave Serbia.

quote S10-3: "Yes, I know the girl from my city, who met a guy from Austria thanks to the SERBIAN CAFÉ chat, she went to see him and after 6 months she went over there and in a year they were married. Another case, the girl from Knin (Croatia), she ran away to Serbia, and she met a guy from Knin who emigrated to Australia, he invited her to visit him for one summer, she decided to stay and they got married too... and those from Serbia, they openly asked me to bring them to Canada, to get married, and to divorce after the 6 months" [Translated into English]

User S10 in the quote S10-3, gives a clear description of creating an online contact, which after some time transformed to an offline relationship. The web community users are looking for new contacts online. Once they have established such a contact online they carry out a validity test. If the contact proves trustworthy it is possible that this online contact then becomes a real life, offline experience.

The technological transfer referred to earlier supports transfer, in the SERBIAN CAFÉ, from online to offline contact. Once the relationship moves away from the public forum of the web community it can evolve into something deeper.

However, the process of that evolution happens outside the web community where the relationship emerged.

quote S4-8: "I met two-three people on the SERBIAN CAFÉ discussions, ex yu that live in NY. Someone from that group proposed gathering...the contacts established on the SERBIAN CAFÉ are maintained over Fb [Facebook]. I am in contact with all of them but we are not so close, with one girl I was in a romantic relationship" [Translated into English]

User S4 (see quote S4-8) gives an explanation of the way he first met a few people online, and then transferred those contacts to the offline world following their discussions in the SERBIAN CAFÉ. This user's testimony supports the idea of using other information technology services to maintain online contacts, once a relationship becomes more personal. But none of the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ explicitly said that they use their web community with the intention of meeting someone new in their real, offline life.

### 5.8.2 THE LOCAL

Users of THE LOCAL address other people as "expats", as they like to call themselves. They look for people in the same situation as themselves, and with the same interests (see quotes L8-2 and L3-5).

quote L8-2: "other expats. Like minded people."

quote L3-5: "Other expats or whoever has the same experience of living in more than one culture and using more than one language. Native Swedes who know what it's like to be an expat."

THE LOCAL users are direct in expressing a need for someone with whom they can communicate (see quote L6-1).

quote L6-1: "people who will listen to my opinions and people who wont listen to my opinions on life in Sweden."

Below we show that the following elements play an important part in taking online contacts off-line (L9, L1, L11, L2, L6, L10). THE LOCAL users believe that a large number of them *take online contacts offline*. Some of the users who moved to Stockholm from other parts of Sweden use the Stockholm meet-up group on THE LOCAL (which they knew before) in order to make contacts in Stockholm. As stated in Cachia's report (Cachia et al., 2007), web

communities are media channels for expanding online and offline relationships.

quote L9-1: "Plenty people including me have tried to get somebody and managed to go out for date"

User L9 in the quote L9-1, demonstrates that users of THE LOCAL perceive it as a tool for transferring online contacts to offline life. Users of THE LOCAL can establish such transfers of online contacts to the offline world without any additional technological tools, and still keep the relationship private, hidden from the rest of the community (by using private messages). Nevertheless, they reported that such achievements are also managed via Facebook, which apparently provides more options for users when it comes to events that happen repeatedly among members of a group. Therefore, here too, users make online to offline transfers to some extent, thanks to technological transfer, either on the web or outside of it (see quote L1-4).

quote L1-4: "I met one person in real life, we went for coffee. We met on THE LOCAL but we arranged it over the Facebook."

The user from quote L11-2 reports making online contacts with users outside of his circle of friends, and transferring those contacts to their offline life:

quote L11-2 "Yes, which has also gone offline. Pub nights, etc."

This ease of making new contacts through THE LOCAL is well described by the quote of user L2 who skipped the phase of first making contact online:

quote L2-8: "online no but in person yes. met some interesting people and had interesting conversations but didn't meet them again. just left it a bit open. and if it is meant to be a good friendship then it will come back and paths will cross again"

Like many other users of THE LOCAL, user L2 in the quote L2-8 is aware of the active meet-up group in Stockholm. After obtaining information online, and knowing the reputation of the meet-up group, user L2 went to a meeting (3 out of 12 interviewees reported socializing with THE LOCAL users in this way). Similarly, as with the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, users of THE LOCAL avoid giving explicit statements about their usage of the web community for the purpose of establishing new contacts. Still, a significant number of interviewees state that it is nice to have an English-speaking friend who is in



a similar situation to themselves. Half of those who made new contacts online (4 out of 8) started seeing them offline.

quote L6-2: "I know that the guys who live in the cities have regular meets in bars and clubs - but not so much activity here in the forest"

There are users, such as user L6 from the quote L6-2, who are aware of the meeting group in Stockholm but cannot profit from it because they live in a different part of Sweden. At the same time, there is a significant number of interviewees who are not willing to venture into offline meetings.

quote L10-2: "No - judging by the tone and manner of some contributors, wouldn't want to meet them!"

These users give various reasons for avoiding offline meetings: from not being interested in making "3D" contacts with people they met online, to those who find THE LOCAL discussion atmosphere so bad that they would definitely not like to meet people in that way (see quote L10-2). These results support the arguments from the research by Dutton and Blank (2011). There too, more than 40% of users who made new online contacts transferred those contacts to the offline realm.

### **5.8.3 Section conclusion**

The users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, address other people individually in their web communities. They use as forums specific topic sections, according to their interests and their needs for information.

Users of both web communities acknowledge the possibility of transforming online contacts into offline ones. However, both groups avoid stating explicitly that they have used their web community for this purpose. The analysis of the available material brought us to the following three observations.

Observation 1: If the users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ reported the transformation of an online contact into an offline one, it happened because the weak contact became stronger over time. It was never his or her conscious intention to go online in order to meet someone offline.

Observation 2: In the case of THE LOCAL, the online to offline contact transfer happened to half of those who made new contacts online.

Observation 3: Users in THE LOCAL, who are willing to engage in offline contacts, explicitly reported using the web community with the intention of taking online contacts offline.

Based on these three observations, we may conclude that taking online contacts offline is to some extent accepted as a natural continuation of web community activity.

## 5.9 An answer to RQ3

Gathering together all the findings collected in this phase of our analysis provides a solid basis for constructing the larger picture – for understanding the way immigrants live and how they use web-based communities. After the analyses presented above (see sections 5.4 to 5.8), and based on the implicit results from the previous sections, we are now able to offer an answer to RQ3: What are the offline effects of the immigrants' online activities?

From the materials analysed we may derive the following general conclusions.

**Conclusions:** Immigrants approach and participate in web-based communities to satisfy their traditional needs, which are: (a) information gathering; and (b) communication; and (c) building new relationships. In subsection 5.7.3, we listed eight issues for which the web could be seen as a tool to resolve them. In summary, the eight issues demonstrate common new needs of immigrants as they are shaped by: (a) the definition of the immigrant's status; (b) the circumstances of the immigrant's new life; (c) the immigrant's cultural transitions; and (d) the immigrant's geographical transitions when they relocate. After analysing the way in which users employ web communities, and the ways in which they think about the effects this usage has on their offline lives, we distinguished three offline effects of web communities on immigrants as an answer to RQ3.

Due to their usage of their web community, the immigrants were able to enrich their offline lives with the three new offline effects:

- (1) An information centre for their real life world – web communities dynamically provide useful information that the users need in order to organize their immigrant lives

- (2) A communication space – web communities provide a means for communication with those who remain in the immigrants’ countries of origin and those they meet in their new country
- (3) A relationship-building tool – web communities supply users with forums for the creation and maintenance of their new relationships with other users.

In table 5.1 we present the immigrants’ usage of web communities as tools for satisfying the eight issues (section 5.7) in respect of the three offline effects.

NOTE: In table 5.1 the numbers 1-8 in the “eight issues” column refer to the same numbers employed for the eight issues mentioned in section 5.7.3, viz:

- (1) giving them a feeling of belonging;
- (2) finding someone with whom to communicate;
- (3) making them better informed;
- (4) giving them emotional support;
- (5) helping them to make new contacts;
- (6) keeping them in touch with their native language;
- (7) helping them to learn about their host culture; and
- (8) enabling them to find practical advice.

We can see from this table (Table 5.1) which of the eight issues applies to each of the three new offline effects.

**Table 5.1 Three new offline effects in relation to the eight issues**

new offline effects	eight issues		
1. information centre for the real life world	3	7	8
2. communication space	2	4	6
3. relationship-building tool	1	5	

NOTE: In table 5.2 the numbers 1-5 in the “five KPIs” column refer to the same numbers employed for the five Key Performance Indicators mentioned in section 4, viz:

- (1) Community building;
- (2) Community norms and values;
- (3) Community identity and immigration issues;
- (4) Diffuse reciprocal activities; and
- (5) Community engagement.

We can see from Table 5.2 which of the five KPIs apply to each of the three new offline effects.

**Table 5.2 Three new offline effects in relation to the five KPIs**

new offline effects	five KPIs		
1. information centre for the real life world	1	4	
2. communication space	2	4	
3. relationship-building tool	3	4	5

In brief, the phenomenon of immigration has demonstrated that immigrants have three traditional needs – information, communication, and building new relationships. Our study focuses on five KPIs and detected eight issues related to the needs of immigrants. From these findings we were able to distinguish three new offline effects. The redistribution of the eight issues on the three offline effects is given in Table 5.1. The redistribution of the five KPIs over the three of-line effects is given in Table 5.2. We discuss the three offline effects, in subsections 5.9.1, 5.9.2, and 5.9.3.

### **5.9.1 An information centre for the real life world**

People use immigrant web communities to get first-hand information. First-hand information is valuable since it combines administrative data supported with personal experiences of the issue at stake. In section 5.4, we have shown that the users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, profit from the information published in those web communities. In order to manage their lives in their new society, users are highly practical and operational.

Immigrants are using web communities in all phases of their immigrant lives: (1) in preparing to leave their country of origin; (2) on arrival at their new destination; and, even later, (3) when they become experienced in the local way of living, viz. when they use the same tool to help others. These three different phases run in parallel with three different roles for the user.

1<sup>st</sup> phase - In the first phase, when one is preparing to move, one is looking for practical information: How to obtain a visa? How to prolong a visa? How to change one's social status? What is the best way to travel? How are immigrants treated in the new host society? What is the standard of living? and so on.

2<sup>nd</sup> phase - In the second phase one addresses the web community, after one's arrival in the new host society. One would also like to obtain information about the new society, but this time one addresses the web community with a somewhat different perspective. Typical questions are: How to find job? How to find a flat? How to apply for a social security number, an identity card or a driving license? How to use the health system? How to use the social welfare system? How to enrol in a university? Where to find language schools? How to enrol kids in a kindergarten? Which is a good neighbourhood in which to reside? How to solve legal problems? How to approach the culture of the new host society? What are the new norms and standards? And so on.

3<sup>rd</sup> phase - In the third phase, the experienced immigrants help newcomers, both in matters of local lifestyle and in web community activities, by being active online. They guide new members through a local web community culture, protect the accumulated knowledge of the web community, and refer to it. They offer help with local administration, and with the language, and they offer professional and social support, and so on.

Immigrant users are generally aware of all the properties of the Internet and they benefit from that knowledge. Their choice of the information they select is driven by the users' personal needs. The display of information is clear, easy to understand, and sometimes even translated, with detailed advice and instructions etc. As shown in section 5.7 users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, reported that their usage of the web helped them to be well informed, to learn about the host culture, and to find practical advice (Table 5.1, needs 3, 7, and 8).

Together with the need to be informed, the success of this living info centre lies on a solid motivation. Those who experienced something in advance are willing to share their experiences and make it easier for those who come later. What makes this living information centre specifically practical and easy to use beside web 2.0 technological options, is the fact that newly arrived immigrants tend to go online to find first-hand help in their native language.

### **5.9.2 A communication space**

Immigrant users know that the Internet is: (1) the space of instant communication; (2) very easy to use; (3) independent of time and space; (4) without social and physical clues such as their voice or their skin colour, which might act as obstacles; and (5) a space that gathers many people and experiences. From the “communication space” row in Table 5.1 we see that the reasons why users are members of their web communities are: to find someone to communicate with, to obtain emotional support, and to stay in touch with their native language (issues 2, 4, and 6, as identified in section 5.7).

Once a new user follows the advice of a more experienced user, he or she is likely to regard that as a satisfactory experience of the particular web community, and then their trust in that community will rise (section 5.5). Being thus satisfied, the user will want to do the same for the community, to give something back by sharing his personal experience or expertise with others. This is the process of diffused reciprocity discussed earlier (see section 5.7), which operates along all three offline effects. The result of this mutual positive exchange creates a group of people online, a group in which the members trust and cooperate with each other.

In matters of trust it is necessary to take a philosophical view, as with all social systems, because some people are not to be trusted. This is why some form of social control is necessary and should be present in online social systems. In section 5.5 we showed that in order to maintain and protect an efficient and useful flow of communications between the users of a web community, the users should identify those community members who make inappropriate contributions, and publicly discuss their contributions and presence. Users typically will start their own membership of a web community with a certain amount of scepticism as to the trustworthiness of the published information. But after having some positive experiences the users will develop feelings of trust. Finally, we may argue that the web community spontaneously protects itself, and by such protection, it prolongs the periods of communications between users.

A web community is a communication space where users can easily enter and leave. Users enter without any big expectations, and they approach their web communities with different motivations, ranging from looking for information, to just having someone with whom to chat, or finding emotional

support. Users of both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, are using their web community to the extent that they find it comfortable.

### **5.9.3 Relationship building tool**

Web communities are living relationship laboratories. Our results from section 5.7 show that users identified web communities as resources for feelings of belonging and for maintaining or creating new ties in their host society (Table 5.1, issues 1, 5). Cheaper than ever before, they can maintain and create new contacts and feel better in a new country, even when they do not have many people around them. Communication with others in a similar situation, where users' interlocutors either live in the same host country or are spread worldwide, decreases their feelings of loneliness and stress. By exchanging experiences, especially the feeling of being an immigrant, they obtain emotional support and a feeling of belonging to a larger community. For newcomers, an opportunity to find information and create a new contact is priceless, especially in the phase when users are still inexperienced speakers of the new, local language.

The users of immigrant web communities analyse every contribution of the other users they encounter. By analysing the content provided by a particular user, they create an opinion about him and evaluate the person behind the contribution. If users find the analysed content satisfactory, and if this satisfactory experience repeats, they invest more time in that particular user by trying to build a more personal relationship. In section 5.6, we showed that the majority of interviewees (8 out of 12) from both web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, established contacts with new people outside of their circle of friends. Some of the users stated that their contacts even evolved into a more personal relationship over a period of time.

In the case when a more personal relationship is established, the communication between these actors is established through more personal technological channels (e.g., private messages, mails, SMS). If a particular software platform, where users have established a closer relationship, provides an option for managing personal communication, those users will exploit that channel. In case a software solution does not support that kind of privacy they will take their communication out of the web community, into a more private communication space. This more personal and private communication again becomes the subject of analysis, and the results of that analysis will reshape the amount of trust felt by a user. If a user's positive experience increases, the level of trust will rise, and the users will invest more

time in that relationship. Only then, the users will test the relationship for the last time online to see whether or not it will survive the test of time. In the case that the contact has not survived the test of time it will disappear. However, then the loss would not be so big. It was, after all, according to our study, just another weak tie.

However, if and when that identified personal contact does survive the test of time, the participating users will try to transform their online contact into an offline contact. In section 5.8, we showed that taking online contacts offline is accepted to some extent as a natural continuation of web community activity. In the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ the transformation from an online contact into an offline one happens because the weak contact becomes stronger over time. In case of THE LOCAL, the online to offline contact transfer happened to half of those who reported making new contacts online. Those who are willing to engage in offline contacts explicitly reported using the web community in order to take an online contact offline. Therefore it is not only that web communities create and maintain weak contacts, they are in some cases “social relationship transformers” which provide a new field of interaction capable of transforming a weak tie into a strong one.

After performing such a thorough analysis of the immigrants’ statements, we argue that the users nowadays treat some particular web communities as a tool. Thus, our answer to the research question RQ3 reads as follows: The offline, real life effects for immigrants of their web community activities express their practical web community attitude. They use the immigrant web communities as a living information centre, communication space, and relationship-building tool.





## 6 Conclusions and future research

In this study, the interaction between immigrants on the web is identified as an important part of the immigrants' everyday transnational and integration practices. The aim of this research was to analyse and understand the influence that web communities have on the creation of the social capital of immigrants, especially on the acquisition of bridging social capital. The intention to put web communities of immigrants under the magnifying glass has been driven by the idea of investigating, firstly by means of a quantitative approach, and then an interpretive ethnographic approach, to what extent such web communities function as a tool that can help immigrants in creating bridges to their host society.

In this chapter we present the conclusions of our research and highlight the most important findings and their social implications. We start in section 6.1 with a short overview of the complete research. Then, in section 6.2, we present the answers to our three research questions. Based on those answers we offer, in section 6.3, a full picture of those immigrants' web communities which we have investigated. There we address the problem statement and provide our conclusions. Finally, in section 6.4, we offer our recommendations for further research.

### 6.1 The research process

The nature of the research which we have conducted stems from the empirical interpretative tradition and it is interdisciplinary in its approach. The interdisciplinary nature combines immigration processes, IT-oriented web-based services, and an ethnographically rooted enquiry into the construction of social capital within immigrant communities. In other words, we focus on the social implications introduced by the usage of the web in the context of immigration. The motivation for this research was to obtain an answer to the Problem Statement: To what extent do immigrants acquire social capital by using web communities? We decided to analyse the immigrants' usage of web communities from different perspectives. After a thorough literature analysis (see Chapter 2), we were ready to start our fieldwork. Based on the theoretical concepts of social capital, we defined a precise research domain – we have chosen to investigate immigrants on the web from the perspectives of the immigrants' interest in *bonding social capital* and their interest in *bridging social capital*. We have selected two groups of immigrants as our subjects for analysis. One is the bonding social capital group - a group of immigrants, active on the web, who left Serbia and who now reside in various

countries throughout the world. The other is the bridging social capital group – a group of immigrants, active within one web community, the majority of whom are now living in Sweden.

In order to obtain a complete understanding of the various impacts of a *technosocial* system on current immigration processes we combined quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. In subsections 6.1.1, 6.1.2, and 6.1.3, we will briefly recapitulate the whole research process.

### **6.1.1 Descriptive analysis – quantitative analysis**

In Chapter 1, we formulated three Research Questions (RQs) to help us answer the Problem Statement (PS). The RQs were used as a guideline for our research. The first RQ reads: “What is the motivation behind the immigrants’ usage of the web?” To answer RQ1 we restricted our research to two groups of immigrants: (1) those immigrants who left Serbia (and now live all over the world); and (2), those immigrants who came from all over the world and now live in Sweden. In Chapter 3 our analysis began with a three-step quantitative study of the web for both groups of immigrants.

In the first step we identified all web spaces that deal with the topic of immigration (see definition 1.10), and we made the distinction between web sites and web communities among all web spaces. In the second step we performed a classification of all identified web spaces based on: (a) the ownership of the web space; (b) the relationship of the web space with a particular group; and (c) the main interest of that group. The third step was a technological analysis of two technical features: (a) reach; and (b) traffic.

By performing a thorough analysis, we were able to identify: (1) the users’ motivations for using the web in the context of immigration; and (2) the most influential web spaces in the context of immigration. In both cases, among the web spaces of immigrants who left Serbia, and among the web spaces of immigrants who now live in Sweden, the most successful web spaces were *profit-oriented* web communities (i.e., the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL).

### **6.1.2 Ethnographic interpretation – qualitative analysis**

RQ2 reads: “Is the acquisition of social capital from immigrants in web communities a tangible acquisition?” In order to answer RQ2 we have continued our investigation of the two identified web communities, the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL. Aiming to grasp the complexity of the data created by the users’ interactions in the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, we

employed an ethnographic interpretive analytic approach (Chapter 4). The goal of this approach was to identify and value the indicators of social capital in both web communities. For this purpose, we employed the following five Key Performance Indicators (KPIs): (1) Community building; (2) Community norms and values; (3) Community identity and immigration issues; (4) Diffuse reciprocal activities; and (5) Community engagement. To analyse and validate the KPIs, we established seven criteria (see Table 6.1).

**Table 6.1 The five Key Performance Indicators and their seven criteria**

KPI 1 – Community building	Criterion 1: Instances of in-group pronouns (e.g., “us” and “we”). Criterion 2: Instances of shared topics.
KPI 2 – Community norms and values	Criterion 3: Instances of roles played in the community, e.g., experts, information leaders; the roles that emerged based on trust.
KPI 3 – Community identity and immigration issues	Criterion 4: Instances of self-perception on being an immigrant. Criterion 5: Instances of a discussion on emerging facets of immigration.
KPI 4 – Diffuse reciprocal activities	Criterion 6: Instances of helping.
KPI 5 – Community engagement	Criterion 7: Instances of interactions concerning health, advice, and fighting injustice.

The users’ communications were examined in both web communities. In this way we were able to understand the users’ motivations in acquiring social capital in their web communities.

### **6.1.3 Interviews – qualitative analysis**

As a continuation of the ethnographic empirical interpretive analysis, and to answer to RQ3: “What are the offline effects for immigrants of their web community activities?”, we have interviewed users of each of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL web communities (Chapter 5). In order to learn how they perceive their web activities, and how these activities influence their lives, we conducted semi-constructed, synchronous online interviews.

Since the field of our research is characterised as an online realm, we conducted the interviews in the same context, by using Skype. The ethnographic study presented in Chapter 5 was carried out by analysing material from online interviews, gathered from 12 users of the SERBIAN CAFÉ and 12 users of THE LOCAL web community. We designed the following

questions with the intention of giving users the opportunity to speak about specific topics and to express their views (see Table 6.2).

**Table 6.2 The five Key Performance Indicators and their interview questions**

KPI 1 – Community building	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How did you discover a particular web community?</li> <li>2. Why did you use it?</li> <li>3. What did you expect from your activity in the web community?</li> </ol>
KPI 2 – Community norms and values	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you trust information you find?</li> <li>2. Do you trust informants?</li> </ol>
KPI 3 – Community identity and immigration issues	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you use web community discussions to be better informed about your host country?</li> <li>2. Do you meet new people online thanks to your interaction in the web community?</li> <li>3. Have you made important contacts online, outside of your usual circle of friends or acquaintances, thanks to your activity in the web community?</li> </ol>
KPI 4 – Diffuse reciprocal activities	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. How does your online activity influence your offline life?</li> </ol>
KPI 5 – Community engagement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Whom do you address with your questions most of the time?</li> <li>2. Do you use the web community to meet people in your real, offline life?</li> <li>3. What types of information can you discover thanks to the web community?</li> </ol>

Due to the methodology employed in the third step of our fieldwork, and in particular the fact that our data were collected through interviews, we were able to delve beneath the surface of the users' daily web activities and discover an invisible layer of the users' interactions. In addition, by analysing the answers in line with previously defined KPIs, we were able to obtain a deeper understanding of the effects that online life has on offline life. This understanding enabled us to answer RQ3.

In section 6.2, we present the answers on the three RQs.

## **6.2 Answers to the RQs**

In subsection 1.6 we formulated three research questions. We addressed these research questions in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Here we summarise our answers to the three research questions. Our formulation can be seen as a preliminary step for answering the Problem Statement.

### 6.2.1 The main motivation (RQ1)

Our research combined three fields of interest, viz.: (1) immigration; (2) information technology, specifically the web; and (3) social capital. Consequently our empirical analysis began with the identification of the motivation that drove the immigrants' usage of the web. This led us to the formulation of our first research question.

RQ1: What is the motivation behind the immigrants' usage of the web?

To answer RQ1 we performed an explorative investigation of a quantitative nature. The findings signify a trend that is supported by four conclusions.

- (1) There is no big difference between immigrants in their motivations for using the web. Some immigrants seek a bonding social capital, and others a bridging social capital. The members of both groups are online to be better informed about the following topics:
  - (a) general information on immigration issues (visas, housing, job, relocation);
  - (b) socialising;
  - (c) culture, language, and sports (both native sports and foreign sports);
  - (d) following traditional media (radio and TV) and new Internet media (newspapers, magazines, blogs, webTV ).
- (2) The majority of web spaces identified by our research are deployed by immigrants themselves with a positive, non-profit motivation.
- (3) A profit orientation is identified in immigrants' usage of the web.
- (4) Web communities with an interest in bonding social capital are more profit-oriented than those with an interest in bridging social capital.

From these brief summaries of our four conclusions, the answer to RQ1 reads as follows.

The interactive tools that best support the users' communication requirements in their web communities are those such as social networks that attract the most attention in the field of immigration. Immigrants use the web as their space of expression, communication, and action. The motivation of immigrants for using the web is simultaneously directed at bonding social capital and bridging social capital. The difference between *bonding social capital* on the web and *bridging social capital* on the web is not identified, except in the field of profit acquisition. Our research has pinpointed that

bonding social capital web spaces are more motivated by profit than are bridging social capital web spaces.

### **6.2.2 Is social capital a tangible acquisition? (RQ2)**

After identifying the most successful and influential web spaces in both groups (see Chapter 3), i.e., the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL, we established that both were profit-oriented web communities. Subsequently we continued our research by attempting to grasp the effects of the users' activities, within their web communities, on the acquisition of social capital (Chapter 4). That attempt brought us to the formulation of our second research question.

RQ2: Is the acquisition of social capital from immigrants in web-communities a tangible acquisition?

To be able to answer RQ2, we continued our research by using a qualitative methodological approach. We did so by employing an ethnographic observation and interpretation of the interactions of the users of the web community. Below we offer our six conclusions related to the five KPIs and the differences between bonding and bridging activities.

- (1) Community building - the building of a community, as expressed through examples of in-group pronouns, is similar in both web communities, while the building of a community as measured by examples of the shared topic of discrimination, is expressed much more in the SERBIAN CAFÉ than it is in THE LOCAL.
- (2) Community norms and values – a positive reputation and a feeling of trust (the latter being dependent on a positive reputation), are normally created after a number of positive experiences. The community norms and values in both web communities are created in a similar way. In both web communities, members look for the solutions to their problems from experts and information leaders in the community who they trust.
- (3) Community identity and immigration issues - the self-perception of being an immigrant is expressed at the same level in both web communities. The formation of immigrant groups into hierarchies is identified in both web communities: in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ that split is “us” who remained, as against “them” who returned to their native Serbia, while in THE LOCAL it is the formation of

hierarchies based on religious grounds. However, in THE LOCAL this split created greater tension between users than exists in the SERBIAN CAFÉ.

- (4) Diffuse reciprocal activities - these are recognised as a useful asset by the members of the two web-based communities.
- (5) Community engagement - communication via a web community is a successful solution to the problem of how best to support others.
- (6) The question as to a division between the bonding and bridging activities has a definite answer: There is no clear division identified between them. Users of both web communities bond and bridge simultaneously with respect to the nature of their web community (see below and Chapter 5).

The answer to RQ2 reads as follows. The *acquisition of social capital* from immigrants in the web communities is a *tangible acquisition*. The reason is that users of both communities are motivated by the acquisition of social capital. They feel that social capital is a tangible asset. By being members of a web community, they use the community as a space for expressing their frustrations at being discriminated against as immigrants. They look for solutions to their problems amongst people who they trust in their own web communities. By helping one user they help others, since the information they provide for one user is publicly available and other users can profit from it. They support each other and create online and offline relationships. In other words, they bond and bridge simultaneously.

### **6.2.3 The offline effects (RQ3)**

In Chapter 5, as a logical continuation of our investigation, our goal was to grasp the users' evaluations of their own online activities. Therefore we formulated the third research question as follows.

RQ3: What are the real-life effects for immigrants of their web community activities?

In order to answer RQ3 we have continued using a qualitative research method. We have interviewed 24 users from both web communities by using Skype. The questions designed for the interviews are listed in subsection 6.1.3.



Our analysis of: (1) the way that users act in the web communities; and (2) the way that they think about the effects that their activities have on their offline life, both resulted in the identification of three offline effects, viz.

- (a) a living information centre,
- (b) a communication space,
- (c) a relationship-building tool.

They are extensively described in Chapter 5.

### **6.3 Answers to the Problem Statement and our Conclusions**

In this section we reiterate the most important findings of this study and we formulate conclusions that will help us to better understand the influence of the immigrants' interactions within their web community on their acquisition of social capital.

We start by mentioning the most important findings in the field of the methodology we employ (subsection 6.3.1). Then, in subsection 6.3.2, we connect all the conclusions reached thus far. Subsequently we highlight the most important discrepancies between theory and our practical results (subsection 6.3.3). Finally, in subsection 6.3.4 we present the answer to our Problem Statement.

#### **6.3.1 Research methodology**

The wide range of activities and goals that users expect to find in web communities make these communities a relevant research context that spans many disciplines and traditions. The mutual interaction between: (a) the rapid development of technology on which web communities are based; and (b) the networked nature of web communities, has resulted in at least two challenging trade-offs. (1) It is essential to be aware in which way the web communities evolve in a technological context (*technology vs. norms*). Simultaneously, (2) it is essential for the social processes in general to follow the implications of technological changes (*technology vs. social processes*).

The first challenging trade-off is *technology vs. norms*. As technologies evolve over time, so do users, i.e., in practice, the users change norms and interpersonal relations. Indeed, we live in an era of rapid technological changes, resulting in the availability of a variety of web services. Any researcher can find themselves in the middle of their own analysis of a collection

of data. Such a researcher may discover: (1) that an important feature is replaced; or (2) that behavioural norms have changed (cf. Ellison and Boyd, 2013). In order to produce an enduring and useful analysis, scholars must be quite careful in documenting the time and the techno-social context of the web service they analyse.

The second challenging trade-off is *technology vs. social processes*. Because of the techno-social nature of the web community, i.e., their “living system”, it is impossible to produce a thorough scientific result without employing both quantitative and qualitative analytic methods. Such a combination of different quantitative and qualitative methods as used in this research can lead to new findings, for example we discovered a quite important “invisible layer” (Chapter 5) of the user’s everyday practices. Even though we began with a quantitative analysis (Chapter 3), followed by the qualitative methods of ethnographic analysis of the users’ interactions (Chapter 4), we were not able to identify the invisible layer until we were engaged in direct communication with the users, i.e., the interviews which we conducted (Chapter 5). That discovery happened in the following way. In order to satisfy their needs, the users of the web community combined different technological solutions on a daily basis. This meant that their interactions outside of their web communities (the SERBIAN CAFÉ and THE LOCAL) were invisible to our research methodology as described in Chapters 3 and 4. But the interviews in Chapter 5 brought the concept of the “invisible layer” to light. Therefore, we feel it is important to stress the results we obtained from the synergy of our quantitative and qualitative research methods. We consider the concept of the invisible layer to be an important implicit finding of our research.

### **6.3.2 Connecting the conclusions of the RQs**

Immigrants exhibit two parallel points of view. One gathers ideas from the same cultural background (i.e., a bonding social capital group) while the other connects ideas from different backgrounds (i.e., a bridging social capital group). Moreover, our results showed that the real influence for immigrants on the web comes from web communities. Even though the general distribution of the web spaces for immigrants shows that approximately only 10% of these spaces are web communities, we may conclude that the most successful web spaces are still the *organisation-sponsored* and *profit-oriented* web communities. The non-profit web spaces are also identified, but they have far less influence. It is quite interesting to note that it is the immigrants themselves who, for non-profit motivations, deployed the majority of web spaces identified by this research.

The above conclusion undoubtedly highlights a two-fold trend in the context of immigration. Trend 1 is that web communities are on the rise. In other words, the possibility to interact on the web is identified as a valuable tool for treating the problems that follow the experience of immigration. Trend 2 is that the topic of immigration is identified and addressed as a field where the users have the potential to earn money.

Our research has identified that a web reach that has as its emphasis bonding social capital web spaces is more motivated by profit than one which has as its emphasis bridging social capital web spaces (Chapter 3). Clearly, a web community creates a profitable climate for its users. It offers them the opportunity to profit from the conviviality and the street-like economy behaviour of its members that web communities tend to create. As we can see from the two immigrant web communities which we have studied, the usage of both communities is motivated by the acquisition of social capital (Chapter 4). Users of both web communities build reputations and trust through promoting specific social norms. Through building their online immigrant communities and by creating a feeling of engagement within their community, they create a space for helping and supporting each other by performing diffuse reciprocal activities. In this way they also bond while they bridge, and vice versa. Thanks to their lives in their web communities, users are able to find new people with whom to talk, they are able to fight injustice, and even to organize offline activities together.

As a result of our study of users' interactions within their web communities, we identified an important but unexpected paradox. In summary, it is as follows. The identified unifying community identity of *being an immigrant* can be split into two different strands depending on the users' discussions. Firstly, in the case of the SERBIAN CAFÉ, the *group immigrant identity* splits into "us" who remained in their host country and "them" who returned to their homeland, according to whether they stayed in Serbia or left there. Second, in the case of THE LOCAL, the expression of immigrant identity splits along religious grounds, creating a kind of immigrant hierarchy, as seen in the immigrants' anti-immigration paradox (see section 4.7). We can thus observe that the web communities simultaneously bring people together and separate them.

Finally, our results show that contemporary immigrants live in a world comprised of both traditional and technologically advanced models of

communication, and in spaces of social activity. New possibilities, as introduced by widespread online web usage, complement more traditional offline activities. According to the users' testimonies given in the interviews we conducted, we distinguished three effects that their online activities had on their offline lives. Thanks to the existence of the web communities, and the users' practical web community approach, immigrants on the web are empowered by using: (1) a new living information centre; (2) a new communication space; and (3) a new relationship-building tool (see Chapter 5).

### **6.3.3 Answering the Problem Statement**

By combining all the above conclusions into a full picture of the immigrants' activities, we are able to answer the Problem Statement (see Chapter 1): To what extent do immigrants acquire social capital by using web communities? With reference to that combination of our conclusions we arrive at the following answer, which consists of three points.

- (1) Immigrants acquire social capital by using web communities: (a) to a large extent; (b) in a practical manner; and (c) as tools that help in satisfying their needs with respect to community belonging, helping and supporting each other, information provision, communication, and building relationships.
- (2) The results from our research have shown that *web communities* are the most influential actors in the field of immigration on the web.
- (3) Our research also revealed that the activities of bonding social capital and bridging social capital happen simultaneously during the activities of the immigrants in their web community.

### **6.3.4 Contrasting theory and research results**

It is impossible to analyse immigration without analysing social capital – the two cannot be separated. The importance of bonding and bridging social capital for immigrant integration is well rooted in Putnam's statement (2000, p. 19) "whereas bonding is to get by, bridging is to get ahead" (see Chapter 2). As acknowledged in the work of other researchers on web communication for bonding and bridging communities (e.g, Hadi, 2013), web media provide new opportunities for bonding and bridging communities, both in the host country and transnationally. Previous studies of college populations and adult populations found that using web communities relates to higher levels of bonding and bridging social capital (cf., Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe, 2007; Steinfield et al., 2009; Valenzuela, Park, and Kee, 2009) (see Chapter 1). An

analysis of the economic returns of immigrants' bonding and bridging social capital (Lancee, 2010) led to the conclusion that bridging networks are positively associated with both employment and income, while bonding networks do not affect economic outcomes. By arguing that weak ties are more beneficial at providing jobs, Smith (2012) confirms Lancee's findings. The discovery of a positive correlation between the web communities used and the rise of social capital within those communities prompted the question as to whether the effects of their online usage influence the immigrants' social and economic integration in one way or another (i.e., their offline lives) (see Chapter 1). Following that line of investigation, recent studies (Ahn, 2012; Sabatini and Sarracino, 2013) show that users of web communities acquire higher levels of social capital both in their online and offline lives. The research presented in this thesis was motivated by similar ideas. We refer to section 6.4 for our recommendations as to directions for further research.

We feel it is important to emphasise the discrepancy between theoretically introduced concepts and findings that describe the practical behaviour of immigrants (see Chapter 1). A theoretically introduced separation of bonding and bridging social capital activities is not recorded as a practical, behavioural activity of immigrants. In accordance with the strict theoretical concepts of bonding social capital and bridging social capital (see definitions 1.5 and 1.6), the SERBIAN CAFÉ web community is defined as a bonding social capital web community. Following the same logic, THE LOCAL is defined as a bridging social capital web community. However, activities as performed by the users of both communities are not strictly divided into bonding or bridging activities. They bond and bridge simultaneously regardless of the nature of the web community (Chapter 4).

An analogous line of reasoning applies to the theoretically introduced "*cosmopolitan*" lifestyle of immigrants that emerged through their web usage (cf. Nedelcu, 2009, 2012) (see Chapter 2). During our research we did not encounter any traces of cosmopolitan self-perception by immigrants. Although we find that the term "*cosmopolitan*" endows the lifestyle of immigrants with an exaggerated meaning, we believe that, viewing the matter from a strictly theoretical perspective, a cosmopolitan way of life exists to some extent within their web communities. Most immigrants are pragmatically oriented and they engage in everyday practices with people from other countries (cf. Noble 2009). Wessendorf (2010) is more precise in describing the different social relationships that arise from such "super-diverse" context, Referring to everyday living in the ethnic, religious, linguistic and socio-

economic diversity of London's Hackney, where many users of immigrant web communities live, Wessendorf (2010) introduces the two concepts of "common place diversity" and "banal" cosmopolitanism. "To look at these everyday practices implies taking the study of cosmopolitanism beyond a mere description of worldviews and attitudes which enable people to interact and communicate with a range of cultural others." (Wessendorf, 2010, p. 18). Practices that are related to the adoption of cultural skills and that serve the purpose of interaction with others are described by Vertovec (2009) as "*multiple cultural competence*". They are different from cosmopolitan attitudes or orientation. Nevertheless, both views are interesting and they may open new vistas on the subject of immigrant integration.

#### **6.4 Future research**

The aim of this research was to contribute to scientific knowledge on the integration of immigrants and their acquisition of social capital on the web. We performed an analysis of the immigrants' web communities and showed that web communities are practical tools, which can be quite helpful in satisfying the immigrants' daily needs. During our investigation we came across several research areas that could be suitable and useful for further research. We now mention three main areas that we feel offer potential for further research.

##### *Area 1: Combining social capital with advanced software solutions*

Having in mind that our research identified immigrants' web communities as tools for the acquisition of social capital, we recommend continuing the research that specifically targets the understanding of bridging social capital potential on the web. That research should combine the development of an appropriate (quantitative and qualitative) methodology, with a specifically designed, tailor-made software solution (a top-down approach, where the software solution would be specifically designed to target the acquisition of social capital).

##### *Area 2: Broaden the idea of the immigrant/anti-immigrant paradox*

The identification of the immigrant/anti-immigration paradox has raised many questions on the understanding of the benefits and negatives of a multicultural dialogue on the web. We recommend deepening that research. It should be deployed simultaneously in several EU immigrant hosting countries, in order to test whether or not immigrants' web usage and social capital acquisition are sensitive to different hosting societies, and/or different

cultural backgrounds. The understanding of multicultural effects on the acquisition of bridging social capital might result in developing tools that can facilitate integration.

*Area 3: Development of advanced web community software*

Aiming to create a web community tool for the online creation of bridging social capital, we recommend the design of an action plan in which representatives of the hosting community, volunteers, and local mentors, would be introduced to immigrants who are in need of bridging social capital. Deployment of a software solution for the web community, which will bring together host citizens and immigrants in the same living “laboratory”, might result in an understanding of how a direct dialogue influences the acquisition of social capital. In addition, it could provide policy makers with the insights needed to facilitate the successful integration of a help network.

## References

- Abdelhady, D. (2011). *The Lebanese Diaspora: The Arab Immigrant Experience in Montreal, New York, and Paris*: New York University Press
- Adler, P. S., & Kwon, S.W. (2002). Social Capital: Prospects for a New Concept. *Academy of Management Review*, 27(1), 17-40.
- Ahn, J. (2012). Teenagers' experiences with social network sites: Relationships to bridging and bonding social capital. *The Information Society*, 28(2), 99-109.
- Ala-Mutka, K. (2009). Fostering ICT Professionalism *European E-Skills Conference: Conference Report*: European Commission.
- Ala-Mutka, K. (2010). Learning in Informal Online Networks and Communities *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Seville, Spain: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC
- Ala-Mutka, K., Broste, D., Cachia, R., Centeno, C., Feijóo, C., Haché, A., . . . Valverde, J. A. (2009). The Impact of Social Computing on the EU Information Society and Economy. In Y. Punie, W. Lusoli, C. Centeno, G. Misuraca & D. Broster (Eds.), *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Seville, SPAIN: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Alonso, A., & Oiarzabal, P. J. (2010). *Diasporas in the new media age: Identity, politics, and community*: University of Nevada Press.
- Amin, A., & Parkinson, M. (2002). Ethnicity and the multicultural city: living with diversity. *Environment and planning A*, 34(6), 959-980.
- Androutsopoulos, J. (2011). From variation to heteroglossia in the study of computer-mediated discourse. *Digital discourse: Language in the new media*, 277-298.
- Anthias, F. (2007). Ethnic ties: social capital and the question of mobilisability. *The Sociological Review*, 55(4), 788–805.
- Appadurai, A. (1995). The production of locality. In R. Fardon (Ed.), *Counterworks: Managing the diversity of knowledge* (pp. 204-225). London: Routledge.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization* (Vol. 1): U of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, A. (2006). *Fear of small numbers: An essay on the geography of anger*: Duke University Press.
- Armstrong, A., & Hagel, J. (1995). Real profits from virtual communities. *McKinsey Quarterly*, 126-126.
- Arrow, K. J. (1974). *The limits of organisation*. New York: Norton.
- Artieri, G. B., Rossi, D. L., & Giglietto, D. F. *Analysing User Generated Content for social science*. Generational “we sense” in the Italian blogosphere.
- Bailey, T., & Waldinger, R. (1991). Primary, secondary, and enclave labor markets: A training systems approach. *American Sociological Review*, 432-445.
- Bakardjieva, M. (2005). *Internet society: The Internet in everyday life*: Sage.
- Basch, L., Glick-Schiller, N., & Blanc, C. S. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments, and deterritorialized nation-states*: Psychology Press.
- Bates, J., & Komito, L. (2013). Migration, Community and Social Media. In G. Boucher, A. Grinsted & T. L. Vincente (Eds.), *Transnationalism in the Global City*: Deusto Digital.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity* (Vol. 9): Polity Press Cambridge.
- Bauman, Z. (2010). *44 letters from the liquid modern world*: Polity.



- Baym, N. K. (2009). What constitutes quality in qualitative internet research. *Internet inquiry. Conversations about method*, 173-189.
- Beck, U. (2002). The cosmopolitan society and its enemies. *Theory, culture & society*, 19(1-2), 17-44.
- Becker, H. S., & Geer, B. (1957). Participant observation and interviewing: A comparison. *Human Organization*, 16(3), 28-32.
- Becker-Jakob, U., & Hofmann, G. (2013). Good International Citizens. *Norm Dynamics in Multilateral Arms Control: Interests, Conflicts, and Justice*.
- Beugelsdijk, S., & Smulders, S. (2003). Bridging and bonding social capital: Which type is good for economic growth. *The cultural diversity of European unity, findings, explanations and reflections from the European values study*, 147-184.
- Bidet, E. (2009). Social Capital and Work Integration of Migrants: The Case of North Korean Defectors in South Korea. *Asian Perspective*, 33, 151-179.
- Bijker, W. E., Hughes, T. P., & Trevor, J. (1984). Pinch, eds. 1987. The social construction of technological systems: New directions in the sociology and history of technology: Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bjørnskov, C. (2005). *Investigations in the economics of social capital*: Department of Economics, Aarhus School of Business.
- Boase, J., & Wellman, B. (2006). Personal relationships: On and off the Internet. *The Cambridge handbook of personal relationships*, 709-723.
- Boellstorff, T. (2010). A typology of ethnographic scales for virtual worlds *Online worlds: Convergence of the real and the virtual* (pp. 123-133): Springer.
- Borevi, K. (2012). The Political Dynamics of Multiculturalism in Sweden. *Challenging Multiculturalism: European Models of Diversity*, 138.
- Borkert, M., Cingolani, P., & Premazzi, V. (2009). The State of the Art of Research in the EU on the Take up and Use of ICT by Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities. *Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities*.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980). Le capital social. *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 31(1980), 2-3.
- Bourdieu, P. (2006). Le capital social. Notes provisoires. *Recherches/MAUSS*, 29-34.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. J. (1992). *An invitation to reflexive sociology*: University of Chicago Press.
- Boyd, D. (2007). The Significance of Social Software In T. N. Burg & J. Schmidt (Eds.), *BlogTalks Reloaded: Social Software Research & Cases* (pp. 15-30). Norderstedt, Germany: Books on Demand.
- Boyd, D., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social Network Sites: Definition, History and Scholarship. *Journal of Computer – Mediated Communication*, 13(1).
- Boyd, D. M. (2008). *Taken out of context: American teen sociality in networked publics*: ProQuest.
- Brinton, M. C. (2000). Social Capital in the Japanese Youth Labor Market: Labor Market Policy, Schools, and Norms. *Policy Sciences*, 33, 289-306.
- Brokert, M., Cingolani, P., & Premazzi, V. (2009). The State of the Art of Research in the EU on the Take up and Use of ICT by Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities. In S. Kluzer & A. Haché (Eds.), *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Seville, Spain: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Brubaker, R. (2002). Ethnicity without groups. *Archives européennes de sociologie*, 43(2), 163-189.
- Brubaker, R. (2004). *Ethnicity Without Groups C*: Harvard University Press.

- Buonfino, A., Byrne, L., Collett, E., Cruddas, J., Cuperus, R., Dijsselbloem, J., . . . Ibáñez, C. R. (2007). *Rethinking Immigration and Integration: a New Centre- Left Agenda*. London UK: Policy Network.
- Burnett, G. (2000). Information exchange in virtual communities: a typology. *Information research*, 5(4).
- Buskens, V. (2002). *Social networks and trust* (Vol. 30): Springer.
- Cachia, R., Kluzer, S., Cabrera, M., Centeno, C., & Punie, Y. (2007). ICT, Social Capital and Cultural Diversity *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC*.
- Caidi, N., Allard, D., & Quirke, L. (2010). Information practices of immigrants. *Annual review of information science and technology*, 44(1), 491-531.
- Campbell, A. (2006). The search for authenticity An exploration of an online skinhead newsgroup. *New Media & Society*, 8(2), 269-294.
- Cardon, D., & Aguiton, C. (2007). The strength of weak cooperation: An attempt to understand the meaning of web 2.0. *Communications & Strategies*, 65, 51-65.
- Cartwright, A., Sik, E., & Svensson, S. (2007). Social Capital and the Integration of Minorities and Immigrants in Hungary. *Language*, 10.
- Castells, M. (2000). *The Rise of The Network Society: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*: John Wiley & Sons.
- Castells, M. (2002). Local and Global: Cities in the Network Society 1. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 93(5), 548-558.
- Castells, M. (2003). The power of identity: The information Age: Economy, society and culture, Volume II (The information age).
- Castells, M. (2010). Globalisation, networking, urbanisation: reflections on the spatial dynamics of the Information Age. *Urban Studies*, 47(13), 2737-2745.
- Castells, M. (2011). *The power of identity: The information age: Economy, society, and culture* (Vol. 2): John Wiley & Sons.
- Castles, S. (2000). International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century: Global Trends and Issues. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 269-281.
- Castles, S. (2002). International Migration at the Beginning of the Twenty-first Century: Global Trends and Issues. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 269-281.
- Castles, S., & Davidson, A. (2000). *Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging*. New York: ROUTLEDGE.
- Charalabidis, Y., Misuraca, G., & Wimmer, M (2008). e-Participation Systems and Services in Converging Regions. *International Journal of Electronic Governance (IJEG)*, 1.
- Chen, N.-T. N., Dong, F., Ball-Rokeach, S. J., Parks, M., & Huang, J. (2012). Building a new media platform for local storytelling and civic engagement in ethnically diverse neighborhoods. *New Media & Society*, 14(6), 931-950.
- Chen, P., & Hinton, S. M. (1999). Realtime interviewing using the world wide web. *Sociological Research Online*, 4(3).
- Chen, R. T. H., Bennett, S., & Maton, K. (2008). The adaptation of Chinese international students to online flexible learning: two case studies. *Distance Education*, 29(3), 307-323.
- Chen, S.-L. S., Hall, G. J., & Johns, M. D. (2004). Research paparazzi in cyberspace: The voices of the researched. *Johns, MD, Chen, SL. S., Hall, GJ (eds) Online Social Research: Methods, Issues and Ethics* New York: Peter Lang.
- Chen, W., Boase, J., & Wellman, B. (2002). The global villagers: Comparing Internet users and uses around the world. *The Internet in everyday life*, 74-113.

