ICT for Integration, Social Inclusion and Economic Participation of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities: Case Studies from Germany

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Case Study 3: 'Conditions of Occupational Success in the ICT Business – The Case of Turks', Stefan Welling and Bora Aksen

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Stefano Kluzer is the author of the Executive Summary of this publication. He and Alexandra Haché designed the study's overall specifications, oversaw and continuously interacted with the research group, and extensively reviewed and commented on the present report.

PREFACE

Launched in 2005 following the revised Lisbon Agenda, the policy framework 'i2010: A European Information Society for Growth and Employment' has clearly established digital inclusion as an EU strategic policy goal. Everybody living in Europe, especially disadvantaged people, should have the opportunity to use information and communication technologies (ICT) if they so wish and/or to benefit from ICT use by services providers, intermediaries and other agents addressing their needs. Building on this, the 2006 Riga Declaration on eInclusion[1] defined eInclusion as meaning "both inclusive ICT and the use of ICT to achieve wider inclusion objectives" and identified, as one of its six priorities, the promotion of cultural diversity in Europe by "improving the possibilities for economic and social participation and integration, creativity and entrepreneurship of immigrants and minorities by stimulating their participation in the information society."

In the light of these goals, and given the dearth of empirical evidence on this topic, DG Information Society and Media, Unit H3 (eInclusion) asked the Institute for Prospective Technological Studies (IPTS)[2] to carry out a study on ICT adoption and use by immigrants and ethnic minorities (henceforth IEM) in Europe and the related policy implications.

The study, entitled 'The potential of ICT for the promotion of cultural diversity in the EU: the case of economic and social participation and integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities', was designed and overseen by IPTS. It was carried out over twelve months in 2008 by a research consortium made up of IDC Italia Srl (main contractor), MIP Politecnico di Milano, Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme – TIC-Migration, Universität Bremen - Institut für Medien Kommunikation und Information, Universidad Sevilla – Laboratorio de Redes Personales y Comunidades, Sheffield Hallam University – Culture, Communication and Computing Research Institute. Cristiano Codagnone of Università Statale di Milano (Dipartimento di Studi Sociali e Politici) acted as scientific coordinator of the consortium.

The study entailed both desk-based research, especially of online services and other resources, and field work. The first step surveyed a wide range of ICT-based initiatives carried out for and/or by IEM in all EU27 Member States. A deeper investigation and analysis then followed of national policies, supply and demand aspects and case studies of specific experiences of ICT and digital service adoption and use by selected IEM groups[3] in four countries: France, Germany, Spain and the UK. A foresight workshop later explored trends, challenges and policy options, leading to the preparation of the final report.

The study's results are available in the following six publications (including this one):
- o Overview of digital support initiatives for/by IEM in the EU27,
- o ICT supply and demand for/by IEM in France, Germany, Spain and the UK,
- o Case studies on ICT uses for/by IEM (publications[4] on Germany, Spain and France),
- o The potential of ICT for the promotion of cultural diversity in the EU: final report.

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[1] Available at http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/events/ict_riga_2006/doc/declaration_riga.pdf

[2] IPTS is one of the seven research institutes of the European Commission's Joint Research Centre

[3] The groups selected by the research partners are: Argentinians (ES), Bangladeshis (UK), Bulgarians (ES), Ecuadorians (ES), Indians (FR, UK), Moroccans (ES), Poles (DE, UK), Romanians (ES), Russians (FR, DE), Turks (DE).

[4] For editorial reasons, the two ICT usage case studies from the UK have not been published separately, but have rather been included as Annex III of the 'ICT supply and demand' publication.

This is one of the three case study publications which, together with the one on ICT supply and demand, were produced and should be read as interim contributions to the final report.

All the publications are available at <ins>http://is.jrc.ec.europa.eu/pages/EAP/eInclusion.html</ins>

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is one of the outcomes of the study "The potential of ICT for the promotion of cultural diversity in the EU: the case of economic and social participation and integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities" carried out by the Institute for Prospective Technological Studies (IPTS) on the request of DG Information Society and Media, Unit H3 (eInclusion) of the European Commission. As part of the study, a broad overview of policies and ICT-related initiatives was initially developed for the EU27 Member States, followed by deeper research into ICT usage experiences in four selected countries: France, Germany, Spain and the UK.

This report provides an analysis of ICT usage experiences in Germany. As in the other country reports, three cases were selected – two to explore the role of ICT for digital and social inclusion and/or the socio-cultural integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities, and one to address aspects related to labour market and economic participation.

Selected cases and motivations

The following three case studies were carried out in Germany:

1. **ICT for social integration and economic participation in a low-income neighbourhood**
   Socio-cultural integration and social inclusion are often challenged by spatial segregation of disadvantaged IEM groups. In the Neue Vahr Nord neighbourhood in the city of Bremen, almost 50% of residents have a migration background from the Russian Federation. Many of them live in difficult conditions. Local institutions have undertaken various projects to re-develop this neighbourhood. Some of these projects aim to provide digital media/ICT access and skills to local residents; others use ICT to enable access to services that may improve the residents' living conditions. The use of ICT in these projects and their acceptance by IEM groups are the focus of this case study.

2. **Digital media/ICT for managing local mobility in migrant groups**
   Migrants appropriate different digital media, especially the mobile phone, to manage lives shaped by the pressures of mobility: from their country of origin to the recipient country; within the host country; and often to further countries. Migrants face the challenge of integrating themselves within their new living context and maintaining their own culture and/or articulating a new (hybrid) migrant identity, while being mobile. In principle, mobile phones and different Internet services offer an answer by making communicative mobility possible, i.e. by enabling migrants to stay in contact with their social networks at a sustainable cost while on the move, and by allowing trans-local communication among dispersed diaspora members. The case study investigates how and how far these possibilities are de facto appropriated by Turkish and Polish migrants in Germany.

3. **Conditions for occupational success in the ICT business – the case of Turkish immigrants**
   Jobs in the ICT industry are considered to provide secure employment and good career opportunities. These jobs strongly rely on well-developed ICT skills. By looking in depth at the experience of eight Turkish migrants in Germany, the case study investigates how they entered this sector, how they performed in it, and whether they faced particular difficulties or advantages due to their migration background.

Main findings: digital media/ICT in a low-income neighbourhood

Skill building, economic participation and community regeneration
Skills building, including basic media and ICT literacy skills, is a priority of many initiatives run in the Neue Vahr Nord. Most courses also teach people how to use ICT for finding job vacancies online or preparing applications. Such courses are mostly attended by women. Many residents with Russian backgrounds do not find regular jobs despite having these qualifications and suffer from poverty and social exclusion risks. The neighbourhood's overall situation, according to social indicators, has not improved over the last few years. The contribution of the ICT courses to the community's renewal and living conditions thus seems to have been rather low. However, one must consider that people who get new jobs, partly thanks to skills building measures, often move to higher status locations. Secondly, the neighbourhood's situation might be even more critical, had these measures not been taken.

ICT, civic engagement and reachability
ICT is an established tool for the institutions that serve Neue Vahr Nord's inhabitants. It is used mostly for internal organizational purposes, but attempts have also been made (with limited success) to offer services to the local residents, such as information on vocational training and job opportunities. Attempts to improve residents' civic engagement with the help of ICT, e.g. using online forums and similar applications to support participation and quasi online public debates, have also been made but they have apparently failed. However, there were only a few of these attempts and they were given low priority by the relevant players in the area. Instead, reaching and engaging with local residents is done by face-to-face interactions which aim to build trust and mutual understanding. Overall, the case study shows how difficult it is to reach immigrants from Russian backgrounds living in the area and to make them use the available services, be they delivered through ICT or not. The widespread use of mobile phones, especially among younger immigrants, represents a still-unexplored opportunity to reach them and should be kept in mind when planning social work and other projects in the neighbourhood.

Main findings: digital media/ICT for local mobility in migrant groups

In some cases, the members of diaspora communities researched in this study have changed residency (biographical local mobility) more than once, but their lifestyles are not generally marked by frequent moves across the globe. They also have high situative local mobility (the mobility over a day, week or month, mostly for work reasons), in most cases within a radius of 150 kilometres from where they currently live.

Complexity of communicative mobility
In this context, different media are used to manage different aspects of local mobility. The e-mail, the web and the telephone are used principally to manage biographical local mobility, as these media make it easier to 'stay in contact' from a distance, either at the level of personal communication (e-mail, telephone) or at the level of shared community communication (e.g. through online diaspora web sites and social networking sites). Together with e-mail, the mobile phone is the principle means used to manage situative local mobility, as it offers the opportunity to directly contact people who are on the move. Communicative mobility within diasporas is thus structured in a complex and highly differentiated way and depends on the appropriation of multifaceted media environments.

Pressures for communicative mobility and intensified connectivity
Communicative mobility is linked to different social pressures. The adoption of mobile phones, for instance, has been found to be driven by life-style (within the young Turkish hip-hop community), business (ICT professionals) and family pressures (several different cases). Such pressures affect an ever wider range of people, but they are particularly strong within diaspora communities for the high degree and/or relevance of local mobility among their members. As local mobility increases, so does the need to 'stay in contact', and different media (in particular, mobile phones/SMS and e-mail) both enable and lead to an intensification of communicative connectivity (more frequent contacts, often with more people, in more locations) with family members, close friends and social networks. Such continuous connectivity, especially within the diasporic family, often develops into a control relationship between parents and children or other family members.

The intensified communication achieved through the new media has a predictable bias in favour of diasporic links. However, the research found no evidence of an exclusive attention to diaspora and home country sources, or communications only with members of a particular ethnic group. In fact, communicative mobility was also found to support more intense exchanges with members of the host society.

Main findings: Turkish professionals in the information technology business

'Educational aliens' and 'educational natives'
For all but one of the eight interviewed ICT Turkish professionals, their migration background was not a handicap to finding ICT-related employment. However, acquiring the needed qualifications (university-entrance diploma, university degree, etc.) can be significantly hindered by a migration background. This is especially true for those who completed their education abroad ('educational aliens'). All of them faced problems in having their qualifications accredited by the German authorities and had to learn the German language quickly. Some of the 'educational natives' (Turks who graduated from a German grammar school in Germany or in another country) faced different forms of discrimination which made it more difficult for them to gain the needed qualification compared to their peers not from migration backgrounds.

Migrants and social capital in the ICT sector
'Educational natives' may face drawbacks in their school experience as their parents are often not familiar with the German educational system and do not know people who can advise them. The social capital of 'educational aliens', especially newly-arrived ones, is mostly limited. These conditions and the above problems might contribute to the fact that 'educational aliens' find it especially difficult to get jobs immediately that correspond to their qualifications. However, after gaining adequate language competences and the required professional knowledge, most of the interviewees reported that they faced no problems in getting an ICT job and apparently did not rely on social networks to reach their current positions. Individual engagement and specific support occasions (e.g. the help of an employment office consultant) were more important. Social software services (e.g. LinkedIn, Facebook and others) are opening up new opportunities in this respect.

Conclusions

The Neue Vahr Nord case shows that in a highly deprived area, with serious unemployment and other socio-economic problems, ICT seems to play a limited role in spite of its potential.

Basic computer literacy today is an almost indispensable precondition to finding a job and an increasing number of occupations require such competences. However, these competencies are not the only requirements. Especially in the early stages of migration, language deficits and the lack of recognition of previously acquired educational and vocational titles constitute major barriers to labour market access. The analysed cases of Turkish professional in the ICT industry show that these hurdles can be overcome, and that (advanced) ICT skills can lead to successful careers. But these examples cannot be generalized and further research is needed on the conditions and the contribution of ICT for successful economic participation of different IEM groups in different sectors.

Similarly, as we saw, despite high communicative mobility and connectivity, hence familiarity with the new media, the uptake of measures and services offered to local residents by institutions in Neue Vahr Nord, including ICT-related ones, is very limited and occurs (in the case of Internet access and ICT training courses) only when they are made physically available within the neighbourhood. Also, in order to activate people and foster civic engagement, face-to-face contacts are currently preferred for building trust and mutual relationships, with no use of ICT. On the other hand, while ICT seem to play only a minor role in delivering support services to the most disadvantaged local residents, they are very important for maintaining their personal support networks, for example by enhancing their communicative mobility. More research is thus needed to understand the barriers to the use of ICT-based services, especially in deprived communities, both on the supply and demand side (adequacy of service, accessibility, user skills, interest, etc).

INTRODUCTION: CASE STUDY SELECTION AND OVERVIEW

Our aim in this case study report is to make the rather general reflections of our country report more comprehensible (see Hepp and Welling 2009) and to reveal further aspects with importance for the underlying research topic that are not covered by the country report. To do this, we have undertaken three individual studies, focusing the appropriation of digital media/ICT within certain, more specific contexts of Turkish, Polish and Russian migrant groups in Germany.

While the term 'case study' is widespread in social methodology and media research, it is nevertheless a complex concept (cf. Hepp 2008). McCartney (1970: 30) defines a case study as "a descriptive report, analyzing a social unit as a whole (e.g. individual, family, organization, etc.) in qualitative terms." With a different focus, but in a comparable manner, Robert K. Yin defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 1994: 13). Systematizing case studies, Robert E. Stake (1994: 437) has proposed that we distinguish three types of case studies: (1) intrinsic, (2) instrumental, and (3) collective case studies. An intrinsic case study is undertaken because the researcher wants a better understanding of this particular case; the purpose is not theory building. An instrumental case study analyzes a particular case to provide insight into a more general issue or to redraw a generalization. The collective case study focuses on different cases to investigate a general phenomenon; in this sense, it is an instrumental study extended to several cases.

In the frame of such a general understanding of case studies we consider the studies undertaken by us both as instrumental as well as collective: They are instrumental as far as they focus on certain particular contexts to get a more detailed but nevertheless theoretically orientated insight of the appropriation of ICT/digital media by migrants. Additionally, focusing our case studies in total they provide – as we hope – in their interrelation a better, more general understanding of the appropriation of digital media within IEM groups/diasporas in Germany.

Based on such considerations we selected three case studies in a contrastive way. Our aim was the "triangulation" of different perspectives on the contextualised appropriation of digital media within very different IEM groups/diasporic communities (see table 1).

Title	Immigrant groups involved	Main Area directly addressed
Case study 1: The relevance of digital media/ICT for social integration and economic participation of IEM living in a low-income neighbourhood	• People with Russian migration background	• Civic engagement • Community re-generation • skill building
Case study 2: The relevance of digital media/ICT for managing local mobility in migrant groups	• People with Turkish (mainly), Polish and Russian migration background	• Communicative and local mobility • Community re-generation • Relational integration
Case study 3: Conditions of occupational success in the ICT business – the case of Turks	• People with Turkish migration background	• Acculturation • Skill building

Table 1: Overview case studies

Our **first case study** "The relevance of digital media/ICT for social integration and economic participation of IEM living in a low-income neighbourhood" is guided by the observation that socio-cultural integration and social exclusion are seriously challenged by an apparently ongoing spatial segregation of socially disadvantaged IEM groups. A nationally well-known neighbourhood where such phenomenon can be studied is the Neue Vahr Nord, a part of the Vahr that belongs to the city of Bremen. Almost 50% of the people who live there have a migration background, especially rooted in countries of the Russian Federation. Many of those people live in difficult live circumstances. For example, more than 50% of youth aged 15 and younger are on welfare according to recent statistics. This causes serious challenges for social inclusion.

Local community institutions have accepted this challenge, taken the initiative, and have been developing and undertaking various mainly project-based attempts – many including digital media/ICT – to support the social re-development of this neighbourhood. Beyond projects that focus on the use of digital media/ICT as a competence itself, like computer classes for different age groups or computer projects for kids, there are projects and/or initiatives following different rationales and using digital media/ICT to accomplish them, e.g. using the internet for retrieving information about services that are likely to help IEM to improve their living conditions.

The use of digital media/ICT in these projects and its acceptability for the addressed migrant groups are the focus of the first case study. Methods we applied over the course of the study are analysis of existing documents relevant for the study (e.g. programme descriptions and evaluation reports), interviews with key players, as well as site visits. Since the history of some of these projects and initiatives reach back several years, the case study may allow an evaluation of the mid-term outcomes and effects of these efforts for inclusion and social participation. All data was analyzed, following the basic principles of grounded theory.

The **second case study** "The relevance of ICT for managing local mobility in migrant groups" is engaged with questions of migrant mobility in relation to the appropriation of digital media, especially the mobile phone. Focus is the appropriation of different digital media to manage a migrant life that is shaped by the pressures of biographical local mobility not only from the 'home' country to but also in the 'host' country. This results in the problem (a) to integrate within the 'new' living context and (b) to maintain one's 'own' culture and/or articulate a 'new' (hybrid) migrant culture (cultures of diaspora) while being mobile.