- Chen, W., & Choi, S. K. A. (2011). Leveraging Computer Mediated Communication for Social Support in Immigrants' Intercultural Adaptation. *Cross-Cultural Communication*, 7(3), 167-176.
- Chiswick, B., & Miller, P. (2007). Computer Usage, Destination Language Proficiency and the Earnings of Natives and Immigrants. *Review of Economics of the Household*, 5(2), 129-157.
- Chua, V., Madej, J., & Wellman, B. (2011). Personal communities: the world according to me. *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, 101.
- Clegg Smith, K. M. (2004). Electronic Eavesdropping: The ethical issues involved in conducting a virtual ethnography. *Online Social Research: Methods, Issues, and Ethics*, 223-238.
- Clyne, M. G. (2003). *Dynamics of language contact: English and immigrant languages*: Cambridge University Press.
- Codagnone, C., & Kluzer, S. (2011). ICT for the Social and Economic Integration of Migrants into Europe *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Seville, Spain: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Cole, J. I., Suman, M., Schramm, P., van Bel, D., Lunn, B., Maguire, P., . . . Aquino, J. (2000) The UCLA Internet report: Surveying the digital future.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 95-120.
- Collins, J. (2011). Exploring Cosmopolitanism. *Cosmopolitan Civil Societies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 3(3), i-vi.
- Croucher, S. M. (2008). *Looking beyond the hijab*: Hampton Pr.
- Croucher, S. M. (2011). Social networking and cultural adaptation: A theoretical model. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 4(4), 259-264.
- Croucher, S. M., & Cronn-Mills, D. (2011). *Religious misperceptions: The case of Muslims and Christians in France and Britain*: Hampton Press.
- Curley, A. M. (2010). Relocating the poor: Social capital and neighborhood resources. *Journal of urban affairs*, 32(1), 79-103.
- Curran, S. R., & Saguy, A. C. (2013). Migration and cultural change: a role for gender and social networks? *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 2(3), 54-77.
- de Zúñiga, H. G. (2009). „Blogs, journalism and political participation,“. *Journalism and Citizenship: New agendas in communication*, Z. Papacharissi, Ed., Routledge: New York, 108-123.
- Delanty, G. (2000). *Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics*: Open University Press Buckingham.
- Dhar, R., & Wertenbroch, K. (2000). Consumer choice between hedonic and utilitarian goods. *Journal of marketing research*, 60-71.
- Di Maio, A., Kreizman, G., Harris, R. G., Rust, B., & Sood, R. (2005). Government in 2020: Taking the Long View. *Gartner (ID Number G00136466)*
- diGennaro, C., & Dutton, W. H. (2007). Reconfiguring Friendships: Social Relationships and the Internet. *Information, Communication & Society*, 10(5), 591-618.
- Dijk, J. v. (2006). *The Network Society* (second edition ed.): Sage Publications Ltd.
- Diminescu, D. (2008). The connected migrant: an epistemological manifesto. *Social Science Information*, 47(4), 565-579.

- Diminescu, D., Gangloff, S., Picard, M.A., d'Iribarne, C. (2009). ICT for Integration, Social Inclusion and Economic Participation of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: Case Studies from France. In S. K. a. A. Haché (Ed.), *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Seville, Spain: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Donath, J., & Boyd, D. (2004). Public Displays of Connection. *BT Technology Journal* 22(4), 71-82.
- Donath, J. S. (1996). *Inhabiting the Virtual City: The Design of Social Environments for Electronic Communities*. PhD Thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Donath, J. S. (1999). Identity and deception in the virtual community. *Communities in cyberspace*, 1996, 29-59.
- Drever, A. I., & Hoffmeister, O. (2008). Immigrants and Social Networks in a Job-Scarce Environment: The Case of Germany. *International Migration Review*, 42(2), 425-448.
- Driessen, M., van Emmerik, J., Fuhri, K., Nygren-Junkin, L., & Spotti, M. (2011). ICT Use in L2 Education for Adult Migrants. *A qualitative study in the Netherlands and Sweden*.
- Dubé, L., Bourhis, A., & Jacob, R. (2006). Towards a typology of virtual communities of practice. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Information, Knowledge, and Management*, 1(1), 69-93.
- Dumont, J.-C., & Lemaitre, G. (2005). *Counting immigrants and expatriates in OECD countries: a new perspective*: OECD Paris.
- Dutton, W. H., & Jeffreys, P. W. (2010). *World wide research: Reshaping the sciences and humanities*: MIT Press.
- Ebenhofer, M., & Knierzinger, A. (2007). *Multicultural Classroom-The Potential of ICT for Intercultural Integration of Children in Primary Schools*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the International Conference of 'Interactive computer aided learning' ICL2007: E Portofolio and Quality in e-Learning.
- el-Aswad, e. S. (2013). Images of Muslims in Western scholarship and media after 9/11. *Digest of Middle East Studies*, 22(1), 39-56.
- Elias, N., & Lemish, D. (2008). Media Uses in Immigrant Families Torn between 'Inward' and 'Outward' Paths of Integration. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(1), 21-40.
- Elias, N., & Lemish, D. (2009). Spinning the web of identity: the roles of the internet in the lives of immigrant adolescents. *New Media & Society*, 11(4), 533-551.
- Ellison, N. B., & Boyd, D. M. (2013). Sociality through social network sites. *The Oxford handbook of internet studies*, 151.
- Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C., & Lampe, C. (2007). The Benefits of Facebook "Friends": Social Capital and College Students' Use of Online Social Network Sites *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12(4).
- Entzinger, H., & Biezeveld, R. (2003). *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration*. Rotterdam: European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER), Faculty of Social Sciences, Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Ersanilli, E., & Koopmans, R. (2010). Rewarding integration? Citizenship regulations and the socio-cultural integration of immigrants in the Netherlands, France and Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(5), 773-791.
- Feenberg, A., & Bakardjieva, M. (2004). Virtual Community: No 'Killer Implication'. *New Media & Society*, 6(1), 37-43.

- Ferguson, H. (1999). Glamour and the end of irony. *The Hedgehog*.
- Fernandez-Maldonado, A.-M. (2001). *Patterns of social diffusion and use of new information and communication technologies in Lima*. Paper presented at the The International Research Seminar on The Social Sustainability of Technological Networks, New York.
- Findahl, O. (2010). Swedes and the Internet 2010. *Stockholm: SE (The Internet Infrastructure Foundation)*.
- Fisher, K. E., Durrance, J. C., & Hinton, M. B. (2004). Information Grounds and the Use of Need-Based Services by Immigrants in Queens, New York: A Context- Based, Outcome Evaluation Approach. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 55(8), 754-766.
- Fuchs, C. (2009). The role of income inequality in a multivariate cross-national analysis of the digital divide. *Social Science Computer Review*, 27(1), 41-58.
- Garcia, A. C., Standlee, A. I., Bechkoff, J., & Cui, Y. (2009). Ethnographic approaches to the internet and computer-mediated communication. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 38(1), 52-84.
- Georgiadou, K., & Kekkeris, G. (2007). The ICTs Implication on the Construction of Immigrants' Identity: The Case of Women from Former Soviet Union (FSU) in Greek Thrace. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies* 1(1).
- Georgiou, M. (2002). Mapping Minorities and their Media: The National Context–Greece. Retrieved July, 24, 2012.
- Georgiou, M. (2006). *Diasporic communities on line: a bottom up experience of transnationalism*: Hampton Press.
- Georgiou, M., Bailey, O., & Harindranath, R. (2007). *Transnational lives and the media: re-imagining diasporas*: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gershon, I. (2011). *The breakup 2.0: Disconnecting over new media*. Cornell University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: outline of the theory of structuration*: Univ of California Press.
- Gilroy, P. (2004). After empire: Melancholia or convivial culture?
- Giulietti, C., Guzi, M., Kahanec, M., & Zimmermann, K. F. (2013). Unemployment benefits and immigration: evidence from the EU. *International Journal of Manpower*, 34(1), 24-38.
- Glick-Schiller, N. (2003). The Centrality of Ethnography in the Study of Transnational Migration: Seeing the Wetland Instead of the Swamp America Arrivals. In N. Foner (Ed.), *American Arrivals: Anthropology Engages the New Immigration* (pp. 99-128). Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Glick-Schiller, N. (2008). Beyond Methodological Ethnicity: Local and Transnational Pathways of Immigrant Incorporation. In M. Povranovic Frykman (Ed.), *Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations* (Vol. 2, pp. 44). Malmö: Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM) and Department of International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER), Malmö University.
- Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc, C. S. (1995). From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1), 48-63.
- Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Towards a definition of transnationalism. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), ix-xiv.

- Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (2006). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1-24.
- Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1997). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Soziale Welt. Sonderband*, 12.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The Strength of Weak Ties. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1982). The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited. In P. M. a. N. Lin (Ed.), *Social Structure and Network Analysis* (pp. 105-130). Beverly Hills: CA: Sage.
- Grillo, R. (2000). *Transmigration and cultural diversity in the construction of Europe*. Paper presented at the symposium on Cultural Diversity and the Construction of Europe, Barcelona.
- Gruzd, A., Wellman, B., & Takhteyev, Y. (2011). Imagining Twitter as an imagined community. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(10), 1294-1318.
- Guion, L. A., Diehl, D. C., & McDonald, D. (2011). Conducting an in-depth interview.
- Hadi, A. (2013). Interactive Communication For Bonding And Bridging Communities: Experiences of Indonesian Migrants in the Netherlands.
- Hainmueller, J., & Hangartner, D. (2013). Who gets a swiss passport? a natural experiment in immigrant discrimination. *American Political Science Review*.
- Hammarstedt, M., & Palme, M. (2006). Intergenerational Mobility, Human Capital Transmission and the Earnings of Second-Generation Immigrants in Sweden. *IZA Discussion Papers*.
- Hampton, K., & Wellman, B. (2000). Examining community in the digital neighborhood: early results from Canada's wired suburb. *Digital cities*, 194-208.
- Hampton, K., & Wellman, B. (2003). Neighboring in Netville: How the Internet supports community and social capital in a wired suburb. *City & Community*, 2(4), 277-311.
- Hampton, K. N., & Wellman, B. (2000). Examining community in the digital neighborhood: early results from Canada's wired suburb *Digital cities* (pp. 194-208): Springer.
- Hanna, P. (2012). Using internet technologies (such as Skype) as a research medium: a research note. *Qualitative Research*, 12(2), 239-242.
- Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture. *Theory, culture and society*, 7(2-3), 237-251.
- Harlow, S. (2012). Social media and social movements: Facebook and an online Guatemalan justice movement that moved offline. *New Media & Society*, 14(2), 225-243.
- Hassan, R. (2012). 'Not Ready for Democracy': Social Networking and the Power of the People The Revolts of 2011 in a Temporalized Context. *Arab Media and Society*(15).
- Hay-Gibson, N. V. (2009). Interviews via VoIP: Benefits and Disadvantages within a PhD study of SMEs. *Library and Information Research*, 33(105), 39-50.
- Haythornthwaite, C. (2005). Social networks and Internet connectivity effects. *Information, Community & Society*, 8(2), 125-147.
- Haythornthwaite, C. (2008). Learning Relations and Networks in Web-based Communities. *International Journal of Web-based Communities*, 4(2), 140-158.
- Haythornthwaite, C., & Kazmer, M. M. (2002). Bringing the Internet home. *The Internet in everyday life*, 431.

- Haythornthwaite, C., & Wellman, B. (1998). Work, friendship, and media use for information exchange in a networked organization. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 49(12), 1101-1114.
- Heckmann, F., & Schnapper, D. (2003). *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and Trends of Convergence; in Memory of Hans Mahnig* (Vol. 7): Brockhaus Commission.
- Helliwell, J. F., & Putnam, R. D. (2004). The Social Context of Well-being. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, Biological Sciences*, 359(1449), 1435-1446.
- Hellsten, S. K. (2007). From Information Society to Global Village of Wisdom? The Role of ICT in Realizing Social Justice in the Developing World. In E. Rooksby & J. Weckert (Eds.), *Information Technology and Social Justice* (pp. 1-28). Hershey, London: INFOSCI.
- Hepp, A., Welling, S., & Aksen, B. (2009). ICT for Integration, Social Inclusion and Economic Participation of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: Case Studies from Germany: JRC Technical Note.
- Hesse-Biber, S., & Griffin, A. J. (2013). Internet-Mediated Technologies and Mixed Methods Research Problems and Prospects. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 7(1), 43-61.
- Hinds, D., & Lee, R. M. (2008). *Social network structure as a critical success condition for virtual communities*. Paper presented at the Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences, Proceedings of the 41st Annual.
- Hine, C. (2008). Virtual ethnography: Modes, varieties, affordances. *The SAGE handbook of online research methods*, 257-270.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1992). *Rival Views of Market Society: and other recent essays*: Harvard University Press.
- Hirshman, A. O. (1986). *Rival Views of Market Society and Other Recent Essays* New York: Viking.
- Holmes, D. (1997). *Virtual politics: Identity and community in cyberspace* (Vol. 448): Sage.
- Howard, P., Rainie, L., & Jones, S. (2002). Days and Nights on the Internet. In B. Wellman & C. Haythornthwaite (Eds.), *The Internet in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Howard, P. E., Rainie, L., & Jones, S. (2001). Days and Nights on the Internet The Impact of a Diffusing Technology. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(3), 383-404.
- Hulme, M. (2009). Life Support: Young people's needs in a digital age. *Youth Net report*, 18.
- Hummel, J., & Lechner, U. (2002). *Social profiles of virtual communities*. Paper presented at the System Sciences, 2002. HICSS. Proceedings of the 35th Annual Hawaii International Conference on.
- Hunt, S. D. (1991). *Modern marketing theory: Critical issues in the philosophy of marketing science*: South-Western Publishing Company Cincinnati.
- Hussain, Z., & Griffiths, M. D. (2009). The attitudes, feelings, and experiences of online gamers: a qualitative analysis. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 12(6), 747-753.
- Huysman, M., & Wulf, V. (2006). IT to Support Knowledge Sharing in Communities, Towards a Social Capital Analysis. *Journal of Information Technology*, 21, 40-51.
- Isham, J. T., Kelly, T., & Ramaswamy, S. (2002). *Social capital and economic development: well-being in developing countries*: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Ito, M., Adler, A., O'Day, V. L., & Mynatt, E. D. (1998). Network Communities: Something Old, Something New, Something Borrowed. *Computer Supported Cooperative Work (CSCW)*, 7(1-2), 123-156.

- Ito, M., Okabe, D., & Matsuda, M. (2006). *Personal, portable, pedestrian: Mobile phones in Japanese life*: The MIT Press.
- Jandt, F. E. (2012). *An introduction to intercultural communication: Identities in a global community*: Sage Publications.
- Jenkins, H., & Thorburn, D. (2004). *Democracy and new media*: Mit Press.
- Joinson, A. N. (2008). *Looking at, looking up or keeping up with people?: motives and use of facebook*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the twenty-sixth annual SIGCHI conference on Human factors in computing systems.
- Jones, R. H. (2005). 'You show me yours, I'll show you mine': the negotiation of shifts from textual to visual modes in computer-mediated interaction among gay men. *Visual Communication*, 4(1), 69-92.
- Kaestner, R., Pearson, J. A., Keene, D., & Geronimus, A. T. (2009). Stress, Allostatic Load, and Health of Mexican Immigrants\*. *Social science quarterly*, 90(5), 1089-1111.
- Katz, J. E., & Aspden, P. (1997). A nation of strangers? *Communications of the ACM*, 40(12), 81-86.
- Katz, J. E., & Rice, R. E. (2002). Syntopia: Access, civic involvement and social interaction on the net *The Internet in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Katz, J. E., Rice, R. E., & Aspden, P. (2001). The Internet, 1995-2000 access, civic involvement, and social interaction. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(3), 405-419.
- Kavanaugh, A. L., & Patterson, S. J. (2002). The Impact of Computer Networks on Social Capital and Community Involvement in Blacksburg. In B. Wellman & C. Haythornthwaite (Eds.), *The Internet in Everyday Life*, 325-344 Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Kavanaugh, A. L., Reese, D. D., Carroll, J. M., & Rosson, M. B. (2005). Weak ties in networked communities. *The Information Society*, 21(2), 119-131.
- Kelty, C. M. (2008). *Two bits: The cultural significance of free software*: Duke University Press.
- Kendall, L. (2004). Participants and observers in online ethnography: five stories about identity. In M. D. C. Johns, Shing-Ling Sarina / Hall, G. Jon (Ed.), *Online social research: methods, issues, and ethics* (pp. 125-140).
- Kerckhove, D. d. (1997). *Connected intelligence: The arrival of the web society*: Somerville House, USA.
- Khvorostianov, N., Elias, N., & Nimrod, G. (2012). 'Without it I am nothing': The internet in the lives of older immigrants. *New Media & Society*, 14(4), 583-599.
- Kiropoulos, L. A., Griffiths, K. M., & Blashki, G. (2011). Effects of a multilingual information website intervention on the levels of depression literacy and depression-related stigma in Greek-born and Italian-born immigrants living in Australia: a randomized controlled trial. *Journal of medical Internet research*, 13(2), 34.
- Kluzer, S., Hache, A., & Codagnone, C. (2008). Overview of Digital Support Initiatives for/by Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities in the EU27 *JRC Scientific and Technical Report*: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Klvaňová, R. (2009). Moving through social networks: the case of Armenian migrants in the Czech Republic. *International Migration*, 48(2), 103-132.
- Kobayashi, T., Ikeda, K., & Miyata, K. (2006). Social Capital Online: Collective Use of the Internet and Reciprocity as Lubricants of Democracy. *Information, Communication & Society*, 9(5), 582-611.
- Komito, L. (2011). Social media and migration: Virtual community 2.0. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and technology*, 62(6), 1075-1086.



- Koser, K., & Pinkerton, C. (2002). *The Social Networks of Asylum Seekers and the Dissemination of Information about Countries of Asylum*. London: Research and Development and Statistics Directorate, Home Office.
- Koukoutsaki-Monnier, A. (2010). *The Websites of Greek-American Diaspora*. Paper presented at the Diasporas: Exploring Critical Issues, 3rd Global Conference, Mansfield College, Oxford.
- Kozinets, R. V. (2010). *Netnography: Doing ethnographic research online*: Sage Publications.
- Kranzberg, M. (1995). Technology and History:" Kranzberg's Laws". *Bulletin of science, technology & society*, 15(1), 5-13.
- Kraut, R., Fish, R. S., Root, B., & Chalfonte, B. L. (1992). Informal communication in organizations, Groupware and Computer Supported Co-operative Work (pp. 287-314). San Francisco: Morgan Kaufman.
- Kraut, R., Kiesler, S., Boneva, B., Cummings, J., Helgeson, V., & Crawford, A. (2002). Internet paradox revisited. *Journal of social issues*, 58(1), 49-74.
- Kraut, R., Patterson, M., Lundmark, V., Kiesler, S., Mukopadhyay, T., & Scherlis, W. (1998). Internet paradox: A social technology that reduces social involvement and psychological wellbeing? *American psychologist*, 53(9), 1017.
- Kraut, R. E., Fish, R. S., Root, R. W., & Chalfonte, B. L. (1990). *Informal communication in organizations: Form, function, and technology*. Paper presented at the Human reactions to technology: Claremont symposium on applied social psychology.
- Kymlicka, W. (2012). *Multiculturalism: success, failure, and the future*: Transatlantic Council on Migration, Migration Policy Institute.
- Lancee, B. (2010). The Economic Returns of Immigrants' Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: The Case of the Netherlands1. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 202-226.
- Lange, P. G. (2007). Publicly private and privately public: Social networking on YouTube. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 361-380.
- Langlet-Scopsi, C. (2004). *Représentations des TIC en milieu migrant: le cas des "boutiques de communication" de Château-Rouge*.
- Latour, B. (1987). *Science in action: How to follow scientists and engineers through society*: Harvard university press.
- Lazzari, M. (2011). *The double virtual citizenship of (some) young immigrants in Italy*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the International Workshop on Transnational HCI: Humans, Computers & Interactions in Global Contexts. Vancouver, Canada.
- Lazzari, M. (2012). *The role of social networking services to shape the double virtual citizenship of young immigrants in Italy*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the IADIS International Conference ICT, Society and Human Beings.
- LeBesco, K. (2004). Managing visibility, intimacy, and focus in online critical ethnography. *Online social research: methods, issues, and ethics*, 63-80.
- Lee, R. (2010). Book Review Robert V. Kozinets Netnography: Doing Ethnographic Research Online London: SAGE, 2010. *Field Methods*, 22(4), 449-451.
- Lenhart, A., & Madden, M. (2007). *Social networking websites and teens: An overview*: Pew/Internet.
- Lenhart, A., Purcell, K., Smith, A., & Zickuhr, K. (2010). Social media and young adults. *Pew Internet & American Life Project*, 3.
- Levitt, P. (1998). Social remittances: migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion. *International Migration Review*, 926-948.

- Li, P. S. (2003). *Destination Canada: Immigration debates and issues*: Oxford University Press Don Mills.
- Liebkind, K., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2000). The influence of experiences of discrimination on psychological stress: A comparison of seven immigrant groups. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 10(1), 1-16.
- Lin, J.-H., Peng, W., Kim, M., Kim, S. Y., & LaRose, R. (2012). Social networking and adjustments among international students. *New Media & Society*, 14(3), 421-440.
- Lin, N. (2002). *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action* (Vol. 19): Cambridge University Press.
- Lindgren, S., & Lundström, R. (2011). Pirate culture and hacktivist mobilization: The cultural and social protocols of #WikiLeaks on Twitter. *New Media & Society*, 13(6), 999-1018.
- Lindo, F. (2000). The Silent Success: The Social Advancement of Southern European Labour Migrants in the Netherlands. In H. Vermeulen & R. Penninx (Eds.), *Immigrant Integration: the Dutch Case*: Het Spinhuis.
- Lu, Y., Zhao, L., & Wang, B. (2010). From virtual community members to C2C e-commerce buyers: Trust in virtual communities and its effect on consumers' purchase intention. *Electronic Commerce Research and Applications*, 9(4), 346-360.
- Lueck, K., & Wilson, M. (2011). Acculturative stress in Latino immigrants: The impact of social, socio-psychological and migration-related factors. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35(2), 186-195.
- Luhmann, N. (2000). Familiarity, confidence, trust: Problems and alternatives. *Trust: Making and breaking cooperative relations*, 6, 94-107.
- Lähde, R. (2013). Concepts of healthy life and stress among recent immigrants-a focus group study.
- Malačič, J. (2002). International Migration Trends in Central and Eastern Europe During the 1990s and at the Beginning of the 21st Century. In V. Iontsev (Ed.), *World in the Mirror of International Migration* (pp. 108-122). Moscow: MAX Press.
- Mann, C., & Stewart, F. (2000). *Internet communication and qualitative research: A handbook for researching online*: Sage Publications Limited.
- Mann, C., & Stewart, F. (2002). Internet interviewing. In J. A. H. Jaber F. Gubrium (Ed.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method*. London: Sage.
- Marcu, S. (2013). Mobility and identity in a wider European Union: Experiences of Romanian migrants in Spain. *European Societies*(ahead-of-print), 1-21.
- Markham, A. (2004). Representation in online ethnographies: a matter of context sensitivity. 2004). *Online Social Research: Methods, Issues, and Ethics*, Peter Lang, New York, 141-155.
- Markham, A., & Buchanan, E. (2012). Ethical Decision-Making and Internet Research: Version 2.0. *Association of Internet Researchers*.
- Markham, A. N. (1998). *Life online: Researching real experience in virtual space* (Vol. 6): Altamira Press.
- Markham, A. N. (2004). Internet communication as a tool for qualitative research. *Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice*, 2.
- Massey, D. S., Alarcon, R., Durand, J., & Gonzales, H. (1990). *Return to Aztlan: The social process of international migration from western Mexico* (Vol. 1): University of California Pr.
- Massey, D. S., & Aysa-Lastra, M. (2011). Social capital and international migration from Latin America. *International journal of population research*, 2011.

- Massey, D. S., Palloni, A., Ceballos, M., Espinosa, K., & Spittel, M. (2001). Social Capital and International Migration: A Test Using Information on Family Networks. *American Journal of Sociology*, 106(5), 1262-1298.
- Massey, D. S., & Taylor, J. E. (2004). *International Migration: Prospects and Policies in a Global Market*. Oxford University Press.
- Maya-Jariego, I., Cruz, P., Molina, J. L., Patraca, B., & Tschudin, A. (2009). ICT for Integration, Social Inclusion and Economic Participation of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: Case Studies from Spain. In S. Kluzer & A. Haché (Eds.), *JRC Technical Notes*. Seville, Spain: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- McCoyd, J. L., & Kerson, T. S. (2006). Conducting Intensive Interviews Using Email A Serendipitous Comparative Opportunity. *Qualitative Social Work*, 5(3), 389-406.
- McKenna, K., Green, A. S., & Gleason, M. E. (2002). Relationship formation on the Internet: What's the big attraction? *Journal of social issues*, 58(1), 9-31.
- McLaughlin, C., & Vitak, J. (2012). Norm evolution and violation on Facebook. *New Media & Society*, 14(2), 299-315.
- McQuail, D. (1997). *Audience Analysis*. SAGE Publications.
- McQuail, D. (2003). *Media accountability and freedom of publication*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- McQuail, D. (2010). *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*. 6<sup>th</sup> edition. SAGE Publications.
- Mehra, B., & Papajohn, D. (2007). "Glocal" patterns of communication-information convergences in Internet use: Cross-cultural behavior of international teaching assistants in a culturally alien information environment. *The International Information & Library Review*, 39(1), 12-30.
- Miczo, N., Mariani, T., & Donahue, C. (2011). The strength of strong ties: Media multiplexity, communication motives, and the maintenance of geographically close friendships. *Communication Reports*, 24(1), 12-24.
- Mitra, A. (1997). Virtual commonality: Looking for India on the Internet. *Virtual culture: Identity and communication in cybersociety*, 55-79.
- Mitra, A. (2001). Marginal voices in cyberspace. *New Media & Society*, 3(1), 29-48.
- Mitra, A. (2005). Creating immigrant identities in cybernetic space: Examples from a non-resident Indian website. *Media, Culture & Society*, 27(3), 371-390.
- Miyata, K. (2002). Social support for Japanese mothers online and offline *The Internet in everyday life* (pp. 520-548).
- Morgan, A., & Swann, C. (2004). *Social capital for health: issues of definition, measurement and links to health*: Health Development Agency.
- Moten, A. R. (2013). Understanding and ameliorating Islamophobia. *Cultura*, 9(1), 155-178.
- Munzel, A., & Kunz, W. H. (2014). Creators, Multipliers, and Lurkers: Who Contributes and Who Benefits at Online Review Sites. *Journal of Service Management*, 25(1), 3-3.
- Müller, U., Wagner, A., & Scherrer, C. (2011). Migration: Attractiveness – Openness – Integration. An International Benchmarking for Göteborg och Västsverige. Basel.
- Nannestad, P., Lind Haase Svendsen, G., & Tinggaard Svendsen, G. (2008). Bridge over troubled water? Migration and social capital. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 34(4), 607-631.
- Nations, U. (2009). Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2008 Revision (D. o. E. a. S. A.-P. D. United Nations, Trans.).

- Nedelcu, M. (2009). Du brain drain à l'e-diaspora : vers une nouvelle culture du lien à l'ère du numérique. *ic&société [En ligne]*, 3(1-2). Retrieved from <http://ticetsociete.revues.org/675#entries>
- Nedelcu, M. (2012). Migrants' new transnational habitus: rethinking migration through a cosmopolitan lens in the digital age. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(9), 1339-1356.
- Nie, N. H., & Erbring, L. (2000). Internet and society. *Stanford Institute for the Quantitative Study of Society*.
- Nie, N. H., Hillygus, D. S., & Erbring, L. (2002). Internet use, interpersonal relations, and sociability *The Internet in everyday life* (pp. 215-243).
- Noble, G. (2009). Everyday cosmopolitanism and the labour of intercultural community. *Everyday multiculturalism*, 46-65.
- Nonnecke, R. B. (2000). *Lurking in email-based discussion lists*. South Bank University.
- Norman, E. R. (2012). Superfluousness, Institutional Failure and Immigration: Citizenship and Human Rights in Conflict in North America.
- Norris, P. (2002). The Bridging and Bonding Role of Online Communities. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 7(3).
- O'Connor, H., & Madge, C. (2003). "Focus groups in cyberspace": using the Internet for qualitative research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 6(2), 133-143.
- Oiarzabal, P. J. (2012). Diaspora Basques and online social networks: an analysis of users of Basque institutional diaspora groups on Facebook. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(9), 1469-1485.
- Oiarzabal, P. J., & Reips, U.-D. (2012). Migration and Diaspora in the Age of Information and Communication Technologies. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(9), 1333-1338.
- Orgad, S. (2009). How can researchers make sense of the issues involved in collecting and interpreting online and offline data?
- Oropeza, M. V., Varghese, M. M., & Kanno, Y. (2010). Linguistic minority students in higher education: Using, resisting, and negotiating multiple labels. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 43(2), 216-231.
- Osimo, D. (2008). Web2.0 in Government: Why and How? *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Luxembourg: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Ostrom, E. (2000). Social capital: a fad or a fundamental concept. *Social capital: A multifaceted perspective*, 172-214.
- Ostrom, E., & Ahn, T. K. (2003). Foundations of social capital.
- O'Sullivan, T. (2010). Dangling conversations: Web-forum use by a symphony orchestra's audience members. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 26(7-8), 656-670.
- Padgett, D. (2008). *Qualitative Methods in Social Work Research*: SAGE Publications.
- Panagakos, A. N., & Horst, H. A. (2006). Return to Cyberia: technology and the social worlds of transnational migrants. *Global Networks*, 6(2), 109-124.
- Parts, E. (2008). Indicators of Social Capital in European Union. In IAREG (Ed.): Seventh Framework Programme.
- Penninx, R. (2005). Integration of migrants: Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions. *The new demographic regime: Population challenges and policy responses*, 137-152.

- Pinch, T. J., & Bijker, W. E. (1984). The social construction of facts and artefacts: Or how the sociology of science and the sociology of technology might benefit each other. *Social studies of science*, 399-441.
- Porter, C. E. (2004). A Typology of Virtual Communities: A Multi-disciplinary Foundation for Future Research. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 10(1).
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 22(2), 217-237.
- Portes, A., & Landolt, P. (2000). Social capital: promise and pitfalls of its role in development. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 32(2), 529-547.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (1996). *Immigrant American: A Portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, A., & Sensenbrenner, J. (1993). Networks and Economic Life *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Potot, S. (2003). *Circulation et réseaux de migrants roumains: Une contribution à l'étude des nouvelles mobilités en Europe*. Université de Nice Sophia-Antipolis.
- Preece, J. (2000). *Online Communities: Designing Usability and Supporting Sociability*. Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons.
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life. *The American Prospect*.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Touchstone Books by Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, R. D. (2001). Social Capital: Measurement and Consequences. *Canadian Journal of Policy Research*, 2(Spring 2001), 41-51.
- Putnam, R. D. (2004). Education, Diversity, Social Cohesion and 'Social Capital'. Dublin, Ireland: OECD Education Ministers.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century, The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Nordic Political Science Association*, 30(2), 137-174.
- Quandt, T. (2012). What's left of trust in a network society? An evolutionary model and critical discussion of trust and societal communication. *European Journal of Communication*, 27(1), 7-21.
- Quan-Haase, A., & Wellman, B. (2004). How does the Internet affect social capital. *Social capital and information technology*, 113, 135-113.
- Quan-Haase, A., Wellman, B., Witte, J. C., & Hampton, K. N. (2002). Capitalizing on the Net: Social Contact, Civic Engagement, and Sense of Community. In B. W. a. C. Heythornthwaite (Ed.), *The Internet in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Bleckwell Publishing.
- Rafaelli, S., & Sudweeks, F. (1997). Networked interactivity. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 2(4), 0-0.
- Rainer, H., & Siedler, T. (2009). The Role of Social Networks in Determining Migration and Labour Market Outcomes: Evidence from German Reunification. *Economics of Transition*, 17(4), 739-767.
- Raman, P., & Harwood, J. (2008). Acculturation of Asian Indian sojourners in America: Application of the cultivation framework. *Southern Communication Journal*, 73(4), 295-311.
- Rantanen, T. (2005). *The media and globalization*: Sage.
- Redecker, C., Ala-Mutka, K., & Punie, Y. (2010). Learning 2.0: The impact of social media on learning in Europe. *Policy brief. JRC Scientific and Technical Report. EUR JRC56958 EN*, available from: <http://bit.ly/cljlpq> [Accessed 6 th February 2011].

- Redecker, C., Haché, A., & Centeno, C. (2010). Using Information and Communication Technologies to Promote Education and Employment Opportunities for Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: Policy Brief *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Luxembourg: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Reips, U.-D., & Buffardi, L. E. (2012). Studying migrants with the help of the Internet: methods from psychology. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(9), 1405-1424.
- Rheingold, H. (1993). *The virtual community: Homesteading on the electronic frontier*. Reading: MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Rheingold, H. (2000). *The Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*. MIT Press.
- Rheingold, H. (2002). *Smart mobs*. Reading: MA: Perseus Books.
- Rice, E. R., & Katz, J. E. (2003). Comparing internet and mobile phone usage: digital divides of usage, adoption, and dropouts. *Telecommunications Policy*, 27, 597-623.
- Ridings, C. M., & Gefen, D. (2004). Virtual community attraction: Why people hang out online. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 10(1), 00-00.
- Riezu, X., & Aretxabala, M. E. (2013). Beyond boundaries: reflections on the impact of ICTs usage for social capital of international migrants. *International Economics Letters*(1), 5-15.
- Rigoni, I. (2002). Turkish and Kurdish media production in Europe: a comprehensive overview. *London, London School of Economics and Political Science, Dept Media, programme EMTEL sur Diasporic Minorities and their Media in the EU*.
- Rigoni, I. (2009). Challenging notions and practices: the Muslim media in Britain and France. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(3), 563-580.
- Robertson, R. (1995). Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. *Global modernities*, 25-44.
- Rotman, D., Preece, J., He, Y., & Druin, A. (2012). *Extreme ethnography: challenges for research in large scale online environments*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of the 2012 iConference.
- Rudiger, A., & Spencer, S. (2003). *Social Integration of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities: Policies to Combat Discrimination*. Paper presented at the The Economic and Social Aspects of Migration, Brussels.
- Runblom, H. (1994). Swedish Multiculturalism in a Comparative European Perspective. *Sociological Forum*, 9(4), 623-640.
- Räsänen, P., & Kouvo, A. (2007). Linked or divided by the web?: Internet use and sociability in four European countries. *Information, Community and Society*, 10(2), 219-241.
- Sabatini, F., & Sarracino, F. (2013). Will Facebook save or destroy social capital? An empirical investigation into the effect of online interactions on trust and networks.
- Saeed, A. (2007). Media, racism and Islamophobia: the representation of Islam and Muslims in the media. *Sociology Compass*, 1(2), 443-462.
- Saeed, A. (2012). *Race, Racism and Sports Journalism*: Routledge.
- Sawhney, H. (2000). Universal service. *The Information Society*, 16(2).
- Sayad, A. (2004). *The suffering of the immigrant*: Polity.
- Schaap, F. (2002). *The words that took us there: Ethnography in a virtual reality*: Het Spinhuis.
- Scopsi, C. (2004). *Representations des TIC en milieu migrant: le cas des "boutiques de communication" de Chateau-Rouge*. Paris.

- Scopsi, C. (2009). Les sites web diasporiques : un nouveau genre médiatique ? *TIC et diasporas, tic&societe* 3(1-2).
- Seganti, F. R. (2010). Practicing reflexivity in the study of Italian migrants in London. *The Qualitative Report*, 15(4), 966-987.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004). Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for information*, 22(2), 63-75.
- Shoham, A. (2004). Flow experiences and image making: An online chat-room ethnography. *Psychology & Marketing*, 21(10), 855-882.
- Silverman, D. (2010). *Qualitative research*: Sage.
- Silverstone, R. (2004). Proper Distance. In A. M. a. T. R. Gunnar Liestol (Ed.), *Digital media revisited: Theoretical and conceptual innovations in digital domains* (pp. 469-490): MIT Press.
- Silverstone, R. (2005). *Media, technology and everyday life in Europe: From information to communication*: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Slavnić, Z. (2008). Integration into Vertical Mosaic: Reflections on the History of Integration Policy, IMER Research and Journalism in Sweden since the 1960s. *Migracijske i etničke teme*(4), 371-388.
- Smith, S. S. (2012). Why Weak Ties' Help and Strong Ties' Don't: Reconsidering Why Tie Strength Matters.
- Somerville, W., & Goodman, S. W. (2010). The Role of Networks in the Development of UK Migration Policy. *Political Studies*, 58(5), 951-970.
- Soroka, V., Jacovi, M., & Ur, S. (2003). *We can see you: a study of communities' invisible people through reachout*. Paper presented at the Communities and technologies.
- Spaiser, V. (2012). Empowerment or democratic divide? Internet-based political participation of young immigrants and young natives in Germany. *Information Polity*, 17(2), 115-127.
- Spotti, M. (2011). Ideologies of Success for Superdiverse Citizens: the Dutch Testing Regime for Integration and the Online Private Sector1. *Diversities*, 13(2), 39.
- Spotti, M., Kluzer, S., & Ferrari, A. (2010). *ICT for L2 Acquisition by Adult Migrants: Results from a Comparative Study in the Netherlands and Sweden*. Paper presented at the ICT for Language Learning, Florence, Italy.
- Srinivasan, R., & Pyati, A. (2007). Diasporic information environments: Reframing immigrant-focused information research. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and technology*, 58(12), 1734-1744.
- Staeheli, L. A., Ledwith, V., Ormond, M., Reed, K., Sumpter, A., & Trudeau, D. (2002). Immigration, the Internet, and Spaces of Politics. *Political Geography*, 21(8), 989-1012.
- Stanoevska-Slabeva, K., & Schmid, B. F. (2001). *A typology of online communities and community supporting platforms*. Paper presented at the System Sciences, 2001. Proceedings of the 34th Annual Hawaii International Conference on.
- Stefanone, M. A., Kwon, K., & Lackaff, D. (2011). The value of online friends: Networked resources via social network sites. *First Monday*, 16(2), 1-17.
- Stegbauer, C. (1999). *Die Rolle der Lurker in Mailinglisten*. Paper presented at the Proceedings of ISKO.
- Steinfeld, C., Ellison, N. B., & Lampe, C. (2008). Social capital, self-esteem, and use of online social network sites: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 29(6), 434-445.

- Tastsoglou, E., & Preston, V. (2012). Gender, immigration and labour market integration: Where we are and what we still need to know. *Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice*, 30(1), 46-59.
- Taylor, S. J. (1987). Observing abuse: Professional ethics and personal morality in field research. *Qualitative Sociology*, 10(3), 288-302.
- The World Bank (2011). *Migration and Remittances* (2 ed.). Washington DC.
- Thoits, P. A. (1982). Conceptual, methodological, and theoretical problems in studying social support as a buffer against life stress. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 145-159.
- Thompson, S. A., Loveland, J. M., & Fombelle, P. W. (2013). Thematic Discrepancy Analysis: A Method to Gain Insights into Lurkers and Test for Non-Response Bias. *Journal of Interactive Marketing*.
- Trandafoiu, R. (2013). *Diaspora Online: Identity Politics and Romanian Migrants*: Berghahn Books.
- Tufekci, Z. (2008). Grooming, gossip, Facebook and MySpace: What can we learn about these sites from those who won't assimilate? *Information, Communication & Society*, 11, 544-564.
- Tönnies, F. (2002). *Community and Society* (reprint of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* 1887 ed.): East Lansing.
- Van Hove, G., Hooft, E. A. J. V., & Lievens, F. (2009). Networking as a Job Search Behaviour: A Social Network Perspective. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 82, 661-682.
- Valenzuela, S., Park, N., & Kee, K. F. (2009). Is there Social Capital in a Social Network Site?: Facebook Use and College Students' Life Satisfaction, Trust, and Participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14(4), 875-901.
- Vermeulen, H., & Penninx, R. (2000). *Immigrant Integration: The Dutch Case*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 22(2), 447-462.
- Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4), 573-582.
- Vertovec, S. (2003). Migration and other modes of transnationalism: towards conceptual cross-fertilization. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 641-665.
- Vertovec, S. (2004). Cheap calls: the social glue of migrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, 4(2), 219-224.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Circular Migration: the way forward in global policy. *International Migration Institute (IMI) Working Papers*, IMI, University of Oxford.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). *New complexities of cohesion in Britain: Super-diversity, transnationalism and civil-integration*: Commission on Integration and Cohesion London.
- Vertovec, S. (2010). Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, conditions and contexts of diversity. *International Social Science Journal*, 61(199), 83-95.
- Vertovec, S., & Cohen, R. (2002). *Conceiving cosmopolitanism: theory, context and practice*. Oxford University Press.
- Wagner, A., Muller, U., & Scherrer, C. (2011). Migration: Attractiveness – Openness – Integration. Göteborg, Sweden: Bakbasel economic research & consultancy.



- Waldinger, R. (1999). Network, bureaucracy, and exclusion: Recruitment and selection in an immigrant metropolis. *Immigration and opportunity: Race, ethnicity, and employment in the United States*, 228-259.
- Walton-Roberts, M. (2012). Regional immigration and dispersal: Lessons from small-and medium-sized urban centres in British Columbia. *3 Cities and Immigrant Integration: The Future of Second-and Third-Tier Centres*, 1(1,920,773), 158.
- Wang, H., & Wellman, B. (2010). Social connectivity in America: changes in adult friendship network size from 2002 to 2007. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 53(8), 1148-1169.
- Warf, B. (2001). Segueways into Cyberspace: Multiple Geographies of the Digital Divide. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 28(1), 3-19.
- Waters, J., & Leung, M. (2013). A colourful university life? Transnational higher education and the spatial dimensions of institutional social capital in Hong Kong. *Population, Space and Place*, 19(2), 155-167.
- Wellman, B. (1983). Network analysis: Some basic principles. *Sociological theory*, 1(1), 155-200.
- Wellman, B. (1987). *The Community Question Re-evaluated*. Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto.
- Wellman, B. (1988). The community question re-evaluated. *Power, community and the city*, 81-107.
- Wellman, B. (1997). An Electronic Group is Virtually a Social Network. In S. Kiesler (Ed.), *Culture of the Internet*. Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Wellman, B. (1999). Networks in the global village: Life in contemporary communities *The Network Community* (pp. 1-48).
- Wellman, B. (2001a). Computer networks as social networks. *Science*, 293(5537), 2031-2034.
- Wellman, B. (2001b). Physical place and cyberplace: The rise of personalized networking. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25(2), 227-252.
- Wellman, B. (2002). *Little boxes, glocalization, and networked individualism*. Paper presented at the Digital cities II: Computational and sociological approaches.
- Wellman, B., Quan-Haase, A., Witte, J., & Hampton, K. (2001). Does the Internet increase, decrease, or supplement social capital? Social networks, participation, and community commitment. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(3), 436-455.
- Wellman, B., & Haythornthwaite, C. A. (2002). *The Internet in everyday life*: Blackwell Pub.
- Wellman, B., & Hogan, B. (2004). The immanent internet. *Netting Citizens: Exploring Citizenship in a Digital Age*, 54-80.
- Wellman, B., Quan-Haase, A., Boase, J., Chen, W., Hampton, K., Díaz, I., & Miyata, K. (2003). The social affordances of the Internet for networked individualism. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 8(3), 0-0.
- Wessendorf, S. (2010). *Commonplace diversity: Social interactions in a super-diverse context*: Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity Göttingen.
- Williams, D. (2006). On and off the'Net: Scales for social capital in an online era. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 11 (2), 593-628.
- Williams, J. P., & Copes, H. (2005). "How edge are you?" Constructing authentic identities and subcultural boundaries in a straightedge internet forum. *Symbolic Interaction*, 28, 67-89.
- Williams, M. (2001). In whom we trust: Group membership as an affective context for trust development. *Academy of Management Review*, 26(3), 377-396.

- Woolgar, S. (2002). Five rules of virtuality. *Virtual society*, 1-22.
- Woolgar, S. (2002). *Virtual Society?: Technology, Cyberbole, Reality*. Oxford University Press.
- Wright, K. B. (2005). Researching Internet-based populations: Advantages and disadvantages of online survey research, online questionnaire authoring software packages, and web survey services. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 10(3), 00-00.
- Xie, B. (2008). The mutual shaping of online and offline social relationships. *Information research*, 13(3), 4.
- Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B. M. (2009). Qualitative analysis of content. *Applications of social research methods to questions in information and library science*, 308-319.
- Zinnbauer, D. (2007). What Can Social Capital and ICT do For Inclusion? *JRC Scientific and Technical Reports*. Luxembourg: Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technological Studies, JRC.
- Ålund, A., & Schierup, C.-U. (1991). *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism: Essays on Swedish Society*. Aldershot UK, Brookfield USA: Gower House, Gower Publishing Company.