In principle, digital media offer different chances to manage the problems of local mobility by making a communicative mobility possible: With mobile digital media (mobile phones with different SIM cards etc.) it becomes possible to stay in contact with different members of the migrant networks while being 'on the move'. Also different Internet services (web portals, chat etc.) allow translocal communicative inclusion of dispersed members of minority/diasporic groups. Focus of the case study is to investigate how far these possibilities of communicative mobility are de facto appropriated and in which manner to manage the (biographical) local mobility of migrant groups in Germany.

Methods of the case study are qualitative interviews and mappings of the communicative networks of the interview partners. The interviews address, among other things, how digital media/ICT are appropriated as a communication technology and how they are embedded into the everyday lives of 'mobile' migrants. By our analysis of these interviews and network maps, it is revealed to what extent mobile phones and other digital media are used to maintain an 'own' culture and/or articulate a new migrant/diasporic culture that reflects the status of being mobile as a migrant. All data was analyzed following the basic principles of grounded theory.

The title of our **third case study** is "Conditions of occupational success in the ICT business – the case of Turks". Reference point of this study is that jobs in the ICT business are considered as being future-oriented and providing relatively secure employment opportunities. These jobs strongly rely on well-developed ICT skills. How do IEM perform in such sectors? How do they enter such sectors? Do they face particular difficulties or have certain advantages due to their migration background? These were the key questions of our case study on ICT and the economic contribution of Turkish migrants.

The methods of the case study are biographical interviews with four Turkish migrant persons in the age between 30 and 39 who had been successful within the ICT business. Within the interviews on the one hand their business career and technical skills were reconstructed, on the other hand their migrant background and biographical mobility within their (business) lives. The results of the different interviews were compared with each other to typify certain patterns across these cases. Of course the explanatory power of these patterns is limited with regard to the number of interviews. Nevertheless as an instrumental case study they offer starting-points for redrawing general economic chances of ICT for IEM people. All data was analyzed following the basic principles of grounded theory.

Relating the results of these three case studies we conclude this report with a brief, integrative overview. Doing this, we also discuss the policy implications of our case studies research. Our main question in this conclusion is, to what extent do our research results indicate a potential for digital media in the frame of the Riga goals.

1. CASE STUDY 1: THE RELEVANCE OF DIGITAL MEDIA/ICT FOR SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION OF IEM LIVING IN A LOW-INCOME NEIGHBOURHOOD

The following case study provides some answers to the question about the relevance of ICT for social integration and economic participation. Both aspects are interrelated and can hardly be discussed separately. The same is true for activities on the local level that regularly address both aspects. We choose the Neue Vahr Nord, a neighbourhood in Bremen for our case study for three reasons: First, more than half of the inhabitants already have a migration background. Second, many people are concerned by poverty. ICT has been used by the institutions serving the neighbourhood for many years. The case study focuses on IEM with a Russian migration background. Because they are a main target group of the various measures since they make up more than 40% of all people with migration background living in the Neue Vahr Nord.

This case study provides an overview about selected initiatives aimed at skill-building of IEM, including the use of ICT, paraphrasing their scope, strengths and impairments. It also discusses the role ICT have in supporting activities aimed on community re-generation as well as for supporting activities aimed at civic engagement. The case study is based on different data sources which are information from the Bremian office of statistics, three interviews with local key player, informal talks with people working in the Neue Vahr Nord, and a very limited number of reports with relevance for our topic.

1.1 Socio-demographic background of the Neue Vahr Nord

The district Vahr is located in the eastern part of Bremen and was constructed between the 1950s and 1960s. The district is spatial integrated into the city. Seven kilometres away from the city centre it can easily be reached by car or public transportation. The district consists of two parts: the Gartenstadt Vahr and the Neue Vahr. Since the Neue Vahr Nord is part of the later we do not cover the first part. The Neue Vahr consists of three neighbourhoods: the Neue Vahr Südwest, the Neue Vahr Südost and the Neue Vahr Nord (see next figure).
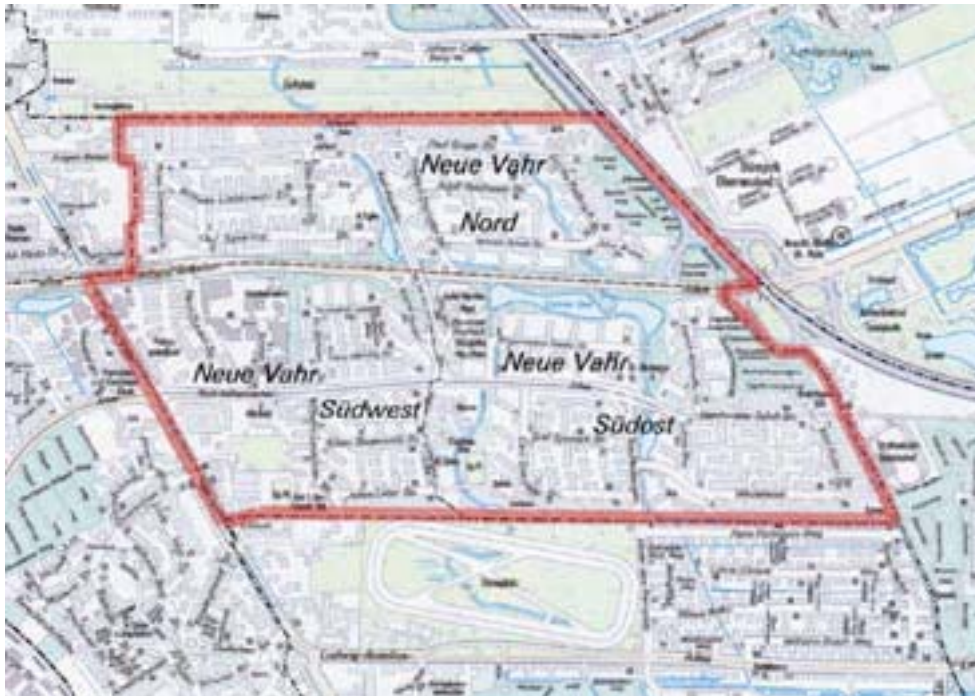
Figure 1: The Neue Vahr (Source: Habermann Nieße et al (2006: 13))

The Neue Vahr is a so-called mono-structural area with a focus on housing. The district is relatively densely populated and accommodates approximately 27,000 people according to the Bremian Office of Statistics.[5] Most buildings are multi-storeyed with mainly four to five floors. By the end of 2007, 8,086 people were living in the Neue Vahr Nord. 4,396 (54.4%) of them had a migration background. Over the last ten years the share of IEM on the overall population of the Neue Vahr Nord increased steadily. By the end of 2007 IEM from the former GUS states made up the largest share of all IEM living in the Neue Vahr Nord (41.5%). Thus they are also a major target group of initiatives that address IEM in particular. IEM with a Polish migration background made up 15.2% and those with a Turkish migration background accounted for 13.6% of the people with a migration background living in the Neue Vahr Nord (see also table below). According to Habermann Nieße et al. (2006: 15) especially the moving in of resettlers (often in larger families) is accompanied by far-reaching actions aimed at integration that must be provided by the district.

Status of Migration	All Migrants	GUS States	Polen	Turkey
Foreigners	1.511	296	127	388
Naturalized Persons	872	51	33	208
Resettlers	2.013	1.477	509	0
Altogether	4.396	1.824	669	596

Table 2: Population with migration background, December 2007 (Source: Bremian Office of Statistics)

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[5] If not stated otherwise all data used for this case study are retrieved from the local information system that is managed by the Bremian Office of Statistics (http://www.statistik-bremen.de/soev/statwizard_step1.cfm).

Overall the **IEM living in the Neue Vahr Nord are rather young**. 46.9% are not older than 30 year and 27.1% are 18 years old and younger. Only 23.5% of the IEM were aged 50 and older. However, the share of older people on the population living in the Neue Vahr increases steadily and appropriate reactions to this development are of major importance for future actions.

Currently, **successful formal educational attainment is one of the major challenges faced by the neighbourhood**. Comparing the formal educational attainment of students in grade 10 shows on the one hand that the share of students who visit secondary and secondary modern school, as well as a comprehensive school was significantly higher than the Bremian average in 2006. The share of high-school students, on the other hand, was below average (10 to 21% compared to 31%) (Habermann Nieße et al 2006: 8). Nevertheless the number of high school students living in the Neue Vahr Nord increased by 19%. We have no statistical data available to illustrate the formal educational attainment of the IEM living especially in the Neue Vahr Nord. However, conversations with local professionals who are concerned with educational issues suggest that formal educational attainment and success of this group rate rather low. An elementary school is located in the Neue Vahr Nord. The only secondary school was closed in 2005 because there were not enough parents who sent their children there. Now children visit schools in the other neighbourhoods of the district.

Poor formal educational attainment decreases the chances of entering and remaining in the workforce and increases the risk of poverty. This may help to explain why an above average number of residents of the Neue Vahr Nord were officially registered as unemployed in mid-2006 (27.3% compared to 19.8% for the city of Bremen). Accordingly also an above average number of residents received public support (welfare) by the end of 2006 (27.8%) Just taking the inhabitants aged 18 to 65 into account even 47% received such support. In July 2007 more than half of children (55.8%) younger than 15 who lived in the Neue Vahr Nord were living in families where the father or mother received welfare. People living in the Neue Vahr Nord are not only concerned with unemployment but also with poverty that gets amplified by part-time employment and low salaries. **Poverty** caused by missing or low income **is the major problem of the inhabitants** of the Neue Vahr. Related to this are a high level of unemployment, limited occupational perspectives and an extraordinary high number of youth who live in families which depend on welfare.

Another challenge, especially for community re-generation and civic engagement is the relatively **short occupancy of people living in the Neue Vahr Nord**. By the end of 2007 about one third of the population lived there not longer than three years. From the people who are not older than 30 years even 51% do not live there longer than three years. Occupancy is also one item of the socio-structural index that is used to describe and compare the socio-economic situation of and between districts. Additional items are the number of people who are on welfare and the share of people with migration background to name only two. According to the index data from 2006 the Neue Vahr was in a relatively bad situation and was one of the ten most disadvantaged Bremian districts. The Neue Vahr Nord even ranked fourth on this scale (Habermann Nieße et al 2006: 11p).

1.2 Funding sources and programme backgrounds

To improve the living conditions as well as social integration and economic participation for the residents of the Neue Vahr in general and the Neue Vahr Nord in particular several steps have been taken. Funding originates, above all, from the programmes Wohnen in

Nachbarschaften (WiN) (Living in Neighbourhoods), Soziale Stadt (Socially Integrative City), and "Lokales Kapital für soziale Zwecke, LOS" (Local Social Capital). Altogether 220,000 Euro were made available through all three programmes in 2008. In 1998, the Neue Vahr was identified as one of ten Bremian neighbourhoods with special support needs. Thus it has been eligible for funding from the **WiN programme**. It is aimed at improving the housing and living conditions in the supported neighbourhoods. Money from the WiN programme (80,000 Euro in 2008) has been used, among others, to set-up counselling services for IEM, language courses buy computers for social institutions in the neighbourhood to provide better service for their clients. Through WiN many institutions also got their hard- and software financed. Funding covers 50% of the overall costs stated in the application. Additional funding comes from the **Soziale Stadt programme** (Socially Integrative City) since 1998, too.[6] The goals of the programme are (1) the improvement of the physical housing and living conditions in disadvantaged districts as well as the stabilization and improvement of the basic local economic conditions, (2) to improve personal opportunities on the basis of better competences and knowledge, and (3) to improve the image of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, building neighbourhood public spheres, and increase identification with the neighbourhood. 70,000 Euro were available in 2008. The **emphasis of projects funded through WiN and Soziale Stadt** was on working with youth in general and young late German repatriates in particular. The aim was to activate these people. Important topics were the integration of late German repatriates and the handling of the socio-economic problematic of the neighbourhood. Soziale Stadt is a so-called investive programme, that means it finances constructional measures as well as equipment but not costs for courses etc.

Another programme with special relevance for the support of initiatives that include the utilization of digital media is "**Lokales Kapital für soziale Zwecke, LOS**" (Local Social Capital). The programme is a pilot project from the German Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth (BMFSFJ) and the European Social Fund. This provides financial support in selected regions throughout Germany for so-called micro-projects. LOS shall promote and improve the employability of people who are particularly disadvantaged in the labour market. Social cohesion shall be strengthened in the regions and the integration of individuals into the labour market shall be facilitated. This shall enable local communities to better utilise their own social and economic potential and to develop further beyond the period of the LOS funding. Eligible for a micro-project are, among others, single activities that support occupational qualification (e.g. job application training in combination with skill building including ICT), the reduction of school drop-outs or general means that foster the integration of especially disadvantaged target groups. Additionally, organizations and networks that support the integration of disadvantaged people into the workforce can also be financed. Funded are, among others, local associations, the establishment and stabilizing of local networks or the professionalization of self-help organizations. In 2008, 70,000 Euro are available through the programme. Funding for single projects can be awarded up to 10,000 Euro. Maximum project duration is one year. LOS provides a 100% funding.

Between 1999 and 2005/06, 80 different projects were realized with support from the three programmes mentioned above. Since some projects were funded several times altogether 115 projects received funding during the stated period. Altogether, approximately 1.5 Mio Euro

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[6] "In 1999 the federal and Land governments extended urban development support by adopting the "Districts with Special Development Needs – the Socially Integrative City" programme (or Socially Integrative City for short). Its goal was to counteract the widening socio-spatial rifts in the cities. The programme fosters participation and cooperation and represents a new integrative political approach to urban district development" (http://www.sozialestadt.de/en/programm/)

were made available. About one third of the projects received a 100% support and more than half received funding accounting for 30 to 50% of their complete expenditures. Conducted projects can be clustered around different areas of activities. More than half of the projects addressed more than one area of activity. The most popular one was 'neighbourhood cohabitation'. Also popular were 'local culture, sports, and leisure time', social infrastructure', 'education', 'employment', and 'housing, local surrounding, public places'. At least until 2006 the emphasis of projects funded through WiN and Soziale Stadt was on working with youths in general and resettlers in particular. The overarching aim was to activate this group (Habermann Nieße et al 2006: 13p).

Funding decisions are prepared by the WiN forum. The forum is principally open to all inhabitants of the neighbourhood but they rarely use this opportunity. Regular participants are members of the institutions which work in the Neue Vahr as well as local politicians. The WiN forum meets at least bi-monthly but in practice members meet approximately every four to five weeks. They discuss past as well as current projects and decide about future activities. All activities and applications must be introduced by members of the responsible institutions. Discussions and decisions are guided by the goals formulated in the integrated action concept (see next chapter). Final decisions about funding are eventually made by the appropriate local authorities.

1.3   Integration matters – scope of selected initiatives

An evaluation of the WiN and the Soziale Stadt programme in 2004 came, among others, to the result that both programmes were very successful and accomplished a lot. The evaluation also underlined the importance and the competence of the local management for developing and conducting all kinds of measures and projects aimed at improving the situation in the district and it's neighbourhood (IfS/ForStaR 2004: 88p). However, to improve the purposeful development, accomplishment and evaluation of activities the authors recommended the development of integrated action concepts for future work. On the strategic level concept development shall be guided by three priorities: (1) Improving the living-together in the neighbourhood, (2) Supporting the integration of IEM, and (3) Increasing the chances of younger generations to meet the increasing demands related to the permanent integration into the working life (IfS/ ForStaR 2004: 89).

All city departments funded through WiN and Soziale Stadt followed the suggestion and developed an integrated action concept for every department. The concept for the Neue Vahr declares **education as an explicit emphasis of work** because of the exceptional need for action in that realm. Building on an expanded understanding education is on the one hand perceived as the ground for social and communicative competence. Thereby, integration especially of the IEM living in the Neue Vahr is a major concern. This also relates to the sub-goal of disseminating societal and cultural competences. On the other hand education is perceived as a central precondition to enter the workforce. The respective sub-goal addresses, above all, the transition from school to work (IfS/ForStaR 2004: 16p). However, **the integrated action concept rarely addresses media in general and the use of ICT in particular** to meet the stated goals. Media are only explicitly mentioned with regard to public relation that is needed to improve the rather bad external perception of the Neue Vahr.

Institutions serving the Neue Vahr Nord

There are **several institutions that serve the Neue Vahr Nord and use ICT** to reach their goals. The elementary school mentioned above use ICT for it's teaching purposes. The school owns a computer lab and each classroom is equipped with at least one computer. Many of the pupils have a migration background. Youths can also meet at two youth centres in the Neue Vahr Nord who have small computer labs with five to six computers with Internet access. Most of the time youths can use the computers based on their own wants and needs. Of course, utilization is supervised by staff members who also provide help if needed. From time to time they also offer small projects which are aimed at disseminating media literacy. The local community centre serves the whole district but it is located on the fringe of the Neue Vahr Nord and therefore relatively easy to reach for the inhabitants. The centre maintains two computer labs, one is used for youth work the other one is open to the public. Again, besides open access work the dissemination of media literacy is mainly project-based. The community centre also hosts the local branch of the Bremian adult education centre (Volkshochschule, VHS). The VHS has been renting rooms to conduct some of its courses there. However, the VHS does not use the computer lab of the community centre. **Especially important for IEM with a Russian migration background is bremen.ru**, an intercultural not-for-profit association that supports IEM with Russian migration background in all kinds of everyday life situations. The self-declared goal of bremen.ru is to provide information and support for the quickest possible social and economic integration of migrants from the former Soviet Union. Among others, the association rented a two-room flat in the Neue Vahr Nord for a symbolic monthly rent of 20 Euro from one of the large Bremian housing companies to offer its service. Besides the mentioned ones there are other institutions that are not located in the Neue Vahr Nord but also serve the inhabitants often in cooperation with others. However, due to the obvious lack of social services available in the Neue Vahr Nord a new community centre will be placed in the centre of the neighbourhood and shall open to the public in 2009. Among others, it will host a a large computer lab that will allow to increase the number of computer-supported activities significantly.

Main challenges for reaching and involving people

A **major challenge of all services and opportunities** no matter whether they include ICT **is to reach and to activate the various target groups**. In an interview the manager of the local VHS branch points out that they did not reach the people in the Neue Vahr Nord through disseminating programme flyers throughout the neighbourhood. One problem is that a certain number of IEM do not get such written information because of their limited knowledge about the German language. For the IEM with Russian migration background bremen.ru can overcome this hurdle because all of its members speak Russian. Therefore the neighbourhood manager pronounces the importance of the activities of bremen.ru.

Sm: Also das ist ganz wichtig auch, gerade für die Menschen, die relativ geringe Sprachkenntnisse haben (.) da schließt sich der Bogen (.) das sind eben doch eine ganze Menge noch, die wir haben, und deshalb ist es immer auch wichtig, dass wir genau diesen ganz niedrig 'nen Ansatz in den verschiedenen Projekten haben (.) weil wir die Menschen erst mal überhaupt erreichen müssen (Interview *Mr. Schneider*, 450-458).[7]

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[7]   Most of the used quotations from the interviews are not in made in 'correct German' and reflect the migrant status of the interviewed persons). That is the reason why we left it in German and then paraphrased the main content in the following text.

According to *Mr. Schneider* a large share of the IEM with Russian migration background who live in the Neue Vahr Nord rarely speak German. Thus **all projects aimed at the inhabitants must follow a low-threshold approach**. That requires first that activities must be adapted to the needs and wants of the people. Secondly, possible reservations and anxieties need to be anticipated to choose measures that help to overcome them. According to the neighbourhood manager this is an ongoing process with an open end. This process gets complicated because many of the inhabitants are closely bonded to their neighbourhood and are afraid to leave it. This becomes especially challenging if the realization of projects including ICT depends on the availability of larger computer labs. Because of the limited number of adequate computer labs in the Neue Vahr Nord sometimes people are pointed to courses offered in other Bremian districts if they want to take a computer course for example. That requires that people leave their neighbourhood to go there. On a first glance this appears as an ordinary everyday practice without major difficulties and/or requirements. However, according to the neighbourhood manager many people do not have the heart to leave their neighbourhood and to join a probably unknown group for such a course. This might be hard to understand since the practice seems so ordinary. Nevertheless it remains a tremendous hurdle.

Thus it is all the more important to offer sufficient opportunities for help and services that are physically located in the Neue Vahr Nord. Bremen.ru offers exactly such low-threshold services. Approximately 30% of the services and means offered through bremen.ru are funded through the LOS programme. The remaining possibilities are only made possible through the **voluntary commitment** of members from bremen.ru. People can come to the small office bremen.ru rented in the neighbourhood (see above) and can ask for help, for example, if they need translations from German into Russian. Another service is the so-called directory counselling. Because bremen.ru members do not own the qualification to offer professional counselling they can nevertheless point people to institutions that over such services. If needed members of bremen.ru even accompany people on such visits if they are afraid because of their limited knowledge of the German language. The members of bremen.ru also advise people who interrupt their studies in their home countries about the conditions of continuing and completing their studies at a German university. The also try to help solving questions about the acceptance of educational or vocational degrees. During the interview *Mr. Schneider* repeatedly stresses the importance of people like those volunteering for bremen.ru because of their multiplying function that helps other IEM to learn about existing opportunities they can benefit from.

Sm: [...] deshalb sind diese Menschen wie sie in diesem Verein wichtig, um zu sagen, ja, da kannst du hingehen, da kannst du Bücher ausleihen, da gibt es jetzt auch eine Abteilung, wo es auch mal russischsprachige Bücher gibt, das haben wir damals mit dem Projekt MUT mal angeleiert (.) so, und wenn die Multiplikatorinnen und Multiplikatoren das wissen, das man dort hingehen kann, dann kann man da ja mit seiner Karte auch umsonst Internet nutzen und das eine oder andere auch erledigen
Y1:   └Hm
Sm: das haben wir jetzt natürlich noch nicht evaluiert (.) wir zählen das nicht, aber ich glaube, dass das nach wie vor ein ganz wichtiger Ansatz ist, weil dann kommen natürlich auch Medien mit (Interview *Mr. Schneider*, 1101-1114)

Mr. Schneider illustrates the importance of the multiplying function with the help of two additional examples of services available to the inhabitants of the Neue Vahr Nord. One is a selection of books in Russian language which were bought through another project and were taken to the local public library for lending. Members of the public library can also use

computers and the Internet there. However, the success of such initiatives has not been evaluated yet. The neighbourhood manager states that they did not count that. That means that there are no statistics available about how many people, for example, started to use ICT at the public library after it was recommended to them by somebody else. Even though this example is slightly exaggerated it illustrates at least a facet of the challenges related to evaluation. These are not only of methodical nature i.e. that people lack the knowledge to conduct certain forms of evaluation but also a resource question. Because of limited staff capacities many institutions do not have extra manpower available to collect data about their work that can be used for evaluation or even perform solid self-evaluation.

Being involved and taking part in course programmes – a female domain

Despite the lack of evaluation results *Mr. Schneider* thinks that the described activities characterize a very important approach that certainly includes media appropriation. Bremen.ru also applies ICT in different contexts of its work. In its office the association has two computers that can be used to work with their clientele. With the help of partners bremen.ru also offered several computer courses. Demand was always high and participants belonged to different age groups. The LOS programme provided some funding for using a computer lab and paying some money to the tutor who prepared and conducted the courses mainly in Russian language. This work was done by *Ms. Almankowa* who also serves as a volunteer for bremen.ru. She explains why people join such courses. Accordingly, many IEM spend most of their time alone at home and that they want to communicate with each other as well as with relatives and friends who remained in their countries of origin. Thus the Internet can be used to break through isolation and to reduce feelings of loneliness. More important this brief description also addresses the **relevance of communicative mobility for the integration of IEM**. We already stressed that in our country report and in our case study about communicative mobility. As a second main reason for the appropriation of ICT *Ms. Almankowa* emphasises that working in all business sectors throughout society requires a minimum of computer skills. According to her description the societal diffusion of ICT in Russia in general and in the Ukraine in particular lacks behind compared to Germany. Then all of a sudden newly arrived IEM are confronted with high demands on computer literacy that are taken for granted. Thus it is expected, for instance, that people know how to use the computer-based information systems at the office of employment's job information centre.

However, at the time of our research for this case study bremen.ru had to interrupt its computer courses because the educational institution which allowed them to use its computer lab for the courses left the Neue Vahr. The fact that bremen.ru did not find another place to conduct these courses again underlines the limited availability of infrastructure capacities to support the appropriation of ICT in the neighbourhood. The situation gets worse since more than 70 persons had to be placed on a waiting list to take part in new courses. The fact that they rather put their name on a waiting list instead of looking for opportunities to take such courses elsewhere underlines again people's bounding to the neighbourhood (see above).

Our case study already showed at several points that a **sufficient level of control about the German language is a basic precondition for social integration and economic participation of IEM**. Most language courses for the people living in the Neue Vahr Nord are offered by the local branch of the adult education centre (VHS). These are also the only regular courses which are popular among a larger share of IEM. All other courses offered to the people in the Neue Vahr are rarely frequented by IEM. This is especially true for adult male IEM living in the Neue Vahr Nord. They only take part in language courses if they are

forced to it by local authorities on the basis of the immigration law. The neighbourhood manager additionally points out that this group also does not participate in any other courses or projects no matter what topics they address. However, in cooperation with some of its partners the VHS could successfully establish several low-threshold language courses for female IEM living in the Neue Vahr Nord. The demand for such courses was communicated to the VHS by some of its co-operation partners which provide services to female IEM in other contexts.

Talking about these courses it is important to mention that most participants had little children. They could only participate because the courses were combined with child care opportunities. This is especially true for single-mothers who often suffer from isolation due to a lack of family and other networks which provide the basis for the sharing of childcare. Additionally courses had to be located close to the places where potential participants live. The VHS organized the courses in cooperation with other institutions in the neighbourhood, e.g. a church or an elementary school. On the basis of these courses the VHS employees also tries to motivate participants to take part in the official integration courses conducted on behalf of the Federal Office for Migration and Refuges. The local VHS manager reports that they were partly successful in that regard. However, **so far ICT had no relevance for conducting these language courses**. Nevertheless such courses may also function as a catalyst which can, among others, foster the appropriation of digital media through IEM like the following statement from the neighbourhood manager illustrates.

Sm: (...) aus diesem niedrigschwelligen Sprachkurs hat sich ergeben, das heißt, das war ein Wunsch der Frauen, wir haben ihnen nicht gesagt, jetzt macht doch mal einen Computerkurs (.) Sondern sie haben selbst den Wunsch geäußert, sich, nachdem sie sich sozusagen über den Sprachkurs auf den Weg gemacht haben, sich zu qualifizieren im Bereich Computer (Interview *Mr. Schneider*, 477-483)

During the language course the participating women articulated their interest in learning how to use a computer. It is important to note that the initiative came from the women themselves and not from staff members of the VHS who taught the course. Accordingly the language course motivated the women to move on and to develop an interest to familiarize themselves with ICT to improve their qualification profile. In review the **language course provided a rationale to embed the appropriation of ICT in a context of sufficient usefulness**. The computer course was also organized by the VHS. It was visited by ten women with migration background. The declared goal was to teach the women over a period of three months once a week for three hours basic knowledge especially for writing on the computer and for using the Internet. However, because there was no computer lab available in the Neue Vahr Nord the courses had to be conducted in the Neue Vahr Südost. Because child care could not be offered at that place participants first had to drop off their children at the local community centre that is again located in the Neue Vahr Nord before they could start the course. This example illustrates that the **insufficient (semi-)public ICT infrastructure in the Neue Vahr Nord** additionally limits the attempts to foster social integration and economic participation. To realize the course 3,000 Euro were made available through the LOS-programme.

Another LOS-project that utilized ICT too was called "Go on" (Weiter geht's). It offered free-of-charge career guidance for 15 female IEM with a Russian migration background. The women not only developed a personal occupational competence analysis but also got introduced into working with the computer and use it as a tool for job searches and preparing resumes. The project ended in early 2007.

In the same year another computer course for ten female immediate learners was offered. It took six weeks, including three weekly morning terms. Participation was not limited to IEM, however many of them had a migration background. Because it was also funded through LOS participants were not charged again. The women were introduced into the basic handling of the computer and learned how to write a curriculum vitae and a cover letter for a job application. They also learned how to surf the Internet (e.g. to find job postings) and how to use e-mail. Interestingly the course participants were also visited by representatives of different institutions that work for the neighbourhood. They presented their work and their services and encouraged the women to use them. After completing the course each woman received a participation certificate.

The use of ICT as an information and communication resource

Besides different forms of skill building ICT is also used **as a resource for communication and information**. According to the neighbourhood manager, all institutions but one working in the Neue Vahr have at least an e-mail account. The medium is an indispensable tool for disseminating information, arrange meetings and support other aspects of the daily workflow. Invitations for meetings and the respective minutes of these gatherings are exclusively sent by e-mail. Some but no all institutions also maintain their own homepages and the majority are at least listed with some information in the city's official online information system bremen.de. However, the idea to set-up an online-information system for the Neue Vahr that allowed all institutions to publish their available services and projects, as well as their resources that could also be used by others (e.g. computer labs) failed. Even though most players agreed that it beneficial to have such information available for a higher transparency of activities and the improvement of cooperation between the different institutions (see Welling/Breiter (2005) and Welling et al (2004) for a detailed discussion of the issue).

There have also been various attempts to use the Internet as a tool to improve the provision of information for and by the people living in the Neue Vahr as well as to support communication between inhabitants. The local community centre, for instance, issues a small neighbourhood magazine four times a year that informs people about activities in the neighbourhood as well as upcoming events. The magazine is published as a paper format and is also available for download through the community centre's website. However, **all attempts to motivate inhabitants to use the digital media for local communication and for the improvement of the local public sphere apparently failed**. But in that regard it must be noted that participation has no distinctive tradition in the district. Thus the proceeding of participation processes is partly cumbersome (Habermann Nieße et al 2006: 14). Mr. Schneider describes the problem that accompanies the use of ICT for the stated purposes.

Sm: Wir haben ja schon verschiedene Versuche gemacht, ja auch ne so mit Medienpräsenz und Information, wir haben im Forum versucht, irgendwie äh über die Seite des Bürgerzentrums im Stadtteil, das ist immer gescheitert, irgendwie daran, das da nicht kontinuierlich Leute sich auch so eine Kommunikationsplattform Stadtteilbezogen (.) bezogen hat, das heißt, ne, dafür sind so große Blogs oder so sind da letztendlich viel zu stark (2) aber wenn wir das gezielt an einsetzen an einzelnen Stellen sagen hier wenn du auf diese Seite gehst, hat das für dich im Stadtteil den und den Mehrwert auch, den du für dich auch selbst rausziehen kannst, dann sehe ich da eine Chance (Interview *Mr. Schneider*, 2433-2447)

In the past several attempts were undertaken to motivate inhabitants of the Neue Vahr to use different communication means for the local exchange of information and communication. Among others, the community centre set up an online forum on its Internet page to engage people but failed due to a lack of utilization and participation. The neighbourhood manager thinks that this is due to the fact that such local services cannot compete with the large blogs. Social network sites stand synonym for such blogs. In Hepp/Welling (2008: chapter 3.2) we pointed out the relevance of such media especially for different forms of translocal social networking. However, the neighbourhood manager is still optimistic that they can successfully use such digital media in the local neighbourhood context if such media can provide an additional value for its users.

Especially the **Internet** is also used **as an information resource for institutions which provide various counselling services to IEM**. Both, the local branch of the VHS and bremen.ru provide examples for this purpose. The local VHS manager describes the VHS counselling services as really pragmatic. They show people, for example, how to file applications or how to deal with public offices and where to get help in case people get into trouble with public offices. *Mr. Wimmer* confirms in the conducted interview that the Internet has some relevance for the described counselling services. However, the scope of this relevance is rather narrow. There is no focus on explaining people how to use the Internet. The overarching goal of these services is rather to provide the participants with a basic understanding about the structure and the functionality of those parts of the German public administration which are relevant for IEM while trying to ensure their social and material reproduction. In her answer on the same question *Ms. Almankowa* emphasises another aspect.

Y1:   Hm. Nutzen Sie denn auch für sich als Verein das Internet, auch um sich zu informieren, äh was hier im Stadtteil läuft (.) Was sind für Sie da wichtige Informationsquellen?

Af: Äh erstens, dass es auch BIZ-Seiten (.) Das ist wichtig für Weiterbildung, Kurse, die hier zum Beispiel äh für Bremen welche Kurse für Weiterbildung, äh Weiterqualifizierung gibt es und äh für (.) nutzen wir auch äh diese Suchsystem auch (.) Suchmaschinen meine ich und äh viele verschiedene Seiten für äh bestimmte Gebiet, zum Beispiel Vahr, weil die Leute wollen meistens Kurse haben wo die wohnen (2) das ist auch ein Grund (Interview, *Ms. Almankowa*, 1212-1225)

Very important for the work of bremen.ru is the online information system at the office of employment's job information centre. There they can search for opportunities of continuing education in Bremen. They also use additional search engines without further specifying them. Accordingly they are part of bremen.ru's daily work routines and not worth to further specify them. More important in that regard are possibilities to conduct local search routines because people, above all, want to take courses which are closely located to their places of residence.