# Appendices

## Appendix A

The list of identified web sites – Serbian diaspora

1. [www.radost.org](http://www.radost.org)
2. [www.sane-boston.org](http://www.sane-boston.org)
3. [www.kometaboston.com](http://www.kometaboston.com)
4. [www.serbnatfed.org](http://www.serbnatfed.org)
5. [www.americanserbianclub.net](http://www.americanserbianclub.net)
6. [www.snd-us.com](http://www.snd-us.com)
7. [www.serbianradiochicago.com](http://www.serbianradiochicago.com)
8. [www.serbianac.org](http://www.serbianac.org)
9. [www.serbianmirror.com](http://www.serbianmirror.com)
10. [www.stsavachicago.org](http://www.stsavachicago.org)
11. [www.slobodafolk.org](http://www.slobodafolk.org)
12. [www.tvstvusa.com](http://www.tvstvusa.com)
13. [www.chicagoserbs.com](http://www.chicagoserbs.com)
14. [www.serbianyellowpages.com](http://www.serbianyellowpages.com)
15. [www.beoradio.com](http://www.beoradio.com)
16. [www.parohija.org](http://www.parohija.org)
17. [www.svetinikolawacol.org](http://www.svetinikolawacol.org)
18. [www.moraca-rozafa.org](http://www.moraca-rozafa.org)
19. [www.jedinstvo.at](http://www.jedinstvo.at)
20. [www.kud-stevanmokranjac-wien.at](http://www.kud-stevanmokranjac-wien.at)
21. [www.klub-bambi.at.tt](http://www.klub-bambi.at.tt)
22. [www.vidovdan-linz.at](http://www.vidovdan-linz.at)
23. [www.kszs.at](http://www.kszs.at)
24. [www.danica-salzburg.at](http://www.danica-salzburg.at)
25. [www.kud-zavicaj.at](http://www.kud-zavicaj.at)
26. [www.kudkolo.com](http://www.kudkolo.com)
27. [www.mladost.fr](http://www.mladost.fr)
28. [www.krajinapariz.com](http://www.krajinapariz.com)
29. [www.srbija.gr](http://www.srbija.gr)
30. [www.folklor.tk](http://www.folklor.tk)
31. [www.srbi.org.mk](http://www.srbi.org.mk)
32. [www.vk-bg.de](http://www.vk-bg.de)
33. [www.ssk-berlin.com](http://www.ssk-berlin.com)
34. [www.sv-sava.de](http://www.sv-sava.de)
35. [www.oro-frankfurt.de](http://www.oro-frankfurt.de)
36. [www.kolo-frankfurt.de](http://www.kolo-frankfurt.de)
37. [www.sk-offenbach.de](http://www.sk-offenbach.de)
38. [www.njsamband.org](http://www.njsamband.org)
39. [www.kosmet.no](http://www.kosmet.no)
40. [www.srbska-skupnost.si](http://www.srbska-skupnost.si)
41. [www.kud-mladost.net](http://www.kud-mladost.net)

42. [www.skdmb.info](http://www.skdmb.info)
43. [www.stajerska.eu](http://www.stajerska.eu)
44. [www.kd-brdo.com](http://www.kd-brdo.com)
45. [www.dijaspora.nu](http://www.dijaspora.nu)
46. [www.kud-biseri.ch](http://www.kud-biseri.ch)
47. [www.skudbrankoradicevic.ch](http://www.skudbrankoradicevic.ch)
48. [www.fmdizvor.ch](http://www.fmdizvor.ch)
49. [www.kudvsk.ch](http://www.kudvsk.ch)
50. [www.kud-abrasevic.ch](http://www.kud-abrasevic.ch)
51. [www.kolo-baden.ch](http://www.kolo-baden.ch)
52. [www.skdzeneva.org](http://www.skdzeneva.org)
53. [www.kikac.ch](http://www.kikac.ch)
54. [www.radiodaks.com](http://www.radiodaks.com)
55. [www.folklore.ch](http://www.folklore.ch)
56. [www.skss.ch](http://www.skss.ch)
57. [www.obilic.ch](http://www.obilic.ch)
58. [www.pozoristeduga.com](http://www.pozoristeduga.com)
59. [www.skud-vsk.ch](http://www.skud-vsk.ch)
60. [www.kud-zavicaj.ch](http://www.kud-zavicaj.ch)
61. [www.serbiansociety.org.uk](http://www.serbiansociety.org.uk)
62. [www.UnitedOrthodoxAid.com](http://www.UnitedOrthodoxAid.com)
63. [www.malabiblioteka.co.uk](http://www.malabiblioteka.co.uk)
64. <http://www.srbiusvetu.org/sus/>
65. <http://dijaspora.wordpress.com/>
66. <http://www3.serbiancafe.com/lat/evropa/>
67. <http://www.serbianunity.net/>
68. <http://www.srpskadijaspora.info/index.asp>
69. <http://www.knjizara-vesti.com/>
70. <http://srbi.org/>
71. <http://www.srbiposvetu.com/>
72. <http://ovde.com/>
73. <http://www.krstarica.com/>
74. <http://www.rastko.rs/rastko-al/>
75. <http://www.yumreza.org.yu/>
76. <http://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=32474314319&ref=search&sid=666815835.1041322194..1#/group.php?v=wall&ref=search&gid=32474314319>
77. <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Srbi-u-svetu/51938423932?ref=search&sid=666815835.1041322194..1>

## Appendix B

The list of identified web sites – Swedish immigration

1. <http://www.afrosvenskarna.se/>
2. <http://www.albanskariksforbund.se/>
3. <http://www.armeniska.se/>
4. <http://www.assyriskariksforbundet.se/>
5. <http://www.azfi.org/>
6. <http://www.fedbol.com/>
7. <http://www.bhsavez.org/portal/>
8. <http://www.fris.nu/>
9. <http://www.grekiskariksforbundet.se/>
10. <http://www.iraqifias.org/>
11. <http://www.ettehadieh.org/>
12. <http://www.fais-ir.com/cms/>
13. <http://www.kroatiskariksforbundet.org/>
14. <http://www.fkks.se/>
15. <http://www.makedonskisojuz.com/>
16. <http://www.chilenska.se/>
17. [http://www.geocities.com/eris\\_emash/](http://www.geocities.com/eris_emash/)
18. <http://faps-prf.org/>
19. <http://www.polskakongressen.org/>
20. <http://www.krigsbarn.se/RFK/default.asp>
21. <http://www.rurik.se/>
22. <http://www.kurdo.org/>
23. <http://srpstvo.com/>
24. <http://www.somsweden.com/>
25. <http://www.georgia.se/>
26. <http://www.strf.se/>
27. <http://www.rel.ee/>
28. <http://www.rskl.se/>
29. <http://www.rsnl-sfsf.com/>
30. <http://www.ingermanland.nu/>
31. <http://www.syrianska-riks.org/>
32. <http://trf.nu/joomla/index.php?lang=se>
33. <http://www.smosz.org/>
34. <http://www.victorjara.se/>
35. <http://www.thelocal.se>
36. <http://www.expatsinsweden.com/>
37. <http://www.democratsabroad.se>
38. <http://www.migrationsverket.se/>
39. <http://www.facebook.com/search/?q=invandrare&init=quick#/group.php?v=wall&ref=search&gid=6069733297>
40. <http://www.facebook.com/search/?q=svenska+for+invandrare&init=quick#/group.php?gid=65316007048&ref=search&sid=666815835.3203863934..1>
41. <http://www.swots.se/>



## Appendix C

Enlarged Table 3.6:

Classification of web spaces for immigrants - Serbian diaspora						
ownership		class		main interest	web sites	total
		general		general immigration issues	18 29 <b>39</b> <b>65 67 76</b> <b>77</b>	7
		social		social gathering	5	1
		culture / sport		folklore, culture and sport	1 6 8 10 11 20 23 24 25 26 27 28 30 31 35 36 37 <b>40 41</b> <b>42 43 44</b> 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 55 56 57 58 59 60 <b>64</b> 70 73	39
organization-sponsored	non-profit	religion		folklore, language, religion	16 17	2
		government		ministry activity	75	1
		charity		charity, culture, education, language	2 61	2
	profit	commercial		information & selling various products: books, cds, music etc.	4 13 14 15 <b>66 69</b> 74	7
		media	radio		7 54	2
			newspapers		9 45	2
			TV		12 72	2
Internet magazine – media portal	68 71		2			
<b>Web Communities</b>					<b>39 40 42</b> <b>64 65 66</b> <b>71 76 77</b>	
<b>Total</b>						<b>67</b>

10 web spaces were excluded from detailed analysis since at the time of analysis they did not offer any information (3, 19, 21, 22, 32, 33, 34, 38, 62 and 63).



The numbers that appear in this table represent particular web addresses that have the same number in the list presented in Appendix A.

Enlarged Table 3.9:

Classification of web spaces for immigrants - Swedish immigration					
ownership	class		main interest	web sites	total
member-initiated	non-profit	general	general immigration issues	34 5 23 <b>39</b> <b>41</b>	5
		language	learning languages	<b>40</b>	1
		culture / sport	folklore, culture and sport	1 2 3 4 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 18 19 20 21 22 25 26 27 30 31 32 33	26
organisation-sponsored	profit	political		37	1
		government		38	1
		commercial	services	36	1
		media	Internet magazine – media portal	<b>35</b>	1
<b>Web Communities</b>				<b>35 39 40 41</b>	
<b>Total</b>					<b>36</b>

5 web spaces (sites 16, 17, 24, 28 and 29 ) were excluded from detailed analysis since at the time of analysis they were either under construction or were blank.

The numbers in the “web site” column correspond to the numbers of identified web spaces whose addresses are presented in the list in Appendix B.

## Appendix D

1. "...THEY DON'T LOVE ME BECAUSE I AM SERBIAN...", „THEY DON'T LOVE ME BECAUSE I AM MUCH SMARTER OF THEM" ...I CALL THAT BALKAN PREJUDICES AND I CAN NOT LISTEN TO THAT ANYMORE.."  
(posted 09. February 2010. 22.00, Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English)
2. "...It (discrimination) is felt immediately when you say your name (you don't have to mention the surname) and also when they decide on the tasks you have to do and how much you have to work....They changed their opinion about us as a nation because I try, whenever I can, to introduce myself as a man first and then introduce my beloved Serbia! Now we have fun together over tennis and football, especially watching the Serbian teams, and together we also watch other games, so it means they are very interested and are ok when they get to know you a little better...".  
(posted 09. February 2010. 22.30, Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English)
3. "...and about nationality, the advance is always given to those same like you. And in our country Serbia you can see that first..."  
(posted 10. February 2010. u 09.10 Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English)
4. "You are 100% right, they hate us like plague..."  
(posted 10. February 2010. 14.53, Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English)
5. "...Man, there was a war. We left because we had to..."  
(posted 19. May 2010. 03.30, Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrated?; translated into English)
6. "...Milosevic didn't betrayed you, he betrayed me in Belgrade. He tried to help you on my account. So my salary from 3000DM fell to 5 DM, so I emigrated too. If he was not helping you I would still enjoy in Belgrade. You fight with neighbors Croats, not me that suffered extreme consequences too. ..."  
(posted 19. May 2010. 08.50, Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrated?; translated into English)
7. "From beginning of 90's many made money on our Serbian misery, so why wouldn't YOU too?"  
(posted 12. May 2010. 09.01, Discussion: Chicago: Help needed; translated into English)
8. "...What will happen then to the pension, how it is then counted and will I have a great loss and consequences for the pension if I take those 5 months unpaid vacation? Health insurance will be transferred after a month my husband, so that it is not any problem, the only thing I do not know how to retire after that vacation, is

there some major negative consequences later?..”  
(posted 06. February 2010. 07.03, Discussion: Employment: 5 months of unpaid vacation; translated into English)

9. “Please can you help me with translation of this on Serbian, what does this mean: - Was the claimant overpaid unemployment benefits which must be repaid or may the repayment be waived. Was the claimant able to work and available for work. – Thank you all for answers. GoXXX. “  
(posted 15. February 2010. 01.19, Discussion: Employment: Translation; translated into English)
10. “Buy or rent a house, apartment in the USA? The question is now ... I'm interested in how you manage this in long-term? Do you regret entering the story of buying property for life (credit) or that you have years of paying rent to someone else practically spent all that money?...”  
(posted 21. March 2010. 23.17 Discussion: Emigration: Buy or rent a real-estate for living?; translated into English)
11. “DanXXX, Thank you for reply...I hope that someone else that knows topic and calculation too will comment here....”  
(posted 22. mart 2010. u 14.00, Discussion: Emigration: Buy or rent real-estate for living?; translated into English)
12. “Dear AIXXX thank you for replies. ...Many regards from GoXXX since I see you have excellent English.”  
(posted 15. February 2010. 15.35, Discussion: Employment: Translation; translated into English)
13. “Bravo GreXXX i DanXXX. Your dialog is for clear 10. It's a winning combination and I welcome your bright mind that you have and the fact that your brain is not yet brainwashed. What GreXXX wrote I experienced before. One should be smart on time, not to do that entire hypnotized majority does...”  
(posted 24. March 2010. 23.52, Discussion: Emigration: Buy or rent real-estate for living?; translated into English)
14. “THANKS EPEXX AND ROMAGXX! Really great! Thanks again! Regards!”  
(posted 10. April 2010. 10.24, Discussion: Italy: Citizenship; translated into English)
15. “Why to ban GreXXX? Everything that he says about life in USA and NY is almost true. I agree that his way is little bit childish and immature, but why to ban him because of that? Just because we do not like to hear that for majority of us life in USA is pure survival?...”  
(posted 01. April 2010. 00.17, Discussion: New York: Petition to ban GregBrady; translated into English)
16. “...What are the sommelier's salaries in Americas? And what are the possibilities to find a job? Thanks.”  
(posted 13. March 2010. Discussion: NY; translated into English)

17. "...most of us emigrants here in this immigrant community, are from that war story. Would someone emigrate from a country with a good life, leave everything behind, house, job, and friends.. " (posted 19. May 2010. u 06.23, Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrated?; translated into English)
18. "Here is little bit of my experience. You must go to Canada, USA or Australia. All other countries are in such a bad economic situation, that if someone did not go to one of these 3 countries, it would be smarter for them to have remained in the Balkans." (posted 25. March 2010. u 15.30, Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English)
19. "I work for an international company and I start to be confronted with the problem of ethnic discrimination. In fact, my line manager from the team favors people who are usually without family (up to some extent I can understand that), and of course those whose last name does not end in "vic." I am facing the fact that I do the same job as the guy who sits across from me but since he is not "ex-YUGO" of course every business goes through his hands first and then, what my colleagues have "no time" to finish ends with me. I'm not saying that one of us "smarter / more experienced" than another, but the discrimination is evident. I have nowhere to turn since it is like our old saying says: for our elderly as she says, "Kadia sues you Kadia is judging you" ...Is there anyone out there in the virtual world that faced with similar challenges and can advise me what is the best strategy? Regards. " (posted 08. February 2010. u 10.55, Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English)
20. "And just to write, I changed four companies and in each was the same, the Canadians are on higher positions (you wouldn't let them to take care of three sheep), if in any case on that position you have immigrant he has to work 10 times more, has higher qualifications, he is smarter, longer stays at work (if he was not working like this he could only dream of such position)." (posted 10. February 2010. u 14.04, Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English )
21. "You are annoying me and I feel sorry for you! Your Serbian is horrible!.. You cry when you are in the USA that you miss Serbia, Belgrade and your village, and then when you come to Serbia, once in three years, then you cry that you miss the USA and you are weaned off of our food, our flies, our dirt, our friends, and that our cigarettes suffocate you and scratch your throat, you do not understand our humour and our world anymore, you do not understand how come we cry that we do not have money but we are out every night having fun, and we are dressed much better than you. You just say stupidities without anyone asking you anything" (posted 16. April 2010. u 15.26, Discussion: USA: How do you live in USA? I am really interested?; translated into English)

22. "What made me emigrate? The war. Since I am Serb but living in Croatia, and for us there is no life there, I was banished first in 91 from one of the bigger cities in Croatia, then in 98 again from RS Krajina, after that so called peaceful reintegration, easier to say after Slobodan Milosevic's treason, which is my reason to emigrate. If there had not been a war most probably I would never emigrate."  
(posted 19. May 2010. u 04.57, Discussion: Emigration: Why did you emigrated?; translated into English)
23. "HA HA HA HA..... "cry" and "sick"...HA HA HA AND MOURNS THAT WE MIX SERBIAN AND ENGLISH... O mother, what an idiot ... HA HA HA"  
(posted 17. April 2010. u 12.02, Discussion: USA: How do you live in USA? I am really interested?; translated into English)
24. "ha ha ha....Because of cattle like you I came to America!.."  
(posted 20. April 2010. u 00.29, Discussion: USA: How do you live in USA? I am really interested?; translated into English)
25. "...I personally have wish to go back and hope I will in two years, if God allows, and I wonder are there any like me thanks!"  
(posted 08. November 2009. u 21.27, Discussion: NY: Return to Serbia yes or no...; translated into English)
26. "From experience, I returned from NYC to BGD (Belgrade) – do not come back!!!!"  
(posted 26. November 2009. u 20.12, Discussion: NY: Return to Serbia yes or no...; translated into English)
27. "You will return to BGD (Belgrade) only if you are completely mad!!!!!!!!!!!"  
(posted 12. March 2010. u 07.43, Discussion: NY: Return to Serbia yes or no...; translated into English)
28. "...and Belgrade is the centre of the world, [compared to Florida] even though Belgrade has been tortured with sanctions and poverty from the many crises that the city survived during the last 20 years. That someone from the centre of Belgrade would really be very happy [ironically] to arrive in Florida . . . "  
(posted 26. mart 2010. u 11.21, Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English)
29. "..Scandinavia was always and will stay peaceful place for life."  
(posted 26. mart 2010. u 14.00, Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English)
30. "California and Florida are hit the most with this recent collapse of real-estate in America.."  
(posted 02. april 2010. u 22.28, Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English)
31. "...I am very well informed on prices from San Francisco to border of Oregon (north) and from San Jose-a up to San Diego (south) or Orange County as this

- area is usually called...”  
(posted 06. april 2010. u 23.50, Discussion: Emigration: Where one should emigrate?; translated into English)
32. "Norway is number 1, all other are below"  
(posted 12. maj 2010. u 16.17, , Discussion: Emigration: Health system in European countries; translated into English)
33. "Here in Italy everything is paid..."  
(posted 15. maj 2010. u 11.28, Discussion: Emigration: Health system in European countries; translated into English)
34. Discussion: Employment: Salaries abroad? - started 31. July 2009, last post 5. Jun 2010,  
38 posts
35. Discussion: Emigration: Buy or rent real-estate for living? – started 21 March 2010,  
last post 21. April 2010, 106 posts
36. Discussion: Employment: Professional ethnic discrimination – started 8. February 2010,  
last post 27. February 2010, 64 posts
37. "PeXXX contact me on my e-mail. I have a space in the middle of Belgrade, perfect for agency but I do not have experience. I am in the mood for any deal. I have 34 years. Regards. siguleiXXX@yahoo.it"  
(posted 19. January 2010. 04.07, Discussion: Employment: Start job from zero; translated into English)
38. "peXXX, if you live in Serbia and you would like to try to work as insurance agent, contact me sneXXX at yahoo.com..."  
(posted 20. October 2009. u 06.28, Discussion: Employment: Start job from zero; translated into English)
39. "RVP, will you contact me I need some information. Thanks miljojkoXXX@chello.at"  
(posted 28. March 2010. 05.40, Discussion: Employment: Job in Denmark; translated into English)
40. "...contact me on deXXX@acnrep.com and I can explain you what I do.."  
(posted 09. March 2010. 16.25, discussion: Employment: Life Insurance Qualification program in Canada; translated into English)
41. "I am looking for a girl, 19-30 years for working in café restaurant, 2-3 months in Canada. English is not necessary (domestic place ;- ) it would be good if she is communicative and reliable. Accommodation, food and visa and return ticket are paid. Salary - agreement. Urgent! enemyXXX@hotmail.com")  
(posted 19. February 2010. 10.11, Discussion: Employment: Looking for employee Urgent!; translated into English)

42. "Private company is looking for engineer. Company is based in Bar, Montenegro. AutoCAD necessary. Excellent conditions. mail: vanjasXXX@yahoo.com , 0643XXX689"  
(posted 04. February 2010. 12.25, Discussion: Employment: Engineer; translated into English)
43. "well, not bad. If you are interested, call me on 980 XXX 1640"  
(posted 14. April 2010. 12.08, Discussion: Emigration: Moving to denver (colorado); translated into English)
44. "contact me on e-mail I will explain you, I went through all you are looking and you are trying to do. My e-mail: unefaXXXe@hotmail.com"  
(posted 14. April 2010. 07.15, Discussion: Emigration: Certificat de sélection du Québec; translated into English)
45. "contact me on e-mail dumeXXXn@yahoo.com"  
(posted 28. March 2010. 22.46, Discussion: Emigration: How to stay in Canada legally! I came as a tourist; translated into English)
46. "Hello ljutbog, I would appreciate if I could contact you by e-mail, I have a question regarding Sweden and getting papers there. My e-mail is milancXXX@yahoo.com, so if you like contact me. Thanks in advance."  
(posted 14. April 2010. 15.54, Discussion: Emigration: How to Scandinavia?; translated into English)
47. "sasaanXXX66@yahoo.com...contact me, if I can help I will gladly do it milaXXX. regards"  
(posted 21. April 2010. 15.35, Discussion: Emigration: How to Scandinavia?; translated into English)
48. "...the answer is VitoXXX CerXXX. Find phone number in White pages"  
(posted 27. March 2010. 02.54, Discussion: Emigration: Emigration adviser Vancouver – URGENT; translated into English)
49. "I have to say you are boring. First visa, than green card, now you started with naturalization. He told you nicely, give money to the lawyer, here is our man PauldjXXX@hotmail.com he will explain you everything"  
(posted 09. April 2010. 23.48, Discussion: Emigration: Naturalization; translated into English)
50. " call agency XXX, ask them and they have lawyers that work and they are very into that topic. Good luck 4-53XXX55"  
(posted 19. April 2010. 12.18, Discussion: Toronto: Authorization; translated into English)
51. " gasverksgatan.9 dentist hXXXric cederguist tel XXX-136232, I go there, god dentist, good price. "

(posted 26. March 2010. 15.28, Discussion: Scandinavia: Dentist in Helsingborg-SWE?; translated into English)

52. "GOXXX KUXXX; 2603 LE BXXXC CT; LOUISVILLE, KY 40206"  
(posted 29. April 2010. 19.14, Discussion: USA: Looking for friend; translated into English)
53. "...Hello ViloletXXXrd, you have guts and I respect that ☺ If you are in Toronto, I agree –let's have a coffee."  
(posted 14. February 2010. 13.49, Discussion: Employment: Ethnic discrimination; translated into English)
54. "... He told you nicely, give money to the lawyer, here is our man PauXXXic@hotmail.com he will explain you everything"  
(posted 09. April 2010. 23.48, Discussion: Emigration: Naturalization; translated into English)





## Appendix E

1. "What a strange question to ask of immigrants. Also, how could "ethnic non-Swedes" be in Sweden suffering abuse at the hands of Swedish men before there was immigration?"  
(posted 16.Sep.2009, 02:11 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: What was Sweden like before immigrants?)
2. "...That is why many of us has moved.."  
(posted 16.Sep.2009, 10:04 PM Discussion: Life in Sweden: What was Sweden like before immigrants?)
3. "Why on earth are there so many racists on this forum? We don't like racists in Sweden so if I was using your logic, you should either accept our "soft politicians" or go home."  
(posted 21.Sep.2009, 12:58 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Now here's a thought regard immigration...)
4. "... We have lived in english speaking countries before and u could get job with your own accent provided u speak proper and correct english... what do we do with people from skåne or småland that have strange accents."  
(posted 2.Mar.2010, 12:46 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local)
5. "Hi there, Am registered with the local barnmorska clinic but was dismayed to learn that my first ultrasound won't be until the 18th (!!) week of pregnancy. I had several complications in my last pregnancy and am disturbed to know that something could be wrong and I won't know until 18 weeks/fetus won't be monitored closely.Does anyone know of places in or north of Stockholm where I can get an ultrasound earlier?..."  
(posted 19.Apr.2010, 02:27 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Getting an ultrasound before 18 weeks?)
6. "...Let's say that my income is 310,000 SEK per year. How much money will i get after excluding all the TAXes ?? Also, Do i get taxed for 1st year ? i will most likely to start in September, 2010..when i do i have to pay tax?? ..."  
(posted 19.May.2010, 11:07 AM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: How much tax will I pay in the end?)
7. "Hi all, Just wondering if anyone ever tried applying for Residence Permit to join partner in Sweden, while you are residing in middle east? I am not middle eastern just happen to live here at present...."  
(posted 27.Oct.2009, 02:53 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: Visas/permits: Residence Permit Applying from Middle East)
8. "If you are NOT married then you would be applying based on family ties ie a sambo permit. I have one of these and as I am NOT married to my partner I of course did not have to supply a marriage certificate. Have you told migrationsverket

that you are married? I know that as part of my application I had to show my divorce papers from a previous relationship...Bottom line is, is that you do not have to be married to a swede to apply for a permit to come and live here with them. But you must be able to prove that your relationship is real. Good luck."

(posted 27.Oct.2009, 03:30 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: Visas/permits: Residence Permit Applying from Middle East)

9. "Have you had your teaching credentials authorised by HSV? Because of the new rules that will require municipalities to hire only licensed teachers this may be an issue. The rules are here - you will need gymnasiet Svenska B or TISUS to get registered <http://www.hsv.se/qXXXcationsrecognitio...7480002102.html> ..."  
(posted 21.Apr.2010, 02:17 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Applying for teaching posts in secondary schools)
10. "You got a dependent RP because that is what you applied for. You could have applied for two primary RP based on SE, but it could get really complicated if one of the applications got rejected or delayed."  
(posted 9.Jun.2010, 10:24 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Oh my god! Migrationsverket, I need help! SOS!)
11. "Exactly, You have applied both in one application. If you were to get separate status, you should have applied in two applications individually."  
(posted 10.Jun.2010, 00:59 AM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Oh my god! Migrationsverket, I need help! SOS!)
12. "Since you are posting on an immigrant site ..."  
(posted 8.Apr.2010, 09:19 AM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: The Multicultural fate)
13. "... I'm an immigrant writing on a immigrant forum, and my intention is to promote a debate on this subject, reason, as far I'm know, forums like this exist."  
(posted 8.Apr.2010, 10:19 AM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: The Multicultural fate)
15. "As of Autumn 2010 it will be much harder to get into university in Sweden if you are not Swedish....This actually goes against any EU mandate, in sense the rules are being broken by Sweden and it is a form of discrimination to us who are not Swedish. What are your thoughts on this matter?"  
(posted 26.Feb.2010, 12:41 PM, Discussion: Swedish News: Foreign Students discriminated against...)
16. "The Swedish judicial system is openly racist with 95% ethnic Swedes as judges and lawyers. Swedish policemen are 99% ethnic Swedes and they discriminate and persecute immigrants. Coming back to Sweden from UK I was stricken by a photo of an immigrant with an arabic name saying "Welcome to my city Stockholm". How ridiculous! They need photos! In UK when you arrive at the airport you can see many immigrants or people with immigrant descent working in the airport, all kinds of people with strong foreign accents, women with muslim scarfs, sikhs with turbans working as immigration officers."  
(posted 18.Mar.2010, 11:08 AM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Are we really racist?)

17. "It seems true that Swedes are inclined to discriminate against foreign-looking/sounding persons."  
(posted 18.Mar.2010, 11:43 AM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Are we really racist?)
18. "How British rate themselves here, Immigrants or Locals ??"  
(posted 27.Dec.2009, 01:31 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll)
19. " Educated immigrants is what Sweden needs. Things have changed alot since 1986 (when I arrived here from South Africa) and getting a well paid job is much easier. One just has to refuse to be downgraded."  
(posted 27.Dec.2009, 04:51 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll)
20. "I also think that in general Swedes are not so anti immigration as it may appear. I've had discussions with people who welcome SD rising and getting so much support, even though they don't welcome it or when challenging the immigration fobia, they will say that they don't have a problem with immigration in general. Instead it is some group they target they hate against, like muslims who come from a culture which is alien to Swedes. I think it is very easy to target them, because many of them have an extremely hard time to integrate into Swedish society and end up on the debit side of the welfare state and most Swedes cannot see how they can ever cross over to the credit side."  
(posted 27.Dec.2009, 07:23 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll)
21. "The question should have been asked differently because not all immigrants are equal.  
If they had asked if European immigration to Sweden had been beneficial the number of 'Yes' votes would have probably been much higher. If they had asked if African, Mid-East, or South Asian immigration had been beneficial to Sweden the numbers would have probably been much lower."  
(posted 27.Dec.2009, 04:51 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll)
22. "I hope Immigration will be on the basis of skill not for the false and intentional asylum seekers !!! Just like north America !! I feel and see all around that Sweden is getting to be a free home for the Islamic extremists !!!"  
(posted 28.Dec.2009, 03:19 AM, Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll)
23. "Viking, just to make things more complicated - in Uk, we have many E .european migrants or workers, from places like Poland, Lithuania, Romania etc, who are violent criminals, rapists, human traffickers etc. They are not Black or Muslim. But they are in the EU. So they have freedom of movement. Many of Poland + Romanis' most wanted criminals are in UK. So it is also a question of poor immigraiton control and security, as well as race and religion"

(posted 28.Dec.2009, 11:23 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: News via The Local: Swedes positive about immigration: poll)

24. "MSVT usually asks for a proof of health insurance if granting an RP that does not allows the applicant to use public healthcare system. i.e. RP valid for less than 12 months in duration."  
(posted 7.Apr.2010, 10:26 PM, Discussion Life in Sweden: Pregnant in Sweden)
25. "I got my personal number. We contacted "Försäkringskassan" (tax office), we got our 12,000kr and then some because for our son's first year we were not getting the "Barnbidrag" (child help). I did not even know about it until my mother-in-law asked if we were getting it."  
(posted 9.Apr.2010, 03:30 PM, , Discussion Life in Sweden: Pregnant in Sweden; translated into English)
26. "...However genuinely and officially bilingual preschools where both languages are spoken all the time are not so common: - there are many Swedish speaking dagis where the staff speak Swedish and where specialist first language support is available, - or there are International English speaking dagis where English is the main language and where Swedish is taught and spoken as well..."  
(posted 26.Jan.2009, 06:30 PM, Discussion: Swedish themes: Newcomers)
27. "You would need to pay cash for a house in Sweden if you are not living/working here. Banks will need to have proof of income in Sweden and you would need to be registered in Sweden to be able to open a bank account. All house owners pay a property tax which is variable on the property with a top charge of 6,000 Kr per year."  
(posted 20.Apr.2010, 11:57 AM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Should I buy house now or wait?)
28. "Because I am English and based in London, I had to get a 'non-residential' mortgage - which I assume you will have to get unless you get a UK bank-based mortgage. The downside of having this non-residential mortgage is firstly, the interest rates are slightly higher to offset the risk of a foreigner defaulting and also, you will not be able to claim back the interest payments from your income tax as Swedes can do (mortgage interest is non-tax deductible in the UK)"  
(posted 20.Apr.2010, 12:01 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Should I buy house now or wait?)
29. Discussion: Swedish themes: Newcomers: How do I use little security keypad? – started 30.May.2010, last post 31.May.2010, 18 posts
30. Discussion: Swedish themes: Finance: Handelsbanken and nordea refused? – started 29.May.2010, last post 3.Jun.2010, 28 posts
31. Discussion: Life in Sweden: How to get health card? – started 24.May.2010, last post 28.May.2010, 19 posts

32. Discussion: Swedish theme: Visas/permits: Residence permit waiting times – started 13.Sep.2009, last post 6.Jun.2010, 110 posts
33. Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: Insight into working at Marcus Evans –started 4.July 2006, last post 4.Mar.2010, 56 post
34. “Do you want cheap or do you want good - at a reasonable price? Check out: <http://www.tXXXors.se/>”  
(posted 17.Apr.2010, 11:59 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: The cheapest butcher in Stockholm)
35. “You can try this private practice next to Stadion tube station: [www.tittutuXXXud.se](http://www.tittutuXXXud.se)”  
(posted 19.Apr.2010, 02:03 PM, Discussion: Life in Sweden: Getting an ultrasound before 18 weeks?)
36. “Hi, My name is FaXXX and currently working in Singapore and R&D(PCB Design Engineer). I love to help you with this solution and with any other projects in the pipeline. Please email me or give me your email address and contact number i will contact you anytime.[farXXX520@netzero.com](mailto:farXXX520@netzero.com)”  
(posted 18.Oct.2009, 03:20 PM, Discussion: Classified adverts: Nationwide: PCB design help, paid work fro a working solution)
37. “Check out: <http://www.filiusXXX.se/> It's in Huddinge, not Flemingsberg, but it's right near the train station. Great place, great people. My youngest went there and I worked there a while.”  
(posted 25.Sep.2009, 04:59 PM, , Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: English speaking daycare Stockholm)
38. “You could try this place, although I am unaware of prices for the course. Good luck! [http://www.websitefolder.net/ArmXXXss/Start\(1\).asp?pass=](http://www.websitefolder.net/ArmXXXss/Start(1).asp?pass=)”  
(posted 8.Feb.2010, 08:58 PM, Discuss: Regional life: Gothenburg: Group personal training)
39. “i have used KungXXX once,and my experience was good...though i do not know how competitive in price they are but then what is in Sweden 😊  
[www.kungXXXs.se](http://www.kungXXXs.se)”  
(posted 3.Apr.2010, 08:51 AM, Discuss: Other themes: World travel: Moving to NYC, movers recommendation)
40. “check out FridXXXrjeson. +46(0)76XXX 44 10, [contact@fridXXXeson.com](mailto:contact@fridXXXeson.com) She is an amazing photographer and has her own darkroom for developing and doing prints. She will probably know a repro printer too. [www.fridabXXXson.com](http://www.fridabXXXson.com).”  
(posted 7.Apr.2010, 04:35 PM, Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: Printer in Stockholm)

41. "South Africans?? OF COURSE I'll be wearing my Bokke shirt too! Wouldn't be a complete home meetup without it. So when should we plan this thing? Friday Jan 22nd? Or should we make it after payday?"  
(posted 7.Jan.2010, 08:11 PM, Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: South Africans in Stockholm)
42. "I've been in Gothenburg for the last year and a half. Whereabouts in Gothenburg do you live? Myself and the other members of "Team Gothenburg" (comprised of English speaking expats/immigrants living in this fair city) regularly get together for beers at one of the local pubs. It would be great to have you come along for one of these events, if you're up for it. ☺"  
(posted 20.Sep.2009, 05:11 PM, Discussion: Regional life: Gothenburg: American living in Gothenburg)
43. " If you are into outdoor team sports of a different kind, you would be very welcome to come try Australian Football with the Solna AXXXen Australian Football Club.... contact@aXXXen.se"  
(posted 26.Apr.2010, 11:58 AM, Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: Bored in Stockholm)
44. "...Let's try to sort something out swiftly and easily, then I guess if y'all want to email me at benzeXXX (AT)yahoo.com we can exchange mobile numbers etc. T'would be excellent to see the same faces from The Rover in particular."  
(posted 2.Aug.2006, 04:27 PM, Discussion: Regional life: Gothenburg: Team Gothenburg)
45. "...Maybe one of you guys could send me your mobile number? just so that i dont look like such an idiot if i get lost, or your not there! my email is whXXXs@yahoo.co.uk, and numeber is 07747XXX018 ;-)  
ciao for now"  
(posted 20.Oct.2006, 03:14 PM, Discussion: Regional life: Gothenburg: Team Gothenburg)
46. "Join The Dubliner's Facebook Group to keep yourself updated. <http://www.facebooXXXubs?ref=ts>"  
(posted 4.Apr.2010, 02:47 PM, Discussion: Regional life: Gothenburg: English speaking comedy club at Dubliner fact!)
47. "Hi, I'm from SA - came here from CPT 4 years ago. I'm sure the South African Society in Sweden (Facebook: <http://www.facebook.XXXphp?gid=28492987040>) would like to hear from you, and the Stockholm Expat Meetup group (Facebook:<http://www.facebook.comXXXup.php?gid=321575880144>) is also great for meeting English speakers. Of course you'll become one of the Borg once you learn the language, but until then there is enough expat company ☺ Cheers en sterkte,GD"  
(posted 5.Jan.2010, 08:36 PM, Discussion: Regional life: Stockholm: South Africans in Stockholm)

## Appendix F

### Interviews – the Serbian Café

- [ 8:34:27 PM] Novi Covek: ok,  
[ 8:34:43 PM] Novi Covek: kazi mi kako si pronasao serbian cafe, kako ej doslo do toga da g akorisits?  
[ 8:34:55 PM] SC\_ : uzece vise vremena danas mi je jednoj cerki rodjendan ocekujem goste pa ne bih da prekidam  
[ 8:35:13 PM] Novi Covek: srecan rodjendan!  
[ 8:35:32 PM] SC\_ : pre 12 godina ziveo sam tada u chicagu i dobio sam adresu od nekog poznanika  
[ 8:35:39 PM] SC\_ : hvala  
[ 8:35:46 PM] Novi Covek: a zbog cega? koje ti je motivacij bilila?  
[ 8:36:27 PM] SC\_ : motivacija je bila uspostavljanje kontakta sa ljudima slicnih osobina koje ne poznajem  
[ 8:36:37 PM] Novi Covek: kakvih slicnih osobina?  
[ 8:36:48 PM] SC\_ : kao i informacije iz otadzbine  
[ 8:37:42 PM] SC\_ : osobina kao sto su zelja za komuniciranjem ,razmena informacija i licnih iskustva sa osobama koje ne zive u mojoj okolini  
[ 8:38:06 PM] Novi Covek: aha, zeleo si da kontaktiras, komuniciras sa ljudima koji nisu u tvojoj blizini?  
[ 8:38:19 PM] SC\_ : moracu da prekinem na minut ,pecem nekakvo meso  
[ 8:38:23 PM] Novi Covek: hahaok  
[ 8:38:24 PM] SC\_ : izvini  
[ 8:38:25 PM] Novi Covek: nema problema  
[ 8:38:27 PM] Novi Covek: sve je ok  
[ 8:40:25 PM] SC\_ : ok tu sam da zelja za komuniciranjem i informisanjem  
[ 8:40:39 PM] Novi Covek: ali zasto bas sa ljudima koji nisu u tvojoj okolini?  
[ 8:41:37 PM] SC\_ : ljudi koji su u mojoj okolini su mi bili dostupni i sa njima sam se vidjao ili kontaktirao telefonom,nismo poznavali previse ljudi u chicagu  
[ 8:41:52 PM] SC\_ : kasnije smo znali pola Chicaga i oni nas  
[ 8:42:03 PM] Novi Covek: kome se obracas na serbian kafegu?  
[ 8:42:16 PM] Novi Covek: kakve informacije mogu da se nadju tamo na diskusijama?  
[ 8:43:05 PM] SC\_ : obracam se ljudima u poslednje vreme diskutantima sa naviaca,politika,gradovi i drzave,i emigracija  
[ 8:43:22 PM] Novi Covek: a kome si se obracao tada na pocetku koriscenja sc?\  
[ 8:43:55 PM] SC\_ : tada je bilo diskusija .gradovi i drzave,i chat room  
[ 8:44:10 PM] Novi Covek: kakve informacije si trazio?  
[ 8:44:33 PM] SC\_ : tada mi je bila potrebna pomoc oko sredjivanja papira  
[ 8:45:14 PM] SC\_ : pokusao sam na taj nacin da cujem iskustva drugih  
[ 8:45:22 PM] Novi Covek: i? jesu ti pomogli?  
[ 8:45:47 PM] SC\_ : tu si  
[ 8:45:56 PM] Novi Covek: mislim ljudi na sc?  
[ 8:46:19 PM] Novi Covek: da, nesto je stalo  
[ 8:46:45 PM] Novi Covek: ne znam da li su ti stigle moje poruke



[ 8:47:04 PM] SC\_ : ne bas ali sam dolazio do raznih informacija tj tuđih iskustva oko statusa u americi

[ 8:47:25 PM] Novi Covek: da li verujes informacijama koje dobijes na sc?

[ 8:48:23 PM] SC\_ : verujem ,jer i sam sam nudio drugima svoje iskustvo iskreno sam pricao svoju sudbinu tako da sam verovao i drugima

[ 8:48:54 PM] Novi Covek: da li koristis ili si koristio sc da se informises o cikagu, zivotu tamo, ili o kanadi gde sada zivis?

[ 8:50:15 PM] SC\_ : Vise u chicagu nego u Kanadi,ovde sam vise pomagao svojim info nego sto sam trazio pomoc u poslednej tri godine pomogli smo nekoliko familija i individualnih slucajeva da srede papire bez ikakve nadoknade

[ 8:50:31 PM] Novi Covek: svala cast

[ 8:50:35 PM] Novi Covek: svaka cast!

[ 8:50:50 PM] Novi Covek: zanimljiva ti je zivotna prica

[ 8:51:00 PM] SC\_ : ne hvalim se ali familija mi je nevidjena mislimo kao jedna dus

[ 8:51:06 PM] Novi Covek: a da li si ostvario neka poznanstva van kruga svojih prijatelja preko sc?

[ 8:51:27 PM] SC\_ : upravo smo završili jednu humanitarnu akciju za obolelog prijatelja iz Bgd

[ 8:51:42 PM] Novi Covek: dragi moj, to je divno da se kaze. svaka cast. uvek kazu za nas a smo svadjalci narod, ali eto ima neko ko ima divnu familiju

[ 8:51:50 PM] Novi Covek: bravo.

[ 8:52:38 PM] SC\_ : upznao sam preneki dan nekog coveka preko sc zivi u Chicagu i znamo iste ljude sada smo cesto na skype mada sam sa vremenom slab

[ 8:53:06 PM] Novi Covek: dobro , to je poznanstvo vezano za krug tvojih prijatelja zar ne?

[ 8:53:31 PM] SC\_ : nismo mi svadjalacki narod ,mislim da smo previse ponosni na sebe i ne prihvatamo tuđe sugestije i ideje

[ 8:53:34 PM] Novi Covek: jesi ga upoznao licno sto se kaze u realnom izovtu ili online?

[ 8:53:53 PM] Novi Covek: zanimljivo, kako ti to vidis. daj boze da si ti u pravu

[ 8:54:55 PM] SC\_ : online pre nekoliko meseci sam upznao porodicu kojoj je bila potrebna pomoc oko emigracije imaju malu decu bio sam kod njih kuci zive 1300 km od mene

[ 8:55:35 PM] Novi Covek: cekaj, znaci imas neke nove ljude koji si upoznao preko sc online, a imas i one koje si posle upoznao offline??

[ 8:56:26 PM] SC\_ : da mislim preko sc jedne sam licno posetio ili oni mene a sa nekima kontaktiram preko skype sada ili sc

[ 8:57:04 PM] Novi Covek: pa kako je doslo do toga da nekoga koga si upoznao online posle upoznas offline? kako ide proces? kako se to desava? i zasto?

[ 8:57:32 PM] SC\_ : sta bi

[ 8:57:56 PM] Novi Covek: jesi tu

[ 8:58:20 PM] SC\_ : hello

[ 9:08:34 PM] SC\_ : nista javi se nekom drugom prilikom

[ 9:22:58 PM] Novi Covek: hej tu sam

[ 9:23:07 PM] Novi Covek: jesi ti jos tu?

[ 9:24:29 PM] Novi Covek: ok javi se kad ti bude odgovaralo

++++

[6:33:58 PM] SC\_ : mozemo nastaviti sada ako budem morao daidem prekinucemo

[6:34:16 PM] Novi Covek: sada odmah mozete?

[6:34:20 PM] SC\_ : da

[6:34:25 PM] Novi Covek: e super,

[6:34:36 PM] SC\_ : nemoj da mi persiras  
[6:34:49 PM] Novi Covek: ok da vas podsetim stali smo kod toga da ste preko sc upoznali neke ljude. pa ste mi rekli kako  
[6:34:51 PM] Novi Covek: ok haha  
[6:34:55 PM] Novi Covek: bez persiranja  
[6:35:09 PM] Novi Covek: pa si mi rekao da si neke i licno u poznao  
[6:35:16 PM] SC\_ : da upoznao sam dosta ljudi  
[6:35:34 PM] Novi Covek: e to me zanima, kako ste se upoznali prvo inline?  
[6:35:49 PM] SC\_ : zajednica u kojoj zivimo nema previse nasih ljudi  
[6:36:28 PM] SC\_ : da upoznao sam ih putem interneta kasnije smo uspostavili telefonski kontakt i neke sam sreo  
[6:37:00 PM] Novi Covek: a te sto si upoznao na sc preko interneta, kako si ih upoznao? na diskusijama? kakv ej to odnos bio  
[6:37:13 PM] SC\_ : sve koje sam sreo sada su mi prijatelji  
[6:37:26 PM] SC\_ : da upznao sam ih putem diskusija  
[6:37:40 PM] Novi Covek: jesu tebi oni nesto pomogali ili ti njima?  
[6:37:46 PM] Novi Covek: koja je priroda odnosa bila  
[6:37:48 PM] SC\_ : ili mi ih je neko preporucio sa diskusija koje sam upoznao ranije  
[6:37:53 PM] Novi Covek: ili onako iz caskanja  
[6:37:59 PM] Novi Covek: te ljuude?  
[6:38:07 PM] Novi Covek: neko ti je prporucio te ljude?  
[6:38:58 PM] SC\_ : pomoc nisam previse dobijao direktno .u pocetku sam zeleo da razmenim licna iskustva oko emigrije ili struke kojom se bavim  
[6:39:30 PM] SC\_ : da preporuke sam dobijao vecinom vezane za poslove koje sam se bavio a to je ugostiteljstvo  
[6:39:54 PM] Novi Covek: i onda si caskajuci sa ljudima stekao i poznanike, online?  
[6:40:12 PM] SC\_ : u sustitni da  
[6:40:39 PM] SC\_ : internet je strasna stvar pravi se network kao paukova mreza  
[6:41:00 PM] Novi Covek: hhaha, lepo poredjenje, kako to mislis? kako to funkcioniše u praksi?  
[6:43:50 PM] SC\_ : upoznao sam naprimer nekoliko ljudi vezanih za Crvenu zvezdu za koju navijam,igrala je zvezda utakmicu u Chicagu,trebale su mi karte ,video sam na diskusijama navijaci da se organizovano ide na utakmicu tj da nekoliko momaka kupje 2000 karata da bi svi bili zajedno,kontaktirao sam iha jer ostavili e mail,preko njih sam kasnij u Chicagu upznao i ljude iz mjamia,arizon i drugih gradova amerike i kanade  
[6:44:54 PM] SC\_ : onda sam ih ja spojio sa ljudima koje ja poznajem tako da nas ima sada preko 200 koji kontaktiramo od tada ,  
[6:44:56 PM] Novi Covek: znaci kad se upoznate online, onda preko neceg drugog (mejl na primer) pocnete da kontaktirate  
[6:45:10 PM] SC\_ : da  
[6:45:11 PM] Novi Covek: uh! pa kako dodje do pravog fizickog susreta  
[6:45:29 PM] Novi Covek: i kako si tako brzo razgrano mrezu preko 200 ljudi??  
[6:46:11 PM] SC\_ : obicno trazim telefon i nazovem jer zivim 100km od posla ilakse mi je teleonom da kontaktiram jer mi prolazi brze vreme dok vozim kuci i do posla  
[6:47:03 PM] SC\_ : prosledio sam svojim istomislejnicima kontakte {e mail,br telefona itd}  
[6:47:33 PM] SC\_ : vezuje nas ista stvar Crvena Zvezda

[6:47:36 PM] Novi Covek: da li su ti ti ljudi koje si upoznao online, a onda i oni koje si kasnije upoznao offline, u pravom zivotu, da li ti je neki od tih kontakata bitan, znacajan u bilo kom smislu?

[6:50:43 PM] SC\_ : jeste,upoznao sam tog momka koji je organizovao akciju da se navijace skupe na jednoj tribini,dosli smo do trenutka kada smo se sreli i razmenili dosta licnih stvari jedno sa drugim koje sta i gde cinio ,sada radimo na tome da organizujemo tj d anastavimo humanitarnu akciju koju sam ja zapoceo o prikupljanju sredstava za dalje leenje bolesnog prijatelaj koje g i on takodje poznaje,inace taj novi poznanik je i predstavnik organizacije Srbi Za Srbe

[6:51:29 PM] Novi Covek: znaci doslo je i do vrlo ozbiljnih prijateljskih i humaniterano profcionalnih kontakata

[6:51:56 PM] Novi Covek: da li korисти sc da bi stekao nova poznanstva, prijateljstva?

[6:53:40 PM] SC\_ : ne bas toliko sada jer sam sa vremenom sve kraci ,takodje i razlog je sto je internet dostupan svakome pogotovo mnogimakoji mogu da u pogresnom smeru koriste licne informacije veoma oprezno stupam u kontakt sa novim poznanicima

[6:54:01 PM] SC\_ : uvek trazim telefon ili e mail adresu

[6:54:02 PM] Novi Covek: a da li si ga nekda koristio u te svrhe? na pocetku?

[6:54:31 PM] SC\_ : da li sma sta koristio nekada ?Internet

[6:54:56 PM] Novi Covek: ne serbina cafe, da li si ga ikada koristio da upoznajes nove ljude

[6:55:51 PM] SC\_ : serbian cafe sam koristio ,i koristim jer sam navikao na taj site,i poznajem dosta ljudi preko sc

[6:56:27 PM] SC\_ : mada se mnogo oristi pseudonime za predstavkljanje ali znam pod kojim su

[6:56:33 PM] Novi Covek: kapiram, ali da li mozes da kazes za sebe da ti je motivacije sc u bilo kom trenutku bila da upoznajes nove ljude preko sc?