The problematic of structural discrimination

Despite intensive efforts many IEM with Russian migration background remain unsuccessful in their attempts to become a part of the workforce in Germany. Ironically *Ms. Almankowa* serves as a good example for the underlying dilemma. As a computer scientist with several years of work experience she is actually overqualified to work as a computer courses tutor. But even though her Ukrainian degree in informatics was accredited in Germany she cannot find regular employment in an ICT-related profession. Therewith she shares the fate of many

highly qualified IEM from the former Soviet Union. Some get involved with projects like *Ms. Almankowa* driven by the hope that such an engagement supports their search for regular employment. However, often such expectations remain unfulfilled and leave frustrated and disaffected people behind. The manager of the local VHS branch is aware of the cruelty that results from this situation. He tells that the VHS gets a several counselling opportunities funded through the WiN and the LOS-programme. But he describes such activities as a real small drop in the bucket, i.e. they are rather symbolic and it is not likely that they seriously help solving the sketched problem. *Mr. Wimmer* continues and addresses the mental consequences for the people who are concerned by the described problematic. First they came to a country which made it very easy for them to enter it. This is at least true for the group of the late German repatriates who are considered as Germans. Thus they are naturalized immediately after arrival or even prior to it. However, soon after migration many of these IEM realized that there was and is no organized attempt to support those people getting into the labour market. Especially at the beginning of that migration stream there was no support available for these people but language classes. Language courses are important but by far not sufficient. The neighbourhood manager *Mr. Schneider* argues in a similar way and additionally addresses the broader scope of the problematic.

Sm: das trifft es schon nach wie vor und da ist am Anfang als die große Welle der Menschen hier nach Deutschland kam sind Riesenfehler gemacht worden (.) und so was können wir auch nicht mit unseren kleinen Programmmitteln hier korrigieren (.) das sind Dinge, die müssten im ganz in viel größerem Rahmen, das kann man nicht quartiersbezogen organisieren (Interview *Mr. Schneider*)

Accordingly giant mistakes were made when the first large groups of IEM from the former Soviet Union migrated to Germany. The resources available through the different programmes are rather small. Thus the players in the Neue Vahr Nord cannot revise such mistakes. To really correct them a much larger framework is needed and these activities cannot be organized in a neighbourhood like the Neue Vahr Nord. This statement may also be assigned to the overall scope of the challenges and problems IEM are exposed who live in the Neue Vahr Nord and elsewhere. Single projects and other measures planed and realized in neighbourhoods like the Neue Vahr Nord may help to partly improve the local living conditions and can also provide stepping stones for individuals which help them to improve their personal situation. However, they cannot solve problems which originate from tensions uneven power relations as well as patterns of ethnical discrimination that concern society as a whole. This must also be kept in mind if the outcomes and effects of local activities are discussed.

1.4   Evaluation and outcomes

In 2004, the Institut für Stadtforschung und Strukturpolitik already recommended that within the WiN and the Soziale Stadt programme a stronger focus should be taken on a systematic analysis and evaluation of completed measures and projects (IfS)/ ForStaR 2004: 89). Some steps have already been taken to fulfil this recommendation. Meanwhile self-evaluation is a mandatory component of most projects. While applying for funding from the LOS-programme, for instance, applicants must list some outcomes that can be measured. For the VHS computer course for women which was discussed in chapter 0 the following indicators were formulated: (1) regular participation, i.e. every participant completed at least 85% of the course time, (2) after completing the course all women can create folder on the computer and is able to organize her data, (3) all participants can write, format, and save text on the

computer. Another computer course for women formulated the awarding of a participation certificate to at least 80% of the participating women as one success criteria. They also should proof the competent handling of basic functionalities of the computer and the Internet. Eventually they should be able to create a resume as the basic for a job application. All these goals were met by the participants and therefore surely improved their media literacy. Since they all also learned how to utilize ICT for job searches they improved their chances to get a job at least theoretically. However, because of the overall problems of the late German repatriates to get into the workforce legitimate doubts remain whether such activities can really help to overcome the outlined challenges. However, at least basic computer literacy is considered a mandatory requirement for a growing number of jobs. Thus no doubt exists among initiatives serving the Neue Vahr that it is important to offer adequate opportunities to the inhabitants to become computer literate. The relatively large number of people who already put themselves on a waiting list for future computer courses offered by bremen.ru underlines the need for such opportunities.

Since economic participation is closely related to social integration the high level of unemployment and the large number of people who depend partly or completely on welfare to assure material reproduction strongly challenge integration. Regular employment is an important facilitator of social integration because on the one hand it mediates a form of belonging and being in need. On the other hand regular employment provides the material resources that are needed to share in social life (e.g. going out, doing sports, travelling). By contrast poverty excludes people from many realms of social life. Thus ICT contributes rather indirectly to social inclusion.

Unfortunately there are no reports available which can contribute to a better understanding of the success factors as well as the limits and challenges of initiatives using ICT to foster economic participation and social integration of IEM living in the Neue Vahr (Nord). According to the neighbourhood manager, the use of ICT for the development and support of the Neue Vahr has not been a topic of evaluation yet. It must be also noted in that context that most staff members also do not have the needed methodical knowledge to conduct comprehensive forms of self-evaluation. Additionally, because of limited staff capacities many institutions do not have the needed time resources to collect data about their work that can be used for evaluation not to mention the time to conduct solid self-evaluation.

However, according to the neighbourhood manager the local players know that their activities including ICT are worthwhile. Otherwise they would not conduct them. Additionally, the WiN forum (see chapter 0 for further details) serves as a semi-evaluative instrument. Non-convincing applications for new projects get rejected. Accounts about activities that do not meet the expectations of the forum's members lead to a rejection of a recommendation for additional funding.

1.5   Concluding remarks

With regard to the main areas addressed by the underlying agenda for the whole research project we conclude the following:

Skill Building is a major priority of the different measures offered to the IEM living in the Neue Vahr Nord and closely related to *economic participation*. Accordingly periodic courses are offered that provide basic media literacy to immediate and other learners. Besides disseminating 'pure' ICT skills most courses are related to basic conditions of economic

participation (e.g. finding job openings online, or preparing applications). Such competences increase the chances to find employment at least theoretically. However, many IEM with Russian migration background do not find regular employment despite existing qualifications and are concerned with poverty that goes along with tendencies of social exclusion. Thus community regeneration is badly needed to improve the living conditions of the people living in the Neue Vahr. The contribution of ICT to community regeneration in the surveyed case appears rather low to us. The overall situation in the neighbourhood measured along the social indicators did not improved over the last years. However, there are two limitations of this assumption. First, the short occupancy of people living in the Neue Vahr Nord has to be kept in mind, i.e. that, among others, people who could improve their socio-economic situation through finding a job, for example, often leave neighbourhoods which are disadvantaged. S*kill building* measures might help these people to improve their situation. Second, even though the situation is critical it might have been worse without the measures taken.

No doubts exist that ICT is an established and useful tool for the institutions that serve the people living in the Neue Vahr Nord no matter whether they only use ICT only for organizational purposes or also to offer service for the clientele.

Seemingly, ICT also does not make a significant contribution to civic engagement. Apparently most attempts to improve such engagement with the help of ICT failed e.g. using online-forums and similar applications to support the articulation of IEM and quasi online public-spheres of debate. However, such attempts have also been limited respectively they do not have high priority for the relevant players in the Neue Vahr Nord. However, reaching and engaging the people who live in the neighbourhood is rather based on face-to-face interactions and on building trust und mutual understanding. This does not require the use of ICT. Overall the case study shows how difficult it is to reach the IEM with Russian migration background and to activate them to use the services offered in the neighbourhood no matter whether the include ICT or not.

In this context we also would like to remark that many measures which are realized on the basis projects are actually regular tasks. The job orientation and qualification courses in relation with ICT are a good example for the problematic. Funding to offer such services on a regular basis is non-existent despite the apparent demand. This is an overarching and still unsolved problem. Since especially course-based projects can only serve a limited number of people there scope is relatively small.

With regard to communicative and local mobility the apparent local immobility of many IEM living in the Neue Vahr Nord is striking. Thus it is even more important to offer services and measures in the midst of the neighbourhood. The apparent local narrowness of the activities of many inhabitants suggests that the social capital of the people is also rather bonding than bridging. The relevance of ICT in this context is twofold. One the one hand the examples presented in this case study show that especially women may build new social capital through course participation. This is especially true for single-mothers who often suffer from domestic isolation. However, it is not so much ICT that contributes to social capital building but the opportunity to meet new people and to improve personal networks on this basis. On the other hand social capital is not only built in face-to-face interactions but also increasingly online. Social network sites are predestined for that purpose as we showed in Hepp/Welling (2008 chapter 3.2). Thereby the increase of social capital can be both bridging and bonding, depending on the people and their (migration) backgrounds IEM relate with online.

Noteworthy are also the difficulties to reach male adult IEM with the services and measures offered in the Neue Vahr Nord no matter whether the include ICT or not. Such 'resistance' causes additional challenges for the different aspects of community development. Nevertheless, a major target group for future actions are not men but women with migration background and as well as single mothers. It has to be awaited what kind of improvement the new community centre will offer them but it surely will. The same is true for the utilization of ICT. The planed large computer lab as well as related projects underlines that ICT plays and will play an important role for the improvement of the living situation of the people living in the Neue Vahr Nord no matter technology is used for directly serving IEM or to support the local player to provide better and more far reaching services.

2.   CASE STUDY 2: THE RELEVANCE OF DIGITAL MEDIA/ICT FOR MANAGING LOCAL MOBILITY IN MIGRANT GROUPS

On the one hand, migrants are considered to constitute a highly mobile group of people: Not only migration itself is a process of local mobility, moving from one place to another. Also after this first step of migration migrants are considered as staying mobile. This is first caused by the circumstance that migrants often have to leave their first locations if they want to gain economic participation. And additionally "transmigration" – an ongoing migration to further countries – is considered an established pattern (cf. for example Pries 2001: 49-53). So questions of migration are discussed deeply in the frame of local mobility.

On the other hand, digital media can be considered as important tools for managing this mobility. The standard example for this is the mobile phone that makes it possible to stay in contact while being on the move locally. But we can also consider other digital media as 'tools' for managing mobility: Social software communities, for example, are used to stay in contact with old friends when moving away, e-mail or chat can help to contact family members while being abroad etc. Such an embedding of different digital media in processes of managing local mobility can be called 'communicative mobility' (we will come to a more sophisticated definition later on).

Assuming the foregoing, the question arises as to what extent the 'communicative mobilty' of digital media might be useful for IEM/members of diasporas to handle their local mobility. Focusing on diasporic communities in our discussion of communicative mobility in Germany is not only relevant in light of the results of the last micro-census in 2005, which revealed that 15.3 million people living in Germany (about 20%) have a migration background (see Statistisches Bundesamt 2006: 75), but also because it is evident that migrant groups or diasporic communities can be distinguished simultaneously by their situative *and* biographical local mobility. Such groups are considered to be **"mobility pioneers"** (Kesselring 2006) as a result of economic pressures.[8]

Thus, the focus on diasporic communities offers an insight into the complexity of the relationship between local and communicative mobility. The aim of this case study is to discuss this question empirically. To do this, we applied a **two-level research design**. On the one hand, we interviewed a total of 16 Polish, Russian and Turkish migrants (see table below) on their appropriation of digital media and concerning their local mobility. For the members of the Polish and Russian diaspora we added a set of specific questions to the interviews we collected for the country report. The interviews with the Turkish migrants had been collected especially for this case study. This is the reason why the interview with members of the Turkish diaspora built the main focus of our analyses (core sample) and the other interviews are used for contextualising these results (extended sample).

On average, the interviews lasted 50 minutes and were transcribed and categorised using the methods of grounded theory. In addition we asked each interviewed person to draw a freehand network map and comment it. Freehand network map means a free draft of how they imagine their communicative connectivity via different digital and non-digital media. By this

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[8]   Developing the concept of "mobility pioneers" Sven Kesselring helpfully identifies the situated groups of ICT specialists and journalists. Nevertheless, the concept also seems to be helpful in our understanding of the local mobility in members of diasporic communities as something 'special' – their biographical mobility is often much higher than in other groups.

methodology we additionally obtained the visual representation and annotation of the communicative networks from the interviewed people. This provides a deep insight, as such a procedure offers the chance to grasp the way people handle their 'connectivity practices' overall.

	Name[9]	Age	Education	Year of migration	Used digital media
Turkish diaspora (core sample)	Harun	29	Grammar school and higher education in Germany	Born in Germany	Mobile phone (SMS, alarm-clock, calendar, address book), e-mail, WWW
	Mehmet	59	Grammar school in Turkey and higher education in Germany	1965	Mobile phone (SMS, e-mail, alarm clock, calendar, address book), e-mail, WWW
	Sertap	32	Grammar school and higher education in Germany	1980	Mobile phone (SMS, camera, radio, calendar, address book, alarm-clock), e-mail, WWW
	Soner	18	Elementary school and vocational training in Germany	Born in Germany	Mobile phone (SMS, camera, mp3-player, calendar, address book, alarm-clock, gaming), e-mail, chat, WWW
Polish diaspora (extended sample)	Jaroslaw	63	Professional education in country of origin	1980	Mobile phone (SMS, WWW, camera), e-mail, WWW
	Ewa	50	Professional education in country of origin	1987	Mobile phone (SMS, camera), voice-over-IP, WWW
	Aneta	44	Professional education in country of origin	1983	Mobile phone (SMS, camera, mp3-player), voice-over-IP, WWW
	Thomasz	32	Professional education in country of origin, higher education in Germany	1987	Mobile phone (SMS), e-mail, chat, voice-over-IP, WWW
	Magdalena	23	Higher education in Germany	1988	Mobile phone (SMS, radio), e-mail, voice-over-IP, WWW
	Maria	17	Grammar school in Germany	Born in Germany	Mobile phone (SMS, clock), e-mail, voice-over-IP, WWW

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[9] All names are pseudonyms.

Russian diaspora (extended sample)	Natalia	50	Higher education in country of origin	1999	Mobile phone (SMS, MMS, camera), e-mail, WWW
	Nina	47	Professional education in country of origin	2003	Mobile phone, e-mail, WWW
	Eugen	37	No information	1994	Mobile phone (SMS), e-mail, WWW
	Anna	27	Professional education in Germany	1997	Mobile phone (SMS, camera), e-mail, WWW
	Andrei	24	Higher education in country of origin	2007	Mobile phone (SMS), e-mail, Chat, voice-over-IP, WWW
	Olga	17	Grammar school in Germany	2003	Mobile phone (SMS, mp3-player, gaming), e-mail, chat, voice-over-IP, WWW

Table 3: Interviewed persons case study 2

To present our research results of case study two we want to argue in the following steps: Firstly, we introduce the concept of 'communicative mobility' more in detail to make our empirical research understandable. Secondly, we present the phenomena of communicative mobility as something crossing the appropriation of different digital media. Thirdly, we reflect the existing 'pressures' for communicative mobility within diasporic groups. Fourthly, we discuss the 'intensifying' of connectivity within communicative mobility. And finally we conclude by discussing the status of communicative mobility for questions of community re-generation and relational integration. By our argumentation we will reconsider different appropriation patterns of ICT/digital media already discussed in our country report [see chapter 3 of Condagnone et al. (eds) (2009)] but recontextualise them more generally within the frame of questions of local mobility. Thus, researching the interrelation between communicative and local mobility provides us with a new perspective on the appropriation not only of the mobile phone but also of other digital media.