[6:56:55 PM] SC\_ : sc nije mi motivacija

[6:57:22 PM] Novi Covek: ok, ali da ti je upoznavanje novih ljudi na sc bila motivacija da koristis sc diskusije?

[6:57:37 PM] SC\_ : ne bAS

[6:58:01 PM] Novi Covek: ok, znaci poznanstva su se desila slucajno, nisi to trazio

[6:58:39 PM] SC\_ : nisam isao 100% sa namerom da bih upoznao nekoga

[6:58:58 PM] SC\_ : komentarisanjem topika doslo je do poznanstva

[6:59:13 PM] Novi Covek: ok, kapiram, da je to doslo slucajno. da li mozes jos da mi kazes kako bi okarakterisao uticaj serbian cafea koji on ima na tvoj zivot?

[7:00:07 PM] SC\_ : nije previse uticao na moj zivot

[7:02:06 PM] SC\_ : u pocetku je bilo zanimljivo bez obaveze ali npr mog brata od tetke sc je doveo do razvoda braka jer je upoznao zenu iz australije i zbog nje se razveo sa svojom zenom

[7:03:04 PM] SC\_ : hello

[7:03:09 PM] Novi Covek: hahah

[7:03:15 PM] Novi Covek: pa cekaj razmislim vidi kakva ti je prica

[7:03:27 PM] Novi Covek: dobro za tebe kazes nema preveliki uticaj

[7:03:29 PM] Novi Covek: a tih 200 ljudi koji su okupljeni kao pauzkova mreza, jel to bila zasluga serbian cafea?

[7:04:22 PM] SC\_ : ne to je bila vise moja licna zasluga zbog svoje komunikacije ,sc je bio samo posrednik za kontakt

[7:04:39 PM] SC\_ : sc ima zslugu indirektno

[7:04:46 PM] Novi Covek: pa da li je kao posrednik imao znacaj?

[7:04:49 PM] Novi Covek: ok.  
[7:05:24 PM] Novi Covek: branko hvala ti puno,  
(2)  
[7:43:52 PM] Novi Covek: e super  
[7:44:20 PM] Novi Covek: ok, kazmi mi molim te kako si pronasao serbian cafe? kako ej doslo do toga da ga krostis  
[7:44:23 PM] Novi Covek: koristis  
[7:44:31 PM] SC\_ : Ok  
[7:44:37 PM] SC\_ : kada sam dosao u Kanadu  
[7:44:41 PM] SC\_ : pre 6 god  
[7:44:49 PM] SC\_ : drugar iz mineapolisa  
[7:45:11 PM] SC\_ : mi je dao savet da tu mogu da se informmisem vezano za desavanja u sprskoj zajednici  
[7:46:21 PM] SC\_ : P.S. U ovom slucaju mogu da pustim ton sa utakmice  
[7:46:32 PM] Novi Covek: ma da!  
[7:46:43 PM] Novi Covek: u srpskoj zajednici gde?  
[7:47:03 PM] SC\_ : U Torontu  
[7:47:25 PM] Novi Covek: aha, zeleo si kad si se doselio da imas tu vrstu informacije?  
[7:47:29 PM] Novi Covek: zasto?  
[7:47:50 PM] SC\_ : Da bih prvenstveno upoznao nase ljude  
[7:47:58 PM] SC\_ : tj nasao ekipu za fudbal  
[7:48:05 PM] Novi Covek: i ?  
[7:48:17 PM] SC\_ : medjutim ekipu sam nasao ali mi nije SC pomogao u tome  
[7:48:31 PM] Novi Covek: a za koje svrhe koristis SC?  
[7:48:43 PM] Novi Covek: koje diskusije citas? kojim diskusijama doprinosis?  
[7:49:01 PM] SC\_ : Ok Koristim da vidim kad ima neka predstava  
[7:49:15 PM] SC\_ : citam vesti  
[7:49:30 PM] SC\_ : diskusije koje sam koristio bile su Toronto  
[7:49:44 PM] SC\_ : ali ih ne koristim vise obzirom da su blede  
[7:49:50 PM] SC\_ : nema tu sta da se nauci  
[7:49:56 PM] SC\_ : onda mnogo cenzure  
[7:50:00 PM] SC\_ : itd  
[7:50:11 PM] SC\_ : da koristio sam diskusije muzika  
[7:50:21 PM] Novi Covek: a jel bilo tada na tvom pocetku u kanadi necega zbog cega si ga koristio?  
[7:50:32 PM] SC\_ : ali i to sam prestao zbog ukidanja koriscenja rapid share  
[7:50:51 PM] SC\_ : Uglavnom u prve dve god  
[7:51:08 PM] SC\_ : sada pogledam iste ponekad retko ali nikad ne ucestvujem  
[7:51:20 PM] Novi Covek: ali u te prve dve godine sta si radio na sc?  
[7:51:27 PM] Novi Covek: zasto si koristio?  
[7:51:31 PM] SC\_ : trazio sam drustvo  
[7:51:37 PM] SC\_ : uglavnom  
[7:51:38 PM] Novi Covek: pa jesi li ga nasao?  
[7:51:39 PM] SC\_ : recimo  
[7:51:46 PM] SC\_ : drustvo za voznju bicikla  
[7:51:48 PM] SC\_ : fudbal  
[7:51:50 PM] SC\_ : klizanje  
[7:51:52 PM] Novi Covek: to si nasao?

[7:52:01 PM] SC\_ : nazalos ne preko kafe  
[7:52:13 PM] SC\_ : mislim da su ljudi na tom forumu zatvoreni  
[7:52:15 PM] Novi Covek: hajde mi malo to objasni  
[7:52:26 PM] Novi Covek: kako si dosao do tih ljudi?  
[7:52:35 PM] SC\_ : do kojih  
[7:52:45 PM] Novi Covek: pa to za voznju bicikla, fudbal, klizanje  
[7:53:03 PM] SC\_ : Jedini uspeh bila je voznja bicikla  
[7:53:08 PM] SC\_ : okupilo se nas 5  
[7:53:17 PM] SC\_ : ali nista nakon toga  
[7:53:19 PM] Novi Covek: ali kako funkcioniše to? prvo se upoznate na SC?  
[7:53:25 PM] SC\_ : da  
[7:53:29 PM] Novi Covek: i onda?  
[7:53:46 PM] SC\_ : i onda smo razmenili e-mail  
[7:53:51 PM] Novi Covek: aha  
[7:53:59 PM] SC\_ : i dogovorili da se vidimo u jednoj voznji  
[7:54:03 PM] Novi Covek: i?  
[7:54:05 PM] SC\_ : koja je ostala samo jedna  
[7:54:09 PM] Novi Covek: zasto?  
[7:54:17 PM] SC\_ : valjda su ljudi ocekivali masovniji odziv  
[7:54:44 PM] Novi Covek: ok. a da li si uopste u koriscenju SC stekao neki znacajan kontakt online?  
[7:54:51 PM] SC\_ : ne  
[7:54:54 PM] Novi Covek: da li ti je neko od usera vazan kontakt?  
[7:55:00 PM] Novi Covek: u bilo kom smislu?  
[7:55:20 PM] SC\_ : pa nisam stekao dobar kontakt  
[7:55:32 PM] Novi Covek: znaci nista posebno ni online ni offline  
[7:55:33 PM] SC\_ : nekako okrenuo sam se drustvu iz skole  
[7:55:36 PM] SC\_ : nisu nasi  
[7:55:44 PM] SC\_ : i ja sam se uklopio sa njima  
[7:56:01 PM] Novi Covek: a sta ocekujes od svoje aktivnosti na serbina kafegu?  
[7:56:03 PM] SC\_ : ali ne kazem da je to sto nisu nasi nego mi je zivot tako namestio  
[7:56:25 PM] SC\_ : da vidim vest da je zvezda izgubila utakmicu kao danas  
[7:56:44 PM] Novi Covek: a da li verujes informacijama koje dobijes na Serbina Cafeu?  
[7:57:06 PM] SC\_ : ne razmisljam puno o tome  
[7:57:15 PM] SC\_ : mozda ima dobrih  
[7:57:30 PM] SC\_ : ali bih se uvek posavetovao sa kanadskim web site  
[7:57:32 PM] Novi Covek: da li korsits serbina cafe da se informises na bilo koji nacin o drustvu, zemlji u koju si dosao?  
[7:57:41 PM] SC\_ : ne  
[7:57:50 PM] SC\_ : koristim vladine web strane  
[7:58:04 PM] Novi Covek: pa kome se obracas na serbian cafeu?  
[7:58:14 PM] SC\_ : a dda li ti radis marketing istrazivanje za »SC  
[7:58:20 PM] Novi Covek: hahahah ne  
[7:58:27 PM] Novi Covek: serbian cafe nije hteo samnom da saradjuje  
[7:58:34 PM] SC\_ : ma OK  
[7:58:35 PM] Novi Covek: ja radim doktorsku disertaciju  
[7:58:40 PM] SC\_ : samo nastavi  
[7:58:51 PM] Novi Covek: na temu kako imigratima sluzi interner

[7:58:52 PM] Novi Covek: t  
[7:59:09 PM] SC\_ : da to sam i mislio u prvi mah  
[7:59:25 PM] Novi Covek: dakle, ako ne sreces ljude preko sc, ako ne trazis info o canadi preko SC, za koje svrhe ga koristis?  
[7:59:38 PM] SC\_ : evo ovako  
[7:59:41 PM] Novi Covek: hajde  
[7:59:46 PM] SC\_ : koristim ga za info  
[7:59:55 PM] SC\_ : kad gostuje nase pozoriste  
[8:00:05 PM] SC\_ : koji zubari se reklamiraju  
[8:00:21 PM] SC\_ : obidjem diskusije Toronto retko  
[8:00:30 PM] SC\_ : zanimaju me iz jednog razloga  
[8:00:46 PM] SC\_ : planiram da otvorim firmu napravio sam web site  
[8:00:56 PM] SC\_ : i verovatno cu reklamu staviti na SC  
[8:01:19 PM] SC\_ : onda zanima me kad crkva ima sluzbu za verske praznike  
[8:01:40 PM] SC\_ : cek da bacim pogled na Sc da se ne setim jos cega  
[8:01:51 PM] Novi Covek: a sto zubari??  
[8:02:09 PM] SC\_ : a zato sto nikad nisam zadovoljan  
[8:02:11 PM] SC\_ : hahahh  
[8:02:30 PM] Novi Covek: pa jel trazis zubare na sc??  
[8:02:32 PM] SC\_ : samo onako pomenuh njih  
[8:02:42 PM] SC\_ : ko radi taksu  
[8:02:52 PM] SC\_ : ko radi oftamoloske preglede  
[8:03:08 PM] Novi Covek: dobro znaci na sc trazis info o kulturnom i verskom zivotu srpske zajednice u torontu?  
[8:03:17 PM] SC\_ : recimo  
[8:03:27 PM] SC\_ : i o tome ko se reklamira  
[8:03:28 PM] Novi Covek: aha i poneku vest o uslugama nasih ljudi tamo?  
[8:03:31 PM] Novi Covek: ok  
[8:03:33 PM] SC\_ : tako je  
[8:03:44 PM] Novi Covek: jel zattoo da bi koristio te usluge ili iz nekog drugog razloga?  
[8:04:18 PM] SC\_ : da mozda pronadjem odgovor na to da li moja reklama ima smisla na tom web site  
[8:04:44 PM] Novi Covek: a kako ces to da proveris?  
[8:04:45 PM] SC\_ : napomenuo sam ti da planiram da otvorim firmu  
[8:05:08 PM] Novi Covek: da, zato me i zanima kako to porveravas citajuci druge koji se tamo pojavljuju i reklamiraju  
[8:05:14 PM] Novi Covek: proveravas  
[8:05:27 PM] SC\_ : pa ako mudro postupim iskoristicu njihove usluge  
[8:05:34 PM] Novi Covek: ??  
[8:05:40 PM] SC\_ : upoznacu ih i dobiti povratnu informaciju  
[8:05:53 PM] SC\_ : kakav je odziv ljudi za njihov posao sa SC  
[8:06:12 PM] Novi Covek: a tako, i ti ces njih intervjuisati  
[8:06:15 PM] Novi Covek: ;)  
[8:06:16 PM] SC\_ : dakle bas ovo sto ti mene pitas  
[8:06:22 PM] Novi Covek: ok, kapiram  
[8:06:25 PM] SC\_ : pa ne bas kao intervju  
[8:06:34 PM] SC\_ : vise na oonoj varijanti  
[8:06:43 PM] SC\_ : mi imamo biznis kako da sse pomognemo

[8:07:01 PM] SC\_ : ja sam ovo pojednostavnio kao onaj Palma iz Jagodine  
[8:07:14 PM] Novi Covek: pa tako i treba najbolje su jednostavne informacije  
[8:07:28 PM] Novi Covek: dobro, mislim da sam te pitala sve sto treba  
[8:07:54 PM] Novi Covek: reci mi samo da li si ikada koristio SC da bi sretao nove ljude u stvarnom zivotu?  
[8:08:04 PM] SC\_ : ne  
[8:08:10 PM] Novi Covek: ok, hvala  
[8:08:14 PM] Novi Covek: hvala ti puno  
[8:08:19 PM] SC\_ : nema na cemu  
[8:08:31 PM] Novi Covek: ako mu ubuduce bude nedostajao neki podatak ja cu te jos jednom kontaktirati  
[8:08:43 PM] Novi Covek: a molim te izvini jos nesto  
[8:08:47 PM] SC\_ : kazi  
[8:08:51 PM] SC\_ : poluvreme je  
[8:08:54 PM] Novi Covek: jesam te pitala za godine, nacionalnost,  
[8:09:06 PM] SC\_ : 35  
[8:09:25 PM] SC\_ : Srbini - pro zapadno orijentisan  
[8:09:28 PM] Novi Covek: haha  
[8:09:41 PM] Novi Covek: a kazi mi obrazovanje, tj broj godina u skoli?  
[8:09:50 PM] SC\_ : 11 u srbiji  
[8:09:55 PM] SC\_ : S  
[8:09:56 PM] SC\_ : veliko  
[8:10:01 PM] Novi Covek: kapiram  
[8:10:17 PM] Novi Covek: i nezvanicno se i slazem, a bogami mogu i zvanicno ali mene ministarstvo nista ne pita  
[8:10:20 PM] Novi Covek: a u kanadi?  
[8:10:36 PM] SC\_ : 3 godine koledz  
[8:10:49 PM] SC\_ : toliko ce biti kad diplomiram na prolece  
[8:10:55 PM] Novi Covek: odlicno  
[8:10:57 PM] Novi Covek: svaka cast  
[8:11:00 PM] Novi Covek: i hval ti puno  
[8:11:08 PM] SC\_ : e  
[8:11:14 PM] SC\_ : imam i ja nesto  
[8:11:35 PM] SC\_ : da ono pitanje o stvarnim ljudima ne ostane zabuna  
[8:11:43 PM] SC\_ : upoznao sam ljude na voznji bicikla  
[8:12:01 PM] SC\_ : ali je ostalo na tome vise nisam siguran ni da li bi ih prepoznao  
[8:12:07 PM] SC\_ : nekako mi je omaklo  
[8:12:23 PM] Novi Covek: cek  
[8:12:41 PM] Novi Covek: pa dobro, ti si rekao da ne koristis sc da bi nekoga upoznao  
[8:12:49 PM] Novi Covek: ali kad si dosao u kanadu nekoga si ipak upoznao  
[8:13:01 PM] SC\_ : da na voznji bicika  
[8:13:04 PM] Novi Covek: ali to je bilo sportski i nikad se od toga nije stvorilo nista bitno  
[8:13:06 PM] SC\_ : rekoh ti prvo  
[8:13:10 PM] SC\_ : ne  
[8:13:17 PM] Novi Covek: ok, skapirala sam  
[8:13:23 PM] SC\_ : kazem ti i ne bih prepoznao te ljude  
[8:13:29 PM] Novi Covek: da da  
[8:13:31 PM] SC\_ : nazalost

[8:13:32 PM] Novi Covek: razumem davno bilo

[8:13:36 PM] Novi Covek: pa da

[8:13:38 PM] Novi Covek: ali ko zna..

[8:13:45 PM] Novi Covek: hvala puno dacho

[8:13:49 PM] SC\_ : Ok

[8:13:54 PM] SC\_ : pozdrav

(3)

sc\_user says

jutro

evo me

Jasmina says

zdravo

kako je?

sc\_user says

hvala , dobro je

ti

Jasmina says

evo, cekam te

sc\_user says

>

fino

hajde navali

imam posle termin

pa se moram spremati

Jasmina says

ok

molim te kazi mi kako si otkrio Serbina Cafe? kako je doslo do toga da ga koristis?

sc\_user says

aufff i ti pitas svasta

znas li kad je to bilo

Jasmina says

eh, kad?

sc\_user says

ne mogu se uopste sjetiti kako sam dospio tamo

to je sigurno bilo 99 ili 2000 te

dok sam jos bio u Kanadi

serbiancaffe je iz toronta

Jasmina says

pa da li se secas iz kog razloga si dospio tamo?

sc\_user says

ne znam kako sam stigao do tamo

ne

nemam pojma

vjerovatno sam trazio neku informaciju

sigurno nessto za ex- yu

i onda me neki pretrazivac odveo tamo

Jasmina says



a za koje svrhe koristis Serbina Cafe? kakvu informaciju, vezano za sta? na kojim diskusijama?

sc\_user says

evo konkretan primjer

Jasmina says

hajde

sc\_user says

u subotu sam ostavio laptop upaljen jer gledam njemacki fudbal preko interneta otisao da nesto obavim

i kad sam se vratio

virus

Jasmina says

i?

sc\_user says

goglova0 sam jedno pola sata da najdem nesto

pokusavao

ali na kraju su uvijek trazili da se plati

e ja fino na "moj serbian" i tamo za cas posla najdem sve

i ode virus kao da nikad nije bio

Jasmina says

aha, znaci tamo ides da anjdes neke informacije?

bilo kog tipa??

sc\_user says

da

Jasmina says

ili na primer znas za koje stvari se tamo mozes obratiti?

sc\_user says

i kad mi nesto treba u frankfurtu

otem tamo na diskusije

pronadjem temu

procitam

vidim

i tako

ako me zanima sta se desava u torontu

onda odem na diskusije toronto

i vidim kako se tamo zivi ovih dana

Jasmina says

znaci informacije o frankfurtu gde zivis, torontu gde si ziveo,

ex-yu gde si isto ziveo

sc\_user says

da

i kad nesto hocu da kupim

nabavim

Jasmina says

i nekad i strucne probleme kao kompjuter i to

sc\_user says

procitam prvo kao su drugi ljudi ocjenili taj proizvod

sta predlazu

sta savjetuju  
Jasmina says  
i sta ocekujes od dovjje aktivnosti na SC?  
tvoje  
izvini na ono dvoje  
sc\_user says  
pojasni malo  
Jasmina says  
pa na primer kada se obracas SCsa pitanjima sta ocekujes da se desi?  
na sta si naviko kao korisnik SC?  
sc\_user says  
znas sta  
ja tamo nisam registrovan i ne mogu postavljati pitanja  
dok sam zivio u kanadi  
mogli su svi da pisu  
ali je posle sigurno bilo prepucavanja pa su uveli da moras biti registrovan  
ja uglavnom sta trazim to i nadjem vec u diskusijama  
Jasmina says  
i kako korisits sc ako nisi registrovan?  
a, t samo citas?  
sc\_user says  
pa da procitam  
vecinom nas muce isti problemi  
Jasmina says  
i sve sto te znaima vec je tu?  
sc\_user says  
znaci nisam prvi koji je dobio taj virus  
Jasmina says  
zanimljivo!! na primer jel mozes da mi navedes koji su to isti problemi?  
sc\_user says  
vec je postojalo rjesenje  
Jasmina says  
aha, a kad se radi o drugim zemljama i gradovima?  
sc\_user says  
pa kazem ti da mene iskljucivo zanima torotno i frankfurt  
tj. nemacka  
i kanada  
onda copmjuters  
zastita  
Jasmina says  
pa dobro, ali to sto te zanima, ti drugi gradovi zemlje, nemacka kanada , koje su tu  
zajednicke teme koje sve muce?  
sc\_user says  
kako doci besplatno do nekih software i tako to  
za muke sam mislio vise na temu o tehnici , comp, operativnim sistemima  
a kanada njemacka  
je vise  
kako se zivi

sta se radi  
gdje se izlazi  
ko gdje gostuje  
Jasmina says  
a kapiram  
i da li verujes informacijama koje nadjes na SC?  
sc\_user says  
skoro je recimo bila ifno da brega dolazi u frankfurt  
i tako to  
pa ono sto ja trazim i sto najdem  
su uvijek tacne i istinite ifnormacije  
Jasmina says  
kako znas?  
uf cek telefon  
sc\_user says  
pa zato sto ih poslije toga upotrebim , kako bih vec rekao  
Jasmina says  
znaci iz iskustva proveravanjem znas da su te informacije tacne?  
sc\_user says  
da  
ali to je sve nesto vezano za zivot  
ja ne mogu reci da su sve informacije tamo tacno  
Jasmina says  
da li koristis serbina cafe da se informises o drustvu, sredini u koju si dosao?  
sc\_user says  
pogotovo vijesti , tracevi i to  
da  
naravno  
Jasmina says  
kako?  
sc\_user says  
pa uvijek imaju savjeti kako i sta treba uraditi  
shvatas  
za vize  
da za dobijanje drzavljanstva  
za razne olaksice sto se tice poreza  
nadje se puno korisnih inforancija  
samo ko trazi  
Jasmina says  
i za posao???  
sc\_user says  
e sad za posao  
nisam nikad tarzio  
zato sto uvijek sam u radnom odnosu  
tako da me to manje zanimalo  
ali vjerujem da se i ovi malo manje placeni poslovi  
Jasmina says  
ali recimo stan si pominjao, kako se zivi i to?

sc\_user says  
sigurno mogu pronaci  
znas ja sam ipak pored frankfurta  
tako da me to bas ne dotice  
vise me zanima kad nesto trazim  
a ovdje nema  
a znam da bi trebalo biti u frankfurtu  
onda idem i nadjem to sto me zanima  
Jasmina says  
ok  
da li si ostvario neko novo poznanstvo preko SC?  
sc\_user says  
uprovaio sam posao da napisem ne , kad se sjehutih Tebe  
Jasmina says  
haha  
sc\_user says  
posto nisam registrovan , tesko je  
da ti nisi ostavila svoj e-mail  
ja ti se ne bih mogao javiti  
Jasmina says  
ali kad si bio u torontu, kad su svi mogli da pisu bez registracije  
sc\_user says  
ah jasmina  
Jasmina says  
molim?  
sc\_user says  
to je bio isto moj pocetak sa internetom  
pa trebalo mi je pola sata da napisem jednu recenicu  
Jasmina says  
haha,. ok  
sc\_user says  
proslo bi godina i godina dok se ne bih upoznali  
ja sam u kanadi boravio samo tri godine  
dobio drzavljanstvo  
i nazad za njemacku  
Jasmina says  
znaci nisi stekao neka nova poznanatsva na sc?  
sc\_user says  
na sc ne  
ali preko neta da  
Jasmina says  
ni tad ni sad, mene ne racunamo  
sc\_user says  
ne  
Jasmina says  
kako tvoje aktivnost na SC utice na tvoj zivot? kako bi to opisao, okarakterisao?  
sc\_user says  
e to su sad filozovska pitanja

na koje slabo odgovaram  
rekoa sam ti da sam puno puta naisao na jako dobre informacije  
koje su mi olaksale neke stvari u ovom gastarbeiterskom zivotu  
Jasmina says  
dobro, i?  
sc\_user says  
tako da sam presretan da ima sc  
Jasmina says  
ako ima i  
ali?  
sc\_user says  
pa ne znam  
Jasmina says  
a dobro nema ali  
Sc ti olaksava gastarbajterski imigrantski zivot sa lako dostupnim informacijama  
to je isto odgovor, cak i vrlo dobar ako mene pitas  
sc\_user says

Jasmina says  
da li bi ti hteo nesto da mi dodas a mislis da je bitno a ja te nisam pitala?  
sc\_user says  
pa ne bas , jedino da ti kazem da sam ja upoznao recimo puno djevojaka iz Srbije  
ali da je to bilo van sc  
znaci nekim drugim online putevima  
Jasmina says  
pa to je odlicno ali posto ja moram da fakosiram rezultate na SC samo, onda mi taj podatak  
ne znaci puno  
fokusiram  
ali to znaci da od onog coveka koji je u kanadi samo poceo internet ti si dogurao posle do  
vrlo avansiranog korisnika i da ti to puno sluzi  
dobro. hvala ti puno na pomoci  
sc\_user says  
no problem  
Jasmina says  
ako mi bude nesto nedostajalo u budcnosti ja cu ti se mozda jos jednom obratiti  
ali svakao se nadam da ti vise necu oduzimati vremena  
puno ti hvala  
sc\_user says  
bilo mi je zadovoljstvo

(4)  
sc\_user : Jasna, ja sam spreman, pa mozemo da pocnemo kada god tebi odgovara  
sc\_user : mi menjamo dan za noc, mi menjamo noc za dan  
Jasmina: ok  
tek sam sad ovo videla  
sc\_user : nema problema  
video sam da nisi ispred kompa  
Jasmina: super :-9

pa sad i zvanicno, live drago mi je da smo se upoznali  
i hvala za pomoc  
sc\_user : takodje :)  
nema problema  
Jasmina: ja cu sad da ti postavim nekoliko pitanja  
i ako mi nesto nije bas jasno mozda i poneko podpitanje  
sc\_user : ok  
Jasmina: ima ih oko 12-13  
moze?  
sc\_user : sprema  
spreman  
Jasmina: super  
e samo jos nesto, u principu kad ovo završimo ja te vise necu daviti, ali ako se kasnije  
ispostavi da mi nesto zatreba mozda cu te ponovo zamoliti da mi nesto kazesz. jel ti to ok?  
sc\_user : nema problema  
mozda ce mi trebati par dana da nadjem vremena da sednem ispred kompa  
Jasmina: kazi mi prvo kako si pronasao Serbian CAfe?  
Kako je doslo do toga da ga koristis?  
sc\_user : znam za SC odavno  
jos kada sam bio u Srbiji  
kako tacno - ne secam se  
mislim da sam video neke ljude da chatuju  
Jasmina: a da li se secas po cemu ti je bio poznat taj web sajt?  
sc\_user : jos kada sam tek upisao fakultet  
u racunskom centru  
Jasmina: pa kad je to bilo?  
sc\_user : 1997  
na terminalima  
nisamo cak imali ni PC racunare  
Jasmina: a od kada ga ti koristis?  
da li se secas od kada imas nalog  
sc\_user : malo cesce od 2005-6  
od kada su krenule moje pripreme za selidbu  
Jasmina: sta se onda desilo? zasto je to vezano za pripreme  
sc\_user : pokusao sam da dodjem do nekih informacija iz prve ruke  
oko toga gde da trazim stan  
posao  
koliko sta kosta i slicno  
Jasmina: znaci koja je svrha koriscenja bila?  
sc\_user : informisanje  
istrazivanje  
ne znam kako to da definisem  
Jasmina: o stanu, poslu i cenama za mesto gde si zeleo da se preselis??  
sc\_user : i generalnije, uopsteno o zivotu u New Yorku  
Jasmina: samo za NY?  
sc\_user : kolike su zarade, koliko se sa tim moze i slicno  
da  
Jasmina: a odakle ti ideja da ces tu naci te informacije?

sc\_user : pa kada sam poceo da istrazujem zivot u americi, poceo sam od foruma krstarice koji sam koristio i ranije  
onda sam nekoliko puta, preko googla dosao do nekih foruma na sajtu b92 i serbian cafe-u pa sam posle nekog vremena poceo da ih sve redovno posecujem  
u prvo vreme samo sam citao sta drugi ljudi pisu  
Jasmina: a kome se obracas na serbian cafeu?  
sc\_user : a kasnije sam poceo i da postavljam pitanja  
kada nadjem neku relevantnu temu  
napisem svoje pitanje, dodam komentar  
ako me zanima nesto sto nisam vide, zapocnem novi topic  
mada, moram da priznam da sa Serbian Cafe-om nisam imao previse uspeha  
Jasmina: zasto?  
sc\_user : i da je moj prvi utisak bio dokle slican tvojem  
Jasmina: hahaha  
sc\_user : mozda ne bas toliko los  
:)  
Jasmina: haha  
sc\_user : ali bilo je zlrudih ljudi koji ne samo da nisu hteli da pomognu, nego su bili vrlo raspolozeni da odmognu  
Jasmina: pa dobro ali to znaci da si ti nesto sto te zanima postavio na diskusiju citavom tom communitiju  
?  
sc\_user : da  
Jasmina: da li verujes infomracijama koje dobijes na serbina cafeu?  
sc\_user : ponekada bi ostavio svoju email adresu i zatražio od ljudi da me kontaktiraju mailom  
Jasmina: l?  
sc\_user : pa mislim da mi je jednom neko odgovorio sa savetom  
ali su me kontaktirali vise puta sa pitanjima  
ljudi koji bi pronasli moje stare postove  
i kada bi naisli na slicne probleme i imali ista pitanja kao ja pre par godina  
pisali bi mi i potrazili pomoc  
Jasmina: pa jel ti koriscenje bilo korisno?  
sc\_user : pa mogu da kazem da sam dosao i do nekih korisnih informacija na SCu  
upoznao sam 2-3 ljudi preko tih diskusija  
ex-yu ljudi koji zive u NYu  
i saznao za par novih restorana/prodavnica sa nasom hranom  
Jasmina: a da li verovao infomracijama koje si dobio na SC?  
sc\_user : uglavnom, informacije koje su mi bile korisne su bile tipa novi restoran, zove se tako i tako, ponekada bi cak postavili i link  
pa bih sam potrazio i proverio  
Jasmina: a informacije vezane za stan, posao i to? jesu to bile informacije tebi od znacaja?  
sc\_user : sto se toga tice, nisam dobio previse korisnih odgovora  
ako malo prelistas SC  
videces i sama kakvo zestoku diskusiju pokrene pitanje kraja grada u kojem neko zivi  
Jasmina: da, to sam videla  
sc\_user : ljudi ovde kraj grada vezuju sa statusom i onda mozes da cujes svasta  
tako da su te informacije manje-vise beskorisne

ima ljudi koji ce ti napisati nesto korisno

Jasmina: ima?

secas se nekog korisnog saveta

sc\_user : ali ako ne zivis ovde, stvarno ne mozes da razlikujes korisne informacije od beskorisnog lupetanja

Jasmina: e to je bitno, znaci ipak sve moras da proveris.

sc\_user : najkorisniji savet je bio u vidu linka

za craigslist

za koji pre toga nisam cuo

Jasmina: e pa dobro, to zvuci dobro i lako za proveru

nego kazi mi, ti novi ljudi koje si upoznao na SC

jesu to ljudi van kruga tvojih prijatelja?

sc\_user : da

Jasmina: i kako si ih upoznao?

sc\_user : ne secam se vise na koju je temu bila diskusija

nitii ko je pokrenuo

da li ja ili neko drugi

uglavnom, neko od nas je predlozio okupljanje

Jasmina: gde?

sc\_user : uh...

Jasmina: mislim real life gathering, ili online?

sc\_user : mislim da je bilo negde na Lower East Side

neki kafic, restoran

Jasmina: a, znaci real life event?

sc\_user : tako nesto

da

Jasmina: i? jeste se nasli?

sc\_user : jesmo, nas cetvoro

jedna devojka

Jasmina: hm, zanimljivo

sc\_user : i trojica muskaraca

Jasmina: da li je neki od tih kontakata koji si ostvario na sc tebi vazan kontakt

sc\_user : pa sa svima sam i dalje u nekakvom kontaktu

mozda nismo previse bliski

ali ponekada komuniciramo

sa tom devojkom koju sam upoznao sam cak bio i u kratkoj vezi

:)

Jasmina: hahaha

bravo!

znaci to je ipak bio vazan kontakt?

sc\_user : paaa.

onako

:)

Jasmina: ;-)

sc\_user : bio je u to vreme

to je bila moja prva godina u NYu

Jasmina: i danas kada ste u kontaktu kakva je vrsta odnosa?

sc\_user : prijateljska



ne preterano bliska, ali ok

Jasmina: i da li i dalje razmenjujete neke informacije o NY?

sc\_user : u medjuvremenu, nasi krugovi prijatelja su se toliko isprepletali da se manje vise svi poznajemo sa svima

Jasmina: small world

sc\_user : da

razmena informacija o gradu sada uglavnom ide preko Facebook-a

neko postavi link za event

pozove ostale

i tome slicno

Jasmina: znaci kontakti nekad napravljeni na sc se odrzavaju i ljudi se vidjaju putem drugih medija FC?

sc\_user : da

Jasmina: a kako bi okarakterisao svoju aktivnost na sc? kako to utice na tvoj realni zivot u NY?

sc\_user : na moj zivot SC vise nema nikakav uticaj

posecujem sajt skoro svakog dana cisto da izlistam vesti

ali diskuije posetim jednom nedeljno

Jasmina: aha, tu se informises

sc\_user : kao sto rekoh u poslednje vreme diskusije su mesto za izbegavanje

Jasmina: da, to si mi lepo objasnio

sc\_user : kada sam tek dosao u NY

posecivao sam sve moguće diskusije vise puta dnevno

Jasmina: sto tako cesto?

sc\_user : prvo, zato sto nisam poznavao dosta ljudi

a drugo, zato sto sam imao zelju da pomognem ljudima koji su u slicnoj situaciji kao ja

i koji nemaju drugih nacina da dodju do informacija

Jasmina: pa to je bas lepo i korisno.

sc\_user : inace, ja sam dobio green card na lutriji

Jasmina: a to dok nisi znao dosta ljudi, jel to bila motivacija da koristis SC u smislu da ces nekoga upoznati novog?

sc\_user : pa iskreno nisam mislio da ce se to dogoditi

vise je bilo u smislu toga da saznam sta se radi, gde se ljudi krecu i slicno

Jasmina: ali si ipak tamo boravio nekoliko piuta dnevno??

aha

da saznas gde bi mogao da ih sretnes?

sc\_user : recimo

Jasmina: sta dobijes od SC, jel mozes to nekako da mi opises.

kakvu vrstu osecaja, benefita?

sc\_user : uh

to je teko pitanje

:)

Jasmina: izvini :-)

sc\_user : jel' sada govorimo o diskusijama ili o sajtu, generalno?

Jasmina: pa o diskusijama vise

a moze i o celom sjatu

sc\_user : pa kao sto sam rekao, u poslednje vreme od diskusija ne dobijam nista o gradu znam sve sto treba da znam

ponekada odgovorim nekome na pitanje  
uputim ga na neki drugi sajt  
uglavnom ljudi pitaju gde mogu da nadju stan/sobu i slicno  
Jasmina: sto ce reci trenutno ti pomazes onima koji su bili u tvojoj situaciji?  
sc\_user : ponekada pitaju za avio karte  
tako nekako  
najvise zbog neprijatnih iskustava koje sam ja imao dok sam pokusava da dodjem do info  
a stvarno noje tesko  
:)  
Jasmina: da li to tebi deluje onda ipak kao korisna razmena, korisni susret sa ljudima u  
nevolji?  
sc\_user : pa ja verujem da jeste korisno  
Jasmina: e sada off the record, i ja  
sc\_user : ako ne znam odgovor na pitanje, trudim se da ne filozofiram  
Jasmina: gorane  
hvala ti puno  
sc\_user : nema problema  
Jasmina: nadam se da ce mi i drugi pomoci ovoliko kao i ti  
sc\_user : drago mi je da sam mogao da pomognem  
Jasmina: bas si super tip i bas mi je drago da ti ej dobro tamo  
sc\_user : :)  
srecno sa radom  
Jasmina: srecno i tebi sve tamo  
sc\_user : hvala  
Jasmina: cestitam ti na svemu stao si uspeao da uradis, znam da to u ny nije lako  
sc\_user : ako nekada svratis do NY-a  
javi se  
Jasmina: hvala ti puno na pozivu  
ja imam puno prijatelja u ny oni su svi  
dobili green card na lutriji kao ti  
i nadam se da cu doci opet i javicu se da se upoznamo, ja placam pice :-)  
sc\_user : :)  
Jasmina: da se zahvalim  
sc\_user : ok  
sve najbolje Jasna  
Jasmina: hvala jos jednom, i cujemo se ako mi nesto jos bude nedostajalo i nadam se da cu  
ti nekad uskoro i j  
javiti da je ceo rad uspesno završen  
cao  
sc\_user : cao  
(5)  
[9:27:57 AM] SC\_User: dobro jutro. hocemo li sada da popricamo?  
[9:28:59 AM] Novi Covek: zdravo  
[9:29:05 AM] Novi Covek: koliko imas vremena  
[9:29:18 AM] SC\_User: imam pola sata, sat  
[9:29:37 AM] Novi Covek: ok  
[9:29:43 AM] Novi Covek: daj mi samo 5 minuta  
[9:29:49 AM] SC\_User: vazi

[9:29:49 AM] Novi Covek: da avrsim kafu  
[9:34:53 AM] Novi Covek: evo me  
[9:34:55 AM] Novi Covek: izvini  
[9:34:57 AM] Novi Covek: kako je?  
[9:35:05 AM] SC\_User: dobro je :)  
[9:35:42 AM] Novi Covek: radis  
[9:36:04 AM] SC\_User: da, dosao sam na posao i pijem kafu pa mozemo da pocnemo ako zelis  
[9:36:14 AM] Novi Covek: naravno necu da te gnjavim  
[9:36:23 AM] SC\_User: takoreci prirpemam se da pocnem da radim  
[9:36:26 AM] SC\_User: ;)  
[9:36:35 AM] Novi Covek: molim te reci mi kako si otkrio, nasao serbian cafe? kako je doslo do toga da ga koristis?  
[9:37:35 AM] SC\_User: Koliko se secam prvi put sam otisao na sc negde kada je napustanje Beograda postalo izvesno i kada sam krenuo da trazim informacije o zemlji u koju idem  
[9:37:41 AM] SC\_User: to bi bilo negde 2000  
[9:37:52 AM] Novi Covek: koji motiv si imao?  
[9:38:55 AM] SC\_User: hteo sam da pitam ljude koji tamo zive o nekim svakodnevnim stvarima kao i da pokusam da pronadjem stan koji u tom trenutku nisam imao  
[9:39:16 AM] Novi Covek: znaci uglavnom da se informises?  
[9:39:32 AM] SC\_User: stan nisam nasao ali sam dobio par korisnih informacija o zivotu u svedskoj  
[9:39:42 AM] SC\_User: da , to je bio inicijalni motiv  
[9:39:57 AM] Novi Covek: koje diskusije si posecivao?  
[9:40:01 AM] SC\_User: skandinavija  
[9:40:08 AM] Novi Covek: kojim diskusijama dorpinosis?  
[9:40:15 AM] SC\_User: cekaj malo  
[9:40:17 AM] Novi Covek: ok  
[9:40:43 AM] SC\_User: pitas me koje diskusije sam posecivao od 2010 do danas ili onda kada sam prvi put otisao na sc  
[9:40:52 AM] SC\_User: pardon od 2000 do dans  
[9:41:05 AM] Novi Covek: pa mene zanima kako to izgleda generalno  
[9:41:23 AM] Novi Covek: ali vidim da ljudi imaju jedan nacin pristupa kad su se selili a adrugi sad kada su setblirani imigranti  
[9:41:33 AM] SC\_User: ok, samo ti pitanje nije bilo precizno obzirom da smo pricali o prvom odlasku  
[9:41:37 AM] Novi Covek: da li kod tebe ima razlike u koriscenju SC tada i sada?  
[9:41:45 AM] SC\_User: da ima  
[9:41:49 AM] Novi Covek: izvini na nepreciznosti  
[9:41:56 AM] SC\_User: nema problema  
[9:42:00 AM] Novi Covek: kazi mi u cemu se razlikuje koriscenje sc tada i sada?  
[9:42:14 AM] SC\_User: kao sto rekoh prvi put sam otisao u potrazi za nekim odgovorima  
[9:42:29 AM] SC\_User: a kasnije je to postalo deo socijalnog zivota  
[9:42:31 AM] Novi Covek: a danas? gde boravis na diskusijama? sa kojim motivom?  
[9:43:06 AM] SC\_User: danas uestvujem samo na diskusiji skandinavija i jako retko na diskusiji operativni sistemi  
[9:43:32 AM] SC\_User: motiv je da se informisem neformalno o tome sta se desava po svedskoj

[9:43:38 AM] Novi Covek: sta ocekujes od aktivnosti na SC?  
[9:43:51 AM] Novi Covek: kome se obracas na SC?  
[9:44:02 AM] SC\_User: kao i da se malo politicki pocerupam sa prijateljima koje poznajem licno i koji dolaze na sc  
[9:44:10 AM] Novi Covek: ;)  
[9:44:15 AM] Novi Covek: a imas ljudi koje licno znas?  
[9:44:17 AM] Novi Covek: licno  
[9:44:41 AM] SC\_User: naravno, neke sam upravo upoznao preko te diskusije  
[9:44:53 AM] Novi Covek: a pa kako je tisló?  
[9:45:02 AM] Novi Covek: jesi ocekivao da nekoga upoznas preko SC?  
[9:45:24 AM] SC\_User: izivni na koje aktivnosti mislis u prethodnom pitanju?  
[9:46:10 AM] Novi Covek: pa mislim na aktivnosti u diskusijama. ali mozemo sad da pricama ovo poslednje oa cemo se vratiti. zanimljivo mi ovo da imas neke prijatelje na sc  
[9:47:01 AM] SC\_User: pa tako se desilo. skandinavija je mala, bilo je nekoliko ljudi koji su pokrenuli tu diskusiju malo pre toga koji su ziveli u stokholmu  
[9:47:08 AM] SC\_User: svedska je mala  
[9:47:30 AM] SC\_User: ti isti ljudi su napravili onaj myusic club u stokholmu  
[9:47:39 AM] SC\_User: u kome se pustala i svirala exyu muzika  
[9:47:47 AM] Novi Covek: nisam cula za to  
[9:47:56 AM] Novi Covek: dobro ime  
[9:47:56 AM] SC\_User: i tako smo se tamo , u tom klubu, vise manje svi i upoznali  
[9:48:10 AM] Novi Covek: znaci ti si ucestvovao na istoj diskusiji kao i oni  
[9:48:15 AM] Novi Covek: i onda saznao za club?  
[9:48:15 AM] SC\_User: da. samo sto sada to vise ne radi  
[9:48:20 AM] SC\_User: da  
[9:48:21 AM] Novi Covek: steta.  
[9:48:35 AM] Novi Covek: i kad si saznao za klub neko je predlozio da se sretnete?  
[9:48:38 AM] SC\_User: i ja mislim da je steta  
[9:48:39 AM] Novi Covek: ili kako?  
[9:48:48 AM] SC\_User: da , tako je bilo  
[9:49:01 AM] SC\_User: na sc je objavljivano kada ce biti taj koncert  
[9:49:13 AM] SC\_User: i onda bi se dogovorili  
[9:49:15 AM] Novi Covek: a kapiram.  
[9:49:17 AM] SC\_User: i tamo nasli  
[9:49:23 AM] SC\_User: ono , crvena ruza u reveru  
[9:49:32 AM] Novi Covek: hahahahah!  
[9:49:38 AM] SC\_User: mislim da webstrana jos uvek postoji  
[9:49:58 AM] Novi Covek: a kazmi mi da li je neki od kontakata koje si ostvario na SC bio tabi vazan kontakt u bilo kom smislu?  
[9:50:18 AM] Novi Covek: tabi=tebi  
[9:50:42 AM] SC\_User: naravno. tamo sam upoznao neke fine ljude sa kojima se i dan danas druzim  
[9:50:53 AM] SC\_User: i koji su mi postali prijatelji  
[9:51:01 AM] Novi Covek: pa to je fantasticno.  
[9:51:16 AM] SC\_User: ali to je samo vezano za diskusiju skandinavija  
[9:51:19 AM] SC\_User: i za svedsku  
[9:51:24 AM] Novi Covek: a jesu to ljudi koji su znali neke tvoje prijatelje ili su skroz van kruga tvojih prijatelja?