2.1 Diasporic community and communicative mobility

With the already mentioned arguments about the mobility of migrants in mind, it becomes clearer as to why it is necessary to discuss mobile phones and other digital media in the context of the general relation between media and mobility. It is precisely this aim that the concept of **communicative mobility** intends to achieve. In light of the reflections we have made so far, one can define the concept of communicative mobility more precisely.[10] Using the term 'communicative mobility', we aim to illustrate the relationship of the media with an increasing local mobility within present cultures (see figure below). This relationship can be twofold, starting (a) in the way 'communication devices' of either mass communication or interpersonal communication get more and more mobile. This applies especially in the case of mobile phones, and also in the case of laptops, PDAs, MP3 Players, mobile TV and DVD sets, mobile play stations, and (in the near future) different forms of wearable computing. Yet communicative mobility also means (b) that stationary media are increasingly aligned with moving people. Based on Raymond Williams' (1990) arguments about "mobile

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[10] With this, we pick up and refine reflections we have already published elsewhere. See for this Hepp 2006: 254 and 301f, Hepp 2007.

privatisation",[11] it becomes clear that such aspects of communicative mobility are already occurring in the so-called mass media (for example, television) as they construct stable public communicative spaces for people moving between places of residence and places of work. Other examples are the use of video cameras for the surveillance of people on the move, and the attempts made by travellers to stay in contact via the Internet.
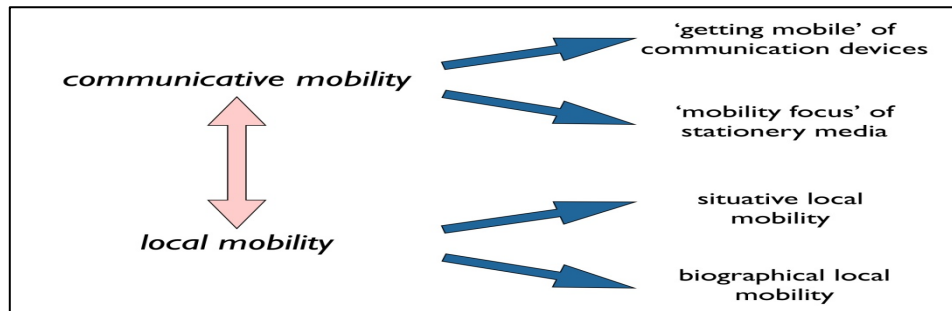

Figure 1: Communicative and local mobility

This definition already suggests that communicative mobility must be related to another form of mobility – the so-called 'local mobility'. **Local mobility** is a phrase that refers to the increasing tendency of people to be mobile in at least a double sense. On the one hand, we have a 'situative local mobility' (a mobility of a person over a day, week or month, for example, in reference to his or her work). Local mobility in this sense does not mean a 'breezing around the world' (in most cases, at least), but is rather a kind of location-based mobility. This is the form of mobility that Williams had in mind in his concept of "mobile privatisation" – the move from suburban dormitories to the workplace. On the other hand, we have a 'biographical local mobility' (a local mobility over the lifespan of a person, for example, in the form of work migration). One can certainly argue that communicative mobility and local mobility are interrelated. To take an historical example: while existing communicative connections were once inevitably lost due to the migration from one location to another, communicative mobility offers the possibility of up-holding this connectivity during the process of moving itself. In this sense, the concept of communicative mobility offers the chance for a better understanding of everyday local mobility, its possibilities and its limits within diasporic communities and beyond.

Based on these considerations, a study approach which takes communicative mobility as its starting point seems appropriate for media and communication research on the appropriation of digital media within migrant groups because it does not focus on a singular media like the mobile phone unit itself – thus overcoming a tendency inherent in the technological centrist tendencies of many previous studies (cf. Morley 2007). A communicative mobility perspective would emphasise how migrants make use of media in their everyday lives, concentrating more on how they use a range of different media to manage the problems and conflicts of increasingly mobile societies and cultures.

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[11] The concept of communicative mobility is, in a certain sense, the counterpart to the concept of mobile privatisation. While the latter tries to capture the cultural change related to the different forms of situative local mobility in our present lives, the concept of communicative mobility captures the change of media communication related to this as a whole. Accordingly, this theory fills a gap in Raymond Williams' study: focusing only on television, Williams overlooked the extent to which the change of communication is related to local mobility. It is this point exactly that comes into the foreground when we use the concept of communicative mobility.

2.2 The 'media crossing' in communicative mobility

If we choose not to take specific media technologies as the starting point for our research, and instead begin from a perspective based on communicative mobility as a whole, we can begin to realise in analysing our data from this point of view how far communicative mobility can itself be seen as a general moment of digital media appropriation within diasporas. To make this point clearer, one need only look at the way the mobile phone is appropriated alongside other digital media in the process of communicative mobility. All in all, this opens the way for a new and more detailed understanding of digital media (and their everyday appropriation) that can subsequently be refined by examination of the network maps drawn by the interviewees.

Starting with the mobile phone, it is striking that the interviewees' uses of this mobile communication terminal are rather limited bearing in mind its technological capabilities. While the mobile phone as a smart phone is increasingly marketed as a mobile communication computer (something that has relevance for the self-image of our interviewees, for owning a smart phone is often seen as an expression a communicatively connected lifestyle), the actual appropriation is different. The **mobile phone** unit is used only in four specific '**core technologies'**: use of the telephone; the sending of SMS; as an alarm clock; and as a telephone address book. For example in the Turkish diaspora, this is the case for Harun who is frightened that the address book of his mobile phone "might anytime be flooded and deleted by mistake". Meanwhile, Mehmet uses the address book only as a telephone directory and very rarely uses the mobile phone to receive e-mails. He sometimes uses the phone as an alarm clock if he is away on business, but beyond this Mehmet's view is that not all the functions of the mobile phone are relevant to him. Sertap, meanwhile, has tried to use the photographic function of her mobile phone, and also the address book, but mainly uses just the telephone and SMS functions. Occasionally she uses the alarm clock and reminder functions and she sometimes listens to the radio via headset when she is on her way to work. Her mobile phone has additional functions – such as an MP3 Player – that she does not use because, in her own words, she has "completely no instinct for this". The only exception among the interviewees is Soner, whose lifestyle is more technically-orientated: besides telephone and SMS, he uses practically the full range of his mobile phone's functions, including the address book (as a telephone directory), calendar, camera, and MP3-Player. He makes use of these functions particularly in the company of his friends, with whom he enjoys playing with such technology.

To sum up, while Soner has some personal interest in technology and therefore uses more functions of his mobile phone, this digital device does not occupy as central a position in the lives of the interviewees that one might expect given its multitasking capabilities, even if their lives are characterised to a large extent by local mobility on a biographical and situative level. So is communicative mobility of digital media merely a 'phantom' or an 'academic fantasy'? If we reach beyond technological centrism and comprehend the mobile phone as a single digital device in the context of communicative mobility, the answer is that communicative mobility has to be grasped across the borders of different media technologies. This becomes more evident when we compare previous statements with other sections of the interviews that focus on the relationship between the Internet and local mobility.

To make this comprehensible, we focus preliminarily and as a first step only on the Turkish diaspora. Harun emphasises that the **Internet** as a communication infrastructure became more important for him as local mobility increased, particularly when he moved abroad for the first time as a student. At that point he started to use e-mail to communicate with his friends.

However, when he is back in a local context in Germany he rarely checks his e-mail (1-2 times a week). Although he does not have a computer, and therefore does not use the Internet personally, he informs us that the Internet is of great importance to his family as part of the Turkish-German diaspora, again at the level of biographical local mobility. For example, his brother reads special diaspora web pages such as www.vaybee.com or www.tuerkduenya.de in order to be informed about activities within the Turkish-German community, even though Harun himself considers them to be "elitist".[12] E-mail is also important for maintaining contact within Germany and also "for contact with Turkey". For members of the Turkish-German diaspora the internet is a communication infrastructure of key importance because it offers the opportunity of a diasporic communicative connection across biographical local mobility.

This is substantiated by certain statements made in the interviews. Mehmet uses the Internet to read Hürriyet (the Turkish newspaper in Germany) and especially to browse through Google news with an interest in Turkish topics. Additionally, he searches on the Internet for specific information such as football results for the Istanbul team Ikta.[13] Google news and its search routines are helpful for him, as they also integrate diasporic web pages like türkdünya.de, which came to his attention via the Google news search. These pages are "very important" to him. Besides that, the Internet occupies an important role in keeping his friendship network together, which is divided into two parts: a German one and a Turkish one. His connection with Turkish friends is maintained specifically by using e-mail. Such an intensive use of e-mail is stimulated by the fact that e-mail is very important in the corporation where Mehmet works. Each day he writes about 50 e-mails, approximately 80% for business and 20% for private reasons. For him, e-mail is the most important tool to organise diasporic life in Germany, as it offers the possibility of continuous direct contact across the Turkish-German community network – indeed, it is a matter of regret for Mehmet that such a large number of people still do not understand this. Again it becomes clear that if we wish to discuss biographical mobility, it is important that we keep in mind communicative mobility across the 'borders of different media'.

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[12] In Harun's view, there is no "one fact of a Turkish community" in Germany, but rather multiple linked "scenes".

[13] He only very rarely reads German magazines like Spiegel and Focus in the Internet.
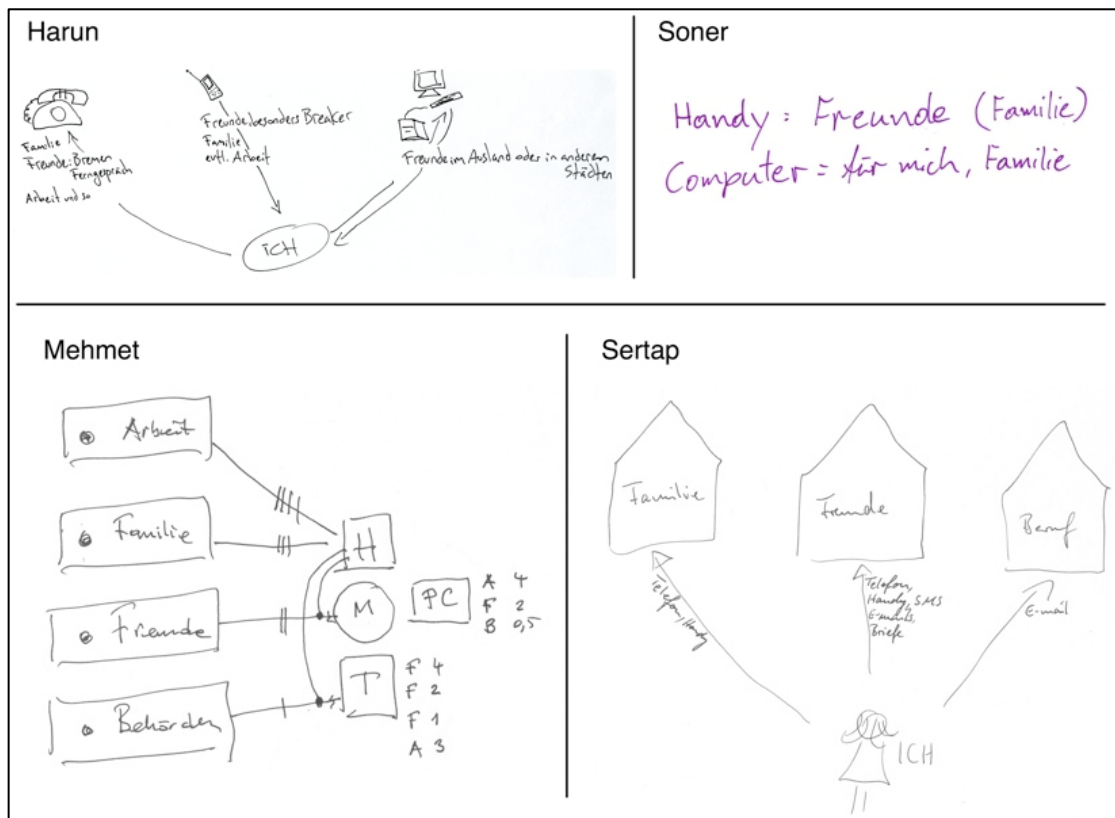
Figure 2: Examples of freehand network maps (Turkish diaspora)

In this sense, Sertap also reports that her brothers enjoy using diasporic Internet content, including online Turkish newspapers and online information about the places they come from in Turkey. Her own e-mail use is linked directly to her job as a teacher trainee. On a private level, her e-mail use is affected by her residence at different places abroad when she uses e-mails to stay in contact with her network of friends. It is only for Soner that the Internet is not important at all, but even he knows other members of the Turkish-German community who use the Internet to stay in visual contact with family members in Turkey via Internet webcams.

Overall it is noticeable how far everyday local mobility in the diasporic community is related to *different* digital media of communicative mobility. It is not just the mobile phone that is linked to questions of communicative mobility. Particularly if we have biographical mobility in focus, then the Internet as a digital distribution platform is at least as important. In addition to this, the interviews show how far questions of situative and biographical local mobility are connected with each other: for members of the diaspora, whose lives are marked to a very large extent by biographical mobility, it is especially important to keep specific diasporic networks together locally. Here the Internet seems much more important than the mobile phone, which covers only situative aspects of communicative mobility. Such a 'crossing of media appropriation' in communicative mobility gets more comprehensible if we consider the network maps of the interviewees (see figure above). As mentioned above, these maps are drawings made and explained by the interviewees having being asked to visualise with whom they communicate and by which media they do so.

While the drawing by Soner gives no deeper insight into her other statements, the other three diagrams are very interesting in highlighting the **'media crossing' of connectivity practices**

in communicative mobility. In all of the drawings the centre is sketched out by the interviewee.[14]

If we take Mehmet's drawing as a first example, we can see that the mobile phone ('H' for German 'Handy'), the telephone ('T') and e-mail are the media he uses to communicate at work, with his family, friends and with government agencies. The numerals he has written on the lines from the media to the groups of communication partners, or next to the shortcuts for the communication partner groups, indicate how intensely he uses different media for communication with each of these groups.[15]

We can compare this with the communicative network of Harun. Similarly, for him three media are particularly relevant in personal communication: the telephone, the mobile phone and e-mail. The telephone is the medium used for contacting family members (especially his brother and mother) and also for contacting friends in his home city and beyond. It also has relevance for his work. The mobile phone is principally the medium of his hip-hop youth culture: other break-dancers call him on his mobile phone, although for economic reasons he prefers to call them using the regular telephone where possible. His family rarely uses his mobile phone to contact him and he seldom uses the mobile phone at work. For Harun, e-mail is more reliable in terms of contacting others and being contacted himself, and is used quite frequently to contact friends who live abroad or in other German cities.

Sertap is the only one who still writes letters to her friends. The other striking aspect of her drawing is that contact with her family is largely conducted by telephone and contact with her professional colleagues is mostly by e-mail. The interesting point here is that she does not mention the mobile phone as relevant for business, even though (elsewhere in the interview) she criticises the pressure she feels from work since she has become permanently reachable via the mobile phone. It is only contact between Sertap and her friends that is maintained using different media of mobile communication – besides the landline telephone and the mobile phone (including SMS). This also includes e-mails and letters.