[9:51:39 AM] Novi Covek: kruga  
[9:52:20 AM] SC\_User: govorim o ljudima koje nikada pre nisam video i koje sam u poznao u tom klubu a koji us redomm bili i jos uvek su na sc  
[9:53:16 AM] SC\_User: danas ne toliko cesto kao ranije. ipak je skoro deset godina proteklo  
[9:54:02 AM] Novi Covek: ali tada kad si ih upoznao u klubu, to su bili ljudi ne vezani za tvoj krug prijatelja?  
[9:54:25 AM] SC\_User: tacno tako.  
[9:54:39 AM] SC\_User: doduse kada sam dosao u swe imao sam samo troje poznanika  
[9:54:52 AM] SC\_User: koji tada nikoga od tih ljudi iz kluba nisu znali  
[9:55:10 AM] Novi Covek: znaci svi su se nasli tamo zahvaljuci SC  
[9:55:16 AM] Novi Covek: i posle upoznali  
[9:55:20 AM] Novi Covek: i druzili u realnom zivotu  
[9:55:23 AM] SC\_User: moglo bi se reci  
[9:55:37 AM] SC\_User: da je diskusija vodila tome da se ljudi sretnu  
[9:55:44 AM] Novi Covek: da li koristis sc da bi sretao nove ljude?  
[9:55:51 AM] Novi Covek: jao pisi neko mi na vratima  
[9:55:54 AM] SC\_User: hm...  
[9:57:27 AM] SC\_User: ne znam kako da ti odgovorim na ovo pitanje jer ga ne razumem najbolje  
[9:57:40 AM] SC\_User: mislim koristim?  
[9:57:55 AM] SC\_User: jel to koristim mislis kao intenet oglasi za usamljena srca?  
[9:58:14 AM] SC\_User: reci cu ovako  
[9:58:37 AM] SC\_User: nikada tamo nisam isao sa namerom da cu tamo sada da nadjem nekog druga  
[10:00:06 AM] Novi Covek: mislila sam kao korisnik, da li odes na sc i pomislis.. recimo selim se Keln, idem da vidim koga ima u diskusiji nemacka da se nesto raspitam a mozda cu nekog i upoznati  
[10:00:19 AM] SC\_User: ah to  
[10:00:26 AM] Novi Covek: da, izvini ako sam malo nejasna  
[10:00:31 AM] Novi Covek: (blush)  
[10:01:23 AM] SC\_User: da, otisao sam pred selidbu na diskusiju dizeldorf i shvatio da tam nema nikoga "normalnog" sa kim moze da se prica  
[10:01:30 AM] Novi Covek: haha  
[10:01:33 AM] SC\_User: bar po mom standardu  
[10:01:46 AM] Novi Covek: a kakve informacije inca mogu da se nadju na sc?  
[10:01:54 AM] Novi Covek: koja vrsta informacija ?  
[10:02:25 AM] SC\_User: svasta tamo ima. ja sam bio i moderator jedno vreme  
[10:02:45 AM] SC\_User: ako pitas sta je mene zanimalo  
[10:02:46 AM] Novi Covek: a. ali jel mozes nesto da mi izdvojis, sta je najtipicnije?  
[10:03:00 AM] Novi Covek: pa da, zbog cega ljudi idu tamo, koje informacije traze?  
[10:03:02 AM] SC\_User: onda je to svedska i kompjuteri  
[10:03:03 AM] Novi Covek: o cemu?  
[10:03:20 AM] Novi Covek: ali kad kazes svedska, sta te o toj novoj zemlji zanimalo?  
[10:03:30 AM] SC\_User: na to pitanje je tesko odgovoriti  
[10:03:51 AM] SC\_User: sc je bio jedan od prvih foruma gde su ljudi mogli da se nadju  
[10:03:54 AM] SC\_User: emigranti pre svega  
[10:04:05 AM] Novi Covek: da, dosta je "star"  
[10:04:39 AM] SC\_User: onda je vremenom doslo do raznih podela unutar sc-a

[10:04:49 AM] SC\_User: internet je postao mnogo dostupniji  
[10:05:16 AM] SC\_User: i ljudi su pocveli da pronalaze druga mesta za skupljanje  
[10:05:30 AM] SC\_User: prema svojim sklonostima i ubedjenjima  
[10:05:41 AM] Novi Covek: aha, to je zanimljivo  
[10:05:46 AM] SC\_User: ali pre desetak godina sc je bio polazisna tacka  
[10:06:18 AM] Novi Covek: i kad pitas za nesto o skadinaviji , recimo ti, to je posao, stan, lokalna kultura??  
[10:06:24 AM] SC\_User: sc je politicki otisao previse udesno  
[10:06:32 AM] Novi Covek: sta su teme na koje mozes dobiti odgovor na sc?  
[10:06:40 AM] Novi Covek: da, videla sam da su dosta radikalni  
[10:06:49 AM] Novi Covek: malo je neprijatna "klima"  
[10:06:51 AM] SC\_User: mislim da mozes dobiti odgovor na svako postavljeno pitanje  
[10:07:22 AM] SC\_User: cvele je obozavatelj lika i dela vojislava seselja  
[10:07:32 AM] SC\_User: cvele je btw vlasnik, bio  
[10:07:37 AM] Novi Covek: hahah, ja ne znam ko je to i bilje da ne znam  
[10:07:40 AM] Novi Covek: ah!  
[10:07:42 AM] SC\_User: inace sc posluje kao firma  
[10:07:46 AM] Novi Covek: zato nisi hteli da saradjuju samnom  
[10:07:51 AM] Novi Covek: to sam shvatila  
[10:08:03 AM] SC\_User: zaradjuju na reklamama  
[10:08:08 AM] Novi Covek: ah kako si ti dobro upoznat!  
[10:08:17 AM] Novi Covek: znam sve, ja analiziram taj zivot tamo mesecima.  
[10:08:50 AM] SC\_User: mene su i izbacili odande kao moderatora zbog mojih liberalnih politickih stavova  
[10:09:00 AM] Novi Covek: Eh, kazem losa klima. a kazi mi da li verujes informacijama koje dobijes na sc?  
[10:09:06 AM] SC\_User: i zbog suprotstavljanja nacionalizmu ....  
[10:09:23 AM] SC\_User: pa onako umereno  
[10:09:35 AM] SC\_User: ne verujem nikome slepo  
[10:09:59 AM] Novi Covek: kako stices poverenje?  
[10:10:08 AM] Novi Covek: kako znas sta valja sta ne?  
[10:10:14 AM] SC\_User: ali nikada nisam trazio savet za stomacni zatvor pa da mi neko kaze popi zivu  
[10:10:22 AM] Novi Covek: hahahha  
[10:10:25 AM] Novi Covek: nego?  
[10:10:48 AM] SC\_User: jel mozemo da nastavimo za 10 min  
[10:10:56 AM] Novi Covek: moze sve mada smo na kraju  
[10:11:01 AM] Novi Covek: samo idi ja sam tu  
[10:11:04 AM] SC\_User: brb  
[10:22:43 AM] SC\_User: izvini , bili majstori da peru prozore u kancelariji  
[10:23:01 AM] Novi Covek: ok  
[10:23:11 AM] Novi Covek: jel mogu samo jos nesto da te pitam  
[10:23:20 AM] SC\_User: mislim da se poverenje na internetu stice polako  
[10:23:28 AM] Novi Covek: izvini malo sam se zapricala sa tobom ali zanimljiv sagovornik  
[10:23:28 AM] SC\_User: i da treba uvek biti oprezan  
[10:23:29 AM] Novi Covek: da?  
[10:23:33 AM] SC\_User: pitaj.  
[10:23:34 AM] Novi Covek: kako ?

[10:23:44 AM] SC\_User: pa kroz razgovor  
[10:23:47 AM] Novi Covek: kako si oprezan? kako proveravas ko je eok ko ne  
[10:24:04 AM] SC\_User: oprazan u iznosenju privatnih odataka  
[10:24:10 AM] SC\_User: podataka  
[10:24:28 AM] SC\_User: mator sam ja vec  
[10:24:35 AM] Novi Covek: hahaha  
[10:24:38 AM] Novi Covek: ako cemo tako i ja  
[10:24:41 AM] Novi Covek: ja sam kao ti  
[10:24:45 AM] Novi Covek: 42  
[10:24:49 AM] SC\_User: da tu smo  
[10:25:08 AM] SC\_User: i onda vec znas kada ti neko odgovara  
[10:25:08 AM] Novi Covek: dobro znaci ti sve uzimas sa rezervom i onda procenjujes ko je ok ko ne  
[10:25:10 AM] SC\_User: kada ne  
[10:25:17 AM] Novi Covek: hvala ti puno  
(7)  
[7:02:08 PM] Novi Covek: ok,  
[7:02:10 PM] Novi Covek: idemo  
[7:02:16 PM] SC\_User: ajde  
[7:02:33 PM] Novi Covek: kazi mi prvo kako si otkrila Serbian Cafe? kako je doslo do toga da pocnes da ga koristis?  
[7:02:42 PM] SC\_User: uf  
[7:02:46 PM] SC\_User: jako davno  
[7:02:52 PM] SC\_User: mozda kad je tek pocelo da postoji  
[7:02:54 PM] Novi Covek: jel mozes da se setis kada  
[7:03:07 PM] SC\_User: pre jedno 10-12 godina  
[7:03:16 PM] Novi Covek: oko 98  
[7:03:27 PM] SC\_User: pre bi rekla 99-2000  
[7:03:30 PM] SC\_User: tu negde  
[7:03:36 PM] SC\_User: pre 99  
[7:03:53 PM] Novi Covek: i kako si ga otkrila?  
[7:04:02 PM] SC\_User: pa bas se ne secam  
[7:04:20 PM] SC\_User: tada sam tek pocela da koristim internet  
[7:04:28 PM] Novi Covek: pa jesi li slucajno nasla ili ti je neko to preporucio?  
[7:04:29 PM] SC\_User: moralo bi imati neke veze sa mirc chatom  
[7:04:49 PM] SC\_User: jer sam u stvari tako i pocela da koristim internet  
[7:04:49 PM] Novi Covek: da?  
[7:05:00 PM] SC\_User: da bi pricala sa mojim najboljim drugom tada  
[7:05:17 PM] SC\_User: pa mislim da je taj mirc server bio povezan sa SC  
[7:05:20 PM] SC\_User: chatom  
[7:05:24 PM] SC\_User: pa tako nesto  
[7:05:27 PM] Novi Covek: ok  
[7:05:37 PM] SC\_User: to mi je logicno ali ne mogu da budem sigurna da je 100 tacno  
[7:05:43 PM] Novi Covek: zasto koristis SC?  
[7:05:50 PM] Novi Covek: koji su ti motivi?  
[7:05:56 PM] SC\_User: ipak alzheimer radi svoje  
[7:06:11 PM] SC\_User: pazi odavno ne koristim SC cesto  
[7:06:23 PM] SC\_User: nekada sam isla na chat kao sto rekoh

[7:06:33 PM] SC\_User: onda sam dugo godina samo citala vesti  
[7:06:38 PM] SC\_User: onako na brzinu  
[7:06:44 PM] SC\_User: ponekad prelistam diskusije  
[7:07:00 PM] Novi Covek: a kad si isla na chat? koji je to bio trenutak u tvom zivotu? sta si radila?  
[7:07:03 PM] SC\_User: u poslednjim godinama redje, citam vesti na drugom mestu  
[7:07:42 PM] SC\_User: prvih godina posto sma dosla ovde  
[7:07:48 PM] SC\_User: moj najbolji drug me je naucio  
[7:07:57 PM] SC\_User: :) da bi bili u kontaktu  
[7:08:09 PM] SC\_User: (hahah i posle 15 godina idem kod nejga u OSlo :))  
[7:08:17 PM] Novi Covek: hahah, neverovatno!  
[7:08:29 PM] SC\_User: internet nas odrzao njemu hvala  
[7:08:41 PM] SC\_User: haha sali m se malo...nadam se da ne smeta  
[7:08:50 PM] Novi Covek: odravali ste kontakt svih tih 15 goidna putm neta?  
[7:08:53 PM] SC\_User: tad sam dosla, pocela da studiram  
[7:08:57 PM] Novi Covek: ne ne, sve je cool  
[7:08:57 PM] SC\_User: i to je bilo to  
[7:09:13 PM] SC\_User: on imao mirc dosao pokazao i meni otvorio mi mail i tako je sve pocelo  
[7:09:14 PM] Novi Covek: a koje diskusije si citala tada? a koje danasP  
[7:09:22 PM] SC\_User: bila sam godinama mirc addicted  
[7:09:43 PM] SC\_User: diskusije..slabo se secam tad je bila drugacija tematika  
[7:09:56 PM] SC\_User: mislim da je bila neka grupa 25+  
[7:10:08 PM] Novi Covek: a koja ti je bila ideja?  
[7:10:17 PM] SC\_User: danas eto kao sto sam ti rekla pocela sam da svracam na skandinavija  
[7:10:36 PM] SC\_User: iz prakticnih razloga mozda nesto korisno procitam  
[7:10:48 PM] SC\_User: ideja nije bila nego kad mi je dosadno i kad sma bila usamljena  
[7:11:00 PM] SC\_User: citala sam diskusije ali nisam nikad komentarisala  
[7:11:11 PM] SC\_User: ni danas ne komentaris  
[7:12:01 PM] Novi Covek: nikad ne dajes komentare?  
[7:12:06 PM] SC\_User: ne  
[7:12:07 PM] Novi Covek: samo citas sta su napisali ?  
[7:12:12 PM] SC\_User: da  
[7:12:48 PM] Novi Covek: da li si nesto ocekivala od tovj aktivnosti na SC?  
[7:13:15 PM] SC\_User: ne - samo ubijala vreme  
[7:13:33 PM] Novi Covek: haha  
[7:13:46 PM] SC\_User: dokoni student  
[7:13:54 PM] Novi Covek: kakve infomracije mozes naci na serbian cafeu?  
[7:14:04 PM] Novi Covek: evo sada kad ti treba za selidbu u skandinaviju?  
[7:14:15 PM] SC\_User: nikakve koristi  
[7:14:32 PM] Novi Covek: stvarno?  
[7:14:39 PM] SC\_User: mislim da je site odavno prevazidjen  
[7:15:07 PM] SC\_User: nije moderan i nema dovoljno informacija za coveka 21 veka  
[7:15:14 PM] Novi Covek: ali si ti ipak odlazila tamo i sad ides?  
[7:15:16 PM] SC\_User: jedina mu je prednost sto je jako jednostavan  
[7:15:18 PM] Novi Covek: mora da ima neki razlog?  
[7:15:23 PM] SC\_User: da nekada mi je bio ok



[7:15:37 PM] Novi Covek: jesi tada imala neke informacije koje su ti koristile?  
[7:15:43 PM] SC\_User: sad kazme ti jako retko i mislila sma mozda nadjem nesto na diskusijama o norveskoj  
[7:15:51 PM] SC\_User: uglavnom vesti  
[7:15:51 PM] Novi Covek: i jesi nasla?  
[7:16:18 PM] Novi Covek: mislim neke informacije o norveskoj?  
[7:16:26 PM] SC\_User: nikakve! :)  
[7:16:39 PM] SC\_User: nisam naravno ni pitala  
[7:16:46 PM] SC\_User: nego sam gledala da li je neko drugi nesto pisao  
[7:16:58 PM] Novi Covek: a da li si koristila ili sad koristis SC da bi se informisala o drustvu u koje se selis?  
[7:17:20 PM] Novi Covek: ili u kome zivis?  
[7:17:47 PM] SC\_User: kad kazes drustvo mislis? (society)  
[7:17:55 PM] Novi Covek: da :)  
[7:18:09 PM] SC\_User: osim ovog sto sam ti rekla ne posebno  
[7:18:19 PM] SC\_User: mozda sam par puta usla na diskusije grcka  
[7:18:26 PM] Novi Covek: a da li si ostvarila neko poznanastvo zahvaljujuci SC?  
[7:18:40 PM] SC\_User: ali je to toliko jedno a i znam skoro sve po rukopisu ...  
[7:19:04 PM] SC\_User: ne zahvaljujuci SC ali na Mircu sam bas bas imala poznanstva  
[7:19:12 PM] SC\_User: neka su se i realizovala u real life  
[7:19:21 PM] Novi Covek: ali preko SC ne  
[7:19:23 PM] Novi Covek: ?  
[7:19:41 PM] SC\_User: ima veze sa SC ako povezes njihov chat i mirc server su bili jedno te isto  
[7:19:54 PM] SC\_User: isla sam na taj njihov server  
[7:20:09 PM] SC\_User: secam se ko sad irc.serbiancafe.ws  
[7:20:11 PM] Novi Covek: aha, to znaci da si preko njihovog servera nekada dosla do nekih poznanstava  
[7:20:19 PM] Novi Covek: a! to je zanimljivo  
[7:20:21 PM] SC\_User: da da upravo to  
[7:20:30 PM] Novi Covek: jesu to bili ljudi van kruga tvojih prijatelja?  
[7:20:31 PM] SC\_User: samo sam na njihov server isla  
[7:20:39 PM] SC\_User: naravno totalno  
[7:20:48 PM] SC\_User: jedini je bio moj drug koga sam znala  
[7:21:02 PM] SC\_User: posle sam stvorila sebi sama neke drugare za chat  
[7:21:03 PM] Novi Covek: a da li neki od tih kontakata, tih novih koje si uopznala neki bio jako vazan, bitan?  
[7:21:23 PM] SC\_User: da od jednog je bila nastala i veza  
[7:21:31 PM] SC\_User: cak vise godina  
[7:21:34 PM] Novi Covek: to je dosta ozbiljan kontakt  
[7:21:39 PM] SC\_User: hahah  
[7:21:41 PM] SC\_User: da  
[7:21:56 PM] Novi Covek: Kako tvoja online aktivnost, aktivnost na Serbian Cafeu, utice na tvoj stvarni zivot?  
[7:21:57 PM] SC\_User: tad je bio ozbiljan  
[7:22:06 PM] SC\_User: danas?  
[7:22:15 PM] Novi Covek: pa danas skoro ne korisits ali tada?  
[7:22:24 PM] SC\_User: da to sam i mislila

[7:22:37 PM] SC\_User: ako pricamo SC=Chat na mirc-u  
[7:22:45 PM] Novi Covek: da?  
[7:22:56 PM] SC\_User: onda je to u periodu izmedju 1999-2003 recimo bilo bas podosta  
[7:23:09 PM] Novi Covek: i kako je to uticalo na tvoj realni zivot?  
[7:23:17 PM] SC\_User: dosta vremena pred kompjuterom  
[7:23:32 PM] SC\_User: neprospavane noci  
[7:23:37 PM] Novi Covek: haha  
[7:23:40 PM] Novi Covek: !?  
[7:23:43 PM] SC\_User: i to ali nista vise od toga  
[7:23:50 PM] Novi Covek: samo gubitak vremena?  
[7:23:52 PM] SC\_User: drustvo sam i ovde stvorila  
[7:24:05 PM] SC\_User: to je bio real life a ono je bilo dobra zezancija  
[7:24:11 PM] SC\_User: i ispraznjivanje neko  
[7:24:23 PM] SC\_User: mozda je koristilo kao psiholoski ventil  
[7:24:28 PM] SC\_User: mozd aje bas u tome bila caka  
[7:24:51 PM] SC\_User: dodjes nadjes neku 'zrtvu' nit te zna nit ga znas ili se ismejes ili se izjadas i mirno spavas...  
[7:25:13 PM] Novi Covek: da li mozes da si tada koristila mirc=sc da bi upoznavala nove ljude?  
[7:25:29 PM] Novi Covek: da li mozes da kazes  
[7:25:37 PM] Novi Covek: kazes nedostaje  
[7:25:45 PM] SC\_User: pa recimo, uprosteno, ali ne da bi ih upozнала u stvarnom zivotu  
[7:25:50 PM] Novi Covek: nego?  
[7:26:14 PM] SC\_User: nego da ubijem vreme i ispricam se kad u stvarnom zivotu nema nikog  
[7:26:25 PM] SC\_User: spavaju iili su zauzeti ili vec nesto  
[7:26:25 PM] Novi Covek: znaci komunicaji sa neki ali online  
[7:26:38 PM] SC\_User: da skoro iskljucivo  
[7:26:44 PM] Novi Covek: a kako je onda doslo do toga da neko koga si upozнала online postane bitan u tvom realnom zivotu?  
[7:27:03 PM] SC\_User: pa nemam pojma, imala sma 20 godina pa sam valjda bila neozbiljna  
[7:27:10 PM] Novi Covek: ahah  
[7:27:15 PM] SC\_User: chat po chat i tako i posle par meseci ajde da se upoznamo  
[7:27:19 PM] Novi Covek: ma dobro meni je to ok.  
[7:27:30 PM] SC\_User: ma i meni za te godine zvuci sasvim ok  
[7:27:31 PM] Novi Covek: neko predlozi da se upoznate i onda?  
[7:27:33 PM] SC\_User: :P  
[7:27:41 PM] SC\_User: da i ja isla to leto u bgd  
[7:27:45 PM] SC\_User: i upoznali se  
[7:28:09 PM] SC\_User: i izbilakao ljubav neka - izvini ali sad mi deluje smesno ne mogu tome prici sa mnogo ozbiljnosti  
[7:28:14 PM] Novi Covek: aha,kapiram to je bila veza iz srbije, ti si zivela u grckoj i imala nekoga tamo  
[7:28:17 PM] SC\_User: posle ne znam koliko vremena  
[7:28:23 PM] Novi Covek: ok kapiram.  
[7:28:28 PM] SC\_User: godinu ili vise  
[7:28:30 PM] Novi Covek: nema frke necmo vise o tome  
[7:28:34 PM] SC\_User: ma ne

[7:28:35 PM] Novi Covek: pa vidi, hvala ti puno  
[7:28:40 PM] SC\_User: on je dosao ovde  
[7:28:50 PM] Novi Covek: a? pogresno sam shvatila?  
[7:29:10 PM] SC\_User: da doslo je do nekog nesporazuma?  
[7:29:18 PM] SC\_User: ja sam samo pricala o toj vezi  
[7:29:22 PM] Novi Covek: cek sek  
[7:29:24 PM] SC\_User: ok  
[7:29:25 PM] Novi Covek: ti si ga upozнала online  
[7:29:31 PM] SC\_User: da  
[7:29:33 PM] Novi Covek: onda ste se poznali real u bgd  
[7:29:35 PM] Novi Covek: i posle??  
[7:29:49 PM] SC\_User: da onda je posle ne znam koliko vremena on dosao ovde  
[7:29:55 PM] SC\_User: u atinu  
[7:30:01 PM] Novi Covek: kod tebe?  
[7:30:02 PM] SC\_User: i ziveli smo par godina zajedno  
[7:30:08 PM] Novi Covek: e sad kapiram  
[7:30:10 PM] SC\_User: pa da  
[7:30:15 PM] Novi Covek: ok, to je to hvala

(8)

Sc\_user: hej

mea.parvitas.sc\_user is online.

Sc\_user: soko zove orla :)

Sent at 2:13 PM on Monday

Jasmina: orao pao

:-)

zdravo

Sc\_user: hahahahah

nije valjda :).

balkanski spijun :)

Jasmina: pa da

kako je fino razgovarati sa ljudima kod kojih se neke stvari vec podrazumevaju

kazi mi koliko imas vremena sada?

Sc\_user: pa jedno 45 min :)

ako ti je to ok

Jasmina: mislim da ce to biti ok

Sc\_user: ili cemo neki drugi dan, meni je sve jedno

ok

onda - raspali :)

Jasmina: sacekaj me samo par min da iskljucim ringlu

Sc\_user: hahaha, ajd ajd

da proverim i ja peglu :)

Sent at 2:37 PM on Monday

Jasmina: hajde

proveri

Sc\_user: ma salim se, ja sam na poslu

zavrсила sam sta sam imala za danas

Jasmina: hahah, ok

moze?

Sc\_user: moze

Jasmina: kazi mi prvo kako si uopste nasla serbian cafe? kako je dosla do toga da ga koristis?

Sc\_user: cula sam od sestree, posto je ona pre 15ak godina bila u USA, pa ga je tada "archila" tako da sam prvo vreme bila odusevljena idejom o Serbianu a posle sam videla da bas i nije tako super posto su diskutanti uglavnom potresni

Jasmina: ali sestra ti je to preporucila kao sta?

Sc\_user: kao mogucnost chata :)

Jasmina: a zasto chat na serbian cafeu?

Sc\_user: to je bila oko 2000.godine, pre i nego sto sam dosla ovde

tad me je uglavnom samo chatovanje i zanimalo

po sistemu da upoznav nove ljude, van mog sela

zato sto su takodje srbi, valjda, danas bih rekla zato sto smo istog jezika, pa i ne bili srbi

Jasmina: znaci rekla ti je idi na SC tamo imas alatku da upoznas nove ljude. nove ljude gde?

Sc\_user: pa nove ljude upoznas prvo na netu

a posle i uzivo

i dana danas imam PRAVA prijateljstva sa neta

Jasmina: i kako je to kod tebe islo? kakvo je tvoje iskustvo

Sc\_user: pa prvo nikad nisam davala prave podatke na prvu loptu

uvek sam se predstavljala kao marija iz kragujevca koja je 75.godiste i studira engleski :)

tek kad bih se cesce "vidjala" sa ljudima, onda bismo presli na icq ili neki drugi sistem

da ima bolesnika - ima ih sila, ali ima zaista pristojnog sveta

Jasmina: a kako si nasla ljude bas iz tvog novog okruzenja?

Sc\_user: pa ciljano :)

Jasmina: sta to znaci

Sc\_user: uvek sam gledala odakle se javljaju

Jasmina: koje diskusije posecujes? kojim diskusijama doprinosis?

aha. kako , objasni mi malo proces

Sc\_user: pri tome, mogao si odmah da batalis ove sto se zovi LepiBec, MaliBEc, VelikiBec, bogatiBec i tt :)

sad posecujem samo diskusije na serbianu, i to ne redovno, i sama ne znam zasto ih posecujem, kad tamo mozes cesto da procitas uvrede, nepotpune informacije i slicne stvari medjutim, mislim da moj "prosvetarski" duh ne miruje, tako da kad "procitam" da neko deluje normalno i pristojno, trazim da ostavi email ako hoce i onda probam ljudima da na jednostavan nacin objasim to sta ih interesuje

svesna sam da ne znam SVE, ali znam gde moze da se pita

celu ovu pricu mogu da ti pricam "sa dva sesira"

sa jednim - kao migrantkinja, koja ima ista iskustva sa nepoznavanjem sistem a

i kao neko ko radi sa migrantima i vidi istu tu problematiku samo sa druge strane

Jasmina: cekaj malo sad.

Sc\_user: ajd

Jasmina: prvo pokusaj malo da se vratis unazad, da pogledas na ovu stvar bez porefionalnog backgrounda

Sc\_user: ok

Jasmina: da se stis kada si ti bila ona koja se spremala da ide i kad si tek bila otisla

Sc\_user: ja sam ZNALA jos pre nego sto sam dosla ovde da necu uspeti da se "snadjem" ako ne budem poznavala ljude, odnosno ako ne znam kako ovde stvari funkcionisu

Jasmina: tada si dobila preporuku da koristiš SC i koristila si je za chatovanje i upoznavanje sa drugima. jesam te dobro shvatila  
aha?

Sc\_user: da da

Jasmina: kako si ZNALA da ti trebaju novi ljudi tu?

Sc\_user: pa lepo, znala sam prostu cinjenicu da necu imati sredstava (citaj para) da mnogo trcim naokolo, nego da cu brzo morati da nadjem posao, posto otac nije bio u mogucnosti da me finansira

tako da je moj cilj bio da se sto pre upisem na fax i da nadjem bilo kakav posao. a to je sve tesko bez da znas nemacki, zato sam potrazila NASE ljude na netu

Jasmina: sat si od njih ocekivala?

sta

Sc\_user: samo da mi daju informacije GDE da idem da se upisem, i GDE i KAKO se trazi posao kad si student :)

Jasmina: aha, znaci trazila si savete onih koji su vec bili u tvojoj situaciji

I kome si se onda obracala na Serbian Cafeu?

Sc\_user: naravno, potajno sam ocekivala da ce neko da kaze "sve cu ja to da sredim", ali sam u stvarnosti bila zadovoljna sto su mi ljudi rekli bukvalno "sednes na tramvaj broj 4 i ides do te i te stanice, tamo ti je rektorat, pise ovo, ides u tu sobu, tamo pricaju engleski, itd" pa uglavnom na diskusiji austrija

Jasmina: znaci vrlo konkretni saveti?

Sc\_user: da da

i moram priznati sve je bilo tacno u milimetar :)

Jasmina: Ti si pitala za direktne probleme vezane za fakx i posao i dobijala konkretne odgovore

bravo!

Sc\_user: jes

Jasmina: da li verujes informacijama koje dobijes na SC?

Sc\_user: vise ne :)

Jasmina: sada ne a tada jesi??

Sc\_user: mislim da i dalje ima (samo)kriticnih ljudi, ali da se vecina razbacuje pausalnim informacijama

mislim i da sam imala prilicno sreće tada

Jasmina: pa kako znas kome da verujes a kome ne?

kako vrsis tu procenu?

Sc\_user: jer kad citam danasnje diskusije, gde se cesto pisu nepotpune informacije (na osnovu kojih pak neko donosi bitne odluke)....

pre svega po pismenosti

Jasmina: hm zanimljivo. onda?

Sc\_user: nisam sigurno vuk karadzic, ali se pomalo jos razumem u maternji jezik

Jasmina: mislis da su pismeniji iskreniji?

Sc\_user: druga stvar je nacin izrazavanja

ama jok! nisu iskreniji, nego bolje znaju nesto da ti objasne :)

Jasmina: a!

ok

Sc\_user: ako je jos neko ovde isao u skolu, to je jos bolje, jer se razume u ovdasnji obrazovni sistem

Jasmina: pa dobro ali jos mi nije jasno kako procenis cija informacija je dobra?

jesi tu?

Sc\_user: a i mislim da u danasnje vreme, iako ljudi dosta vremena provode na internetu, nema jos puno entuzijasta koji ce namerno da ti daju pogresne info samo da bi te zeznuli tu sam

Jasmina: aha ok

Sc\_user: naravno, mozes da proveris tako sto ces da pitas dr.google, a i tako sto ces da pitas drugu osobu :)

Jasmina: da li si koristila, ili koristis SC da se informises o drustvu, sredini u koju si dosla?

Sc\_user: koristila sam, da, sada vise ne

Jasmina: znaci na pocetku kada nisi imala puno informacija jesi.

Sc\_user: da da i te kako

ali sad vec "vladam" tim basics, tako da mi treba vise

Jasmina: da li si ostvarila nova poznanstva zahvaljujuci aktivnosti na SC?

Sc\_user: jesam, ali ta poznanstva ovde vise nisu aktuelna

naravno da to nema veze sa SC, nego sa mojim i njihovim nacinom zivota

Jasmina: ne razumem? jesi nekoga upoznala preko SC ali?

Sc\_user: ali vise nismo u kontaktu

Jasmina: aha

a jesu to bili ljudi van kruga tvojih prijatelja?

Sc\_user: znas ono, nemate vise ista interesovanja, ili jednostavno se nema vremena, sto puta dogovarate kafu i niko ne moze jer svi rade kao manijaci nisu bili samo muskarci :)

upoznala sam par normalnih devojaka koje su duze ovde i nemaju puno prijatelja

ili su jednostavno hteli da daju informacije o tome za sta su bili strucni

Jasmina: ma kapriam, ali ni jedan od tih kontakata nije dosao pre neke druge drugarice, nego si nasla u svojoj novoj sredini potpuno nove devojke?

preko

Sc\_user: i svi ti ljudi koje sam upoznala su bili bas "domacinska" deca :)

da da

Jasmina: e cek to mi malo objasni

Sc\_user: znaci, ja sam ih upoznala preko neta

Jasmina: sta to znaci domacinska deca?

to

Sc\_user: a posle sam ovde naravno upoznala jos kamaru ljudi

Jasmina: ?

Sc\_user: hahaha, domacinska deca su lepo vaspitana i pristojna, a ne neki probisveti :)

Jasmina: a to, to je bas lepo, kako se to kaze kod vas, kinderstube?

Sc\_user: hahaha, ne znam na sta mislis? :)

kindergarten ili kako?

Jasmina: ahja ne pricam nemacki ali sam cula da se na nemackom domace vaspitanje kaze kindershtube tako nesto

verovatno sam pogresila

Sc\_user: aha

aus der kinderstube :)

Jasmina: e to! vidis nisam daleko

;-)

Sc\_user: to je fina, becka skola :)

Jasmina: i kazmi mi ti ljudi , novi ljudi koje si upoznala na SC, jel neki od tih kontakata bio vazan tebi?

Sc\_user: kako mislis?

Jasmina: pa da li bi bilo koji od tih kontakata nazvala vaznim? pomogao ti da nadjes stan, posao, dao ti neki vaznu informaciju, postao ti blizak prijatelj, dečko... bilo sta

Sc\_user: toliko vazno ne, ali su mi te BASIC-info bile jako znacajne

kazem ti, sa nekim ljudima sam se i vidjala neko vreme, ali posle je i to prestalo

Jasmina: a kako ste presli sa online kontakta na realni kontakt u pravom zivotu? kako je to islo?

Sc\_user: posto su obe strane shvatile da je ovaj drugi ok, i onda smo razmenili brojeve tel ili email i dogovorili se da se nadjemo

Jasmina: a gore , ranije, si mi pomenula da nakon tog pocetnog proveravanja sa laznim podacima, imate obicaj da predjete na neku drugu alatku i preko nje odrzavate kontakt??

Sc\_user: da, tada sam koristila icq za chat

ili smo se jednostavno dopisivali mailom

sto je mislim, opusteniije za oboje

Jasmina: i preko icq ili maila ste se posle dogovarali da se najdet u relanom zivotu? nadjete

Sc\_user: pa mislim da je bilo i jednog i drugog

Jasmina: izvini opet ne kapiram, cega i jednog i drugog?

Sc\_user: susrete dogovarali i na mailu i na chatu

Jasmina: a to, ok.

Sc\_user: a nekad uopste nije ni doslo do susreta znaci nisam upoznala sto ljudi nego 5-6 :)

Jasmina: e to sam bas htela dA TE PITAM

citas mi misli

tj pitanja

;-)

Sc\_user: hahah

jes

Jasmina: pa dobro, ako se sad jos drzimo tog provobitnog iskustva

kako bi okarakterisala SC, kako je on uticao na tvoj realni zivot u novoj sredini?

Sc\_user: cek, tel

Jasmina: ok

Sent at 3:13 PM on Monday

Sc\_user: ajd

pa i nije da mi nije pomogao!

ali samo za pocetak

mislim da je to velika zamka, ako se uhvatis u taj virtuelni svet

mislim da moze voz da te pregazi a da ne provalis sta te snaslo :)

Jasmina: ali to sto kazes "nije da mi nije pomogao" pisano sa manje negacija znaci...

Sc\_user: hocu da kazem, te neke pocetne info tipa ko gde sta

a posle najbolje sam da trazis ili da skupljias informacije uzivo

ne ne, nisam tako mislila

jeste mi pomoglo!

Jasmina: haha to sam i mislila

Sc\_user: ahha eto vidis da sve znas

Jasmina: znaci SC ti je pomogao u pocetku kao informativni centar na neki nacin, da se informises

Sc\_user: jeste!

Jasmina: a onda i da sklopis neka nova poznanstva virtualna i relana?

Sc\_user: ali living info-centar :)

Jasmina: mislis interaktivni u tom smislu?

Sc\_user: znaci, od LJUDI sam dobila informacije, ne citajuci text sa portala  
jes

Jasmina: da da!

to mi je i bitno

Sc\_user: to to!

sta si u horoskopu?

Jasmina: hahahahah

HAHAHA

Sc\_user: da nemas merkura u skorpiji? :)

Jasmina: de vi ca!

Sc\_user: hahhahah

Jasmina: merkur u ..

Sc\_user: precizna da nema kud dalje

Jasmina: cek devici ja mislim

Sc\_user: meni je 5 planeta u devici

Jasmina: oh da

i meni!

uh kakav spoj

Sc\_user: eto ti ga!

dobro

da se vratimo

Jasmina: eh cek jos da te pitam nesto pa da prejem na nesto off the record  
da

Sc\_user: ajd ajd

Jasmina: da li mozes da mi kazes onda, imajuci sve ovo u vidu, koja je tvoja motivacija da koristis SC tada bila?

direktno

Sc\_user: da nadjem ljude koji ce da mi pruzu informacije o tome sto mi treba da prezivim tamo "preko" :)

prosto receno

i to sam sigurno tako mislila i tad

niti frajer, niti ne znam sta, nego bas to!

ja sam covek sistematicar :)

Jasmina: a da li ti je bio cilj da koristis SC da upoznas nekoga?

da li si mislila da ces preko toga upoznati nekog "tamo"

Sc\_user: mislim da mi je to samo bio sporedan cilj

tipa - ako se desi

Jasmina: ali si znala da moze da se desi?

Sc\_user: pa nisam bas tol'ka emotivno-drustvena spodobna da niko nece sa mnom da se druzi

HAHAHAHAH

Jasmina: hahaha



ali mislim otkud si znala?

Sc\_user: ej

iako obilujem kompleksom kompleksa

znam da svojim jezikom makar, tj. spikom mogu da animiram ljude

to sam i tad znala

Jasmina: ma to mi je jasno, vrlo si komunikativna i razložna, logicna.

Sc\_user: jeste, to je zbog horoskopa :)

izvini sto te kratim, ali ja bih morala da krenem ! jel ti ok da nastavimo sutra?

Jasmina: ah nema frke

mozemop da se vidimo sutra

ostalo ej samo privatno caskanje

zainteresovala si me

;-)

javi se, ja sam sutra tu radim svaki dan na ovome. zanima me i tovj elicno profesionalno iskustvo u becu i taj rad sa imigrantima

Sc\_user: ma to je roman!

ajde onda uzdravlje!

do sutra!

Jasmina: ok, onda cemo romane nekom drugom prilikom. hvala ti uzivala sam

(9)

1. Kako ste nasli, otkrili, Serbian café? Kako ste dosli do toga da ga koristite?

Preko prijateljice spomenuto u razgovoru. Prvi put sam ga koristila u kompjuter lab u Koledzu poslje nastave, u malim pauzama dok sam vježbala kucanje daktilografiju.

jel to prijateljica kanadjanka ili nasa koja zivi u kanadi?

Dosla u Kanadu , godinu dana prije mene, inace iz Srbije

2. Zasto koristite Serbian Café?

Da se procitaju vijesti, poneka diskusija, imaju interesantnu naslovnu stranu, probrano sa svih strana svijeta

Mogu da se vide reklame, sta se desava od kulturnih dogadjanja u okolini.

na koje kulturne dogadjaje mislis? iz koje okoline?

Pa Serbian cafe je prilagodjen svakoj zemlji, tako da u Kanadi reklamiraju napr koji pjevaci gostuju u Torontu, Kalgari, Vancouver

dal se otvara folkorna grupa za djecu u navedenih vecim gradovima, jel ima knjizevno vece, neko prodaje knjige koje se mogu naruciti iz Srbije

sa isporukom u Kanadi. Tako se SC financira i postoji zbog tih reklama. Moj muz poznaje gazdu i osnivaca site, i zna da naplacuje 150-500 \$ po oglasu zavisno od pozicije na stranici.

3. Za koje svrhe koristite Serbian Café? Koje diskusije citate? Kojim diskusijama doprinosite

,Moja mala spona sa maticom. Citam diskusije Krajina, Knin, Toronto, Brak i porodica, Trudnice i mamice.

Na jednim sam napravila grafiku na vrh stranice. Ponekad pisem na trudnice i mamice. podijelim sa zenama svoje iskustvo, citam sta one pisu.

4. Sta ocekujete od vase aktivnosti na Serbian Cafeu?

Ne ocekujem puno. Da saznam nesto sto nisam znala, da mi isprica osoba koja je to iskusila , a neka neka vijest ili propaganda

koju vrsta iskustava razmenjujes? i koju vrstu informacija? molim te malo mi pojasni

Pa pisem sta se meni desilo, nedavno sam pustila temu kako je moja komsinica zvala miliciju kada mi je beba plakala po noci

i oni dosli da pitaju dal je zlostavljamo , budili je i baterijom zagledali. to je jedno iskustvo, koje je zacudilo mame u drugim zemljama.

Pisala sam kako izgleda jedan moj dan, jer radim, muz i ja nemamo nikog blizu i kako se snalazimo

Informacije tipa, koju hranu dajem bebi. Infromacije kada neko pita kako napr ostvariti djeciji dodatak, trazi prevod na engleski

ili kako pripremiti djete na put avionom. Eto sada mi te teme padaju na pamet sa te diskusije.

Na Krajini sam pisala svoje price kako se osjecam kako mi nedostaje

5. Kome se obracate na Serbian Cafeu?

Nikog ne znam po imenu ni licno , samo primjetim par nickova. Nikad se nisam obracala nekom moderatoru

6. Kakve informacije mozete aci na Sebian Cafeu?

Najvise volim kuvar. Linkove za nase novine i vijesti. Podatke o nekoj novotvorenoj kompaniji koju drze nase ljudi. Liste travel agencija.

7. Da li verujete informacijama koje dobijete na Serbian Cafeu?

Ne vjerujem svima, pola njih smatram za zabavu i ubijanje vremena.

ovo znaci da nekima i verujes? kako procenjues ko su kontakti kojima verujes?

Pa, napr tebe sam procijenila odmah kao ozbiljnu , jer vidim po nacinu pisanja, bogatom izboru rijeci da ste obrazovana osoba

ili kada neko drugi pise, vidim da je skromna osoba, da se ne pravi pametan nekim dvosimslanim komentarima

napr nesto erotsko, kao sto je vama odgovorio na Toronto, nick "Slani"

Neki ljudi su dosli samo da namjerno provociraju, kazu nesto zlobno ili ironicno. Neki su dobronamjerni.

Druga stvar, ne znam dal vam je poznato, na SC dolazi jako puno drugih nacija, koji mrze Srbe i zele da sruse site i da nas zavade

upadicama, vecina njih se krije iza nika, koji nosi Srpski naziv kako se ne bih otkrili, ili se prave dobri samo da bi izvukli informacije.

Kako kaze nas narod "Vrag nikad ne spava" Zato nikad ne idem na diskusije politika.

8. Da li koristite Serbina Café da se informisete o drustvu, sredini u koju ste se doselili?

Moze da se postavi pitanje , pola odgovora je ironicno ili cisto ruganje. Mogu jedino da saznam na sta se nasi zale.  
sta im smeta u drustvu, i kako misle da su oni puno sposobniji od Kanadajana, lijepsi, bolje obuceni, imaju vece znanje  
i bolji radnici na poslu.

9. Da li ste ostvarili nova poznanstva zahvaljujuci aktivnosti na Serbian Cafeu?  
Samo virtuelno, trajalo je par mjeseci i proslo.

da li se secas u kom trenutku je to bilo? kad si stigla u kanadu, malo kasnije... kad si uspostavila ta nova poznanstva

Prve godina dolaska sam sebi stavila nekoliko zadataka  
da bolje naucim Engleski- uspjela za 6 mjeseci , da nadjem bilo kakav posao i saljem kuci ,  
da zaradim za avionsku kartu  
to mi je uzelo dvije godinei  
Znaci faza usamljenosti me spopala kada sam se vratila iz Vojvodine, tu smo izbjegli iz Knina  
(roditelji i sestre)  
Tamo sam imala decka i jedva cekala da ga vidim, a on nije dosao na prvi sastanak  
Tek kada sam se vratila saznala sam da je imao djevojku sve vrijeme , i ona mu je rodila  
djete, 3 mjeseca nakon sto sam se ja vratila  
a u posjeti sam bila 3 sedmice.  
Znaci tada sam se razocarala u muskarce, vidila da nema od te veze nista i pocela traziti  
nova poznanstva na chatu  
Tu sam se razocarala i prestala da dolazim nakon 2 mjeseca, kada sam vidila da muskarci  
koji su zivili blizu zele samo neobavezni sex,  
a oni iz Srbije su otvoreno govorili da hoce da ih dovedem u Kanadu da bi se ozenili i nakon  
6 mjeseci razveli.  
Zenske nisu htjele da pricaju sa zenskim to im je bilo gubljenje vremena jer su i one dosle  
samo da zbare nesto.

10. Da li ste ostvarili vazne kontakte online, van vasih kruga prijatelja, preko aktivnosti na  
Serbian Cafeu?  
Nijedan vazan kontakt, ljudi su jako nepovjerljivi, kriju se iza nickova, a sa nekim sam zivila u  
istom gradu  
i nisu htjeli priznati da su to oni.

11. Kako vasa online aktivnost, aktivnost na Serbian Cafeu, utice na vas stvarni zivot?  
Nema puno utjecaja, kao sto rekoh poslusam neki savjet, volim cuti kako se zivi po drugim  
zemljama.  
Koristim SC 14 godina i svake godine je sve gori sto se tice diskusija. Cini mi se da je malo  
ko ozbiljan.  
Prije se moglo naci lijepih tekstova na Romanticnom kutku, neke price su mi se dopadale da  
sam ih stampala  
ili lijepih pjesama. Sada se izgleda mjenja generacija .

12. Da li koristite Serbian Café da bi ste sreali nove ljude u vasem stvarnom zivotu? Ako da,  
kako?

Ne koristim da sretnem nove ljude u stvarnom zivotu, tek kada sam dosla u Kanadu i bila usamljena  
isla sam na chat, ali sam vidjela da je to samo bio nacin da se neko sretne na jedan vikend, pa sam prekinula sa tim.  
Znam neke ljude koji su tako stupili u brak.

stupili su u brak tako sto su se upoznali na serbian cafeu?

Da, znam curu iz mog grada, koja je preko chata SC, upoznala decka iz Austrije , otisla da ga vidi i nakon 6 mjeseci presla da zivi tamo  
i za godinu se vjenicali  
Drugi slucaj, cura iz Knina, izbjegla u Srbiju, upoznala decka iz Knina, koji je emigrirao u Australiju i on je pozove kod sebe  
za jedno ljeto, ona odlucila da ostane i vjenicali se.  
Za druge slucajeve sam cula iz price, ne znam ih licno.

(10)

[4:13:03 PM] sc\_user: moze pitaj  
[4:13:55 PM] Novi Covek: kazi mi prvo da li sam te pitala za godine, broj godina u provedenih u skoli-ili skolsku spremu, nacionalnost i trenutno mesto boravka  
[4:14:11 PM] sc\_user: da  
[4:14:19 PM] sc\_user: odgovorio sam ti  
[4:14:25 PM] Novi Covek: cek onda sekundu da to pronadjem  
[4:15:02 PM] Novi Covek: pod kojim mposlaoejlom si mi t  
[4:15:17 PM] sc\_user: sasa  
[4:15:17 PM] Novi Covek: pod kojim mejlom je to poslato, nemam nigde vladimira radosevica  
[4:15:20 PM] Novi Covek: aaa  
[4:15:43 PM] Novi Covek: sasa milenkovi  
[4:15:44 PM] Novi Covek: c  
[4:15:47 PM] sc\_user: da  
[4:16:01 PM] Novi Covek: eh dok ja pohvatam sva ta imena  
[4:16:03 PM] Novi Covek: drago mi je  
[4:17:28 PM] Novi Covek: ti si civek sa onom zanimljivom zivotnom pricom  
[4:17:30 PM] Novi Covek: sad znam  
[4:17:49 PM] Novi Covek: kazi mi molim te kako si otkrio Serbian Cafe? kako je doslo do toga da ga koristis?  
[4:18:24 PM] sc\_user: ma to je prvo sto sam nasao kad sam kupio kom u kanadi  
[4:18:33 PM] Novi Covek: kako si nasao?  
[4:18:36 PM] sc\_user: preko jednig prijatelja  
[4:18:49 PM] Novi Covek: sta je prijatelj uradio?  
[4:19:15 PM] sc\_user: ma nista samo rekao imas jedan sajt nas  
[4:19:22 PM] sc\_user: serbijan cafe  
[4:19:35 PM] sc\_user: tu ces videti sv info  
[4:19:41 PM] Novi Covek: a zasto ti je bio potreban "nas" sajt?  
[4:19:53 PM] Novi Covek: za koje stvari si tu mogao da se informises?  
[4:20:26 PM] sc\_user: vesti iz zemlje  
[4:20:37 PM] sc\_user: kao prvo u tom momentu  
[4:21:13 PM] Novi Covek: a posle?

[4:21:58 PM] sc\_user: kako sam sticao znanje iz oblasti komp onda sam video razne stvari od foruma itd

[4:22:37 PM] Novi Covek: za oje svhe koristis SC? koje diskusije citas? kojim diskusijama doprinosis?

[4:24:34 PM] sc\_user: ma prvenstveno radi vesti onda citam razne forume kao od kucni ljubimci pa kompijuteri

[4:24:46 PM] sc\_user: ma razne forume

[4:24:56 PM] Novi Covek: a koje te informacije na diskusijama zanimaju?

[4:26:20 PM] sc\_user: pa prvenstveno nesto sto ce mi pomoci da nesto bolje saznam u vezi npr. zivotinje posto imam psa

[4:26:41 PM] sc\_user: onda o kompijuterima

[4:26:56 PM] Novi Covek: a da li koristiš SC da se informišes o društvu, sredini u kojoj živiš?

[4:27:00 PM] sc\_user: onda diskusije o mom gradu

[4:27:14 PM] sc\_user: da sad sam hteo da napisem

[4:27:20 PM] Novi Covek: haha, super

[4:27:32 PM] Novi Covek: i kakve informacije tu mozes da najdes? sta te tu zanima?

[4:28:16 PM] sc\_user: ma recimo sta se desava sta je danas zanimljivo koncerti ,izložbe ,promocije knjiga itd

[4:28:29 PM] sc\_user: bude svega

[4:28:51 PM] Novi Covek: da li si ostvario neko novo poznanstvo preko sc? da li si upoznao nekoga online van kruga svojih prijatelja?

[4:29:43 PM] sc\_user: ma nisam licno ali znam neke ljude koji stalno daju komentare ili sam im ja pomogo u necemu

[4:30:05 PM] sc\_user: pa se jave

[4:30:50 PM] sc\_user: mejlom

[4:30:55 PM] Novi Covek: znaci novi kontakti su stigli online

[4:30:57 PM] Novi Covek: aha

[4:31:04 PM] sc\_user: ma da

[4:31:16 PM] Novi Covek: a da li si ostvario neki licni kontakt zahvaljujuci sc?

[4:31:25 PM] Novi Covek: neki korisni kontakt u relanom zivotu?

[4:31:31 PM] Novi Covek: bilo kakve prirode

[4:31:32 PM] sc\_user: ne

[4:31:50 PM] Novi Covek: znaci nikad ne koristis niti si koristio sc da se sa nekim sretnes u realnom zivotu?

[4:32:01 PM] sc\_user: sem sa ljudima koje znam

[4:32:06 PM] sc\_user: licno

[4:32:30 PM] Novi Covek: cekaj sekund, jel to znaci da koristis SC da se vidis u realnom zivotu sa ljudima koje znas od pre?

[4:32:43 PM] Novi Covek: od pre nego si poceo da koristiš sc?

[4:32:43 PM] sc\_user: ne

[4:32:46 PM] Novi Covek: nego?

[4:33:12 PM] sc\_user: ma nekad neki moj drug je na forumu iz mog grada

[4:33:26 PM] Novi Covek: a odakle znas druga?

[4:33:27 PM] sc\_user: na to sam mislio

[4:33:48 PM] sc\_user: znam ga odavde zato sto se družimo

[4:34:02 PM] Novi Covek: ali ga nisi upoznao preko SC?

[4:34:08 PM] sc\_user: recimo kao ja i ti sad

[4:34:15 PM] sc\_user: ne nisam

[4:34:28 PM] Novi Covek: ali ponekad procaskate preko sc i dogovrite se za susret ??  
[4:34:28 PM] sc\_user: znamo se sa posla  
[4:34:40 PM] Novi Covek: a obojica koristite sc?  
[4:34:42 PM] sc\_user: ma o nekim temamaa  
[4:34:56 PM] sc\_user: fudbal je upitanju  
[4:35:06 PM] Novi Covek: jel organizujete fudbal preko sc?  
[4:35:08 PM] sc\_user: i onda jamo na pice  
[4:35:18 PM] Novi Covek: zanimljivo  
[4:35:32 PM] sc\_user: ma jok komentari samo oko utakmica  
[4:35:55 PM] Novi Covek: a, pricte o fudbalu pa se onda dogovirte i da se nadjete na picu?  
tako to ide?  
[4:36:44 PM] sc\_user: ma on za partizan ja za zvezdu navija pa tako pricamo i onda dobro je  
dodji da po[pijemo nesto  
[4:36:50 PM] Novi Covek: kome se obracas na sc?  
[4:37:00 PM] sc\_user: kako mislis  
[4:37:30 PM] Novi Covek: pa imas li neku posebnu osobu kojoj se orbacas? neke posebne  
teme? ili se obracas bilo kome u zavisnosti od teme?  
[4:37:53 PM] sc\_user: ma zavisi od teme koja me zanima  
[4:38:00 PM] sc\_user: nema niko poseban  
[4:38:16 PM] Novi Covek: a kazi mi molim te kakve informacije covek moze naci na SC?  
[4:38:26 PM] Novi Covek: i da li se moze verovati tim informacijama?  
[4:38:36 PM] sc\_user: zavisi od tema  
[4:38:42 PM] sc\_user: i zavisi ko pise  
[4:38:47 PM] Novi Covek: pa na rpimer, jel mozes da nabrojis neke informacije  
[4:38:52 PM] sc\_user: naravno da moze  
[4:38:56 PM] Novi Covek: ?  
[4:39:08 PM] sc\_user: u vezi problema sa kompom  
[4:39:17 PM] Novi Covek: aha, sta jos?  
[4:39:18 PM] sc\_user: tu ce ljudi da pomognu  
[4:39:23 PM] Novi Covek: super  
[4:39:28 PM] Novi Covek: kako znas da mozes da im verujes?  
[4:39:32 PM] sc\_user: kucni ljubimci  
[4:39:35 PM] Novi Covek: ok  
[4:39:36 PM] sc\_user: isto  
[4:39:48 PM] Novi Covek: jel ima jos nesto korisno?  
[4:40:02 PM] sc\_user: muzika  
[4:40:06 PM] sc\_user: film video  
[4:40:17 PM] Novi Covek: a jel ima nesto korisno o zivotu u kanadi? ontariu?  
[4:40:24 PM] sc\_user: info u gradu  
[4:40:41 PM] sc\_user: naravno ali ne bas puno  
[4:40:56 PM] Novi Covek: sta ocekujes od tovjee aktivnosti na sc?  
[4:41:07 PM] sc\_user: neznam iz kog razloga ljudi se slabije javljaju  
[4:41:14 PM] Novi Covek: stvarno?  
[4:41:26 PM] sc\_user: da  
[4:41:33 PM] Novi Covek: ranije su se vise javljali?  
[4:41:36 PM] sc\_user: mozda teme nisu interesantne  
[4:41:39 PM] Novi Covek: aha  
[4:41:40 PM] sc\_user: neznam

[4:41:53 PM] Novi Covek: a sta ti ocekujes od tvoje aktivnosti na sc?  
[4:42:30 PM] sc\_user: nista specijalno samo ako mogu nekome da pomognem to jeto  
[4:42:43 PM] Novi Covek: znaci ti sada pomazes drugima na sc?  
[4:42:48 PM] Novi Covek: u kojim temama?  
[4:42:57 PM] sc\_user: recimo koliko mogu  
[4:43:01 PM] sc\_user: i znam  
[4:43:18 PM] Novi Covek: ali na primer sta dobro znas? na kojim diskusijama najvise pomazes, koje teme?  
[4:44:08 PM] sc\_user: ma nista specijalno svugde sam citam i ako vidim da znam tu temu pokusam da dam odgovor  
[4:44:24 PM] Novi Covek: nesto o kanadi ili o tehnicu?  
[4:44:40 PM] sc\_user: da recimo  
[4:44:44 PM] sc\_user: to  
[4:44:49 PM] Novi Covek: kako tvoja online aktivnost na Sc utice na tvoj relani zivot?  
[4:45:20 PM] sc\_user: nista strasno kad se ima vremena  
[4:45:38 PM] Novi Covek: znaci jedini uticaj koji osecaš je taj da trosis vreme?  
[4:45:59 PM] Novi Covek: ili ima nesto u cemu uzivas dok to radis?  
[4:46:19 PM] sc\_user: da samo vreme da se ubije  
[4:46:27 PM] Novi Covek: ok hvala ti puno  
[4:46:29 PM] Novi Covek: to je to  
[4:46:41 PM] Novi Covek: ako mi nesto bude nedostajalo zvacu te ponovo da te pitam  
[4:47:00 PM] sc\_user: vazi nadam se da sm ti pomogao bar malo  
[4:47:03 PM] Novi Covek: ali imam neki blagi utisak da ipak mnogo vise pomazes ljudima nego sto sam ja u ovom intervjuu uspela da saznam  
[4:47:05 PM] Novi Covek: jesi naravno  
[4:47:09 PM] Novi Covek: hvala ti puno za tvoje vreme  
[4:47:18 PM] sc\_user: nista  
[4:47:22 PM] Novi Covek: sve njabolje  
(11)  
[7:31:40 PM] Novi Covek: kako si pronasla serbian cafe? kako je doslo do toga da ga koristis?  
[7:32:07 PM] SC\_User: prvi put sam pronasla  
[7:32:13 PM] SC\_User: kad sam bila u africi, znaci 2001  
[7:32:26 PM] SC\_User: prije toga nisam znala za to, a posto tamo nisam radila, imala sam puno slobodnog  
[7:32:38 PM] SC\_User: vremena, dosta sam bila na internetu i na forumima  
[7:32:48 PM] Novi Covek: ali kako si pronasla? slucajno?  
[7:32:54 PM] SC\_User: sasvim slucajno  
[7:33:04 PM] Novi Covek: zasto koristis serbina cafe?  
[7:33:19 PM] SC\_User: google, a zamisli, imala sam priliku upoznati jednu osobu sa foruma licno, a i dan danas se cujemo  
[7:33:30 PM] Novi Covek: sa serbian cafe foruma?  
[7:33:41 PM] SC\_User: koristim da citam vijesti iz zemlje, zatim za recepte, a nekad idem na forum, sad nemam bas vremena  
[7:33:47 PM] SC\_User: da, da bas sa foruma!  
[7:33:59 PM] SC\_User: jedna zena, divna zena  
[7:34:21 PM] SC\_User: nekad pokusam i traziti informacije  
[7:34:39 PM] Novi Covek: cek sekund molim te

[7:34:46 PM] SC\_User: ok  
[7:35:05 PM] Novi Covek: e cekaj to me sve zanima  
[7:35:14 PM] SC\_User: ok :)  
[7:35:19 PM] Novi Covek: prvo za koje svrhe koristis SC?  
[7:35:34 PM] Novi Covek: vesti, recepti, a sta radis na forumu? koji su ti motivi?  
[7:35:42 PM] SC\_User: informacije i razmjena iskustava, citanje vijesti, recepata  
[7:35:55 PM] Novi Covek: kakvu vrstu infromacije trazis?  
[7:35:57 PM] SC\_User: hm...motivi na forumu? razmjeniti iskustva s ljudima  
[7:36:20 PM] Novi Covek: koju vrstu iskustva?  
[7:36:42 PM] SC\_User: pa nekad trazim informacije o letovima, o novostima u domovini, nekad me zanima stanje u određenoj zemlji  
[7:37:09 PM] SC\_User: iskustva razna, recimo kakav je zivot u nekoj zemlji, kakvo je zdravstveno, socijalno, odnos plate i stvarnosti...  
[7:37:39 PM] Novi Covek: uporedjues sa svojom zemljom ili?  
[7:37:56 PM] SC\_User: i sa svojom domovinom a i zemljom u kojoj zivim  
[7:38:07 PM] SC\_User: jer shvatam da ovdje ne pripadam, zanima me gdje dalje  
[7:38:20 PM] Novi Covek: haha  
[7:38:41 PM] Novi Covek: znaci trazis informacije o drugim mestima od ljudi koji zive tamo i ponda smisljas gde ces?  
[7:38:45 PM] Novi Covek: i koja zemlja vodi?  
[7:39:15 PM] SC\_User: 8-) da, uporedjujem. pa zadnje dve godine sam istrazivala njemacku, svicarsku i englesku. idem u englesku  
[7:39:24 PM] Novi Covek: to si mi rekla  
[7:39:36 PM] Novi Covek: ali na osnovu cega si donela tu odluku?  
[7:39:43 PM] SC\_User: tamo mi je cerka  
[7:39:49 PM] Novi Covek: na osnovu toga sta su ti rekli ljudi iz engleske ili.. ipak sto ti je cerak tamo  
[7:39:55 PM] Novi Covek: bila si brza, citas mi misli  
[7:40:10 PM] SC\_User: govorim engleski perfektno, lakse se snadjem nego negdje gdje treba da ucim jezik, i dosadilo mi ucnje jezika haha  
[7:40:21 PM] Novi Covek: e da znas i meni!! I MENI  
[7:40:34 PM] Novi Covek: ali o tome cemo posle kad zavravimo ovaj obavezni "naucnicki " deo  
[7:40:52 PM] SC\_User: nisu imali ljudi uticaja na moju odluku, meni bi bilo puno bolje idem u svedsku ili norvesku recimo  
[7:41:06 PM] Novi Covek: ali ces otici zbog cerke?  
[7:41:35 PM] SC\_User: uslovi i prava , imam sve kao da sam zivjela tamo. u engleskoj nemam, ali dosta mi je bre prava i uslova, zelim da sam blize porodici. znaci cerka je glavni razlog, a drugi je blizina evropi , a tome i kuci  
[7:41:55 PM] Novi Covek: ti si super ! (F)  
[7:41:58 PM] Novi Covek: cekaj idemo dalje  
[7:42:05 PM] SC\_User: hvala :)+  
[7:42:19 PM] Novi Covek: kome se obracas na serbian cafeu?  
[7:42:28 PM] Novi Covek: sta ocekujes od te aktivnosti?  
[7:43:22 PM] SC\_User: nikome direktno, obratim se grupi gdje smatram da moja tema pripada. ocekujem iskrene informacije i pomoc, ali uglavnom dobijem ruzne rijeci i sve zavrshi da neko nekog napada, ne samo moja tema-vidim i mnoge druge  
[7:43:46 PM] Novi Covek: a kakve se informacije mogu naci na diskusijama una sc?  
[7:43:55 PM] Novi Covek: na sc?



[7:44:47 PM] SC\_User: maltene sve sta ti treba, gdje ima sta da se kupi, kakvi su zivotni uslovi u drugom zemljama, shvati se isto da svi misle isto, da je trava uvijek drugdje zelenija haha

[7:45:18 PM] Novi Covek: ali kazmi mi molim te koje vrste informacija, sta spada u sve sta ti treba: ?

[7:45:34 PM] Novi Covek: sta su zivotni uslovi u drugi zemljama za tebe?

[7:46:01 PM] SC\_User: recimo kolika je plata, kolika je kirija za stan, cijene hrane, porezi, troskovi zivotni, struja, voda, grijanje, avionske karte

[7:46:09 PM] Novi Covek: to! hvala

[7:46:17 PM] SC\_User: ;)

[7:46:30 PM] Novi Covek: a kazmi mi da li verujes tim informacijama koje dobijes? ako ispadne svadja kako znas kome da verujes kome ne?

[7:47:29 PM] SC\_User: uvijek sve uzmem s rezervom, jer imaju i statistike po zemljama koje mozes da uporedis. uglavnom ako pratis forum cesto znas ko je oja a ko ne. zapamti nadimke, a i osjetis po pisanju da li je neko iskren

[7:47:52 PM] Novi Covek: hm, zanimljivo, a kako po pisanju?

[7:48:07 PM] SC\_User: "citas izmedju redova"

[7:48:11 PM] Novi Covek: hahah

[7:48:22 PM] Novi Covek: i kako si znala da sma ja iskrena? sat je pisalo izmedju redova?

[7:48:32 PM] SC\_User: ako visis dosta na forumu, mozes skuziti kako ko dise.

[7:48:33 PM] SC\_User: hahahaha

[7:48:40 PM] Novi Covek: ;)

[7:48:52 PM] SC\_User: ne znam, osjetila sam da si iskrena i da ti treba pomoc, a ja uvijek pomazem svima ako mogu, pa eto

[7:49:05 PM] Novi Covek: divna si, hvala ti.

[7:49:29 PM] Novi Covek: da li koristis sc da bi se informisala o zemlji u koju zelis da ides, ili o zemlji u kojoj jesi?

[7:50:19 PM] SC\_User: nema na cemu, nasi ljudi su skepticni. ja se mislim, pa sta imas koristi od mene ako lazesh? scjesna sam dobro interneta i sta mogu a sta ne ;). uglavnom se zanimam za zemlju u koju zelim da idem, zatim pratim vijesti iz domovine, a nikad ne idem na forum gdje je tema zemlja u kojoj zivim

[7:50:36 PM] Novi Covek: zanimljivo

[7:50:50 PM] Novi Covek: a sto nikad zemlja u kojoj jesi?

[7:51:40 PM] SC\_User: pa jednom am otisla i procitala sta neke dvije face pisu, to su uglavnom bile izmisljotine da bi im se drugi divili ili zavidili. jer nema svako sansu da dodje ovde i vidi je li to tako kako one kazu. otad ne idem vise

[7:52:12 PM] SC\_User: neobrazovane neke glupace

[7:52:28 PM] Novi Covek: hm, da

[7:52:30 PM] Novi Covek: kapiram

[7:52:38 PM] SC\_User: ne zelim da dolazim u sukob

[7:53:02 PM] Novi Covek: e hajmo sad na lepse stvari

[7:53:08 PM] SC\_User: hajde

[7:53:08 PM] SC\_User: haha

[7:53:19 PM] Novi Covek: da li si ostvarila neka nova poznanstva online zahvaljujuci sc?

[7:53:38 PM] SC\_User: bas direktno sc, jesam 3 zene

[7:53:52 PM] Novi Covek: kako?

[7:53:55 PM] Novi Covek: kako ste se nasle?

[7:54:02 PM] Novi Covek: i jesu li to zene van tvoga kruga prijatelja

[7:54:22 PM] SC\_User: jednu sam licno upoznala, druge dve ne, samo smo u kontaktu na email

[7:54:42 PM] Novi Covek: ali su svi van kruga tvojih prijatelja?

[7:55:17 PM] SC\_User: da, da

[7:55:30 PM] SC\_User: mada ih smatram prijateljima

[7:55:43 PM] Novi Covek: naravno

[7:56:02 PM] Novi Covek: da li je neki od tih kontakata vazan kontakt tebi? u bilo kom smislu?

[7:56:31 PM] SC\_User: jeste, jedna od njih mi je vazan kontakt. mozemo da se povjerimo jedna drugoj i utjesimo

[7:57:02 PM] Novi Covek: znaci jedna od njih je prijatelj i to blizak?

[7:57:19 PM] Novi Covek: kako ste se upoznale? kako je doslo do toga?

[7:57:28 PM] Novi Covek: opisi mi malo

[7:57:38 PM] SC\_User: na kuvaru, razmjenjivale recepte i komentarisale

[7:58:03 PM] SC\_User: onda sam ja spomenula da idem na godisnji u spaniju

[7:58:16 PM] SC\_User: onda je ona rekla da zivi tamo i poslala mi email, zatim

[7:58:47 PM] Novi Covek: stvarno??

[7:58:51 PM] Novi Covek: bas divna zena

[7:58:55 PM] SC\_User: sam svatila da je njen grad jako blizu kmjesta gdje ja idem, pa sam joj rekla da cu doci da se upoznamo

[7:59:08 PM] SC\_User: dotad smo samo znale internet nadimke jedna od druge, a pazi sad

[7:59:18 PM] Novi Covek: boze!

[7:59:34 PM] SC\_User: hahah kad smo stupile u kontakt i upoznale se, ispalo je da se obe zovemo vesna, da smo iz bosne i obe djevice u horoskopu!

[7:59:56 PM] Novi Covek: AAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAAA

[8:00:03 PM] SC\_User: zamisli!!!!

[8:00:04 PM] Novi Covek: ceakj majke ti

[8:00:07 PM] SC\_User: hehe

[8:00:09 PM] Novi Covek: nisi mi rekla odakle si?

[8:00:12 PM] SC\_User: Prijedor

[8:00:19 PM] SC\_User: ona iz Sarajeva

[8:00:27 PM] SC\_User: ti?

[8:00:33 PM] SC\_User: isto sarajevo?

[8:00:49 PM] Novi Covek: e super

[8:01:20 PM] Novi Covek: ja sam iz beograda, devica iz bgd ;) a muz mi je iz sarajeva a bila sam u prijedoru! najljepse exy kopno! te livade, sume...

[8:01:39 PM] SC\_User: ajme jos jedna djevica, eto ja kazem tebi da imam osjecaj!!!

[8:02:04 PM] Novi Covek: hahahhaa

[8:02:05 PM] Novi Covek: da

[8:02:23 PM] Novi Covek: cekaj daj da ovo ozbiljno zavrismo pa da idemo u privatni demo medjusobnog obozavanja ;)

[8:02:30 PM] SC\_User: hajde

[8:02:45 PM] Novi Covek: i gde zivi ta zena? gde ste se nasle? kako ste dogovrile?

[8:03:18 PM] SC\_User: zivi u Spaniji, ja dosla u njen grad, srele se na rucku u restoranu, razmjenile telefone

[8:03:52 PM] SC\_User: ja dosla bila sa islanda, tad sam vec bila ovde, a prije toga smo samo se cule na forumima jedno 3 godine

[8:04:16 PM] Novi Covek: ali to ste sve razmenile

[8:04:18 PM] Novi Covek: na sc?  
[8:04:38 PM] SC\_User: ne, poslala sma joj email privatni  
[8:04:41 PM] Novi Covek: a ok  
[8:04:51 PM] Novi Covek: i sve ste dogovrile i kako je bilo?  
[8:05:06 PM] SC\_User: bilo je divno, rasplakale se obe haha  
[8:05:16 PM] Novi Covek: jao ..... to je tako dirljivo  
[8:05:33 PM] Novi Covek: znas, medju nama, ja se rasplacem na svako pismo koje sam dobila od imigranata na sc  
[8:05:50 PM] Novi Covek: kakvih prica tu ima, koliko ljudi dece sudbina, koliko trazanja  
[8:05:52 PM] Novi Covek: koliko rana  
[8:06:06 PM] SC\_User: vjerujem, samo mi znamo kako nam je, niko durgi nas ne razumije  
[8:06:14 PM] Novi Covek: niko.  
[8:06:43 PM] SC\_User: ni najrodjeniji, svi misle nama je super, pare rastu na drvecu, svega ima u izobilju  
[8:06:48 PM] Novi Covek: i kako bi okarakterisala sada posle svega i svih tih godina na sc, kako SC utice na tvoj stvarni zivot?  
[8:07:00 PM] Novi Covek: e da, tek oni nista ne znaju  
[8:07:58 PM] SC\_User: pa ne bih rekla da utice, vec da je kao neka pomocna sprava, zblizava me domovini, odrzavam jezik, nema neki uticaj  
[8:08:43 PM] Novi Covek: a to sticanej novih kontakata?  
[8:09:17 PM] SC\_User: to ne vise, otkako sam odosla ovde radim, pa nemam vremena, sad je fejsbuk preuzeo tu stranu  
[8:09:47 PM] Novi Covek: da li mozes da kazes za sebe da si koristila sc da bi sreale nove ljude u zivotu?  
[8:10:02 PM] SC\_User: ne  
[8:10:42 PM] Novi Covek: e ok, hval ti za sve ovo.  
(12)  
[6:28:28 PM] Novi Covek: aha ok  
[6:28:30 PM] Novi Covek: onda cemo sad  
[6:28:42 PM] SC\_user: kako ti kazes  
[6:28:45 PM] Novi Covek: haha  
[6:29:58 PM] Novi Covek: cek samo da najdem tvoje pismo  
[6:30:01 PM] Novi Covek: ali nesto mi ne radi  
[6:30:15 PM] SC\_user: hoces ponovo da ti posaljem  
[6:30:27 PM] Novi Covek: ne ne  
[6:30:43 PM] Novi Covek: samo mi ponovo broj godina, nacionalnost, mesto stanovanja i broj godina obrazovanja  
[6:30:46 PM] Novi Covek: molim te  
[6:31:43 PM] SC\_user: 33, srbin, beograd, visa skola  
[6:31:54 PM] Novi Covek: e super  
[6:32:06 PM] Novi Covek: kako si pronasao serbian cafe? kako ej doslo do toga da ga koristis?  
[6:33:18 PM] SC\_user: koristio ga je ortak koji je gastos(izvini na izrazu) i koja mi je pricao da ima svacega  
[6:33:29 PM] Novi Covek: haha  
[6:33:36 PM] Novi Covek: ma ok gastos je sasvim cool izraz  
[6:33:48 PM] Novi Covek: a zasto ti koristis Serbina cafe? iz kojih motiva?

[6:35:30 PM] SC\_user: da se svadjam kao covek, da to ne moram da radim sa ukucanima i prijateljima.da kazem ili naopisem nesto sto ce procitati veci broj ljudi od onih koji su u mojoj okolini,da sa ljudima koji imaju manje vise ista interesoavnja podleim misljenje...

[6:35:57 PM] Novi Covek: zanimljivo?

[6:36:01 PM] SC\_user: izvini na pravopisnim greskama trudim se da brzo kucam ali mi ocigledno ne ide

[6:36:08 PM] Novi Covek: sve je oke

[6:36:29 PM] Novi Covek: znaci samo zbog toga da pricas sa vecim rbojem ljudi i da na miru pricas

[6:36:45 PM] Novi Covek: i koje diskusije citas? kojim diskusijama doprinosis?

[6:36:50 PM] Novi Covek: sa kim se svadjas ;)

[6:37:35 PM] SC\_user: pazi mnogo mi je gruba ta tvoja recenica da pricam sa vecim brojem ljudi, krenucu od tvog pitanja poslednjeg pa cu uspeti mozda malo vise da ti p[ojasnim taj motiv

[6:37:51 PM] Novi Covek: ok, izvini niam htela da bude grubo

[6:39:39 PM] SC\_user: grubo u smislu da su strogo postavljene granice u tvom pitanju , a one tu ne mogu da budu tako krute nisam milio da si gruba...citam i ucestvujem u navijacima, srbija, beograd, amerika, new york, volim da se svadjam na politici, a cesto citam mada retko ucestvujem u braku i porodici a u tehnici i filmovima iskljucivo postavljam firektna pitanja na koje trazim odgovore tipa koji tel da kupim, koji film da gledam

[6:40:15 PM] SC\_user: obozavam da se svadjam na politici

[6:40:18 PM] Novi Covek: zanimljivo! znaci neka razmena misljenja?

[6:42:17 PM] SC\_user: pa ja kapiram da tamo ima malo diskusija sa kvalitetnim razmenama misljenja.moje iskustvo mi kaze da su najbolje diskusije one koje su strogo fokusirane na odredjen stvari tipa avijacija. svuda je manje ili vise utemeljeno pravilo ovako ja mislim i to je ispravno, ali ako se nadje neko noramalan onda ta diskusija moze da bude kako ti kazes i razmena misljenja

[6:42:40 PM] SC\_user: kvalitetna razmena misljenja

[6:43:04 PM] Novi Covek: a otkud znas da ce n apoltici biti svadja? i sto ti je zanimljivo da se svadjas sa gastosima?

[6:47:13 PM] SC\_user: da li su top moje predrasude ne znam , ali proscnog diskutanta sa politike zamisljam ovako-emigrirao polovinom 90-tih. ispustio mladost ovde, ispustio zivot tamo, besan zbog toga, zapad mu je kriv za sve, srbi su nebeski narod i treba da se ratuje da bi vratio sve sto mu je oteto ajde da ratujemo ali da ja ostanem u inostranstvu i da navijam. u srbiji je sada gore nego pod slobom za to su iskljucivo krivi oni koji su dosli na vlast posle slobe, pod slobom se bolje zivelo. ja volim srbiju i sve sto je srpsko , ali nosim najk umesto borova i vozim renoa umesto juga u srbiju dodjem jednom godisnje na deset dana.

[6:48:17 PM] Novi Covek: haha ok

[6:48:29 PM] SC\_user: i onda takav tip krene da ti prica sta i kako treba da se radi i kako muceni amerikanac, englez francuz savija kicmu i nema za hleba a mi sa prosecnom platom imamo za zimovanje i letovanje

[6:48:38 PM] SC\_user: bas sam se naim gregom svadjao na tu temu

[6:48:49 PM] Novi Covek: ah greg je poseban

[6:49:00 PM] Novi Covek: zanimljivo ti je to

[6:49:02 PM] Novi Covek: tvoje

[6:49:17 PM] Novi Covek: kome se obracas na serbina cafeu?

[6:49:29 PM] SC\_user: svet

[6:49:50 PM] SC\_user: da prosirim

[6:50:24 PM] Novi Covek: celom svetu?  
[6:50:28 PM] Novi Covek: sc svetu?  
[6:51:06 PM] SC\_user: onima koji razumeju i umeju da saslušaju i nesto pametno kazu , odgovore...  
[6:51:19 PM] SC\_user: nikome precizno  
[6:51:37 PM] Novi Covek: a kakve infomracije mozes da nadjes na sc?  
[6:54:31 PM] SC\_user: vidi uglavnom na svakonkretna pitanja koja sam postavljao sam dobijao dobre i kvalitetne odgovore tako da bi odgovor na tvoje pitanje glasio sve ono sto sam trazio sam nasao.nalazio sam sve sto me je interesovalo, ali svakako da mozes da nadjes i svakojake gluposti  
[6:55:45 PM] Novi Covek: a sta je tebe zanimalo? za sta je tebi bilo korisno?  
[6:56:42 PM] SC\_user: da li mislis da li su mi te informacije donosila neke predosnti u zivotu ili bas hoces da znas sta sam sve konkretno trazio na sc  
[6:57:34 PM] Novi Covek: pa kad kazes da si se savetovao za kupovinu telefona, ili nesto za komp? jel to bilo neko interesovanje u kome ti je SC bio do koristi?  
[6:57:51 PM] Novi Covek: a i ako si saznao nesto sto ti je bila prednost, to bi bilo jako zanimljivo  
[7:02:44 PM] SC\_user: info koje su mi bile prdnosti sam nalazio na strani humora gde sam nalazio extra dobre viceve koje sam, posle prepicavao u drustvu ibio glavna faca 8-). takve informacije mi nisu bile prednost, ali dobre savete sam dobijao kada su bili u pitanju kvarovi racunara, automobila. dobre su informacije bile bas kod kupovine automobila da se payim odredenog motora, na sta precijno da obratim paznju kod kupovine bas tih kola itd.odlicne su informacije u vezi filmova koje treba pogledati jer su u pitanju filmovi koji su vise underground. ima mnogo stvari gde je sc bio od koristi. cak i primena odredenog metoda treninga koji eto i dan danas koristim a nasao sam na sc uvod i pocetak ali i putokaz za dalje  
[7:03:49 PM] Novi Covek: bas zanimljivo moram ti reci  
[7:04:15 PM] Novi Covek: da li si ostvario neka nova poznanstva na sc zahvaljujci tvojoj aktivnosti na disusijama SC?  
[7:04:23 PM] SC\_user: ne  
[7:05:31 PM] SC\_user: misl;im ti si prva sa kojom kontaktiram posle kontakta na sc  
[7:06:34 PM] Novi Covek: a kako bi okarakterisao da tvoje online aktvnost na serbina cafeu utice na tvoj zivot?  
[7:07:48 PM] SC\_user: sem onih viceva gore nesto i ne utice.  
[7:08:14 PM] Novi Covek: ne koristis s da bi sreo neke nove ljude u stvarnom zivotu?  
[7:08:23 PM] Novi Covek: nije ti se desilo da te neko na nekoga uputio i tako to  
[7:08:46 PM] SC\_user: ne.nisam u tom fazonu  
[7:09:19 PM] Novi Covek: e pa hvala puno cane  
[7:09:26 PM] Novi Covek: ti si bio pravo iznenadjenje  
[7:09:36 PM] Novi Covek: da se ne spremas mozda za selidbu van srbije?  
[7:09:37 PM] SC\_user: iz kog razloga iznenadjenje  
[7:09:53 PM] Novi Covek: pa nisam jos upoznala nikoga iz ovih intervjuja koji na takav nacin koristi sc  
[7:11:28 PM] SC\_user: van srbije za seda necu , mada kako je ovde krenulo nikad se ne zna. drago mi je ako sam ti pomogao.kada ocekujes da završis istrazivanje

## Interviews – The Local

[12:12:42 PM] TL\_User: now is great

[12:12:47 PM] Novi Covek: ok

[12:13:36 PM] Novi Covek: could you please tell me how you discovered The Local? how come you are using it?

[12:14:33 PM] TL\_User: i was searching for jobs online so typed in english speaking jobs sweden and it came up

[12:14:57 PM] TL\_User: i use it now mostly for the news rather than the jobs and also the property section

[12:15:28 PM] Novi Covek: How do you use discussion section? for what purpose?

[12:16:00 PM] TL\_User: i read about things i am interested in sometimes, visa advice or life in sweden i dont post very often tho

[12:16:14 PM] Novi Covek: why?

[12:16:42 PM] TL\_User: i dont have much to say because i have only lived in sweden for a short while

[12:16:53 PM] Novi Covek:

What do you expect from your activity on The Local?

[12:17:50 PM] TL\_User: not very much, i would like to find a house to buy from the property section, i would like to get some more information on life in sweden from the discussion section

[12:18:37 PM] Novi Covek: To whom you are addressing in The Local community? What kind of information you can find on The Local?

[12:19:56 PM] TL\_User: i am addressng a variety of people hopefully who have experiences of life in sweden and I have found out some information about swedish clases and what to expect in winter and where to buy spray on deoderant

[12:20:14 PM] Novi Covek: hahaha

[12:20:40 PM] Novi Covek: Can you name some more useful- practical information that you can find on TL discussions?

[12:21:25 PM] TL\_User: mostly it would be about swedish lessons, the format of them and when they start,

[12:21:54 PM] Novi Covek: and what about life in sweden, regulations, realestate etc?

[12:22:16 PM] TL\_User: mostly i have asked my boyfriend info like that as he is swedish

[12:22:29 PM] Novi Covek: ok

[12:22:38 PM] Novi Covek: Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community?

[12:23:07 PM] TL\_User: yes,

[12:24:09 PM] Novi Covek: Do you use TL discussions, interaction with other TL usars, to be informed of Sweden?

[12:24:32 PM] TL\_User: yes

[12:24:57 PM] Novi Covek: except deodorant, what kind of information you found very useful?

[12:26:11 PM] TL\_User: i found it usefull to know that you start at different levels in swedish language classes

[12:26:28 PM] Novi Covek: ok thanks

[12:26:38 PM] Novi Covek: Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?

[12:27:30 PM] TL\_User: yes i met 1 new person

[12:27:54 PM] Novi Covek: was that person outside of your circle of friends?  
[12:28:07 PM] TL\_User: yes  
[12:28:31 PM] Novi Covek: would you say that contact is important to you? from any perspective..  
[12:29:00 PM] TL\_User: yes it is nice to have an english speaking friend in a similar situation  
[12:29:12 PM] Novi Covek: yes, I would agree too  
[12:29:15 PM] Novi Covek: to  
[12:29:45 PM] Novi Covek: have you met this person in your real life, or the contact is just "virtual"?  
[12:30:03 PM] TL\_User: i have met them in real life  
[12:30:12 PM] Novi Covek: them? its not 1 person only?  
[12:30:39 PM] TL\_User: yes it is 1 person  
[12:30:52 PM] Novi Covek: ok, than its me. I got it wrong  
[12:31:07 PM] Novi Covek: how did you meet that person? what did you do?  
[12:31:24 PM] TL\_User: we went for coffee  
[12:31:42 PM] Novi Covek: but how you arranged your meeting? over the Local? or..?  
[12:31:52 PM] TL\_User: on facebook  
[12:32:11 PM] Novi Covek: aha, after you met on TL you moved your contact to Facebook?  
[12:32:18 PM] TL\_User: yes  
[12:32:40 PM] Novi Covek: what would you say, how your online activities in The Local influence your real life?  
[12:32:49 PM] Novi Covek: is there any influence?  
[12:33:00 PM] TL\_User: no not very much  
[12:34:09 PM] Novi Covek: you do not think that finding person to talk to in our new country of residence was big influence?  
[12:35:18 PM] TL\_User: it depends what big is, i met my boyfriend online and that was a big influence, but it have been a nice thing in my real life but not life changing  
[12:35:25 PM] TL\_User: the local  
[12:35:36 PM] TL\_User: not my boyfriend i would say that is big  
[12:35:46 PM] Novi Covek: yes mee too  
[12:36:01 PM] Novi Covek: Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life?  
[12:36:10 PM] TL\_User: occasionally  
[12:36:28 PM] Novi Covek: what does that mean? can you elaborate this a little bit?  
[12:36:35 PM] TL\_User: i did 1 time  
[12:36:48 PM] Novi Covek: do you think you might do it again?  
[12:37:08 PM] TL\_User: maybe  
[12:37:22 PM] Novi Covek: ok, amy thank you very much for being so kind to talk to me  
[12:37:34 PM] TL\_User: you are welcome  
[12:37:42 PM] Novi Covek: I just forget to ask you for your age, nationality, residence, and education  
[12:37:50 PM] Novi Covek: please if you can just add this  
[12:37:52 PM] Novi Covek: and we are done  
[12:38:38 PM] TL\_User: i am 26 , british, i am applying for residency based on my relationship and i am educated to degree level  
[12:38:50 PM] Novi Covek: where do you live now?  
[12:38:54 PM] TL\_User: sweden  
[12:39:08 PM] Novi Covek: yes, I know but can you tell me the city  
[12:39:21 PM] TL\_User: stockholm

[12:39:26 PM] Novi Covek: ok. thank you very much  
[12:39:31 PM] Novi Covek: you helped me a lot.  
[12:39:37 PM] TL\_User: have a nice day  
[12:39:46 PM] Novi Covek: if you know some toher users of tl willing to talk to me please let me know  
[12:39:51 PM] Novi Covek: Have a nice day  
[12:39:54 PM] Novi Covek: (F)  
(2)  
[9:14:31 AM] Novi Covek: hello An, just to tel you hello and thank you for accepting the chat  
[9:14:49 AM] Novi Covek: I am online and when you think it could suit you we can try it  
[9:14:54 AM] Novi Covek: :)  
[9:36:07 AM] TL\_User: Hi jasmine  
[9:36:19 AM] TL\_User: if you don't mind chat messaging  
[9:36:27 AM] TL\_User: that is fine with me  
[9:36:53 AM] TL\_User: my sound doesn't work  
[9:37:12 AM] Novi Covek: yes, this is exactly what I had in mind  
[9:37:15 AM] Novi Covek: :)  
[9:37:25 AM] TL\_User: perfect let's go  
[9:37:50 AM] Novi Covek: give me just 3 min  
[9:37:59 AM] TL\_User: ok  
[9:39:12 AM] Novi Covek: here I am  
[9:39:53 AM] TL\_User: start away in that case  
[9:40:45 AM] Novi Covek: if you do not mind I would love to ask you about your age, nationality, place of residence, and education (years in school)  
[9:41:04 AM] TL\_User: don't mind at all  
[9:41:20 AM] TL\_User: 39 female from Belgium  
[9:41:24 AM] Novi Covek: thanks  
[9:41:36 AM] TL\_User: studied up to MBA level  
[9:41:56 AM] TL\_User: and have contemplated phd but not started  
[9:42:08 AM] Novi Covek: thank you very much.  
[9:42:16 AM] TL\_User: i am in my 4th temporary accomodation  
[9:42:22 AM] Novi Covek: 4th??  
[9:42:32 AM] TL\_User: it's a converted garage in Djursholm  
[9:42:52 AM] Novi Covek: mm sounds interesting  
[9:43:10 AM] TL\_User: so far no joy in even getting viewings through what i see a totally dysfunctional system here  
[9:43:45 AM] Novi Covek: yes? what specifically?  
[9:43:54 AM] TL\_User: for an apartment nearer to the city with a minimum tenancy agreement of a year  
[9:44:28 AM] TL\_User: well the fact that you can only apply online and hope to receive an answer, which if you write in English you never or very rarely get  
[9:44:50 AM] TL\_User: i have applied for close to 500 appartments and have received less than 10 replies  
[9:44:50 AM] Novi Covek: oh that is true  
[9:45:07 AM] TL\_User: then the government not allowing people to rent out for longer than 2 years  
[9:45:19 AM] Novi Covek: yeah that is also too bad  
[9:45:20 AM] TL\_User: which makes the demand supply curve never match as such



[9:45:40 AM] TL\_User: but nobody seems to care too much to get their government to change it

[9:46:33 AM] TL\_User: i work for MTG and most of my Swedish colleagues didn't understand my frustration because for them it's normal

[9:47:41 AM] Novi Covek: what si MTG?

[9:48:18 AM] TL\_User: Modern Times Group, the company behind Viasat television channels and radio

[9:48:23 AM] TL\_User: www.mtg.se

[9:48:30 AM] Novi Covek: thanks

[9:48:36 AM] TL\_User: pretty big player in the media world

[9:49:02 AM] Novi Covek: yes!! I see

[9:49:09 AM] Novi Covek: congratulations

[9:49:20 AM] Novi Covek: tell me how you discovered The Local?

[9:49:25 AM] Novi Covek: how come you are using it?

[9:49:45 AM] TL\_User: my boss, who is American sent me the link

[9:50:08 AM] Novi Covek: why, for what purpose?

[9:50:11 AM] TL\_User: I like to know the local news but without swedish that wasn't possible

[9:50:59 AM] TL\_User: so to be able to understand what colleagues in the office were talking about i check in on it every day

[9:51:16 AM] TL\_User: as well as my local newspaper from ireland

[9:51:50 AM] TL\_User: i did join the discussion forum once or twice when i felt i had a meaningful contribution to make

[9:52:22 AM] TL\_User: i check ou the noticeboard for things i might want to buy cheaper than normal

[9:53:00 AM] Novi Covek: so you are using it for reading news and for forums + noticeborads

[9:53:03 AM] TL\_User: the forum on the local does have some nasty characters on from time to time which is pretty disturbing

[9:53:13 AM] Novi Covek: tell me more about it

[9:53:14 AM] TL\_User: yes I am

[9:53:34 AM] Novi Covek: frist what was the motivation to use forums/discussions

[9:54:31 AM] TL\_User: to make conversation I guess because after only 2 months here i don't have many people i could call friends

[9:54:51 AM] TL\_User: so the discussions i only enter when i have something meaningful to add

[9:55:01 AM] TL\_User: or the original question seems to be genuine

[9:55:22 AM] Novi Covek: what do you expect from your interaction on the local discussions?

[9:55:22 AM] TL\_User: for example and irish guy asked for advice on salary and housing etc

[9:55:28 AM] Novi Covek: yes?

[9:56:22 AM] TL\_User: and having just moved here from ireland i gave my advice and then some nasty character joined the discussion and started criticising irish people and became vry offensive

[9:56:41 AM] TL\_User: what do expect from a discussion that it is respectful and informative

[9:56:42 AM] Novi Covek: n

[9:56:44 AM] Novi Covek: hm

[9:57:05 AM] Novi Covek: that was not very nice m?

[9:57:17 AM] TL\_User: no it wasn't

[9:57:25 AM] TL\_User: nor what i expected

[9:57:33 AM] Novi Covek: what did you expect?

[9:57:43 AM] TL\_User: i was actually shocked there was no moderator cutting out this kind of behaviour

[9:57:51 AM] Novi Covek: and how you reacted on that? what was the reaction of other people

[9:58:10 AM] TL\_User: i would have blocked the guy from th forum

[9:58:26 AM] TL\_User: i withdrew from the discussion and kept an eye on it all the same

[9:58:28 AM] Novi Covek: hm, yes thats strange

[9:58:37 AM] TL\_User: but quite a few people reacted against it

[9:58:46 AM] Novi Covek: so to whom you are addressing on the lolac disussions?

[9:58:55 AM] TL\_User: which then lost the whole point of the original question

[9:59:25 AM] TL\_User: whichever the original writer is, that is who i think i address

[9:59:37 AM] TL\_User: in the end of the day every entry has a person behind it

[9:59:46 AM] TL\_User: whether we know thm personally or not

[9:59:53 AM] Novi Covek: yes I understand

[10:00:10 AM] Novi Covek: so that means you are not posting questions? you read posted and than contribute?

[10:00:30 AM] TL\_User: yes so far i haven't posted a question

[10:01:00 AM] Novi Covek: did you manage to give advice to the guy from Ireland?

[10:01:11 AM] TL\_User: probably because when goign through the history of the forum questions, none of mine or similar ones to the questions i might have got answered really

[10:01:27 AM] TL\_User: yes did give advice to the guy from ireland

[10:01:59 AM] TL\_User: i did post questions on the meetup group site for stockholm

[10:02:12 AM] Novi Covek: with what intention?

[10:02:33 AM] Novi Covek: and what kind of group is that?

[10:02:45 AM] TL\_User: well it was advice on finding an appartment so really to find help on how to go about it

[10:02:53 AM] Novi Covek: and?

[10:02:54 AM] TL\_User: but i got no answers there at all

[10:03:18 AM] TL\_User: and maybe that is also what stopped me from poting the same question on the local

[10:03:35 AM] Novi Covek: aha, what kidn of group is that? what do they do?

[10:03:45 AM] TL\_User: because from what i could read, nobody seemed to have the answer and most foreigners are in teh same boat

[10:04:09 AM] TL\_User: stockholm meetup is an online group of people in stockholm that want to meet up in person

[10:04:29 AM] TL\_User: so once per fortnight there is a drinks invite

[10:04:40 AM] TL\_User: then sometimes a movie or museum trip

[10:04:49 AM] Novi Covek: did you meet new people online thank to this group?

[10:05:01 AM] TL\_User: which is really great because you can choose which to attend

[10:05:08 AM] TL\_User: online no but in person yes

[10:05:10 AM] Novi Covek: you attended some

[10:05:22 AM] TL\_User: yes went oone drinks evening

[10:05:28 AM] Novi Covek: ah, so you met someone in person

[10:05:34 AM] TL\_User: and haven't made it back

[10:05:40 AM] Novi Covek: why?

[10:06:11 AM] TL\_User: thanks to my work schedule and once because i couldn't find the place and gave up after an hour of wandering the streets

[10:06:18 AM] Novi Covek: hahaha

[10:06:25 AM] TL\_User: happens a lot  
[10:06:27 AM] Novi Covek: well, that was a bad place  
[10:06:30 AM] Novi Covek: yes?  
[10:06:58 AM] Novi Covek: how you identified that meet-up group?  
[10:07:01 AM] TL\_User: well not really i foudn out the next day i had got off on the wrong tube stop and was veruy far away from it  
[10:07:11 AM] Novi Covek: I see  
[10:07:49 AM] TL\_User: i think i just found them randomly by doing a google search for meeting new people in stockholm  
[10:07:59 AM] TL\_User: i don't think that came recommended  
[10:08:12 AM] Novi Covek: ok. and did you manage to make some important contact?  
[10:08:16 AM] Novi Covek: in any sense  
[10:08:27 AM] TL\_User: i spend a serious amount of time online to keep in touch with friends at home  
[10:08:38 AM] Novi Covek: using the same website?  
[10:09:00 AM] TL\_User: met some interesting people and had interesting conversations but didn't meet them again  
[10:09:07 AM] Novi Covek: why?  
[10:09:14 AM] TL\_User: mainly skype and facebook for my friends back home  
[10:09:25 AM] TL\_User: no real reason why  
[10:09:31 AM] TL\_User: just left it a bit open  
[10:09:55 AM] TL\_User: and if it is meant to be a good friendship then it will come back and paths will cross again  
[10:10:22 AM] Novi Covek: Do you use The local discussions or meet up groups to meet new people in your real life?  
[10:10:32 AM] TL\_User: i haven't so far  
[10:10:59 AM] TL\_User: and given that there seems to be a lot of hate discussion going on on the local i would be reluctant to do so  
[10:11:09 AM] TL\_User: the meet up group yes  
[10:11:13 AM] Novi Covek: but you went out once thank to their meet up group?  
[10:11:19 AM] Novi Covek: ah es, now I see  
[10:11:41 AM] Novi Covek: ok. tell me please, what kind of information you can find on the local disussions?  
[10:12:26 AM] TL\_User: sometimes really randon things like yesterday some guy entered something about internet trolls  
[10:12:38 AM] TL\_User: which is unusual so i went and had a look at it  
[10:12:52 AM] Novi Covek: do you use it to be infomred about Sweden?  
[10:13:15 AM] TL\_User: then some regular questions and topics that could be of interest aroudn housing, drivign, and things concerning foreigners in sweden  
[10:13:32 AM] TL\_User: yes but probably from foreigners point of view  
[10:13:33 AM] Novi Covek: what kind of topics for foreigners?  
[10:14:07 AM] TL\_User: the cutlural mishaps or differences  
[10:14:17 AM] TL\_User: like the 'but this is Swden stuff  
[10:14:33 AM] TL\_User: information about how other people have adapted or are struggling  
[10:14:57 AM] Novi Covek: do you finf these inromation are useful?  
[10:15:02 AM] Novi Covek: find  
[10:15:06 AM] TL\_User: and that to me is of value because sometimes you think you are the only one going through this stuf and yet a whole bunch of other people apparently are too

[10:15:17 AM] TL\_User: yes sometimes the info is useful

[10:15:33 AM] Novi Covek: can you recall some usful tips you got there?

[10:15:58 AM] TL\_User: i think more from the point of view of understanding that it isn't you that they have a dislike against but just the way the swedish system works

[10:16:14 AM] TL\_User: something about dealing with the bank i foudn useful a good few weeks ago

[10:16:48 AM] TL\_User: i was going through a whole load of frustration trying to open a bank account and then read others were having similar problems and how to get around it

[10:17:17 AM] TL\_User: equally i am now exploring buying instead of renting and there is a whole selection of articles etc on the topic

[10:17:38 AM] TL\_User: i read some fo the blog posts as well which are often an amusing take on things here

[10:18:09 AM] TL\_User: i find at times my Swedish colleagues can be so serious and so super non-emotional so to read an emotional take on stuff can be good

[10:18:12 AM] Novi Covek: do you trust infomration you get in The Local discussions

[10:18:32 AM] TL\_User: if it seems to be a balanced view yes

[10:18:45 AM] Novi Covek: how do you make an estimation?

[10:19:01 AM] Novi Covek: what does "balanced" mean ??

[10:19:25 AM] TL\_User: if it fits with what i had heard in other places

[10:20:29 AM] TL\_User: so that it doesn't seem like someone with a particular reason behind it is promoting their pitch or point of view

[10:20:58 AM] Novi Covek: so is it useful what they say on the local or not?