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[14]   In the case of Mehmet, he does not write 'me' but 'M' as a shortcut for his name.
[15]   The third 'F' should be a 'B' for government agencies, as it is commented in the interview.
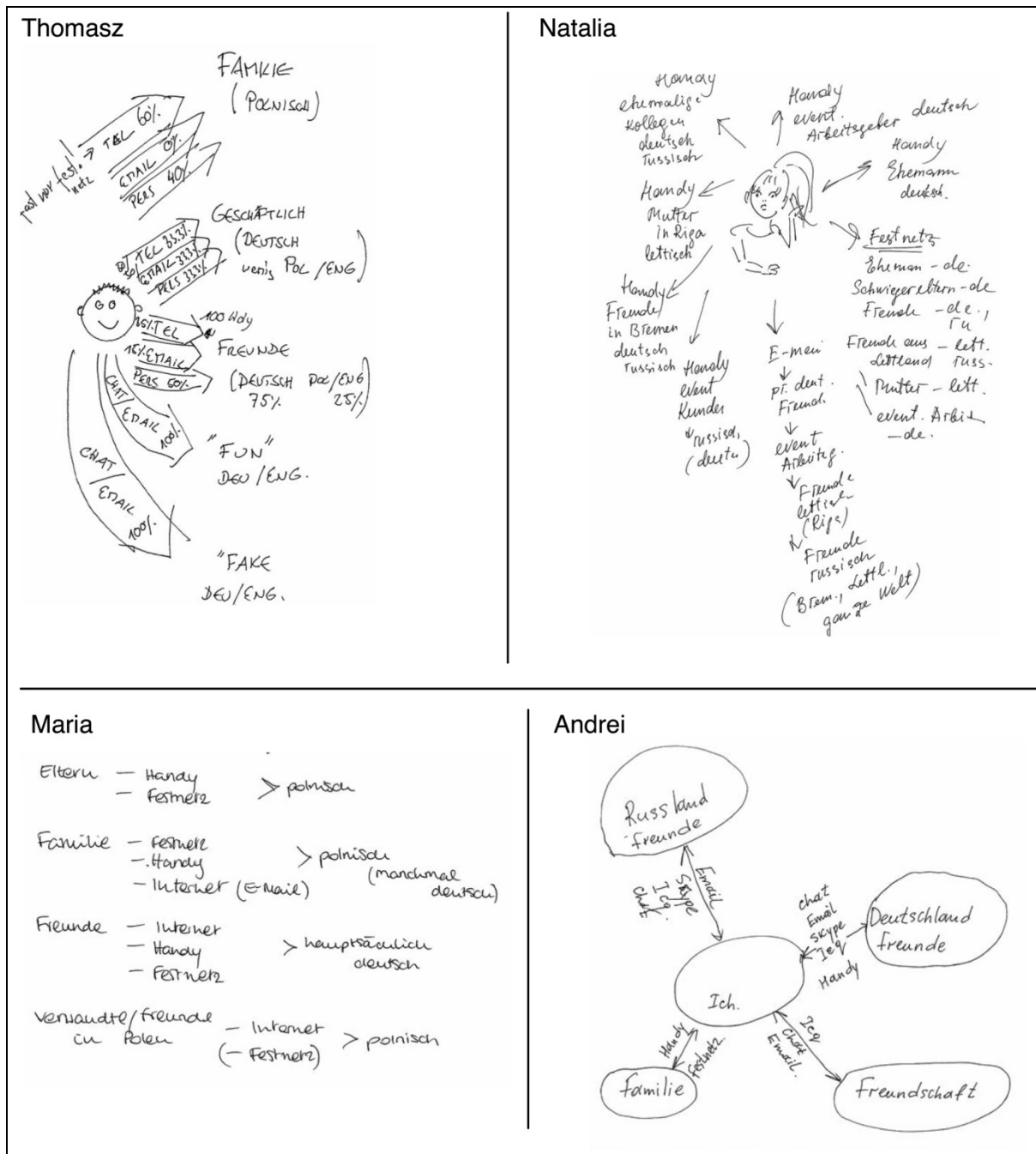
Figure 3: Examples of freehand network maps (Polish and Russian diaspora)

Focusing on the other investigated diasporas we can see comparable patterns in the network maps. Starting with the Polish diaspora we can take the network maps of Thomasz and Maria as examples. Thomasz stays in contact with his family in Poland primarily by using the line-phone (again setting a percentage, in this case of 60%). E-mail has no relevance for staying in contact with them, but personal communication (about 40% in his perception) is highly important for the family members living in his home city in Germany. While within his business live diasporic contacts play only a minor role, his (in part diasporic) friendship network is highly connected by different digital media: Especially the mobile phone but also e-mail – and additionally of course face-to-face communication. The sole use of the mobile phone within his friendship network signals, on the one hand, its status as a 'personal medium', but at the same time its relevance for managing situative local mobility.

Maria, our second example of the Polish diaspora, again systematises her appropriation of digital media alongside different groups of persons (and also again we get an insight into the doubling of a Polish diasporic and German network): Parents and family are both connected via the mobile and the line phone in Polish, but additionally her family and friends in Poland are connected via e-mail and other Internet services. So once more you can ascertain the usage of e-mail to bridge the high distance of biographical mobility (in her case as a second generation migrant: the mobility of her parents). Referring to her local friends in Germany you find the same patters as you would expect for German youth: She is connected via different Internet services, the mobile and line phone – while once again the mobile phone is the medium to manage situative local mobility.

We can compare this with the Russian diaspora, for which we have taken the examples of Natalia and Andrei. For Natalia the mobile phone is the medium that makes here accessible across the different places of her situative local mobility. While this would be also the case for German people, the interesting point of her network map is that she includes in this 'mobile reachability' her family members living abroad and diasporic customers. Additionally, e-mail is on the private level (friends) and business level the second medium for keeping in touch.

Finally, we can look at the network map drawn by Andrei. Again we see that the line phone is important to stay in contact with family members in Germany and abroad. However, his German network is connected by the use of the mobile phone, in addition to different Internet services (Chat, e-mail, ICQ, Skype). Interestingly, his contacts to Russia are completely Internet-based (Chat, e-mail, ICQ, Skype).

In all, these network maps make more clear what the 'media crossing' of connectivity practices in communicative mobility actually means: on a basic level, it is striking that different **groups of communication partners** are the central reference points for discussions of media appropriation in personal communication networks, rather than the 'borders' of different media themselves. The communicative connection to the different groups of people is 'transmedial' in the sense that it is conducted by different media. Firstly, it is problematic to equate personal media communication exclusively with 'digital media'. For example, the traditional phone is still a relevant medium in the maintenance of personal communicative networks. Secondly, local mobility is an important factor in all the included personal networks of these members of the different diasporas. This is certainly the case at the level of biographical mobility, in the sense that these networks transgress the border of the German state. Yet this is also the case at the level of situative mobility, in the sense that the interviewees' lives are all 'mobile', either for business reasons or private ones.

However, it should be noted that this biographical and situative local mobility is not linked exclusively to the mobile phone as a medium of communicative mobility. Rather, one can say that different media are used to manage different aspects of local mobility. For example, e-mail, the web and the telephone are used principally to manage biographical local mobility, as these media make it easier to 'stay in contact' at a distance, either at the level of personal communication (e-mail, telephone) or at the level of shared community communication (the web). Together with e-mail, the mobile phone is a technological medium that is used in order to manage situative local mobility, as it offers the opportunity to directly contact people who are 'on the move'. It becomes obvious, therefore, that questions of media and mobility in contemporary society cannot simply be reduced to the study of 'the mobile phone' or any one

media technology. A far-reaching local mobility makes the use of different media necessary if one is to maintain his or her own place in a communicative network.

2.3 The 'pressure' of communicative mobility

A further remarkable result of our case study is that communicative mobility is always linked with different forms of '**pressure**'. In using this word, we wish to refer to the individual circumstances of the interviewees and the way communicative mobility of digital media is affected by certain social influences. As it would be too broad to discuss all the different digital media here, we will focus in the following on the mobile phone – assuming that the basic patters we can ascertain here can be transferred at least in part to other digital media when discussing questions of communicative mobility.

We can take the Turkish diaspora and within this Harun as our first example. In talking about his own mobile phone use since 2000, he informs us of the following: he already had a 'beeper', because a friend of his used to have one and he therefore had no urge to get a mobile phone. In addition to this, people in Germany seemed to view this new technology in a different way to people in Turkey, where the mobile phone was already seen as a 'usual' part of everyday life. Harun felt that a mobile phone had a 'luxurious, prodigal image' that was not related to his own educationally-orientated efforts. However, he was eventually given an older mobile phone by his mum, who had received one as a present from somebody in the Turkish community. Finally, the *appropriation* of the mobile phone was mediated by the 'lifestyle' of a younger student group that Harun got to know after his move to Bremen – the Bremen hip-hop community:[16]

> "Just sort of meet people, got no mobile, ain't got nothing, nothing at all, never into that stuff y' know, says me, y' know, but them who's into that sort of, y' know, sort of standard gear for them dudes _others_ y'know, alternatives or whatever, yuh know, them finds that sort of funny that me I got no mobile, y' know, and them says go for it, special offers an' all that, y' know, blah blah blah, like them dudes speak, y' know, an' I knows one of 'em _stop_ all goes quiet, get away, me, Harun and a mobile? ha ha, an' y' know (laughing) they kills 'emselves laughing. Sometime or other I got one of them there toasters in my mitts, one of them Motorolas it was, a big 'un, them days was alright, y' know, nowadays, the new 'uns, getting smaller all the time they is, and me running around with one of 'em stuck in my mitts ((laughing))" (Harun)

As this quote shows, the 'pressure' of having and using a mobile phone was generated by younger members of the local hip-hop community, who encouraged Harun to get a mobile phone not just because of its technical use but also because of the 'image' this technology carried. If he did not want to be seen as an "old school" member – a tag that he might have attracted due to his age – but as "new school", it was important that he owned a mobile phone. When he finally had one, he noticed that personal contact with the other members of the local hip-hop community was much closer than before. The urge of being mobile-connected can be explained by the **lifestyle pressure** within that young hip-hop community, in which the future-orientated technological image of the mobile phone seems to be as important as its practical use as a tool of contact while on the move.

The results of our investigations show that different forms of 'pressure' that affect communicative mobility occur not merely in this example alone, but also in the lives of other interviewees who described similar motivations behind mobile phone ownership. A further

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[16] The following quotes try to transfer the German 'sociolect' of Turkish migrants in Germany into English.

example is Mehmet, a first generation migrant to Germany. His family had already migrated from Bosnia to Turkey in 1960 for employment reasons, although he himself migrated at the age of 18 in 1965 to work and study in Germany. Despite not being a 'real' Turk, Muhuttin says he started to feel "more related to Turkey" once he moved to Germany. He says it was 'only work' that structured his life until 3 years ago, and he characterises himself during that period as a "real German robot" who "lives only to work" as an engineer. Correspondingly, the pressure on Mehmet to become connected by the mobile phone was caused by business factors:

> "Yeah, (laughing) the mobile is just another issue among many, many others in my age group, I did everything to resist such a modern toy, said I would never allow such a thing to enter my home, let alone carry one around with me, 'cause I think the things are just a nuisance, at work though more or less forced to use a mobile, so in the end I had to have one, part of the job, had to be available, so I said at the time, shit, now they can get hold of me even on the loo […] in the middle of the night, and even on holiday on the other side of the world you're on hand when you've got a mobile and a laptop, nothing to be proud about and in the meantime I'm beginning to think you're nothing without a mobile, even go so far as to tell my loved ones, people like my wife and my children, not to go out without their mobile 'cause you can get in touch when you've got one, maybe even life-saving, you never know." (Mehmet)

This quote is remarkable in a double sense. Firstly, Mehmet explicitly alludes to a **business pressure** as the reason why he obtained a mobile phone. He did not want to have one, but in his company – itself a technology company – there existed a specific requirement to be connected communicatively, especially if you were positioned at a higher level. That was how Mehmet got into the habit of using a mobile phone and other mobile communication devices (e.g. a laptop) when he was away on business. Secondly, this business pressure towards mobile connectivity also **transformed his private life**. In the meantime, he has become the person who tried to persuade the rest of his own family to stay connected using the mobile phone. 'To be reachable' takes up an increasingly important part of his private life. Thus the pressure of mobile connectivity continues. Comparable statements are evident in the interviews with members of other diasporas.

Again we find here a certain 'pressure' to use the mobile phone, especially with reference to the family, to business and to friends or peer groups. To continue with the Polish diaspora: Within this Ewa reports that she received her first mobile phone "as a birthday present" from her sons, an incident we can understand as **family pressure**. Since then she gets new mobile phone models as a form of "inheritance" from them. Interestingly, she has no real use for it to contact other people aside from emergencies. But her family exerts a certain pressure for her to be reachable when not at home. Then she becomes an object of search by the mobile phone: "they look for me where I am – and that is all".

Other members within the Polish diaspora report about business pressures, like Thomasz who explains that the mobile phone is an inescapable need "also for business", where short-term appointments are made via the mobile phone. However, as in the case of Mehmet we have **follow-up changes in private life** after this. Explaining the business need for the mobile, an additional aspect is that all his "mates" expect him to be reachable while on the move. He explains this by the incident when his mobile phone was broken and he lost his way in Berlin "moving through the city without a mobile". Being not reachable was a highly unsettling experience for him and his friends. This demonstrates exemplarily to what extent availableness via mobile phone is called for within his friendship network.

This argument is supported the perspective of Maria on questions like these. While still in Grammar school, Maria relates the mobile phone and the pressure to use it highly to questions of mobility within her **friendship network** when formulating: "[the friends] are vey seldom the whole day at home • and then I consider it good to be reachable via the mobile". Being reachable in mobility is a matter of course in her friendship network.

Comparable patterns can be formulated for the Russian diaspora. Again **family pressures** play an important role: Natalia explains for example that she got a mobile phone from her "husband just as a present". But once having it "nothing is possible without a mobile any more" and she can no longer imagine not being reachable for her family wherever she moves.

An interesting case is Anna, who got a mobile phone when she was pregnant to be reachable for her husband and the other family members at all times, as her pregnancy was a problematic one. Following on, she reports that soon her parental subsidy[17] will end, so she and her partner have to think about lowering their family expenses. Because of that she gave up her mobile phone. But by doing this (and being not reachable any more for the whole family) she feels "uncomfortable".

These kinds of family pressure – to be reachable at all time at all places for the members of the (diasporic) core family – is also reported by the other interviewees. Olga got her mobile so that her mother can reach her wherever she is. But additionally we find again **business pressures** within the Russian diaspora to own a mobile phone. Eugen for example says in his interview that he owns his mobile for business use. This is also the reason why he has not changed his mobile number for 14 years, so every business partner and customer can contact him across time wherever he is. It is important for his business selling Russian books in Germany to be reachable continuously.

If we compare these different cases, we gain a remarkable insight into the pressures of communicative mobility within the investigated diasporas. It is especially striking that every interviewed person perceives his or her own motivation for getting a mobile phone as pressure from elsewhere.[18] This 'elsewhere' can be a **diaspora-internal pressure**. Examples for this are the immediate family, strengthening not only the family but by this also the network of the diaspora. Or pressure can emanate from members of the (migrant) youth culture. **Diaspora external pressures** are also evident, especially in business life if the member of the diaspora reaches higher positions in the workplace. All in all, the communicative connectivity of the mobile phone has an important role to play in the lives of each of the interviewees.

On a basic level we can argue that many aspects of this pressure are not specific for diasporas: Also Germans (and other Europeans) are confronted with an increasing social pressure to get a mobile phone and to stay connected while being mobile. However, certain aspects of this pressure to communicative mobility can be considered as **diaspora-specific pressures** as the migrant status is related at least in part to a higher degree and/or relevance of local mobility. If business is increasingly marked by mobility between different working places, then growing up as a member of a diaspora in Germany also means leaving the place where you were born and moving elsewhere. Private life can also be marked by a situative local mobility (as the example of youth culture has shown) that involves movement from one urban place to another (for example, the staging of break-dance or hip-hop concerts in different places). At

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[17] "Elterngeld", a certain sum parents receive in Germany monthly.
[18] Nevertheless, it should be noted again that the use of mobile phone technology is invariably talked about alongside other media such as the landline telephone or e-mail.

this point the mobile phone is not only important because of its technical ability to address 'persons on the move' but also because the image of the mobile phone as a tool that realises 'communicative inclusion on the move' makes it additionally important beyond its actual use. This is perhaps evident in the way people claim to feel uncomfortable when they do not have their mobile phone with them.

2.4   The 'intensifying of communicative connectivity'

If we are to contextualise communicative mobility against the horizon of local mobility, it is equally relevant to query the social changes that have taken place in relation to the changes in media use experienced during communicative mobility. It is important that in asking this question we do not reproduce the 'effect' assumption implicit in the technological centrist approach on digital media. Rather, this question should invite us to consider the reasons why communicative mobility within diasporas has become more relevant as local mobility has increased. The answer suggested in our interviews points to an **'intensification of communicative connectivity'**.

We can substantiate this for the Turkish diaspora by looking first at the interview with Sertap. As we mentioned earlier, ever since Sertap owned a mobile phone she has felt pressured by the fact that she is reachable all the time, which is why she occasionally switches it off. However, such negative aspects of mobile phone possession count as only one dimension of her communicative mobility – on the other hand, she reports of using SMS to stay in contact with her sister, who lives in Istanbul, and a good female friend who lives in London. It is the same in the case of e-mail use. Although the prospect of e-mailing offers nothing completely new, it does make it easier for Sertap to stay in touch with friends, especially if they live abroad. For example, apart from her female friend in London, Sertap also mentions a contact in Riga that she came to know through her involvement in basketball activities.

Meanwhile, Soner is quite explicit when he reflects on what has changed since he acquired a mobile phone. While he describes his life before the mobile phone as "pretty cool", now his communicative contacts have increased. Through SMS, for example, he has more contact with girls than before, and in general it is important for him to be reachable all the time. An example of this is that his father – who has recently established a small removal enterprise – can call him when he needs help and he can go to assist him. Besides this, the communicative network between him and his three best friends has also intensified across his daily local mobility. While for Soner the internet is less important, it is clear that his appropriation of the mobile phone has to be contextualised alongside a surge of communication across his family and social network which has taken place as he becomes increasingly locally mobile.

For Harun communicative mobility has a lot to do with his hip-hop lifestyle. When it comes to the mobile phone, Harun remarks that since having it he has a "much tighter contact" with others inside the youth culture. This is especially relevant in his case because the lifestyle within this youth culture is marked by a very pronounced local mobility – some of the members are very rarely at home and only reachable on their mobile phone. The mobile phone is for Harun a "total communicative thing" used in an ongoing exchange concerning the activities of different members of the group. However, Harun also wishes to be reachable all the time for employment reasons, and in his position as a freelance language teacher he hopes never to lose out on an interesting job offer. In spite of only using e-mail about once a week, it affords Harun a chance to intensify communicative connections particularly with friends and members of his youth culture who live abroad.