[10:21:04 AM] Novi Covek: what si your perception?

[10:21:08 AM] TL\_User: yes it is

[10:21:30 AM] TL\_User: from an information about sweden point of view it is useful

[10:21:40 AM] TL\_User: and keeping up to date with news

[10:21:53 AM] TL\_User: hints and tips for living i find useful

[10:21:56 AM] Novi Covek: news where?

[10:22:06 AM] TL\_User: news in sweden

[10:22:10 AM] Novi Covek: yeah

[10:22:28 AM] TL\_User: they don't cover international news

[10:22:41 AM] Novi Covek: can you tell me how do you see your online activity on the Local influence your real life?

[10:23:34 AM] TL\_User: i guess it woudl give me insight into some of the thigns that are considered normal here and with that in mind I tend to be calmer about things in real life

[10:24:23 AM] TL\_User: but really changing thanks to the local maybe not

[10:24:56 AM] TL\_User: it makes you feel part of a segment of swedish society namely the expat one

[10:25:11 AM] Novi Covek: expat?

[10:25:28 AM] Novi Covek: the local brings you closer to expats?

[10:25:32 AM] TL\_User: people living away from original country

[10:26:14 AM] Novi Covek: yes I know the term, I was just wondering do you find the local responsible to being part of that group up to some extent

[10:27:04 AM] TL\_User: yes because the news, forum and discussions are aimed at primarlufly english speakers, which tend to be expats and that you can very obviously see in teh forum and discussions

[10:27:12 AM] TL\_User: so yes absolutely

[10:27:45 AM] TL\_User: it makes me feel as if i am at least part of a community where i do have other people going through similar challenges

[10:28:05 AM] TL\_User: because the questions, news and blogs often focus in those things  
(3)

- How did you find The Local?

I discovered The Local thru a really funny article to do with the difference between Swedes and Anglos that someone emailed me. It was very insightful and because it made me laugh I started to log on and read it regularly. I also started to use it as an online resource for my English Language students. I used it as a resource to set reading tasks as it was rich in vocab as well as cultural content.

- How come you are using it?

I got more involved with the local for personal use when I discovered the “discuss” feature. I discovered that there were a lot of people out there who were going thru the same adjustments of living in a foreign culture as I had experienced. I became intrigued and it functioned for me as an interesting cyber community.

- How do you use The Local? (for what purpose)

I use it for a sense of belonging in a culture where it is often very hard to meet people and because living in a foreign culture the thing one misses most of all is familiarity and friends who understand. I also use it to keep in touch with my life in Sweden when I am not there. It's actually a bit addictive.

\*\*\* how do you achieve “a sense of belonging” in a new culture by using TL discussions?

What I mean by a sense of belonging is the notion in a purely cerebral sense of being part of a cyber community where others are experiencing the same kinds of things that I do. These things - mostly cultural differences - are expressed and articulated and therefore gives a sense of “belonging” is a sense of not being “alone” with ones cross cultural experience.

To put it simply – the belonging comes from common experiences.

- Why do you use The Local?

Sometimes the posts are seriously funny and make me laugh. The posters often have the same kind of cultural background and sense of humour as me.. It makes me laugh hilariously at times and on needs that especially in what is essentially a very conservative and serious society. The posts also provoke anger at times and the possibility to shoot some opinions down in flames from behind the safety of a nick. Also it gives an opportunity to contribute and encourage and interact in a positive way with others..

\*\*\* What is interaction in a positive way with others? What do you mean by that? What happens in that kind of interaction?

I trust some. I check up on information to see if it sounds like they know what they are talking about.

After a few months or a year one gets to regard or "know" a few posters because of what they reveal about themselves, their opinions on issues, humour,

Responding to these posters on a particular thread sometimes leads to a dialogue and banter that is almost like flirting. One can feel a connection. This is what I consider a positive interaction – Once again it's the feeling of "I am not alone" It's not just ME that sees things this way – there are others out there" Also it's often a battle of wits which is very stimulating intellectually.

. For me it is a one dimensional relationship almost like having a pen pal but with usually total anonymity so you get to know a persona rather than a person. Also some posters have multiple nicks – (personae)

- What do you expect from your activity on The Local?

Absolutely nothing

- To whom you are addressing in The Local community?

Other expats or whoever has the same experience of living in more than one culture and using more than one language. Native Swedes who know what it's like to be an expat.

- What kind of information you can find on The Local?

The Local as a news source is limited to translated stories from other sources,. I don't use the Local for news. I read the odd blog but I mostly use the discussion forum where the information varies a lot but can be most useful for practical things like getting a drivers licence etc..

\*\*\* Can you name more useful, practical information that you can find on TL discussions?

Information about cultural norms from expats who have lived here long term is useful. For example I found out that it is frowned upon to drink alcohol during the week. This clarified to me why I got bad vibes off neighbors in my building after I had invited them in on a week night and offered alcohol with the food. I found out from other posters that it is totally acceptable on Sat. is taboo on Wednesday!

Another example is if you do land a job it is VERY important to attend all coffee breaks which are quite formal and organized. It is actually more important than the work you do as social interaction is

Other practical information that one can find is simply how to deal with the bureaucracy in Sweden which is quite complex

- Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community?

Some more than others. One gets to know them after a couple of years of reading their posts. But just about everything except for a couple of posters who only deal in facts, is subjective and anecdotal

- Do you use WC to be informed of Sweden?  
WC ??? whats that ??? If it's a typo and you mean TL the answer is YES to some degree..

\*\*\* Sorry TL. To what degree, can you elaborate that? How? For what purpose?

- Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?

No. But then I am not interested in meeting people in 3D. The Local for me fulfills the function of giving a sense of belonging or rather of not being alone in the expat experience.

I like the anonymity. I also like the intellectual engagement and banter that goes on between folk. It's like a cyber pub where you go to hang out and comment on the world without having to commit to other people. Its an exchange of opinions and views without any expectations. It's a matching of wits and a lot of intellectual posturing as well. It is often hilarious which is what keeps me coming back constantly to read it.

- Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of connoisseurs, thanks to activity in The Local community?

Connoisseurs ? Have no idea what you mean by that word in this context ? Anyhow the answer is NO. I have not made important contacts and have no desire to.

\*\*\*outside of your circle of friends, acquaintances..

- How your online activities in The Local influence your real life?

It's possible that TL has contributed to me feeling more negative about my experience of life in Sweden as an expat as it has highlighted a lot of things that people have articulated that I just ignored before and didn't dwell on. It causes one to think about negatives more. Expats use the Local to vent their frustrations a lot. But at the same time it gives an insight into what others have to go through which is fascinating and often comment worthy.

- Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life?

No although I could if I attended the meet ups that are arranged for people who want to do that. I would be curious to meet some characters who have captured my imagination but I wouldn't want to spoil my perceptions of them by meeting them in real life and finding that they are completely different to how I imagined.

But having said that its probably also because I am not as motivated to meet new people and invest in building new relationships because I am not "condemned" to living in

Sweden for the rest of my life. I actually enjoy having a contemplative time when I live in –Sweden. My life is busy enough in Sweden without a big social life. I feel my support base and strong friendships are in Australia and other parts of the world where I've lived over the years– Also I am of an age where a lot of acquaintances or a network of people is of no interest any longer.

\*\*\* do you know someone who is attending the meet-ups? anyone who made some contacts in a real life thanks to using TL discussions..

NO. I don't know anyone personally on the Local but I know from their posts that people do make contacts in real life but I'm not one of them. Also these meet ups seems to happen more in Stockholm and I'm on the west coast where it appears to be different for whatever reason.

(4)

[6:46:01 PM] Novi Covek: ok we can start now

[6:46:07 PM] TL\_User: perfect

[6:46:12 PM] Novi Covek: but maybe we will have interruptions, hopefully not

[6:46:21 PM] Novi Covek: just one moment please

[6:46:25 PM] TL\_User: ok

[6:47:11 PM] Novi Covek: can you please tell me how did you find the local ? how come you are using it?

[6:47:43 PM] TL\_User: i find it in an italian forum about sweden

[6:48:09 PM] Novi Covek: some user of italina forum mentioned it?

[6:48:40 PM] TL\_User: yes, this guys were giving informations about the advice side of the website

[6:49:09 PM] Novi Covek: what did they say about it

[6:49:49 PM] TL\_User: the local can give informations about rent and other useful thins on sweden

[6:50:03 PM] Novi Covek: are you using it for that purpose?

[6:51:14 PM] TL\_User: no, actually I use to read news, but not so frequently like before. Now I can speak swedish and I try to read swedish newspapers

[6:51:47 PM] Novi Covek: o bravo!

[6:52:07 PM] Novi Covek: but when you started using it how you used it?

[6:52:22 PM] TL\_User: reading advices and news

[6:52:50 PM] Novi Covek: what was your expectation from your activity on the local discussions?

[6:54:43 PM] TL\_User: to have more information, but i have to say that it is not a swedish community and it can be only an immigrant's space, something that i think I am going to leave

[6:55:12 PM] Novi Covek: why?

[6:56:50 PM] TL\_User: it is a space seen from our eyes, I am not sure if the swedish people use it but, for me, it is a kind of "first step"

[6:57:52 PM] Novi Covek: what do you mean when you say "its a space seen from our eyes"?

[6:57:53 PM] TL\_User: after some time we need to get in the community..and in my personal experience I need to look outside

[6:58:05 PM] TL\_User: I mean



[6:59:01 PM] TL\_User: it is a kind of "immigrants space", you can't see the swedish community from there, but only our representation

[6:59:09 PM] Novi Covek: ok

[6:59:10 PM] TL\_User: I hope i said it better

[6:59:44 PM] Novi Covek: but you said you were using it to be more informed, to whome you addressed on the local community for the infomration? and what kind fo infor you were trying to find?

[7:00:03 PM] Novi Covek: of info\* sorry

[7:01:30 PM] TL\_User: everything related to the life in sweden

[7:01:41 PM] TL\_User: rents, habits..

[7:01:47 PM] TL\_User: and so on

[7:02:16 PM] Novi Covek: ok, thanks, and to whome you were addressing for the info? anyone particular or..

[7:02:53 PM] TL\_User: no one, just advices and news

[7:03:25 PM] Novi Covek: so you were reading what was already published or you were posting questions?

[7:03:42 PM] TL\_User: i posted only two questions

[7:04:02 PM] Novi Covek: do you trust information (infomrants) you get in the local community

[7:05:24 PM] TL\_User: I can say yes for the first question, no for the second, I think I have to balance everytime

[7:06:17 PM] Novi Covek: what do you mean sorry, you do trust information but you do not trust informants?

[7:07:35 PM] TL\_User: no, I mean that I need to balance everytime if i can trust or not trust to information

[7:07:46 PM] Novi Covek: ah, ok

[7:08:06 PM] Novi Covek: how do you mkae the balance? how do you know that info is trustworthy?

[7:09:46 PM] TL\_User: making other research..for ex. if people give me informations about the best internet connection i uses to compare

[7:09:52 PM] TL\_User: i use to compare

[7:10:03 PM] TL\_User: them

[7:10:27 PM] TL\_User: going on their website..ecc

[7:10:50 PM] Novi Covek: when you posted questions, in disussions, when you had interactions with other TL users did you try fo be infomred of Sweden?

[7:11:02 PM] Novi Covek: to be\*

[7:11:15 PM] TL\_User: yes

[7:11:35 PM] Novi Covek: did you meet any new people thanks to the interaction on TL?

[7:11:43 PM] Novi Covek: any new online conntacts?

[7:12:03 PM] TL\_User: never, i tried to get a contact but they never answered back

[7:12:12 PM] Novi Covek: never?

[7:12:17 PM] Novi Covek: that is very intersting

[7:12:31 PM] Novi Covek: so you didnt manage to make not even one contact?

[7:12:43 PM] TL\_User: no

[7:12:50 PM] Novi Covek: why? what do you think?

[7:13:24 PM] TL\_User: why?

[7:13:50 PM] Novi Covek: do you have any idea why they never answered you back?

[7:14:13 PM] Novi Covek: if they are immigrants all in the same situation like you...

[7:16:36 PM] TL\_User: I think its because internet can create fast and easy contacts, it can help to meet other people but I t can also make inconsistens relations

[7:16:50 PM] TL\_User: you can contact everyone and disappear

[7:17:02 PM] Novi Covek: thats true

[7:17:12 PM] Novi Covek: where do you live now?

[7:17:17 PM] Novi Covek: stockholm?

[7:17:19 PM] TL\_User: stockholm

(5)

2. How you discovered The Local?

Friend recommended it to me, the same one who initially invited me over

3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?

I started looking for job, as my friend found it on the Local

4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?

Job, beer would be nice too

5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?

Mainly to English-speaker, they tend to rule here

6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?

Well that's quite difficult to answer , as I have seen even posts about cats and dogs favourite breakfast

7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?

Depending on the issue, and usually there are quite few reasonable opposite claims, you just pick one that suits you :-)

8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)

Well..., I thought I have answered to that one earlier, since yes I try to get Job

9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?

I would say very, or you speak Swedish good enough that you can get it from other places

10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?

Sure I did, we have little gathering every now and then

11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?

Not yet, my friend did :-)

12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?

I am not sure I understand, but surely I had plenty information that helped...like where is the doctor, and how do you get the card that allows you discount .....etc...

13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?

Yes my friend (Irish as well) is happily living with one Swedish girl he met through LOCAL, I was not that happy..... yet :-)

(6)

2. How you discovered The Local?

did a google search on Yahoo

3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?

interested in life in sweden and to give my opinions and to get people to listen to what i have to say

4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?  
to give information

5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?  
people who will listen to my opinions and people who wont listen to my opinions on life in Sweden

6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?  
opinions on life in sweden

7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?

yes I nevr trust them unless they are right

8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)

yes, I never use TL unless the discussions are about my opinions on Sweden

9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?  
no it is very useful for voicing opinions on life in sweden because it is a forum on life in sweden that is not very useful

10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?

no i meet people that i did never interact with

11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?

yes, i interacted with people that i meet

12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?

i feel lik my opinions on life in sweden are being listened to by people who have a life in sweden

13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?

yes i always never interact with online contacts and people i never met with

(7)

2. How you discovered The Local?

can't remember

3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?

because everyone needs interaction with others in the same circumstances ( expat)

4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?

an exchange of ideas and eperiences

5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?

other expats

6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?

information about how to go about things such as how the burocracy works, what is going on socially with other expats, tips on how to survive the winter, travel tips, places worth seeing.etc.

7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?

as much as yo trust any information from any source and the evaluation is made in the same way. by research or gut feeling.

8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)  
I already answered that in question 6
9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?  
yes. because it can be amusing to hear others opinions and to have a forum to express opinion and to debate issues.
10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?  
yes - i have met people online - have exchanged ideas and PM's directly with them online - but not in real life.
11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?  
no
12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?  
not at all. No
13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?  
No and No this is a very garbled question but I understand that english is not your first language

(8)

2. How you discovered The Local?  
google
3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?  
Bored.
4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?  
A laugh, information.
5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?  
Like minded people
6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?  
Bureaucratic information.
7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?  
Not really. I actually think there are some "official" people on here i.e. from other governments, trying to swing political views of foreigners in Sweden.
8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)  
No. It only provides tabloid stories and is gutter press.
9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?  
Very little of the time. It should be useful but the core dynamic of the forum is very poor as the same morons post to every thread and think they are the leaders of the free world.
10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?  
yes
11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?  
No,
12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?  
Have friends to go to pub with.

13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?

No

(9)

2. How you discovered The Local??

GOOGLE

3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?

FIRSTLU WHEN I MOVED TO FALUN, I HAVE TRIED TO FIND SOME FRIENDS OR CONTACTS NOT ON SWEDISH LANGUAGE

4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?

AFTER BEEING THERE FOR 2 YEARS , NOW I READ IT AS NEEWSPAPERS

5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?

MAINLY PEOPLE WITH SAME INTERESTS

6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?

HOW TO GET APARTMENT WHICH IS VERY DIFFICULT IN SWEDEN

7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?

I COMPARE IT TO THE OTHER SOURCES

8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)

ABOUT LAW, ABOUT CIVIL RIGHTS, AND ABOUT THINGS OF INTEREST

9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?

VERY USEFULL SINCE THERE IS NOT MANY PLACES WHERE YOU WOULD GET ANY INFORMATION(CURRENT) NOT ON SWEDISH

10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?

NOW I LIVE IN STOCKHOLM AND NOW I DID

11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?

I AM MORE AWARE OF THE GROUPS THAT HAVE SAME INTERESTS

12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?

I BOUGHT MY CAR THROUGH COINCIDENCE IN LOCAL

13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?

PLEANTY PEOPLE INCLUDING ME HAVE TRIED TO GET SOMEBODY AND MANAGED TO GO OUT FOR DATE

(10)

2. How you discovered The Local?

Google search for ex-pat community websites

3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?

not involved in 'TheLocal' discussions at present - have been in the past because having lived in a number of other countries, such website discussions have usually produced friendships & valuable info Sweden, I have found, is a rather 'closed' secretive country in terms of its people offering help and information, and it can be valuable to have another source of finding things out

4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?  
(See above) I also look for support from other 'expats' (from their comments) when you feel 'isolated' in another country.
5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?  
Other English-speaking expats, who may be able to offer help and friendship
6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?  
Info on Swedish affairs (tax, for example, price comparison websites)
7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?  
No Info I personally have obtained has usually been untrustworthy and wrong. Have found out by testing the information myself
8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)  
To an extent - yes. But the news items about Sweden have seemed disjointed to me. You read a news item one day, expecting some kind of follow up news - which never materialises.
9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?  
No - there is a tendency for the same contributors to monopolise discussions - and be somewhat intimidating if you express a contrary opinion. Have happily (& profitably) used other expat websites in the other countries I've lived in - but have to say thelocal.se has produced levels of misery I didn't think could exist!
10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?  
No - judging by the tone and manner of some contributors, wouldn't want to meet them!
11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?  
No
12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?  
No influence whatever - except perhaps encouraged me to want to leave Sweden earlier than I'd expected to
13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?  
No

(11)

2. How you discovered The Local?  
Through a friend who is also moved to sweden.
3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?  
To help others, to get advice and at times to simply touch base with people who have a similar culture and perspective of life as I do.
4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?
5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?  
Depends upon the question, etc.
6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?  
All types, just look and see.
7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?

Again depends upon the topic. Political information - no. Information on how something in sweden works, where I can get something, etc. -Yes. Basically if it is factual I believe, if it is opinions oriented, it is exactly that.

8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)

Yes. Cultural differences, where I can find items I am looking for, how things work (ie. buying a house/ apartment, paying rent in an apartment, getting a drivers license, etc.).

9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?

Yes. For day to day issues of integrating into the swedish culture many persons are helpful and full of advice. It brings together people who are in the same situation (foreigners living in sweden).

10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?

Yes, which has also gone offline. Pub nights, etc.

11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?

No

12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?

Just by getting a bit of advice. Also its given me different perspectives of things to think about. If we are talking about the news on the local, it helps me to stay informed of whats going on.

13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?

Yes, typically a pub night. I know others that join these as well.

(12)

2. How you discovered The Local?

By trolling the internet.

3. How come you are involved in The Local Discussions? Why you are taking part in discussions? What's the purpose, motivation?

I have become involved in TL discussions to help clarify my ideas in matters that interest me, have written articles about them often, and even posted them on TL on occasion.

4. What do you expect from your interaction on The Local discussions?

Just improving my own and other people's understanding and knowledge.

5. To whom you are addressing in The Local community?

Posters who are really interested in deep politics, and posters who are seeking local information that I can provide.

6. What kind of information you can find on The Local discussions?

Articles about things going on in Sweden, and beyond which either TL or others, including myself, post.

7. Do you trust information (informants) you get in The Local community? How do you make the evaluation?

I trust some of the information and informants I see on T, but too much of it in discussions is suspect, and too many of them are essentially trolls, going on in a lark.

8. Do you use The Local to be informed of Sweden? (How? About what?)

Yes, I do when they concern Swedish affairs, especially those that the site provides. They are generally fairly reliable, cover a wide range of affairs, and are in a form that I can readily absorb. As for international affairs, I heavily upon the internet and other more traditional sources.

9. Would you say that using The Local discussions is useful? If yes: What for? If no: Why?

Yes, I generally find it helpful. It gives a big venue for ideas I develop, and hopefully persuades at least a few posters to change their opinions about matters I consider myself to be quite well informed about. And there are a lot of unhelpful opinions exposed in the process, but that is only to be expected, given my aims.

10. Did you meet new people online thanks to the interaction on The Local?

I attended one drinks meet-up where I met a few posters, but I must say that I have little in common with them, and doubt that I shall attend another. I have not met subsequently any of those I met at the get-together.

11. Did you make important contacts online, outside of your circle of friends/acquaintances, thanks to activity in The Local community?

No, I haven't but I suspect that a few people who have gotten in touch with me did so because of my posts on TL, but I have not asked them if this is so.

12. How your online activities in The Local influence, or influenced, your real life?

It has helped continue my professional life, long after I retired from being a college researcher and teacher. And given how old I am, and how active I have been, I consider this to be a decided plus in my life.

13. Do you use The Local to meet new people in real life? If yes, how? Do you know someone who used The Local for that purpose?

No.





## Summary

The thesis investigates the use of web communities by immigrants in their acquisition of social capital. The immigration and social capital are put together due to the positive effect that social capital has on immigrant integration. The general idea of our research is to analyse the interaction of two phenomena: (1) human migration, and (2) the IT revolution from the perspective of social capital acquisition. Admitting that IT is too broad a concept for the purpose of this study, we have decided to restrict our research to web sites and web communities that serve the needs of immigrants. Current research in the field of human interaction on the web indicates that the web is not only changing how people communicate, it is also changing with whom they communicate. The main goal of this study is to investigate the above mentioned change, and has led us to the following Problem Statement (PS).

*PS: To what extent do immigrants acquire social capital by using web communities?*

To be able to answer our PS, we formulate three research questions (RQs) presented in Chapter 1 and repeated here.

*RQ1: What is the motivation behind the immigrants' usage of the web?*

*RQ2: Is the acquisition of social capital from immigrants in web communities a tangible acquisition?*

*RQ3: What are the real-life effects for immigrants of their web community activities?*

We investigate two pathways of immigrant web communication: (1) bonding social capital web communities – i.e., investigating a group of immigrants on the web with the same origin background, and (2) bridging social capital web communities – i.e., investigating a group of immigrants on the web with the same country of residence.

Our research method is conducted by using three complementary methods of analysis: (1) descriptive analysis; (2) good practice analysis; and (3) interviews. To understand the various motivational factors for using the web, in quantitative descriptive analysis we first identify web spaces in the field of

immigration and then classify them. We continue the investigation of the two most representative web spaces identified, by using a qualitative method of good practice analysis. The investigation is carried out through a parallel ethnographic interpretive approach. We study the ways in which users interact on the web, and we analyse: (a) the content of that interaction; and (b) the acquisition of social capital. Finally, we perform interviews with the users of the two most representative web spaces in order to investigate qualitatively: how users perceive their web community activities; and how their online activities affect their lives offline.

In Chapter 2, we offer an overview of the existing literature on web communities, immigration, and social capital. We discuss the transformation of social interaction introduced by web communication, and the role that this transformation has played in the social integration process of immigrants. Furthermore, we introduce and discuss web communities and their characteristics. From there we move on to analyse the immigrants' social capital strategies on the web. The chapter closes with an insight into online and offline synergies that have brought significant changes to the lives of immigrants.

Chapter 3 deals with RQ1. It presents our analysis of the preferences and online behaviours of the immigrants. In order to investigate web communities among all the identified web spaces used by immigrants, we first define our research field. In our study we have followed two different groups of immigrants on the web. We have focussed (1) on a group of immigrants with the same origin who are living worldwide - the case of Serbian diaspora; and (2) on all immigrants who have made Sweden their host country. In order to obtain more insights into the usage of the web by immigrants we employ the following four methods with respect to our investigation of immigrant web sites and web communities:

- (a) identifying them;
- (b) listing them;
- (c) measuring them; and
- (d) ranking them.

After identifying and listing them, we investigate them based on three factors: location, classification, and technology. The classification is carried out by examining categories at two levels: (1) establishment motivation – the main motivation for running the specific web space; and (2) relationship orientation

– the relationship with the users of identified web spaces (member-initiated, organisation-sponsored, profit oriented, and non-profit oriented). Further, we divide the observed set of web spaces with respect to the following two variables: (a) ownership, and (b) main interest. Finally, in order to be able to understand the importance of the dynamics created by the web spaces, the collected set of web spaces is analysed with respect to two technological features: reach and traffic. Further analysis and discussion of our results provide answers to RQ1.

In Chapter 4, we deal with RQ2. We analysed the social capital acquisition indicators which describe the life of users in web communities. We have chosen the following five Key Performance Indicators (KPIs): (1) Community building, (2) Community norms and values, (3) Community identity and immigration issues, (4) Diffuse reciprocal activities, and (5) Community engagement. To perform our analysis of the KPIs we established seven criteria.

- Criterion 1: Instances of in-group pronouns (such as “us” and “we”).
- Criterion 2: Instances of shared topics.
- Criterion 3: Instances of roles played in the community, e.g., experts, information leaders; the roles that emerged are based on trust.
- Criterion 4: Instances of self-perception on being an immigrant.
- Criterion 5: Instances of a discussion on emerging facets of immigration.
- Criterion 6: Instances of helping.
- Criterion 7: Instances of interactions concerning health, advice, and fighting injustice.

The criteria are distributed as follows over the five KPIs.

- KPI 1 – Community building: Criterion 1 and Criterion 2.
- KPI 2 – Community norms and values: Criterion 3.
- KPI 3 – Community identity and immigration issues: Criterion 4 and Criterion 5.
- KPI 4 – Diffuse reciprocal activities: Criterion 6.
- KPI 5 – Community engagement: Criterion 7.

In this Chapter we offer conclusions on the KPIs as well as on the division between bonding and bridging social capital activity. Finally we answer RQ2.

Chapter 5 deals with RQ3. It presents the analysis of users' perceptions of their lives on the web. In order to analyse the real-life effects introduced to the users thanks to their online activity, we perform semi-constructed, synchronous online interviews. To be able to measure and compare the effects, we use the same system of measurement as we employed in Chapter 4, namely the five KPIs. The interview questions were designed in such a way as to offer the interviewees a chance to speak about the specific topic, and to express their feelings (in line with the KPIs) in whichever way they find most comfortable. A thorough analysis of the users' interviews enables us to answer RQ3.

In Chapter 6, we offer a summary of our research process. Further, we offer the conclusions and answers to the RQs.

Our answer to RQ1 reads as follows.

Web community interactive tools attract the greatest attention of users in the field of immigration. Immigrants themselves use the web as their space of expression, communication, and action. The immigrants' motivations for web usage are directed at bonding social capital and bridging social capital, simultaneously. The difference between bonding social capital on the web and bridging social capital on the web is not identified, except in the field of profit acquisition. This research has identified that bonding social capital web spaces are more motivated by profit than are bridging social capital web spaces.

Our answer to RQ2 reads as follows.

The acquisition of social capital from immigrants in the web communities is a tangible acquisition. As it emerges from the two immigrant web communities which we have studied, the usage of both communities is motivated by the acquisition of social capital.

Our answer to RQ3 reads as follows.

We distinguish three offline effects of the web communities of immigrants:

- (a) a living information centre,
- (b) a communication space,

(c) a relationship-building tool.

Our discussion of all three effects together results in creating an overall picture of immigrants' web activities. This enables us to answer our Problem Statement. Our answer to the PS reads as follows.

- (1) Immigrants acquire social capital by using web communities to a large extent, by using web communities in a practical manner, as tools that help in satisfying their needs (community belonging, helping and supporting each other, information, communication, and building relationships).
- (2) The results from this research have showed that web communities are the most influential actors in the field of immigration on the web (immigrants' web communities attract the most visitors of all immigrants' web spaces).
- (3) We have identified that the activities of bonding social capital and bridging social capital happen simultaneously during immigrants' web community activity.

Finally, also in Chapter 6, we compare and contrast theoretical concepts with the results from our study and, in so doing, we offer three ideas for further research.



## Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de rol van het gebruik van internetgemeenschappen door immigranten bij het verwerven van sociaal kapitaal. Sociaal kapitaal is relevant voor immigratie omdat het een positieve invloed heeft op de integratie van immigranten. Het onderzoek bestudeert twee fenomenen in samenhang: (1) de migratie van mensen en (2) de (revolutionaire) ontwikkeling van informatietechnologie (IT) vanuit het perspectief van het verwerven van sociaal kapitaal. IT is een zeer ruim begrip en voor de doeleinden van deze studie heeft de term slechts betrekking op de websites en de internetgemeenschappen die door immigranten worden gebruikt. Onderzoek op het gebied van de interactie van mensen op het internet wijst uit dat het internet niet alleen invloed heeft op hoe mensen communiceren maar ook met wie ze communiceren. Het hoofddoel van dit onderzoek is gericht op de bestudering van deze invloed, zoals die is verwoord in de volgende probleemstelling (PS).

PS: In welke mate verwerven immigranten sociaal kapitaal door middel van deelname aan internetgemeenschappen?

Om een antwoord te vinden op de probleemstelling worden in Hoofdstuk 1 drie onderzoeksvragen (OV's) geformuleerd.

- OV1: Wat is de motivatie achter het gebruik van het internet door immigranten?
- OV2: Is het verkrijgen van sociaal kapitaal door immigranten in internetgemeenschappen een aantoonbare verworvenheid?
- OV3: Wat zijn voor immigranten de reële effecten van hun activiteiten in een internetgemeenschap?

Twee soorten immigrantengemeenschappen op het internet zijn onderzocht: (1) gemeenschappen gericht op de verwerving van bindend sociaal kapitaal – een groep immigranten op het internet met dezelfde oorsprong en (2) gemeenschappen gericht op de verwerving van overbruggend sociaal kapitaal – een groep immigranten op het internet met hetzelfde land van vestiging.

De onderzoeksmethode valt uiteen in drie, elkaar aanvullende, methoden van onderzoek: (1) beschrijvend onderzoek; (2) gebruiksanalyse; en (3)



interviews. Om inzicht te verkrijgen in de verschillende motiverende factoren die aan het gebruik van het internet ten grondslag liggen worden allereerst in een kwantitatieve, beschrijvende analyse de internetsites in het domein van de immigratie onderscheiden en geclassificeerd. Daarna worden de twee meest representatieve internetsites geselecteerd als te onderzoeken internetgemeenschappen. Vervolgens worden ze onderworpen aan een kwalitatieve gebruiksanalyse, die is gebaseerd op een interpretatieve, etnografische benadering. De interacties van gebruikers van de internetgemeenschappen worden geanalyseerd aan de hand van (a) de inhoud van de interacties en (b) de verwerving van sociaal kapitaal. Tot slot worden interviews afgenomen bij gebruikers van de internetgemeenschappen om vast te stellen hoe zij hun on-line internetactiviteiten ervaren en hoe die activiteiten hun off-line levens beïnvloeden.

Hoofdstuk 2 geeft een overzicht van de literatuur over internetgemeenschappen, immigratie en sociaal kapitaal. De transformatie van sociale interactie in internetcommunicatie wordt besproken samen met de invloed daarvan op het sociale integratieproces van immigranten. Daarnaast wordt dieper ingegaan op het begrip internetgemeenschap en haar kenmerken. Het hoofdstuk vervolgt met een analyse van de strategieën die immigranten op het internet aanwenden om sociaal kapitaal te verwerven. Het hoofdstuk sluit af met een bespreking van de synergie tussen on-line en off-line ontwikkelingen die belangrijke veranderingen in het leven van immigranten met zich mee heeft gebracht.

Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt OV1. Het presenteert een analyse van de voorkeuren en de on-line activiteiten van immigranten. Als eerste wordt het onderzoeksveld afgebakend. De studie volgt twee groepen immigranten op het internet: (1) een wereldwijde gemeenschap van immigranten met eenzelfde oorsprong – de Servische diaspora en (2) de in Zweden gevestigde immigranten van diverse afkomst. Het internetgedrag van immigranten, dat wil zeggen het gebruik van internetsites, is in vier stappen in kaart gebracht.

- (a) Identificatie
- (b) Opsomming
- (c) Meting
- (d) Ordening

Na het identificeren en opsommen worden de internetsites doorgelicht op grond van drie factoren: locatie, classificatie en technologie. De classificatie is

uitgevoerd op basis van twee kenmerken: (1) reden voor oprichting (initiatief van gebruikers of van een organisatie), en (2) type relatie tussen de gebruikers (commercieel, non-profit). Daarnaast zijn de sites ingedeeld op grond van het interessedomein dat ze bestrijken, zoals cultuur, sport, en folklore. Tot slot is er gekeken naar enkele technische aspecten, te weten, bereik en verkeer. Aan de hand van de resultaten wordt een antwoord gegeven op OV1.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt OV2. Voor het vaststellen van de mate waarin sociaal kapitaal wordt verworven door immigranten in internetgemeenschappen worden hun on-line bijdragen aan de internetgemeenschappen geanalyseerd. Daartoe zijn vijf prestatie-indicatoren (*Key Performance Indicators*; KPI's) vastgesteld: (1) gemeenschapsvorming, (2) gemeenschapsnormen en – waarden, (3) gemeenschapsidentiteit en immigratiezaken, (4) wederkerigheid en (5) gemeenschapsengagement. De mate waarin een KPI van invloed is, wordt bepaald op grond van zeven criteria.

- Criterion 1: Voorkomen van interne-groep voornaamwoorden (zoals “ons” en “wij”).
- Criterion 2: Voorkomen van gedeelde onderwerpen.
- Criterion 3: Voorkomen van rollen in de internetgemeenschap, b.v. experts, informatieverstrekkers, en vertrouwensrollen.
- Criterion 4: Voorkomen van zelf-perceptie in de rol van immigrant zijn.
- Criterion 5: Voorkomen van discussies over immigratiezaken.
- Criterion 6: Voorkomen van (wederkerig) helpgedrag.
- Criterion 7: Voorkomen van interacties op het gebied van gezondheid, advies en bestrijding van onrechtvaardigheid.

De criteria zijn als volgt over de vijf KPI's verdeeld.

- KPI 1 – Gemeenschapsvorming: Criterion 1 en Criterion 2.
- KPI 2 – Gemeenschapsnormen en – waarden: Criterion 3.
- KPI 3 – Gemeenschapsidentiteit en immigratiezaken: Criterion 4 en Criterion 5.
- KPI 4 – Wederkerigheid: Criterion 6.
- KPI 5 – Gemeenschapsengagement: Criterion 7.

Het hoofdstuk baseert zijn conclusies op de analyse van de KPI's en op het onderscheid tussen activiteiten die zijn gerelateerd aan de verwerving van bindend en overbruggend sociaal kapitaal. Het sluit af met een antwoord op OV2.

Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt OV3. Het geeft een analyse van hoe gebruikers hun leven op internet zien. Om de invloed van deelname aan een internetgemeenschap op het dagelijkse leven in kaart te brengen zijn on-line, semigestructureerde interviews afgenomen bij de deelnemers. Dezelfde vijf KPI's als in Hoofdstuk 4 zijn gebruikt om de antwoorden van de deelnemers te analyseren. De interviewvragen zijn zo geformuleerd (in lijn met de KPI's) dat de geïnterviewden in staat waren om vrijelijk te praten over hun ideeën en gevoelens als deelnemers van de internetgemeenschappen. Aan de hand van de analyse van de antwoorden is een antwoord gegeven op OV3.

Hoofdstuk 6 vat het onderzoek samen en bespreekt de conclusies uit het onderzoek aan de hand van de antwoorden op de drie onderzoeksvragen.

Het antwoord op OV1 luidt als volgt.

Interactieve internetgemeenschappen krijgen de meeste aandacht van de immigranten. De immigranten gebruiken die gemeenschappen als een plek om zich te uiten, te communiceren en activiteiten te plannen. De motivatie van de immigranten om deel te nemen aan de gemeenschappen wordt gevoed uit een gelijktijdige behoefte aan bindend en overbruggend sociaal kapitaal. Het onderzoek laat geen verschillen zien tussen bindend en overbruggend sociaal kapitaal wat de internetgemeenschappen betreft, behoudens op het gebied van winstoogmerk. Internetgemeenschappen met een bindend sociaal kapitaal karakter hebben vaker een winstoogmerk dan internetgemeenschappen met een overbruggend sociaal kapitaal karakter.

Het antwoord op RQ2 luidt als volgt.

Het verkrijgen van sociaal kapitaal in internetgemeenschappen is voor immigranten een aantoonbare verworvenheid. Dat geldt voor beide typen internetgemeenschappen die in deze studie zijn onderzocht. Het gebruik van beide internetgemeenschappen wordt gemotiveerd door de wens sociaal kapitaal te verwerven.

Het antwoord op RQ3 luidt als volgt.

De resultaten laten drie soorten off-line effecten van internetgemeenschappen voor immigranten zien. De internetgemeenschappen zijn voor immigranten luiden als volgt:

- (a) Informatiecentra,
- (b) Communicatieruimtes,
- (c) Relatievormingsomgevingen.

De discussie over de drie effecten resulteert in een mooi overzicht van de internetactiviteiten van de immigranten. Op basis daarvan kan het volgende, gedifferentieerde antwoord op de probleemstelling gegeven worden.

- (1) Immigranten verwerven sociaal kapitaal door deelname aan internetgemeenschappen. De internetgemeenschappen dienen in praktische zin als gereedschap om in de behoeften van de immigranten te voorzien (behoefte aan gezamenlijkheid, hulp en ondersteuning, informatie, communicatie en relaties).
- (2) De resultaten laten zien dat internetgemeenschappen de invloedrijkste hulpmiddelen voor immigranten zijn op internet (internetgemeenschappen trekken het grootste aantal bezoekers van alle soorten websites voor immigranten).
- (3) Het onderzoek toont aan dat activiteiten gerelateerd aan bindend en overbruggend sociaal kapitaal tegelijkertijd plaatsvinden gedurende het gebruik van de internetgemeenschappen door de immigranten.

Tot slot worden in Hoofdstuk 6 de theoretische concepten afgezet tegen de bevindingen en conclusies van het onderzoek, hetgeen resulteert in drie aanbevelingen voor vervolgonderzoek.



## Curriculum Vitae

Jasmina Maric was born in Belgrade in Yugoslavia on 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1968. She studied Theoretical and Experimental Physics at the University of Belgrade (1987-1993). The bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia (1991-1999) and the humiliating governing by Milosevic's family motivated her first immigration attempt to Cyprus (1994). After coming back from Cyprus, she became one of the web pioneers in the Balkans. Her personal experience of immigration was a major influence on her subsequent life. In 1998 she published her first novel "*Cypriot Alphabet*" (Nolit). She was short listed for the NIN Book Prize (the most reputable book award in Serbia), and she was awarded the Year Best Novel award by Nolit (1999). The bombardment of Serbia in 1999 interrupted her writing career.

In 1999 she became a member of the online build and support team for what quickly became the world's leading mind games web site [www.msoworld.com](http://www.msoworld.com). That experience of online collaboration forever changed her professional ambitions. In 2000 she started The Showroom project in Belgrade, which helped disempowered and discriminated groups of young people to express themselves and to interact by using the new media (she wrote many journalistic articles about new media and communication). After the public assassination of the Serbian Prime Minister in 2003 she decided to close The Showroom project and move to Sweden. Based on family ties she applied for a Swedish residence visa in 2004. Going through a humiliating process of visa assessments inspired her second novel "*The Consolamentum*", which was written in 2004 and published by Rende in 2010. She was an assistant professor in web design and management at the Business School of Applied Studies (Valjevo, Spain) from 2004-2005. In 2005, she earned a Bachelor of Business Informatics degree (majoring in E-commerce) from the Business School of Applied Studies (Valjevo).

In 2005, she moved to Sweden. Once there she immediately started the "*Upgrade! Belgrade*" network that was part of *Upgrade! International* – a network of autonomous nodes committed to bridging cultural divides in the fields of art, technology, and culture. In 2006 she presented "*Upgrade! Network*" at the Ars Electronica Conference (Linz). In 2006 and 2007 she exhibited her new media art installations (Gothenburg, Sweden). She completed a two-year Master of Science (MSc.) course with a major in Applied IT at Chalmers University, Sweden in 2007. During the period 2005-

2010 she managed an international online collaboration team who developed many tailor-made web-based software solutions.

In 2011 she started her Ph.D research at the Tilburg Center for Cognition and Communication (TiCC), within the University of Tilburg. This research centre has as its focus questions relating to whether and how we might be able to interact with computers in a totally familiar and natural way, to communicate with them in exactly the same way as we do with people. In this sense the goal of TiCC is to *"Make the computer adapt to us, not the other way round."*

Jasmina is still passionate toward web-based software solutions and the social impacts that their usage can have on the offline life of its users. She enjoys mind games and nature, music and books.

Jasmina lives in Gothenburg with Davor and their son Vigor (born in 2007).

## SIKS Dissertation Series

### 1998

1. Johan van den Akker (CWI<sup>18</sup>) *DEGAS - An Active, Temporal Database of Autonomous Objects*
2. Floris Wiesman (UM) *Information Retrieval by Graphically Browsing Meta-Information*
3. Ans Steuten (TUD) *A Contribution to the Linguistic Analysis of Business Conversations within the Language/Action Perspective*
4. Dennis Breuker (UM) *Memory versus Search in Games*
5. E.W.Oskamp (RUL) *Computerondersteuning bij Straftoemeting*

### 1999

1. Mark Sloof (VU) *Physiology of Quality Change Modelling; Automated modelling of Quality Change of Agricultural Products*
2. Rob Potharst (EUR) *Classification using decision trees and neural nets*
3. Don Beal (UM) *The Nature of Minimax Search*
4. Jacques Penders (UM) *The practical Art of Moving Physical Objects*
5. Aldo de Moor (KUB) *Empowering Communities: A Method for the Legitimate User-Driven Specification of Network Information Systems*
6. Niek J.E. Wijngaards (VU) *Re-design of compositional systems*
7. David Spelt (UT) *Verification support for object database design*
8. Jacques H.J. Lenting (UM) *Informed Gambling: Conception and Analysis of a Multi-Agent Mechanism for Discrete Reallocation*

### 2000

1. Frank Niessink (VU) *Perspectives on Improving Software Maintenance*
2. Koen Holtman (TU/e) *Prototyping of CMS Storage Management*
3. Carolien M.T. Metselaar (UvA) *Sociaal-organisatorische gevolgen van kennistechnologie; een procesbenadering en actorperspectief.*
4. Geert de Haan (VU) *ETAG, A Formal Model of Competence Knowledge for User Interface Design*
5. Ruud van der Pol (UM) *Knowledge-based Query Formulation in Information Retrieval*
6. Rogier van Eijk (UU) *Programming Languages for Agent Communication*
7. Niels Peek (UU) *Decision-theoretic Planning of Clinical Patient Management*
8. Veerle Coup, (EUR) *Sensitivity Analysis of Decision-Theoretic Networks*
9. Florian Waas (CWI) *Principles of Probabilistic Query Optimization*

---

<sup>18</sup> Abbreviations: SIKS – Dutch Research School for Information and Knowledge Systems; CWI – Centrum voor Wiskunde en Informatica, Amsterdam; EUR – Erasmus Universiteit, Rotterdam; KUB – Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, Tilburg; KUN - Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; OU – Open Universiteit; RUL – Rijksuniversiteit Leiden; RUN – Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen; TUD – Technische Universiteit Delft; TU/e - Technische Universiteit Eindhoven; UL – Universiteit Leiden; UM – Universiteit Maastricht; UT – Universiteit Twente, Enschede; UU – Universiteit Utrecht; UvA – Universiteit van Amsterdam; UvT – Universiteit van Tilburg; VU – Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam.