In Mehmet's case, the overall impression is that different forms of media intensified communicative connectivity. Even when he "goes to the toilet" he takes his mobile phone with him to stay connected. First of all, this is an intensification of mobile communicative connectivity in the context of work, but next to this is an intensification of communicative connectivity with family members. Similarly, other media can be contextualised: as mentioned earlier Mehmet uses e-mail intensively, writing about 50 and receiving about 100 e-mails per day. In addition to this, the traditional phone is contextualised in a process of intensified communicative connectivity with Turkey as it becomes increasingly cheaper.

Again, comparable statements can be found in interviews with members of the Polish diaspora. We can take here the interview with Aneta as a first example. Within her interview she reports that the mobile phone is for her especially a tool to stay in a deeper contact with other family members living in Germany. She continuously writes SMS to her daughter and her son or telephones quite often with her husband or a good friend of hers. So on a regular base the mobile phone is the prime medium for staying continuously in contact with other members of her core family and her inner network of friends. The contact to Poland and further afield is kept rather by other media, like for example the line phone (having a flat rate to Poland, see for this again our analyses of the network maps). But for special occasions, the mobile gains relevance as presenting the possibility for connecting relatives and friends of the Polish diaspora or within Poland wherever she or her family members may be. The example Aneta refers to are special celebrations like the birthday of a cousin when it may happen that her "children […] write quickly a SMS • mostly shortly after midnight".

A comparable pattern becomes manifest when we focus on the interview with Thomasz. Reflecting about his mobile phone use within the Polish diaspora he discusses the example when his girlfriend informed him that she was pregnant. He felt a deep necessity to inform "the whole world • including all Polish acquaintances and friends in the night" and called them because "this was again such a (far-reaching) experience". The way Thomasz contextualises his mobile phone use during this single incident with an "again" indicates that for him it is a usual pattern to call Polish friends far away from his home town (and at an unusual time) by mobile when something special happens – and that his Polish friends are the favoured persons he then calls.

We can find the same arguments for such an intensifying of communicative connectivity within mobility in the interviews with members of the Russian diaspora: Natalia, Olga, Anna, Nina, Andrei and Eugen all describe the mobile phone as the medium they use to stay in contact with their family and (Russian) friends, more or less internally while being on the move locally. In a certain sense Eugen puts this in a nutshell when he says the "[mobile] phone is also used for the family". While the "also" indicates all the general useful possibilities of the mobile phone (for example making arrangements with colleagues on the fly) the emphasis of the family indicates the main personal focus of the appropriation of the mobile phone: It opens the possibility for an intensive communicative connectivity within the diasporic family, a connectivity that in some cases tends towards a control-relation between parents and children or other family members.

How can we summarise such statements of the three diasporic group members? First of all, they show the **importance of communicative connectivity** for each of the interviewees: they want to 'stay connected', especially with their friends, family and other elements of the diaspora community which is dispersed across different countries. With digital media and

especially the mobile phone, this 'staying connected' becomes increasingly simple while being on the move.

Secondly, this intensification of communicative connectivity has at least in part a **segmenting tendency**. It is not focused on the connectivity of a global cosmopolitism as outlined in some optimistic discussions to have taken place regarding cultural globalisation and media (see Tomlinson 1999: 181-207). Rather, it is focused on pre-existing cultural segments such as the family, friendship networks or the networks of the diaspora.[19] The consequence might well be that this surge of segmented communicative connectivity itself points towards a deterritorial horizon, of which the communicative connectivity within diasporas is an example.

When all is said and done, the relevance of this increasing communicative connectivity can only be understood if we see it in its whole context. If everyday lives are affected by an increasing local mobility, the question of 'staying in contact' resonates strongly. The appropriation of different digital media may be an answer to this growing tendency, especially with regard to questions of biographical and situative local mobility.

2.5 Communicative mobility, community re-generation and relational integration

Our main starting arguments in this chapter was that we have to focus on two aspects when we discuss the relevance of digital media for the mobility of IEM/members of diasporas: firstly, the aspect of local mobility at the level of biographical and situative local mobility; and secondly, the aspect of communicative mobility at the level of digital media, as well as stationary media technologies addressing mobile people. Such a concept of communicative mobility offers a chance to understand the appropriation of mobile phone technology and other digital media in the diaspora. In light of these considerations, it is possible to sum up two more general considerations: firstly, the complexity of communicative mobility within the diaspora; and secondly, the relativity of spacious mobility.

1. Complexity of communicative mobility: Hopefully the empirical examples in this chapter have shown that communicative mobility within diasporas is itself structured in a complex and highly differentiated way. Communicative mobility does not just refer to an increase of communicative accessibility while 'being on move'. If we understand communicative mobility in the wider sense as we have tried to outline it here, we ought to focus on the appropriation of complex 'media environments', including the mobile phone, but also other media such as e-mail, telephone or traditional mass media. All these media can be understood as aspects in communicative mobility, as they offer both the chance and the pressure to develop communicative connectivity during phases of biographical and situative local mobility. A further, here unresearched aspect is the use of surveillance technology to 'observe' migrants.

2. Relativity of local mobility: The example of members of diasporic communities, as we have discussed here, is certainly an example of groups of enforced "mobility pioneers" (Kesselring 2006) in the sense that the lives of these people are highly characterised by an involuntary biographical mobility, either by parents or by themselves. But especially with this group in mind, it becomes obvious that their lifestyles are not marked by a kind of 'global

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[19] For Tomlinson this is one reason why we should resist thinking of "mobile terminals" such as the mobile phone as globalisation technologies, but rather as technologies of the home in a world of global flows and deterritorialisation (see Tomlinson 2008: 60f.).

flickering through territories'. Rather, their biographical local mobility is marked by careful consideration (and often related to personal crisis and deep life breaks), and in most cases the situative local mobility is one that occurs within a specific region with a scope of 150 kilometres.

It is important to keep such contexts in mind, as the research of cultural geographers has shown that only for a few groups is the range of local mobility far-reaching. There are also a high number of frequently out-bordered people whose local mobility has only the range of a few kilometres (see Massey 1995: 59; Morley 2000: 128-203; Moores 2008). While members of diasporic groups may become **'enforced mobility pioneers'** due to economic pressures (as more voluntary "mobility pioneers" emerge out of careers in areas such as ICT), their situative local mobility after that may also be limited due to economic factors – or an ongoing local mobility may also be driven by the search for better economic conditions. This ambivalence of local mobility means that if we are to truly understand communicative mobility within diasporas, we must look carefully at which social groups are affected and which forms of local mobility are actually enacted by those groups, in addition to the possible characteristics and overlapping causes of such processes.[20]

However, our case study has also demonstrated to what extent communicative mobility is related to community re-generation and relational integration. We can see a **community re-generation** aspect of communicative mobility: Describing by the concept of communicative mobility the appropriation of digital media in mobile life contexts we have realised how far this is related to an internal communication, either within the family or within the further diasporic network. While for sure the mobile phones (and other digital media) are not used at all times, especially the mobile phone offers *the chance* to contact the family and other diasporic friends whenever it is necessary in critical situations. Exemplary for this is how Thoamsz acted when he found out that his girlfriend was pregnant. Such an intensifying of communicative connectivity within mobility can outcome in community re-generation processes. But of course we have to be carful not to make the mistake and assume that re-generation might be an 'effect' of digital media in general or the mobile phone in particular. A more appropriate understanding would be to comprehend an intense internal communicative connectivity of a diasporic group as a fundamental assumption for a re-generative communication process. How far this process then takes place in detail is related to a high number of other, not media-related factors.

This already brings us to the point of **relational integration**. In the last section of this chapter we have argued that communicative mobility is related to a segmenting tendency. In this formulation we used the term 'segmenting' in a basic sociological sense, meaning that the intensified communicative connectivity is rather related to social segments (the family, the friendship network, the network of the diaspora) than to functional units (work relations, (public) service relations, etc.). Having said this, we do not imply that communicative mobility is in the beginning aligned with processes of des-integration and self-separation ("ghetto-ization"). Rather we would like to argue that having through digital media the possibility to keep family, friendship and diasporic networks within biographical and situative local mobility (and by this having a better chance for community stability) *can* be the precondition for a relational integration. But in relation to digital media the second step would be that these media also would be used to 'network' with other persons and groups beyond the borders of the diaspora. So again we would conceive a relational integration as a kind of

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[20] This indicates how far further research is necessary within this field, also integrating questions of surveillance.

double networking, (a) within the diasporic community (including family and friends) as the basis of a personal stability living abroad and 'on the move', and (b) with further persons and groups in the present context of living. If such a "double networking" takes place a certain social capital can be seen within the appropriation of the mobile phone and other digital media.

3.   CASE STUDY 3: CONDITIONS OF OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS IN THE ICT BUSINESS – THE CASE OF TURKS

Over the last years the ICT sector has been one of the most prospering parts of the German economy. In 2006 approximately 800,000 people (employees and freelancer) were working in the ICT sector. 'Information technologies' had the largest share on the whole sector with 490,000 people. Approximately 90% of this group were working for software and ICT-service provider. However, the figure below shows that this was the only subsector within the overall ICT sector that expanded between 1998 and 2006 (BICTKOM 2007: 16). In contrast all other sectors faced a decrease of their workforce.
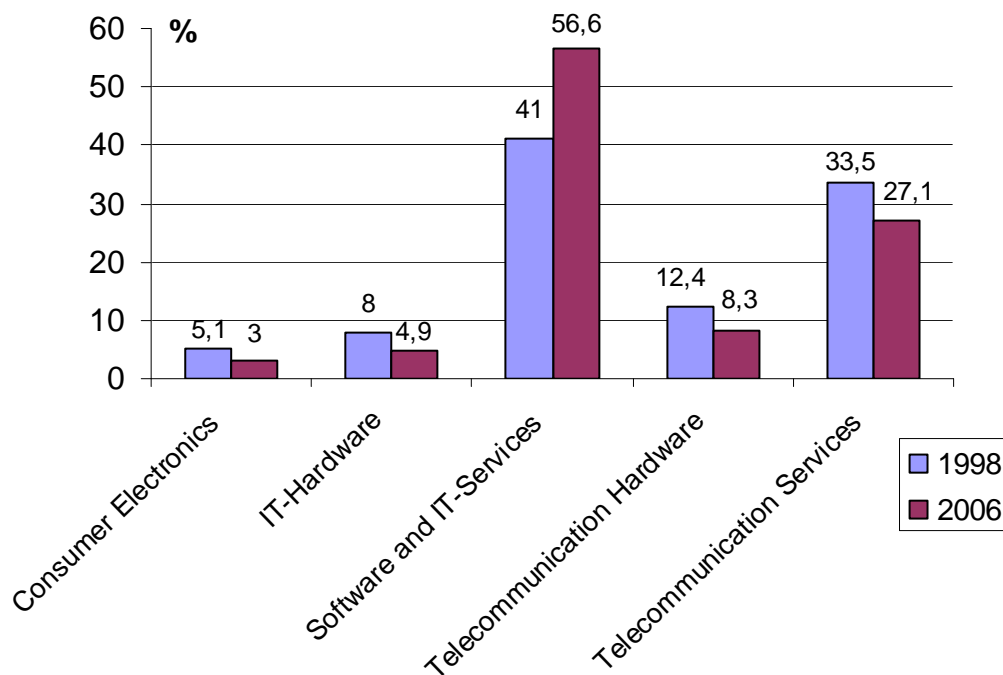

Figure 4: Labour force in the ICT sector 1998-2006 (Source: BICTKOM, Federal Employment Agency, Federal Net Infrastructure Agency)

Employment in the ICT sector is not only offered by ICT-providers or suppliers but also by firms that use ICT solutions. These are, for example, network administration, database maintenance, intranet support or software development. With ca. 1 million employees that realm even exceeded the number of employees in the ICT sector. This number also illustrates the character of ICT as a cross-sectional technology (BICTKOM 2007: 17).

The demand for professionals with ICT-skills is still high. According to a survey conducted for the German ICT business association BICTKOM there were ca. 20,000 corresponding job openings with a major share in the realms of software und ICT-services in early 2008. In another survey conducted in March 2008, 61% of the questioned specialists and executive managers declared that they lack especially ICT specialists and engineers. However, in May 2008 the Federal Office of Employment declared that 27,000 ICT professionals were officially registered as unemployed. Especially concerned were experts working in data processing centres, informatics, and data entry specialists.

Despite these drawbacks the scope of ICT-related employment will probably increase furthermore. Thus it is also interesting to ask how to IEM perform in this sector and under what conditions do they enter it. The following case study provides some answers to these questions. On the basis of eight biographical interviews we discuss the educational preconditions for getting into the ICT sector, take a look on how IEM enter the ICT sector and what kind of experiences they make performing there (see next table for sample description). Four personal success stories complete our examination that is closed by some concluding remarks.

Name[21]	Age	Education	Year of migration
Aydin	38	He started to study mechanical engineering in Turkey but could not finish it. After an occupational retraining he is working in the ICT division of a large electronics company.	1995
Caner	43	In Turkey he graduated successfully in forestry. When he came to Germany he worked for eight years as a roofer before he started his occupational retraining to become a management assistant in ICT systems.	1991
Hamit	47	He finished grammar school in Turkey. In Germany he continued his secondary education in the field of computer science at a polytechnic.	1980
Murat	36	He graduated from a German University in economic science. He is working since 1999 as a SAP consultant.	Born in Germany
Nurdan	29	She graduated from German University in computer science. She is working in the ICT division of a mail order company.	Born in Germany
Rafet	46	He did an apprenticeship in Turkey in order to work in the tourism industry. In Germany he graduated from a polytechnic in computer science and is working now as a freelancer.	1979
Servet	37	He graduated from a Turkish University in German language and literature studies. When he came to Germany he started to study again computer science in which he eventually graduated.	1992
Timur	38	After finishing grammar school he graduated from a German University in computer science.	1980

Table 4: Sample description case study 3

3.1 Education matters – meeting the requirements of the ICT sector

During the first far-reaching growth period of the German ICT sector in the late 1980s/early 1990s demand for employees with respective skills exceeded the number of people who finished respective apprenticeships or graduated from the university considerably. Thus many people found employment there who gained the needed competences auto didactically.

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[21] All names are pseudonyms.

However, today an ICT-related apprenticeship, a university degree or professional development certificates are almost mandatory preconditions for finding a respective job. Most of the IEM who were interviewed for this case study graduated from the university either in Germany or in Turkey. Most but not all of the later also completed their formal school education in Turkey. We call them "educational aliens". The remaining interviewees are "educational natives", i.e. they graduated from a German grammar school either in Germany or in another country. Some of them might also graduate from additional schools. Half of the sample members belong to this group.

3.1.1   The case of the "educational natives"

Only *Nurdan* and *Murat* were born in Germany and went through the whole German school system. Whereas *Nurdan* was not concerned with ethnic discrimination *Murat* reports about such problems which occurred after finishing "Orientierungsstufe" and moving to elementary school.[22]

Mm: […] ich bin nach der Orientierungsstufe aufs Gymnasium gekommen […] aber meine Lieblingslehrerin dort in Anführungsstrichen hat das geschafft mich wieder von dem Gymnasium äh runterzudrängen indem Sie mir in Ihren zwei Fächern mangelhaft gegeben hat • mit dem Argument .hhhh ausländische Schüler können kein Gymnasium besuchen • das hat Sie ganz klipp und klar gesagt und ich bin dann auf die Realschule gekommen • nach einem halben Jahr • das war schon eine Erfahrung die mich glaube ich ganz gut geprägt hat (Interview *Murat* 226-234)[23]

Being at elementary school one of the teachers squeezed him off school through grading his achievements in two subjects as poor after finishing the first half of the school year. She justified her decision very clearly because from her point of view foreign students are not able to attend grammar school successfully. The ethnic discrimination of her action is apparent. According to *Murat* this experience shaped him significantly. After finishing secondary modern school he continued his formal education at another grammar school and eventually graduated successfully.

Nurdan did not face ethnic discrimination during her school education. She started her secondary education at a secondary modern school and continued it at a grammar school she eventually graduated from. It was her personal decision to attend grammar school and her parents did not hinder her to do so. Unlike *Nurdan* and *Murat Timur* was born in Turkey and went to primary school there before he migrated to Germany when he was eleven years old together with his mother and his brother. Because his father was already working in Germany the German right of family reunion enabled them to join him. Even though he did not know the German language prior to his arrival he immediately went to secondary modern school. Due to his language deficits he faced tremendous problems in school but eventually succeeded.