10. Niels Nes (CWI) *Image Database Management System Design Considerations, Algorithms and Architecture*
11. Jonas Karlsson (CWI) *Scalable Distributed Data Structures for Database Management*

## 2001

1. Silja Renooij (UU) *Qualitative Approaches to Quantifying Probabilistic Networks*
2. Koen Hindriks (UU) *Agent Programming Languages: Programming with Mental Models*
3. Maarten van Someren (UvA) *Learning as problem solving*
4. Evgueni Smirnov (UM) *Conjunctive and Disjunctive Version Spaces with Instance-Based Boundary Sets*
5. Jacco van Ossenbruggen (VU) *Processing Structured Hypermedia: A Matter of Style*
6. Martijn van Welie (VU) *Task-based User Interface Design*
7. Bastiaan Schonhage (VU) *Diva: Architectural Perspectives on Information Visualization*
8. Pascal van Eck (VU) *A Compositional Semantic Structure for Multi-Agent Systems Dynamics*
9. Pieter Jan 't Hoen (RUL) *Towards Distributed Development of Large Object-Oriented Models, Views of Packages as Classes*
10. Maarten Sierhuis (UvA) *Modeling and Simulating Work Practice BRAHMS: a multiagent modeling and simulation language for work practice analysis and design*
11. Tom M. van Engers (VUA) *Knowledge Management: The Role of Mental Models in Business Systems Design*

## 2002

1. Nico Lassing (VU) *Architecture-Level Modifiability Analysis*
2. Roelof van Zwol (UT) *Modelling and searching web-based document collections*
3. Henk Ernst Blok (UT) *Database Optimization Aspects for Information Retrieval*
4. Juan Roberto Castelo Valdueza (UU) *The Discrete Acyclic Digraph Markov Model in Data Mining*
5. Radu Serban (VU) *The Private Cyberspace Modeling Electronic Environments inhabited by Privacy-concerned Agents*
6. Laurens Mommers (UL) *Applied legal epistemology; Building a knowledge-based ontology of the legal domain*
7. Peter Boncz (CWI) *Monet: A Next-Generation DBMS Kernel For Query-Intensive Applications*
8. Jaap Gordijn (VU) *Value Based Requirements Engineering: Exploring Innovative E-Commerce Ideas*
9. Willem-Jan van den Heuvel (KUB) *Integrating Modern Business Applications with Objectified Legacy Systems*
10. Brian Sheppard (UM) *Towards Perfect Play of Scrabble*
11. Wouter C.A. Wijngaards (VU) *Agent Based Modelling of Dynamics: Biological and Organisational Applications*
12. Albrecht Schmidt (UvA) *Processing XML in Database Systems*
13. Hongjing Wu (TU/e) *A Reference Architecture for Adaptive Hypermedia Applications*
14. Wieke de Vries (UU) *Agent Interaction: Abstract Approaches to Modelling, Programming and Verifying Multi-Agent Systems*
15. Rik Eshuis (UT) *Semantics and Verification of UML Activity Diagrams for Workflow Modelling*
16. Pieter van Langen (VU) *The Anatomy of Design: Foundations, Models and Applications*

17. Stefan Manegold (UvA) *Understanding, Modeling, and Improving Main-Memory Database Performance*

### 2003

1. Heiner Stuckenschmidt (VU) *Ontology-Based Information Sharing in Weakly Structured Environments*
2. Jan Broersen (VU) *Modal Action Logics for Reasoning About Reactive Systems*
3. Martijn Schuemie (TUD) *Human-Computer Interaction and Presence in Virtual Reality Exposure Therapy*
4. Milan Petkovic (UT) *Content-Based Video Retrieval Supported by Database Technology*
5. Jos Lehmann (UvA) *Causation in Artificial Intelligence and Law - A modelling approach*
6. Boris van Schooten (UT) *Development and specification of virtual environments*
7. Machiel Jansen (UvA) *Formal Explorations of Knowledge Intensive Tasks*
8. Yongping Ran (UM) *Repair Based Scheduling*
9. Rens Kortmann (UM) *The resolution of visually guided behaviour*
10. Andreas Lincke (UvT) *Electronic Business Negotiation: Some experimental studies on the interaction between medium, innovation context and culture*
11. Simon Keizer (UT) *Reasoning under Uncertainty in Natural Language Dialogue using Bayesian Networks*
12. Roeland Ordelman (UT) *Dutch speech recognition in multimedia information retrieval*
13. Jeroen Donkers (UM) *Nosce Hostem - Searching with Opponent Models*
14. Stijn Hoppenbrouwers (KUN) *Freezing Language: Conceptualisation Processes across ICT-Supported Organisations*
15. Mathijs de Weerd (TUD) *Plan Merging in Multi-Agent Systems*
16. Menzo Windhouwer (CWI) *Feature Grammar Systems - Incremental Maintenance of Indexes to Digital Media Warehouses*
17. David Jansen (UT) *Extensions of Statecharts with Probability, Time, and Stochastic Timing*
18. Levente Kocsis (UM) *Learning Search Decisions*

### 2004

1. Virginia Dignum (UU) *A Model for Organizational Interaction: Based on Agents, Founded in Logic*
2. Lai Xu (UvT) *Monitoring Multi-party Contracts for E-business*
3. Perry Groot (VU) *A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis of Approximation in Symbolic Problem Solving*
4. Chris van Aart (UvA) *Organizational Principles for Multi-Agent Architectures*
5. Viara Popova (EUR) *Knowledge discovery and monotonicity*
6. Bart-Jan Hommes (TUD) *The Evaluation of Business Process Modeling Techniques*
7. Elise Boltjes (UM) *Voorbeeldig onderwijs; voorbeeldgestuurd onderwijs, een opstap naar abstract denken, vooral voor meisjes*
8. Joop Verbeek (UM) *Politie en de Nieuwe Internationale Informatiemarkt, Grensregionale politile gegevensuitwisseling en digitale expertise*
9. Martin Caminada (VU) *For the Sake of the Argument; explorations into argument-based reasoning*
10. Suzanne Kabel (UvA) *Knowledge-rich indexing of learning-objects*
11. Michel Klein (VU) *Change Management for Distributed Ontologies*

12. The Duy Bui (UT) *Creating emotions and facial expressions for embodied agents*
13. Wojciech Jamroga (UT) *Using Multiple Models of Reality: On Agents who Know how to Play*
14. Paul Harrenstein (UU) *Logic in Conflict. Logical Explorations in Strategic Equilibrium*
15. Arno Knobbe (UU) *Multi-Relational Data Mining*
16. Federico Divina (VU) *Hybrid Genetic Relational Search for Inductive Learning*
17. Mark Winands (UM) *Informed Search in Complex Games*
18. Vania Bessa Machado (UvA) *Supporting the Construction of Qualitative Knowledge Models*
19. Thijs Westerveld (UT) *Using generative probabilistic models for multimedia retrieval*
20. Madelon Evers (Nyenrode) *Learning from Design: facilitating multidisciplinary design teams*

## 2005

1. Floor Verdenius (UvA) *Methodological Aspects of Designing Induction-Based Applications*
2. Erik van der Werf (UM) *AI techniques for the game of Go*
3. Franc Grootjen (RUN) *A Pragmatic Approach to the Conceptualisation of Language*
4. Nirvana Meratnia (UT) *Towards Database Support for Moving Object data*
5. Gabriel Infante-Lopez (UvA) *Two-Level Probabilistic Grammars for Natural Language Parsing*
6. Pieter Spronck (UM) *Adaptive Game AI*
7. Flavius Frasinca (TU/e) *Hypermedia Presentation Generation for Semantic Web Information Systems*
8. Richard Vdovjak (TU/e) *A Model-driven Approach for Building Distributed Ontology-based Web Applications*
9. Jeen Broekstra (VU) *Storage, Querying and Inferencing for Semantic Web Languages*
10. Anders Bouwer (UvA) *Explaining Behaviour: Using Qualitative Simulation in Interactive Learning Environments*
11. Elth Ogston (VU) *Agent Based Matchmaking and Clustering - A Decentralized Approach to Search*
12. Csaba Boer (EUR) *Distributed Simulation in Industry*
13. Fred Hamburg (UL) *Een Computermodel voor het Ondersteunen van Euthanasiebeslissingen*
14. Borys Omelayenko (VU) *Web-Service configuration on the Semantic Web; Exploring how semantics meets pragmatics*
15. Tibor Bosse (VU) *Analysis of the Dynamics of Cognitive Processes*
16. Joris Graaumanns (UU) *Usability of XML Query Languages*
17. Boris Shishkov (TUD) *Software Specification Based on Re-usable Business Components*
18. Danielle Sent (UU) *Test-selection strategies for probabilistic networks*
19. Michel van Dartel (UM) *Situated Representation*
20. Cristina Coteanu (UL) *Cyber Consumer Law, State of the Art and Perspectives*
21. Wijnand Derks (UT) *Improving Concurrency and Recovery in Database Systems by Exploiting Application Semantics*

## 2006

1. Samuil Angelov (TU/e) *Foundations of B2B Electronic Contracting*

2. Cristina Chisalita (VU) *Contextual issues in the design and use of information technology in organizations*
3. Noor Christoph (UvA) *The role of metacognitive skills in learning to solve problems*
4. Marta Sabou (VU) *Building Web Service Ontologies*
5. Cees Pierik (UU) *Validation Techniques for Object-Oriented Proof Outlines*
6. Ziv Baida (VU) *Software-aided Service Bundling - Intelligent Methods & Tools for Graphical Service Modeling*
7. Marko Smiljanic (UT) *XML schema matching -- balancing efficiency and effectiveness by means of clustering*
8. Eelco Herder (UT) *Forward, Back and Home Again - Analyzing User Behavior on the Web*
9. Mohamed Wahdan (UM) *Automatic Formulation of the Auditor's Opinion*
10. Ronny Siebes (VU) *Semantic Routing in Peer-to-Peer Systems*
11. Joeri van Ruth (UT) *Flattening Queries over Nested Data Types*
12. Bert Bongers (VU) *Interactivation - Towards an e-cology of people, our technological environment, and the arts*
13. Henk-Jan Lebbink (UU) *Dialogue and Decision Games for Information Exchanging Agents*
14. Johan Hoorn (VU) *Software Requirements: Update, Upgrade, Redesign - towards a Theory of Requirements Change*
15. Rainer Malik (UU) *CONAN: Text Mining in the Biomedical Domain*
16. Carsten Riggelsen (UU) *Approximation Methods for Efficient Learning of Bayesian Networks*
17. Stacey Nagata (UU) *User Assistance for Multitasking with Interruptions on a Mobile Device*
18. Valentin Zhzhkun (UvA) *Graph transformation for Natural Language Processing*
19. Birna van Riemsdijk (UU) *Cognitive Agent Programming: A Semantic Approach*
20. Marina Velikova (UvT) *Monotone models for prediction in data mining*
21. Bas van Gils (RUN) *Aptness on the Web*
22. Paul de Vrieze (RUN) *Fundamentals of Adaptive Personalisation*
23. Ion Juvina (UU) *Development of Cognitive Model for Navigating on the Web*
24. Laura Hollink (VU) *Semantic Annotation for Retrieval of Visual Resources*
25. Madalina Drugan (UU) *Conditional log-likelihood MDL and Evolutionary MCMC*
26. Vojkan Mihajlovic (UT) *Score Region Algebra: A Flexible Framework for Structured Information Retrieval*
27. Stefano Bocconi (CWI) *Vox Populi: generating video documentaries from semantically annotated media repositories*
28. Borkur Sigurbjornsson (UvA) *Focused Information Access using XML Element Retrieval*

## 2007

1. Kees Leune (UvT) *Access Control and Service-Oriented Architectures*
2. Wouter Teepe (RUG) *Reconciling Information Exchange and Confidentiality: A Formal Approach*
3. Peter Mika (VU) *Social Networks and the Semantic Web*
4. Jurriaan van Diggelen (UU) *Achieving Semantic Interoperability in Multi-agent Systems: a dialogue-based approach*
5. Bart Schermer (UL) *Software Agents, Surveillance, and the Right to Privacy: a Legislative Framework for Agent-enabled Surveillance*

6. Gilad Mishne (UvA) *Applied Text Analytics for Blogs*
7. Natasa Jovanovic (UT) *To Whom It May Concern - Addressee Identification in Face-to-Face Meetings*
8. Mark Hoogendoorn (VU) *Modeling of Change in Multi-Agent Organizations*
9. David Mobach (VU) *Agent-Based Mediated Service Negotiation*
10. Huib Aldewereld (UU) *Autonomy vs. Conformity: an Institutional Perspective on Norms and Protocols*
11. Natalia Stash (TU/e) *Incorporating Cognitive/Learning Styles in a General-Purpose Adaptive Hypermedia System*
12. Marcel van Gerven (RUN) *Bayesian Networks for Clinical Decision Support: A Rational Approach to Dynamic Decision-Making under Uncertainty*
13. Rutger Rienks (UT) *Meetings in Smart Environments; Implications of Progressing Technology*
14. Niek Bergboer (UM) *Context-Based Image Analysis*
15. Joyca Lacroix (UM) *NIM: a Situated Computational Memory Model*
16. Davide Grossi (UU) *Designing Invisible Handcuffs. Formal investigations in Institutions and Organizations for Multi-agent Systems*
17. Theodore Charitos (UU) *Reasoning with Dynamic Networks in Practice*
18. Bart Orriens (UvT) *On the development an management of adaptive business collaborations*
19. David Levy (UM) *Intimate relationships with artificial partners*
20. Slinger Jansen (UU) *Customer Configuration Updating in a Software Supply Network*
21. Karianne Vermaas (UU) *Fast diffusion and broadening use: A research on residential adoption and usage of broadband internet in the Netherlands between 2001 and 2005*
22. Zlatko Zlatev (UT) *Goal-oriented design of value and process models from patterns*
23. Peter Barna (TU/e) *Specification of Application Logic in Web Information Systems*
24. Georgina Ramirez Camps (CWI) *Structural Features in XML Retrieval*
25. Joost Schalken (VU) *Empirical Investigations in Software Process Improvement*

## 2008

1. Katalin Boer-Sorbán (EUR) *Agent-Based Simulation of Financial Markets: A modular, continuous-time approach*
2. Alexei Sharpanskykh (VU) *On Computer-Aided Methods for Modeling and Analysis of Organizations*
3. Vera Hollink (UvA) *Optimizing hierarchical menus: a usage-based approach*
4. Ander de Keijzer (UT) *Management of Uncertain Data - towards unattended integration*
5. Bela Mutschler (UT) *Modeling and simulating causal dependencies on process-aware information systems from a cost perspective*
6. Arjen Hommersom (RUN) *On the Application of Formal Methods to Clinical Guidelines, an Artificial Intelligence Perspective*
7. Peter van Rosmalen (OU) *Supporting the tutor in the design and support of adaptive e-learning*
8. Janneke Bolt (UU) *Bayesian Networks: Aspects of Approximate Inference*
9. Christof van Nimwegen (UU) *The paradox of the guided user: assistance can be counter-effective*
10. Wauter Bosma (UT) *Discourse oriented summarization*
11. Vera Kartseva (VU) *Designing Controls for Network Organizations: A Value-Based Approach*

12. Jozsef Farkas (RUN) *A Semiotically Oriented Cognitive Model of Knowledge Representation*
13. Caterina Carraciolo (UvA) *Topic Driven Access to Scientific Handbooks*
14. Arthur van Bunningen (UT) *Context-Aware Querying; Better Answers with Less Effort*
15. Martijn van Otterlo (UT) *The Logic of Adaptive Behavior: Knowledge Representation and Algorithms for the Markov Decision Process Framework in First-Order Domains*
16. Henriette van Vugt (VU) *Embodied agents from a user's perspective*
17. Martin Op 't Land (TUD) *Applying Architecture and Ontology to the Splitting and Allying of Enterprises*
18. Guido de Croon (UM) *Adaptive Active Vision*
19. Henning Rode (UT) *From Document to Entity Retrieval: Improving Precision and Performance of Focused Text Search*
20. Rex Arendsen (UvA) *Geen bericht, goed bericht. Een onderzoek naar de effecten van de introductie van elektronisch berichtenverkeer met de overheid op de administratieve lasten van bedrijven*
21. Krisztian Balog (UvA) *People Search in the Enterprise*
22. Henk Koning (UU) *Communication of IT-Architecture*
23. Stefan Visscher (UU) *Bayesian network models for the management of ventilator-associated pneumonia*
24. Zharko Aleksovski (VU) *Using background knowledge in ontology matching*
25. Geert Jonker (UU) *Efficient and Equitable Exchange in Air Traffic Management Plan Repair using Spender-signed Currency*
26. Marijn Huijbregts (UT) *Segmentation, Diarization and Speech Transcription: Surprise Data Unraveled*
27. Hubert Vogten (OU) *Design and Implementation Strategies for IMS Learning Design*
28. Ildiko Flesch (RUN) *On the Use of Independence Relations in Bayesian Networks*
29. Dennis Reidsma (UT) *Annotations and Subjective Machines - Of Annotators, Embodied Agents, Users, and Other Humans*
30. Wouter van Atteveldt (VU) *Semantic Network Analysis: Techniques for Extracting, Representing and Querying Media Content*
31. Loes Braun (UM) *Pro-Active Medical Information Retrieval*
32. Trung H. Bui (UT) *Toward Affective Dialogue Management using Partially Observable Markov Decision Processes*
33. Frank Terpstra (UvA) *Scientific Workflow Design; theoretical and practical issues*
34. Jeroen de Knijf (UU) *Studies in Frequent Tree Mining*
35. Ben Torben Nielsen (UvT) *Dendritic morphologies: function shapes structure*

## 2009

1. Rasa Jurgelenaite (RUN) *Symmetric Causal Independence Models*
2. Willem Robert van Hage (VU) *Evaluating Ontology-Alignment Techniques*
3. Hans Stol (UvT) *A Framework for Evidence-based Policy Making Using IT*
4. Josephine Nabukenya (RUN) *Improving the Quality of Organisational Policy Making using Collaboration Engineering*
5. Sietse Overbeek (RUN) *Bridging Supply and Demand for Knowledge Intensive Tasks - Based on Knowledge, Cognition, and Quality*
6. Muhammad Subianto (UU) *Understanding Classification*
7. Ronald Poppe (UT) *Discriminative Vision-Based Recovery and Recognition of Human Motion*

8. Volker Nannen (VU) *Evolutionary Agent-Based Policy Analysis in Dynamic Environments*
9. Benjamin Kanagwa (RUN) *Design, Discovery and Construction of Service-oriented Systems*
10. Jan Wielemaker (UvA) *Logic programming for knowledge-intensive interactive applications*
11. Alexander Boer (UvA) *Legal Theory, Sources of Law & the Semantic Web*
12. Peter Massuthe (TU/e, Humboldt-Universitaet zu Berlin) *Operating Guidelines for Services*
13. Steven de Jong (UM) *Fairness in Multi-Agent Systems*
14. Maksym Korotkiy (VU) *From ontology-enabled services to service-enabled ontologies (making ontologies work in e-science with ONTO-SOA)*
15. Rinke Hoekstra (UvA) *Ontology Representation - Design Patterns and Ontologies that Make Sense*
16. Fritz Reul (UvT) *New Architectures in Computer Chess*
17. Laurens van der Maaten (UvT) *Feature Extraction from Visual Data*
18. Fabian Groffen (CWI) *Armada, An Evolving Database System*
19. Valentin Robu (CWI) *Modeling Preferences, Strategic Reasoning and Collaboration in Agent-Mediated Electronic Markets*
20. Bob van der Vecht (UU) *Adjustable Autonomy: Controlling Influences on Decision Making*
21. Stijn Vanderlooy (UM) *Ranking and Reliable Classification*
22. Pavel Serdyukov (UT) *Search For Expertise: Going beyond direct evidence*
23. Peter Hofgesang (VU) *Modelling Web Usage in a Changing Environment*
24. Annerieke Heuvelink (VU) *Cognitive Models for Training Simulations*
25. Alex van Ballegooij (CWI) *"RAM: Array Database Management through Relational Mapping"*
26. Fernando Koch (UU) *An Agent-Based Model for the Development of Intelligent Mobile Services*
27. Christian Glahn (OU) *Contextual Support of social Engagement and Reflection on the Web*
28. Sander Evers (UT) *Sensor Data Management with Probabilistic Models*
29. Stanislav Pokraev (UT) *Model-Driven Semantic Integration of Service-Oriented Applications*
30. Marcin Zukowski (CWI) *Balancing vectorized query execution with bandwidth-optimized storage*
31. Sofiya Katrenko (UvA) *A Closer Look at Learning Relations from Text*
32. Rik Farenhorst (VU) and Remco de Boer (VU) *Architectural Knowledge Management: Supporting Architects and Auditors*
33. Khiat Truong (UT) *How Does Real Affect Affect Affect Recognition In Speech?*
34. Inge van de Weerd (UU) *Advancing in Software Product Management: An Incremental Method Engineering Approach*
35. Wouter Koelewijn (UL) *Privacy en Politiegegevens; Over geautomatiseerde normatieve informatie-uitwisseling*
36. Marco Kalz (OUN) *Placement Support for Learners in Learning Networks*
37. Hendrik Drachsler (OUN) *Navigation Support for Learners in Informal Learning Networks*

38. Riina Vuorikari (OU) *Tags and self-organisation: a metadata ecology for learning resources in a multilingual context*
39. Christian Stahl (TU/e), Humboldt-Universitaet zu Berlin) *Service Substitution - A Behavioral Approach Based on Petri Nets*
40. Stephan Raaijmakers (UvT) *Multinomial Language Learning: Investigations into the Geometry of Language*
41. Igor Berezhnyy (UvT) *Digital Analysis of Paintings*
42. Toine Bogers (UvT) *Recommender Systems for Social Bookmarking*
43. Virginia Nunes Leal Franqueira (UT) *Finding Multi-step Attacks in Computer Networks using Heuristic Search and Mobile Ambients*
44. Roberto Santana Tapia (UT) *Assessing Business-IT Alignment in Networked Organizations*
45. Jilles Vreeken (UU) *Making Pattern Mining Useful*
46. Loredana Afanasiev (UvA) *Querying XML: Benchmarks and Recursion*

## 2010

1. Matthijs van Leeuwen (UU) *Patterns that Matter*
2. Ingo Wassink (UT) *Work flows in Life Science*
3. Joost Geurts (CWI) *A Document Engineering Model and Processing Framework for Multimedia documents*
4. Olga Kulyk (UT) *Do You Know What I Know? Situational Awareness of Co-located Teams in Multidisplay Environments*
5. Claudia Hauff (UT) *Predicting the Effectiveness of Queries and Retrieval Systems*
6. Sander Bakkes (UvT) *Rapid Adaptation of Video Game AI*
7. Wim Fikkert (UT) *Gesture interaction at a Distance*
8. Krzysztof Siewicz (UL) *Towards an Improved Regulatory Framework of Free Software. Protecting user freedoms in a world of software communities and eGovernments*
9. Hugo Kielman (UL) *A Politiele gegevensverwerking en Privacy, Naar een effectieve waarborging*
10. Rebecca Ong (UL) *Mobile Communication and Protection of Children*
11. Adriaan Ter Mors (TUD) *The world according to MARP: Multi-Agent Route Planning*
12. Susan van den Braak (UU) *Sensemaking software for crime analysis*
13. Gianluigi Folino (RUN) *High Performance Data Mining using Bio-inspired techniques*
14. Sander van Splunter (VU) *Automated Web Service Reconfiguration*
15. Lianne Bodenstaff (UT) *Managing Dependency Relations in Inter-Organizational Models*
16. Sicco Verwer (TUD) *Efficient Identification of Timed Automata, theory and practice*
17. Spyros Kotoulas (VU) *Scalable Discovery of Networked Resources: Algorithms, Infrastructure, Applications*
18. Charlotte Gerritsen (VU) *Caught in the Act: Investigating Crime by Agent-Based Simulation*
19. Henriette Cramer (UvA) *People's Responses to Autonomous and Adaptive Systems*
20. Ivo Swartjes (UT) *Whose Story Is It Anyway? How Improv Informs Agency and Authorship of Emergent Narrative*
21. Harold van Heerde (UT) *Privacy-aware data management by means of data degradation*
22. Michiel Hildebrand (CWI) *End-user Support for Access to Heterogeneous Linked Data*
23. Bas Steunebrink (UU) *The Logical Structure of Emotions*
24. Dmytro Tykhonov (TUD) *Designing Generic and Efficient Negotiation Strategies*



25. Zulfiqar Ali Memon (VU) *Modelling Human-Awareness for Ambient Agents: A Human Mindreading Perspective*
26. Ying Zhang (CWI) *XRPC: Efficient Distributed Query Processing on Heterogeneous XQuery Engines*
27. Marten Voulon (UL) *Automatisch contracteren*
28. Arne Koopman (UU) *Characteristic Relational Patterns*
29. Stratos Idreos(CWI) *Database Cracking: Towards Auto-tuning Database Kernels*
30. Marieke van Erp (UvT) *Accessing Natural History - Discoveries in data cleaning, structuring, and retrieval*
31. Victor de Boer (UvA) *Ontology Enrichment from Heterogeneous Sources on the Web*
32. Marcel Hiel (UvT) *An Adaptive Service Oriented Architecture: Automatically solving Interoperability Problems*
33. Robin Aly (UT) *Modeling Representation Uncertainty in Concept-Based Multimedia Retrieval*
34. Teduh Dirgahayu (UT) *Interaction Design in Service Compositions*
35. Dolf Trieschnigg (UT) *Proof of Concept: Concept-based Biomedical Information Retrieval*
36. Jose Janssen (OU) *Paving the Way for Lifelong Learning; Facilitating competence development through a learning path specification*
37. Niels Lohmann (TU/e) *Correctness of services and their composition*
38. Dirk Fahland (TU/e) *From Scenarios to components*
39. Ghazanfar Farooq Siddiqui (VU) *Integrative modeling of emotions in virtual agents*
40. Mark van Assem (VU) *Converting and Integrating Vocabularies for the Semantic Web*
41. Guillaume Chaslot (UM) *Monte-Carlo Tree Search*
42. Sybren de Kinderen (VU) *Needs-driven service bundling in a multi-supplier setting - the computational e3-service approach*
43. Peter van Kranenburg (UU) *A Computational Approach to Content-Based Retrieval of Folk Song Melodies*
44. Pieter Bellekens (TU/e) *An Approach towards Context-sensitive and User-adapted Access to Heterogeneous Data Sources, Illustrated in the Television Domain*
45. Vasilios Andrikopoulos (UvT) *A theory and model for the evolution of software services*
46. Vincent Pijpers (VU) *e3alignment: Exploring Inter-Organizational Business-ICT Alignment*
47. Chen Li (UT) *Mining Process Model Variants: Challenges, Techniques, Examples*
48. Withdrawn
49. Jahn-Takeshi Saito (UM) *Solving difficult game positions*
50. Bouke Huurnink (UvA) *Search in Audiovisual Broadcast Archives*
51. Alia Khairia Amin (CWI) *Understanding and supporting information seeking tasks in multiple sources*
52. Peter-Paul van Maanen (VU) *Adaptive Support for Human-Computer Teams: Exploring the Use of Cognitive Models of Trust and Attention*
53. Edgar Meij (UvA) *Combining Concepts and Language Models for Information Access*

## 2011

1. Botond Cseke (RUN) *Variational Algorithms for Bayesian Inference in Latent Gaussian Models*
2. Nick Tinnemeier (UU) *Organizing Agent Organizations. Syntax and Operational Semantics of an Organization-Oriented Programming Language*

3. Jan Martijn van der Werf (TU/e) *Compositional Design and Verification of Component-Based Information Systems*
4. Hado van Hasselt (UU) *Insights in Reinforcement Learning; Formal analysis and empirical evaluation of temporal-difference learning algorithms*
5. Base van der Raadt (VU) *Enterprise Architecture Coming of Age - Increasing the Performance of an Emerging Discipline.*
6. Yiwen Wang (TU/e) *Semantically-Enhanced Recommendations in Cultural Heritage*
7. Yujia Cao (UT) *Multimodal Information Presentation for High Load Human Computer Interaction*
8. Nieske Vergunst (UU) *BDI-based Generation of Robust Task-Oriented Dialogues*
9. Tim de Jong (OU) *Contextualised Mobile Media for Learning*
10. Bart Bogaert (UvT) *Cloud Content Contention*
11. Dhaval Vyas (UT) *Designing for Awareness: An Experience-focused HCI Perspective*
12. Carmen Bratosin (TU/e) *Grid Architecture for Distributed Process Mining*
13. Xiaoyu Mao (UvT) *Airport under Control. Multiagent Scheduling for Airport Ground Handling*
14. Milan Lovric (EUR) *Behavioral Finance and Agent-Based Artificial Markets*
15. Marijn Koolen (UvA) *The Meaning of Structure: the Value of Link Evidence for Information Retrieval*
16. Maarten Schadd (UM) *Selective Search in Games of Different Complexity*
17. Jiyin He (UvA) *Exploring Topic Structure: Coherence, Diversity and Relatedness*
18. Mark Ponsen (UM) *Strategic Decision-Making in complex games*
19. Ellen Rusman (OU) *The Mind's Eye on Personal Profiles*
20. Qing Gu (VU) *Guiding service-oriented software engineering - A view-based approach*
21. Linda Terlouw (TUD) *Modularization and Specification of Service-Oriented Systems*
22. Junte Zhang (UvA) *System Evaluation of Archival Description and Access*
23. Wouter Weerkamp (UvA) *Finding People and their Utterances in Social Media*
24. Herwin van Welbergen (UT) *Behavior Generation for Interpersonal Coordination with Virtual Humans On Specifying, Scheduling and Realizing Multimodal Virtual Human Behavior*
25. Syed Waqar ul Qounain Jaffry (VU) *Analysis and Validation of Models for Trust Dynamics*
26. Matthijs Aart Pontier (VU) *Virtual Agents for Human Communication - Emotion Regulation and Involvement-Distance Trade-Offs in Embodied Conversational Agents and Robots*
27. Aniel Bhulai (VU) *Dynamic website optimization through autonomous management of design patterns*
28. Rianne Kaptein(UvA) *Effective Focused Retrieval by Exploiting Query Context and Document Structure*
29. Faisal Kamiran (TU/e) *Discrimination-aware Classification*
30. Egon van den Broek (UT) *Affective Signal Processing (ASP): Unraveling the mystery of emotions*
31. Ludo Waltman (EUR) *Computational and Game-Theoretic Approaches for Modeling Bounded Rationality*
32. Nees-Jan van Eck (EUR) *Methodological Advances in Bibliometric Mapping of Science*
33. Tom van der Weide (UU) *Arguing to Motivate Decisions*
34. Paolo Turrini (UU) *Strategic Reasoning in Interdependence: Logical and Game-theoretical Investigations*

35. Maaïke Harbers (UU) *Explaining Agent Behavior in Virtual Training*
36. Erik van der Spek (UU) *Experiments in serious game design: a cognitive approach*
37. Adriana Burlutiu (RUN) *Machine Learning for Pairwise Data, Applications for Preference Learning and Supervised Network Inference*
38. Nyree Lemmens (UM) *Bee-inspired Distributed Optimization*
39. Joost Westra (UU) *Organizing Adaptation using Agents in Serious Games*
40. Viktor Clerc (VU) *Architectural Knowledge Management in Global Software Development*
41. Luan Ibraimi (UT) *Cryptographically Enforced Distributed Data Access Control*
42. Michal Sindlar (UU) *Explaining Behavior through Mental State Attribution*
43. Henk van der Schuur (UU) *Process Improvement through Software Operation Knowledge*
44. Boris Reuderink (UT) *Robust Brain-Computer Interfaces*
45. Herman Stehouwer (UvT) *Statistical Language Models for Alternative Sequence Selection*
46. Beibei Hu (TUD) *Towards Contextualized Information Delivery: A Rule-based Architecture for the Domain of Mobile Police Work*
47. Azizi Bin Ab Aziz (VU) *Exploring Computational Models for Intelligent Support of Persons with Depression*
48. Mark Ter Maat (UT) *Response Selection and Turn-taking for a Sensitive Artificial Listening Agent*
49. Andreea Niculescu (UT) *Conversational interfaces for task-oriented spoken dialogues: design aspects influencing interaction quality*

## 2012

1. Terry Kakeeto (UvT) *Relationship Marketing for SMEs in Uganda*
2. Muhammad Umair (VU) *Adaptivity, emotion, and Rationality in Human and Ambient Agent Models*
3. Adam Vanya (VU) *Supporting Architecture Evolution by Mining Software Repositories*
4. Jurriaan Souer (UU) *Development of Content Management System-based Web Applications*
5. Marijn Plomp (UU) *Maturing Interorganisational Information Systems*
6. Wolfgang Reinhardt (OU) *Awareness Support for Knowledge Workers in Research Networks*
7. Rianne van Lambalgen (VU) *When the Going Gets Tough: Exploring Agent-based Models of Human Performance under Demanding Conditions*
8. Gerben de Vries (UvA) *Kernel Methods for Vessel Trajectories*
9. Ricardo Neisse (UT) *Trust and Privacy Management Support for Context-Aware Service Platforms*
10. David Smits (TU/e) *Towards a Generic Distributed Adaptive Hypermedia Environment*
11. J.C.B. Rantham Prabhakara (TU/e) *Process Mining in the Large: Preprocessing, Discovery, and Diagnostics*
12. Kees van der Sluijs (TU/e) *Model Driven Design and Data Integration in Semantic Web Information Systems*
13. Suleman Shahid (UvT) *Fun and Face: Exploring non-verbal expressions of emotion during playful interactions*
14. Evgeny Knutov (TU/e) *Generic Adaptation Framework for Unifying Adaptive Web-based Systems*

15. Natalie van der Wal (VU) *Social Agents. Agent-Based Modelling of Integrated Internal and Social Dynamics of Cognitive and Affective Processes.*
16. Fiemke Both (VU) *Helping people by understanding them - Ambient Agents supporting task execution and depression treatment*
17. Amal Elgammal (UvT) *Towards a Comprehensive Framework for Business Process Compliance*
18. Eltjo Poort (VU) *Improving Solution Architecting Practices*
19. Helen Schonenberg (TU/e) *What's Next? Operational Support for Business Process Execution*
20. Ali Bahramisharif (RUN) *Covert Visual Spatial Attention, a Robust Paradigm for Brain-Computer Interfacing*
21. Roberto Cornacchia (TUD) *Querying Sparse Matrices for Information Retrieval*
22. Thijs Vis (UvT) *Intelligence, politie en veiligheidsdienst: verenigbare grootheden?*
23. Christian Muehl (UT) *Toward Affective Brain-Computer Interfaces: Exploring the Neurophysiology of Affect during Human Media Interaction*
24. Laurens van der Werff (UT) *Evaluation of Noisy Transcripts for Spoken Document Retrieval*
25. Silja Eckartz (UT) *Managing the Business Case Development in Inter-Organizational IT Projects: A Methodology and its Application*
26. Emile de Maat (UvA) *Making Sense of Legal Text*
27. Hayrettin Gürkök (UT) *Mind the Sheep! User Experience Evaluation & Brain-Computer Interface Games*
28. Nancy Pascall (UvT) *Engendering Technology Empowering Women*
29. Almer Tigelaar (UT) *Peer-to-Peer Information Retrieval*
30. Alina Pommeranz (TUD) *Designing Human-Centered Systems for Reflective Decision Making*
31. Emily Bagarukayo (RUN) *A Learning by Construction Approach for Higher Order Cognitive Skills Improvement, Building Capacity and Infrastructure*
32. Wietske Visser (TUD) *Qualitative multi-criteria preference representation and reasoning*
33. Rory Sie (OU) *Coalitions in Cooperation Networks (COCOON)*
34. Pavol Jancura (RUN) *Evolutionary analysis in PPI networks and applications*
35. Evert Haasdijk (VU) *Never Too Old To Learn - On-line Evolution of Controllers in Swarm-and Modular Robotics*
36. Denis Ssebugwawo (RUN) *Analysis and Evaluation of Collaborative Modeling Processes*
37. Agnes Nakakawa (RUN) *A Collaboration Process for Enterprise Architecture Creation*
38. Selmar Smit (VU) *Parameter Tuning and Scientific Testing in Evolutionary Algorithms*
39. Hassan Fatemi (UT) *Risk-aware design of value and coordination networks*
40. Agus Gunawan (UvT) *Information Access for SMEs in Indonesia*
41. Sebastian Kelle (OU) *Game Design Patterns for Learning*
42. Dominique Verpoorten (OU) *Reflection Amplifiers in self-regulated Learning*
43. Withdrawn
44. Anna Tordai (VU) *On Combining Alignment Techniques*
45. Benedikt Kratz (UvT) *A Model and Language for Business-aware Transactions*
46. Simon Carter (UVA) *Exploration and Exploitation of Multilingual Data for Statistical Machine Translation*
47. Manos Tsagkias (UVA) *Mining Social Media: Tracking Content and Predicting Behavior*
48. Jorn Bakker (TUE) *Handling Abrupt Changes in Evolving Time-series Data*

49. Michael Kaisers (UM) *Learning against Learning - Evolutionary dynamics of reinforcement learning algorithms in strategic interactions*
50. Steven van Kervel (TUD) *Ontology driven Enterprise Information Systems Engineering*
51. Jeroen de Jong (TUD) *Heuristics in Dynamic Scheduling; a practical framework with a case study in elevator dispatching*

## 2013

1. Viorel Milea (EUR) *News Analytics for Financial Decision Support*
2. Erietta Liarou (CWI) *MonetDB/DataCell: Leveraging the Column-store Database Technology for Efficient and Scalable Stream Processing*
3. Szymon Klarman (VU) *Reasoning with Contexts in Description Logics*
4. Chetan Yadati (TUD) *Coordinating autonomous planning and scheduling*
5. Dulce Pumareja (UT) *Groupware Requirements Evolutions Patterns*
6. Romulo Goncalves (CWI) *The Data Cyclotron: Juggling Data and Queries for a Data Warehouse Audience*
7. Giel van Lankveld (UT) *Quantifying Individual Player Differences*
8. Robbert-Jan Merk (VU) *Making enemies: cognitive modeling for opponent agents in fighter pilot simulators*
9. Fabio Gori (RUN) *Metagenomic Data Analysis: Computational Methods and Applications*
10. Jeewanie Jayasinghe Arachchige (UvT) *A Unified Modeling Framework for Service Design*
11. Evangelos Pournaras (TUD) *Multi-level Reconfigurable Self-organization in Overlay Services*
12. Marian Razavian (VU) *Knowledge-driven Migration to Services*
13. Mohammad Safiri(UT) *Service Tailoring: User-centric creation of integrated IT-based homecare services to support independent living of elderly*
14. Jafar Tanha (UVA) *Ensemble Approaches to Semi-Supervised Learning Learning*
15. Daniel Hennes (UM) *Multiagent Learning - Dynamic Games and Applications*
16. Eric Kok (UU) *Exploring the practical benefits of argumentation in multi-agent deliberation*
17. Koen Kok (VU) *The PowerMatcher: Smart Coordination for the Smart Electricity Grid*
18. Jeroen Janssens (UvT) *Outlier Selection and One-Class Classification*
19. Renze Steenhuizen (TUD) *Coordinated Multi-Agent Planning and Scheduling*
20. Katja Hofmann (UvA) *Fast and Reliable Online Learning to Rank for Information Retrieval*
21. Sander Wubben (UvT) *Text-to-text generation by monolingual machine translation*
22. Tom Claassen (RUN) *Causal Discovery and Logic*
23. Patricio de Alencar Silva (UvT) *Value Activity Monitoring*
24. Haitham Bou Ammar (UM) *Automated Transfer in Reinforcement Learning*
25. Agnieszka Anna Latoszek-Berendsen (UM) *Intention-based Decision Support. A new way of representing and implementing clinical guidelines in a Decision Support System*
26. Alireza Zarghami (UT) *Architectural Support for Dynamic Homecare Service Provisioning*
27. Mohammad Huq (UT) *Inference-based Framework Managing Data Provenance*
28. Frans van der Sluis (UT) *When Complexity becomes Interesting: An Inquiry into the Information eXperience*

29. Iwan de Kok (UT) *Listening Heads*
30. Joyce Nakatumba (TUE) *Resource-Aware Business Process Management: Analysis and Support*
31. Dinh Khoa Nguyen (UvT) *Blueprint Model and Language for Engineering Cloud Applications*
32. Kamakshi Rajagopal (OUN) *Networking For Learning; The role of Networking in a Lifelong Learner's Professional Development*
33. Qi Gao (TUD) *User Modeling and Personalization in the Microblogging Sphere*
34. Kien Tjin-Kam-Jet (UT) *Distributed Deep Web Search*
35. Abdallah El Ali (UvA) *Minimal Mobile Human Computer*
36. Than Lam Hoang (TUE) *Pattern Mining in Data Streams*
37. Dirk Börner (OUN) *Ambient Learning Displays*
38. Eelco den Heijer (VU) *Autonomous Evolutionary Art*
39. Joop de Jong (TUD) *A Method for Enterprise Ontology based Design of Enterprise Information Systems*
40. Pim Nijssen (UM) *Monte-Carlo Tree Search for Multi-Player Games*
41. Jochem Liem (UVA) *Supporting the Conceptual Modelling of Dynamic Systems: A Knowledge Engineering Perspective on Qualitative Reasoning*
42. Léon Planken (TUD) *Algorithms for Simple Temporal Reasoning*
43. Marc Bron (UVA) *Exploration and Contextualization through Interaction and Concepts*

## 2014

1. Nicola Barile (UU) *Studies in Learning Monotone Models from Data*
2. Fiona Tulyiano (RUN) *Combining System Dynamics with a Domain Modeling Method*
3. Sergio Raul Duarte Torres (UT) *Information Retrieval for Children: Search Behavior and Solutions*
4. Hanna Jochmann-Mannak (UT) *Websites for children: search strategies and interface design - Three studies on children's search performance and evaluation*
5. Jurriaan van Reijssen (UU) *Knowledge Perspectives on Advancing Dynamic Capability*
6. Damian Tamburri (VU) *Supporting Networked Software Development*
7. Arya Adriansyah (TUE) *Aligning Observed and Modeled Behavior*
8. Samur Araujo (TUD) *Data Integration over Distributed and Heterogeneous Data Endpoints*
9. Philip Jackson (UvT) *Toward Human-Level Artificial Intelligence: Representation and Computation of Meaning in Natural Language*
10. Ivan Salvador Razo Zapata (VU) *Service Value Networks*
11. Janneke van der Zwaan (TUD) *An Empathic Virtual Buddy for Social Support*
12. Willem van Willigen (VU) *Look Ma, No Hands: Aspects of Autonomous Vehicle Control*
13. Arlette van Wissen (VU) *Agent-Based Support for Behavior Change: Models and Applications in Health and Safety Domains*
14. Yangyang Shi (TUD) *Language Models With Meta-information*
15. Natalya Mogles (VU) *Agent-Based Analysis and Support of Human Functioning in Complex Socio-Technical Systems: Applications in Safety and Healthcare*
16. Krystyna Milián (VU) *Supporting Trial Recruitment and Design by Automatically Interpreting Eligibility Criteria*
17. Kathrin Dentler (VU) *Computing Healthcare Quality Indicators Automatically: Secondary Use of Patient Data and Semantic Interoperability*

18. *Mattijs Ghijsen (VU) Methods and Models for the Design and Study of Dynamic Agent Organizations*
19. *Vincius Ramos (TUE) Adaptive Hypermedia Courses: Qualitative and Quantitative Evaluation and Tool Support*
20. *Mena Habib (UT) Named Entity Extraction and Disambiguation for Informal Text: The Missing Link*
21. *Kassidy Clark (TUD) Negotiation and Monitoring in Open Environments*
22. *Marieke Peeters (UT) Personalized Educational Games - Developing Agent-Supported Scenario-based Training*
23. *Eleftherios Sidiropoulos (UvA/CWI) Space Efficient Indexes for the Big Data Era*
24. *Davide Ceolin (VU) Trusting Semi-structured Web Data*
25. *Martijn Lappenschaar (RUN) New Network Models for the Analysis of Disease Interaction*
26. *Tim Baarslag (TUD) What to Bid and When to Stop*
27. *Rui Jorge Almeida (EUR) Conditional Density Models Integrating Fuzzy and Probabilistic Representations of Uncertainty*
28. *Anna Chmielowiec (VU) Decentralized k-Clique Matching*
29. *Jaap Kabbedijk (UU) Variability in Multi-Tenant Enterprise Software*
30. *Peter de Kock (UvT) Anticipating Criminal Behaviour*
31. *Leo van Moergestel (UU) Agent Technology in Agile Multiparallel Manufacturing and Product Support*
32. *Naser Ayat (UVA) On Entity Resolution in Probabilistic Data*
33. *Tesfa Tegegne Asfaw (RUN) Service Discovery in eHealth*
34. *Christina Manteli (VU) The Effect of Governance in Global Software Development: Analyzing Transactive Memory Systems*
35. *Joost van Oijen (UU) Cognitive Agents in Virtual Worlds: A Middleware Design Approach*
36. *Joos Buijs (TUE) Flexible Evolutionary Algorithms for Mining Structured Process Models*
37. *Maral Dadvar (UT) Experts and Machines United Against Cyberbullying*
38. *Danny Plass-Oude Bos (UT) Making Brain-computer Interfaces Better: Improving Usability Through Post-processing*
39. *Jasmina Marić (UvT) Web Communities, Immigration, and Social Capital*

## TiCC Ph.D. Series

1. Pashiera Barkhuysen. *Audiovisual Prosody in Interaction*. Promotores: M.G.J. Swerts, E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 3 October 2008.
2. Ben Torben-Nielsen. *Dendritic Morphology: Function Shapes Structure*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, E.O. Postma. Co-promotor: K.P. Tuyls. Tilburg, 3 December 2008.
3. Hans Stol. *A Framework for Evidence-based Policy Making Using IT*. Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Tilburg, 21 January 2009.
4. Jeroen Geertzen. *Dialogue Act Recognition and Prediction*. Promotor: H. Bunt. Co-promotor: J.M.B. Terken. Tilburg, 11 February 2009.
5. Sander Canisius. *Structured Prediction for Natural Language Processing*. Promotores: A.P.J. van den Bosch, W. Daelemans. Tilburg, 13 February 2009.
6. Fritz Reul. *New Architectures in Computer Chess*. Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: J.W.H.M. Uiterwijk. Tilburg, 17 June 2009.
7. Laurens van der Maaten. *Feature Extraction from Visual Data*. Promotores: E.O. Postma, H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: A.G. Lange. Tilburg, 23 June 2009 (cum laude).
8. Stephan Raaijmakers. *Multinomial Language Learning*. Promotores: W. Daelemans, A.P.J. van den Bosch. Tilburg, 1 December 2009.
9. Igor Berezhnoy. *Digital Analysis of Paintings*. Promotores: E.O. Postma, H.J. van den Herik. Tilburg, 7 December 2009.
10. Toine Bogers. *Recommender Systems for Social Bookmarking*. Promotor: A.P.J. van den Bosch. Tilburg, 8 December 2009.
11. Sander Bakkes. *Rapid Adaptation of Video Game AI*. Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: P. Spronck. Tilburg, 3 March 2010.



12. Maria Mos. *Complex Lexical Items*. Promotor: A.P.J. van den Bosch. Co-promotores: A. Vermeer, A. Backus. Tilburg, 12 May 2010 (in collaboration with the Department of Language and Culture Studies).
13. Marieke van Erp. *Accessing Natural History. Discoveries in data cleaning, structuring, and retrieval*. Promotor: A.P.J. van den Bosch. Co-promotor: P.K. Lendvai. Tilburg, 30 June 2010.
14. Edwin Commandeur. *Implicit Causality and Implicit Consequentiality in Language Comprehension*. Promotores: L.G.M. Noordman, W. Vonk. Co-promotor: R. Cozijn. Tilburg, 30 June 2010.
15. Bart Bogaert. *Cloud Content Contention*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, E.O. Postma. Tilburg, 30 March 2011.
16. Xiaoyu Mao. *Airport under Control*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, E.O. Postma. Co-promotores: N. Roos, A. Salden. Tilburg, 25 May 2011.
17. Olga Petukhova. *Multidimensional Dialogue Modelling*. Promotor: H. Bunt. Tilburg, 1 September 2011.
18. Lisette Mol. *Language in the Hands*. Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, A.A. Maes, M.G.J. Swerts. Tilburg, 7 November 2011 (cum laude).
19. Herman Stehouwer. *Statistical Language Models for Alternative Sequence Selection*. Promotores: A.P.J. van den Bosch, H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: M.M. van Zaanen. Tilburg, 7 December 2011.
20. Terry Kakeeto-Aelen. *Relationship Marketing for SMEs in Uganda*. Promotores: J. Chr. van Dalen, H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotor: B.A. Van de Walle. Tilburg, 1 February 2012.
21. Suleman Shahid. *Fun & Face: Exploring non-verbal expressions of emotion during playful interactions*. Promotores: E.J. Krahmer, M.G.J. Swerts. Tilburg, 25 May 2012.
22. Thijs Vis. *Intelligence, Politie en Veiligheidsdienst: Verenigbare Grootheden?* Promotores: T.A. de Roos, H.J. van den Herik, A.C.M.

Spapens. Tilburg, 6 June 2012 (in collaboration with the Tilburg School of Law).

23. Nancy Pascall. *Engendering Technology Empowering Women*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, M. Diocaretz. Tilburg, 19 November 2012.
24. Agus Gunawan. *Information Access for SMEs in Indonesia*. Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotores: M. Wahdan, B.A. Van de Walle. Tilburg, 19 December 2012.
25. Giel van Lankveld. *Quantifying Individual Player Differences*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, A.R. Arntz. Co-promotor: P. Spronck. Tilburg, 27 February 2013.
26. Sander Wubben. *Text-to-text Generation Using Monolingual Machine Translation*. Promotores: E.J. Kraemer, A.P.J. van den Bosch, H. Bunt. Tilburg, 5 June 2013.
27. Jeroen Janssens. *Outlier Selection and One-Class Classification*. Promotores: E.O. Postma, H.J. van den Herik. Tilburg, 11 June 2013.
28. Martijn Balsters. *Expression and Perception of Emotions: The Case of Depression, Sadness and Fear*. Promotores: E.J. Kraemer, M.G.J. Swerts, A.J.J.M. Vingerhoets. Tilburg, 25 June 2013.
29. Lianne van Weelden. *Metaphor in Good Shape*. Promotor: A.A. Maes. Co-promotor: J. Schilperoord. Tilburg, 28 June 2013.
30. Ruud Koolen. *"Need I say More? On Overspecification in Definite Reference."* Promotores: E.J. Kraemer, M.G.J. Swerts. Tilburg, 20 September 2013.
31. J. Douglas Mastin. *Exploring Infant Engagement. Language Socialization and Vocabulary Development: A Study of Rural and Urban Communities in Mozambique*. Promotor: A.A. Maes. Co-promotor: P.A. Vogt. Tilburg, 11 October 2013.

32. Philip C. Jackson. Jr. *Toward Human-Level Artificial Intelligence – Representation and Computation of Meaning in Natural Language*. Promotores: H.C. Bunt, W.P.M. Daelemans. Tilburg, 22 April 2014.
33. Jorrig Vogels. *Referential choices in language production: The Role of Accessibility*. Promotores: A.A. Maes, E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 23 April 2014.
34. Peter de Kock. *Anticipating Criminal Behaviour*. Promotores: H.J. van den Herik, J.C. Scholtes. Co-promotor: P. Spronck. Tilburg, 10 September 2014.
35. Constantijn Kaland. *Prosodic marking of semantic contrasts: do speakers adapt to addressees?* Promotores: M.G.J. Swerts, E.J. Krahmer. Tilburg, 1 October 2014.
36. Jasmina Marić. *Web Communities, Immigration, and Social Capital*. Promotor: H.J. van den Herik. Co-promotores: R. Cozijn, M. Spotti. Tilburg, 18 November 2014.