Tm: also ich habe von innerhalb einem Jahr Deutsch gelernt • so dass ich es auf der Schule schaffen konnte • ich habe aber auch Nachhilfe gekriegt meine Eltern meine Mutter

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[22]   In some German states children go to "Orientierungsstufe" for two years after finishing primary school. After that time a decision is made whether they can continue with secondary school, secondary modern school or elementary school.

[23]   Most of the used quotations from the interviews are not in made in 'correct German' and reflect the migrant status of the interviewed persons). That is the reason why we left it in German and then paraphrased the main content in the following text.

war sehr hinterher dass ich Nachhilfe kriege und so weiter usw. und das hat was gebracht • und mein Freundeskreis

I: also hattest du eher deutsche Freunde¿ oder

Tm: jaI: (Interview *Timur* 470-475)

He learned the German language within a very short period of only one year. On the one hand this was due to the initiative of his mother who made sure that *Timur* received private language lessons to catch up with his class mates. On the other hand his friends were mainly Germans therefore he apparently had sufficient opportunities to incorporate the language by using it intensively. However, such efforts did not prevent him from attempts to take him out of his class and to put him into a special 'foreigners class'.

Tm: ich sollte dann irgendwann abgeschoben werden in die Ausländerklasse aber meine Mathelehrerin war gleichzeitig meine Klassenlehrerin

I: mmh

Tm: und obwohl ich kein Deutsch konnte ich im Mathebereich sehr gut mitkommen ne¿ also zum Teil besser also die Mitschüler und deshalb hat sie sich dafür eingesetzt obwohl ich kein Deutsch konnte in der Klasse bleiben kann • die anderen äh Mitschüler die Deutsch äh Türken wurden die in die Ausländerklasse gekommen die haben noch nicht mal Hauptschule geschafft • also in der Ausländerklasse bist du erledigt gewesen

I: okay

Tm: die Lehrerin hat mir damals äh das Leben gerettet • kann man so sagen • ohne das hätte ich wäre ich bestimmt erledigt gewesen • da kommt man nicht wieder raus (Interview *Timur* 480-492)

The commitment of his class teacher prevented him from leaving the class. The teacher also taught him mathematics and *Timur* performed well in this subject and even better than some of his class mates despite his language deficits. Apparently, his good performance convinced his class teacher about *Timur*s general competences. Probably it had nothing to do with his migration background because other students with a migration background had to leave the class none the less and went into the so-called 'foreigner class'. These kids did not even get a secondary school leaving certificate. Therefore, according to *Timur* students were broken if they had to attend the foreigner class because such classes apparently did not provide the students with any stepping-stones to move on a higher school level. Thus his teacher saved his life as *Timur* formulates figuratively. This statement also underlines his strong educational aspiration which is also expressed by his earlier statement that he absolutely wanted to study at the university and therefore needed to graduate from high school. Additionally, also his parents wanted that he took this kind of educational pathway.

Generally, many parents with migration backgrounds want their children to complete the German school system successfully to provide them with a sufficient basis for an apprenticeship or academic studies. However, placement behaviour often lacks behind such aspirations. This is, among others, due to the fact that many of these parents are not familiar with the German educational system and therefore cannot advice their children how to get the most out of it for their educational success. *Murat* and *Nurdan* made similar experiences that can be illustrated by the following sequence from the interview with *Nurdan*.

Nf: okay also Schwierigkeiten sind natürlich das z. B. die Eltern nicht so unterstützen können wie deutsche Eltern [...] die halt das gleiche irgendwie schon auch durchgemacht haben Schule Abitur und vielleicht Studium

I: alles klar

Nf: also da konnten meine Eltern nicht so viel unterstützen [...] vom Wegweisen mal einen irgendwie eine Richtung zeigen [...] oder so was • oder bestimmte Sachen erleichtern einfach weil sie genau wissen wie da die Prozedur ist so was (Interview *Nurdan* 198-212)

The cited sequence followed the interviewer's question about difficulties during school education. *Nurdan* did not face any but the limited support of her parents caused by their limited knowledge about the German educational system. Therefore, among others, they could not point her into certain directions that might have been beneficial with regard to educational success. The same was true for certain procedures students need to run through like her parents already did and thus could provide their children with additional advice. *Murat* made similar experiences. Even though his parents, like himself, wanted him to complete grammar school and to go to university they could not support him if he had to decide about the subject he wanted to study at the university.

Originally, *Murat* wanted to study dentistry and was already accepted as a student of the subject.[24] However, the place of study was not in his hometown which he did not want to leave and thus did not start to study dentistry. Alternatively, he decided to study economics at his hometown university after concluding that this subject would offer him the best chances for future employment. At some point of his studies he took an optional class about the software SAP. Because SAP became increasingly interesting for him he eventually decided to write his thesis about a SAP-related subject. This was also the starting point for his entry into the ICT sector.

Nurdan and *Timur* studied informatics as a subject from the beginning. However, both had different plans in the first place. Actually *Nurdan* was interested into architecture or biology. But to be accepted for architecture she would have to wait a few semesters because of the high demand and her grade-point average. While taking a gap year to do voluntary work in the environmental sector she noticed that many biologists face serious difficulties to get into and to remain in the workforce. During that time she also worked a lot with computers and enjoyed it a lot. Eventually she changed her mind and enrolled herself to study informatics. *Timur* actually wanted to study medical science but he also would have had to wait several semesters because his overall grade was to low to get into this study immediately. Therefore he changed his mind began to study informatics. All three decided independently about their studies without considerable advice or support of others. They also did not face any ethnic discrimination during their studies.

Interestingly, **the three "educational natives" only showed minor interest into ICT prior to their studies.** Only *Murat* already owned a computer at that time. When he was about 15 or 16 years old he got a Commodore 64 computer from his parents because all his friends already had what he calls a 'game computer', i.e. that the computer was mainly used to play computer games. For this reason he also only had limited media literacy when he started his studies and did not know, for example, how to use a word processor. *Nurdan* familiarized herself with the computer during school but did not develop a more intensive practice prior to

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[24] Certain study subjects require a particular grade-point-average and a personal application as a general admission requirement.

her voluntary gap year. *Timur* had no computer experiences prior to his studies. He gained the necessary knowledge for using the computer during his studies and through processes of self-depended learning. Family members or friends did not contribute to his knowledge acquisition. All three bought their own computers when they started their studies.

3.1.2　　The case of the 'educational aliens'

All of the "educational aliens" in contrast to the "educational natives" have in common that they completed at least their formal school education in Turkey before the migrated to Germany. Some also finished their tertiary education completely or partly in Turkey. *Hamit*, for example, graduated from a Turkish grammar school before he came to Germany because his parents already lived there. Some also graduated from a Turkish university or finished an apprenticeship there prior to their migration. However, the case of *Servet* illustrates that **the educational biography of IEM might be de-localized respectively oscillating between different localities**. He was born in Turkey and went to primary school there for one year before he migrated to Germany together with his parents. There he went to school for seven years until his parents returned to Turkey in 1984. *Servet* moved back with them went to grammar school and eventually graduated successfully. After finishing his German language and literature studies at a Turkish university he returned to Germany in 1992 to start a second study in informatics.

The 38-year old *Aydin* also graduated from a Turkish high school and studied mechanical engineering at a local university. He finished his studies, but for several reasons could not graduate from the university.

> Am:　　konnte ich nicht nehmen .hhhh äh da war ein paar sag ich mal äh verschiedene Gründe ein ersten politisch da hat ein Prof. mir gesagt du kriegst niemals ein Diplom von dieser uni •• dann gab's auch noch den Druck damalige Zeit wegen Militärdienst äh ich hatte so zwei drei Semester schon verlängert und da haben die ein neues Gesetz erlassen äh alle müssen zum Militär und alle so in dieser Position stehen mit dem uni äh Probleme haben würden (Interview *Aydin* 223-229).

Aydin declares that he did not get his diploma for political reasons without further explaining these difficulties. However, one of the professors frankly explained to him that he would never graduate from that university because of his political problems. A new legislation caused additional problems because it increased pressure on males to serve their military duty. Thus he apparently had to interrupt his studies irrespective of his political reasons and had to join the army. After that time he got to know his wife who already has been living in Germany for a longer period. Because of that relationship he actually did not want to migrate to Germany. However, eventually they decided to move to Germany for six months firstly. The 43-year old *Caner's* educational biography shows many similarities to *Aydins*'. He also studied at a Turkish university but in contrast to *Aydin* also graduated successfully in forestry. His wife has also been living in Germany prior to *Caner's* migration.

Like *Caner* and *Aydin*, the 47-year old *Hamit* as well as the 46-year old *Rafet* also **did not get the certificates of their secondary education in Turkey fully accredited in Germany**. *Hamit* had to go to school again to get a vocational diploma that allowed him to enter the university. Then he started to study informatics at a polytechnic. At the time *Rafet* came to Germany he had already completed a hotel management college. However, his degree also did not get accredited so he went to school too to get a vocational diploma at the same school like *Hamit*. Because he did not like to continue working in the hotel business he decided that

he want to get a job with a technical emphasis. *Hamit* then advised him that being a computer scientist would be a good job.

Rm: das war also 83 oder 82 • und ich habe ihn gefragt was ist das¿ dann meinte er • ja:::
     das weiß er auch nicht aber es soll gut sein und ich hatte gedacht äh äh • ich habe
     damals viel gelesen und äh äh ich hatte/ ich dachte das wäre der Beruf äh bei den an
     den Bahnhöfen gab es Leute gab's früher Leute irgendwie Frauen oder Männer die
     haben dann äh wenn der Zug kam an sie irgendwie so eine Trillerpfeife gepfiffen und
     haben gesagt bitte zurückbleiben oder so ((lachen)) ich dachte so das wäre der Job von
     Informatiker
I: ja¿ wirklich¿ ((lachen))
Rm: ja::: diese Idee habe ich angefangen ((lachen)) Informatik zu studieren • ich dachte das
     ist so toller Job also kommt alle fünf Minuten oder zehn Minuten eine Bahn und in der
     Zwischenzeit kannst du lesen
I: ach so • aber wie sind sie denn da drauf gekommen¿ also
Rm: weil der Hasan gesagt das ist ein guter Job und ich dachte das wäre dieser Job
I: ach so und dann waren sie überrascht als dannI
Rm: nee danach irgendwann war mir dann später haben wir uns schlau gemacht als wir
     anfingen dann wussten wir schon ja
I: okay dann hatte eigentlich so den größten Einfluss ein Freund von ihnen
Rm: genau
I: und nicht so die Eltern oder die Verwandten oder so
Rm: nee (Interview *Rafet*, 197-217)

Asked for a detailed explanation about the work of a computer scientist *Hamit* had to admit that he did not know it exactly. *Rafet* thought that such a professional would work at a train station and had nothing to do but to warn people through whistling not to stand to close to the railway tracks if a train runs through the station. However, before they actually started to study they informed themselves about the professional work of a computer scientist. Besides his friends neither his parents nor relatives influenced *Rafet*'s career choice.

In 1992, *Servet* returned to Germany in order to study informatics because he considered his German language and literature studies as a mistake and he did not want to work as a teacher for German in Turkey. At that time his older brother already lived in Germany and supported his decision or to be more precisely did not do anything against it. Nevertheless *Servet* also enrolled himself to continue his German language and literature studies but eventually decided to study informatics.

Caner and *Aydin* first had to work in completely different jobs to make their living after they arrived in Germany. Working with ICT was offered to them later by the centre of employment to improve their employment opportunities. *Caner* actually wanted to continue his studies at the University of Hamburg when he came to Germany in the early 1990s. Unfortunately the German administration did not accredit his Turkish university certificate besides a few courses. To continue his academic career he would have had to repeat most of his studies. Instead of doing this, he decided to join his brother who worked as a roofer.

Aydin arrived in Germany three days after he finished his military service and experienced this extensive change as a shock. Because of the lack of a diploma he tried to get his Turkish university courses accredited but failed. To cover his living expenses he then worked in a warehouse, among others, as a fork-lift driver. At the same time he also completed three

German language courses. Additionally he tried to enrol at a technical university. He failed because he owned no German or an equivalent school leaving certificate and the university only accepted a limited number of foreign students. Eventually his employer resigned *Aydin's* job upon an agreement with him to make *Aydin* eligible for an occupational retraining funded by the local employment centre. Actually *Aydin* wanted to continue his professional career in the field of mechanical engineering because of the experiences he already owned. However, his advisor at the centre for employment convinced him about the occupational advantages of the ICT sector

Am: […] in dieser Linie ähm das es ICT-Schiene war tatsächlich nur dieses äh Kanalisierung von dem Arbeitsamtmitarbeiter der Mann der gute Mann war/ hatte erkannt der hat gesagt du sollst dahin ich glaube dir ich vertraue dir dass du das schaffst sowieso aber das wir auch dir gefallen und das ist gefragte Sache […] (Interview *Aydin* L. 310-313)

His adviser acknowledged his background in mechanical engineering and suggested *Aydin* to become a computer scientist because of the related good employment opportunities. He was also convinced that *Aydin* would be able to complete such an occupational retraining successfully and that he would find a job easier because of the high demand for skilled workers in the ICT-Sector. However, he could not start the retraining immediately and had to overcome additional hurdles that were caused, above all, by his limited knowledge about the German language. Thus he had to work much harder than the other participants of the course to succeed and eventually graduated as an ICT specialist with a focus on system integration.

Caner also asked the local centre of employment for help when he feared that the company he worked for would bust. His adviser also suggested him to work in the ICT sector because at that time (2000) it offered many job openings. After passing a required language test he could start his occupational retraining to become a management assistant in ICT systems which took him two years. Because he could not find a job after the retraining he completed additional ICT courses. Among others, he gained expertise in installing and maintaining Microsoft server, working with Linux and maintaining computer networks based on Cisco technology.

Most of the "educational aliens" faced **major problems during the first time in Germany because of their limited knowledge about the German language**. Simultaneously they had not much time to acclimatize in Germany but had to start to get an occupational qualification almost immediately. The following sequence from the interview with *Aydin* illustrates the scope of this challenge and pressure quite well.

Am: […]ich hatte gerade eineinhalb zwei Jahre deutsch äh bei mir und das war auch nicht ausreichend und das hatte ich auch in der Schule in der Zeit gelebt • ich musste drei oder vierfache äh lernen als die anderen und das war den sag ich mal zusätzliche dreifache meistens auf deutsch basiert • […] (Interview *Aydin* L. 329-333)

Aydin had large difficulties in the beginning with the German language. He states that this was a major problem in his retraining to become an ICT specialist. Because of his poor language skills he had to work three to four times harder than the others participants of the retraining. *Caner* considers his limited German language skills as a major disadvantage for his attempts to find employment. He points out two main reasons for his language deficits as the following sequence from his interview illustrates.

I: ja okay ((lachen)) haben sie aber jetzt in der also bei ihrer Ausbildung zur ICT irgendwelche äh ja also Vorteile oder Nachteile gehabt als Türke¿

Cm: äh ja bei/ natürlich das ist äh Nachteile meine Nachteile mein Bereich äh meine Sprache • weil damals als/ habe ich lange Zeit als Dachdecker gearbeitet • bei dieser Arbeit du/ ich kann nicht meine Sprache verbessern weil wir arbeiten mit eine Kolonne und dann mit meinem Bruder wir sprechen auf dem Dach immer Türkisch • und dann ab und zu arbeiten wir mit anderen äh Kolonne und mit z.B. einer deutschen Kolonne aber äh alle wissen ich spreche bisschen anders oder nicht so gut und dann äh alle schon akzeptiert und dann normalerweise für diese Bau meine Sprache reicht • aber für diese äh noch mal eine kaufmännische Bereich Umschulung das war hab ich schon bemerkt das ist richtig äh sehr schwer weil brauch man diese äh immer diese Sprache Deutsch deutsche Sprache (Interview *Caner*, 134-148)

While working as a roofer he could not improve his language skills because most of the time he worked together with his brother and they only spoke Turkish with each other. However, from time to time they also worked together with German roofers but everybody knew about *Caner*s problems with the language and accepted it, i.e. nobody asked him to improve his competences. Additionally his language proficiency was enough to meet the needs for communication needed in such a work environment. But that is no longer true since he started his retraining where a much higher level of language proficiency is needed to succeed because much more of the business interactions strongly rely on verbal intermediation. In contrast to *Caner Rafet* states that he only had problems with the German language during his first year but solved them through attending language courses.

Due to their age **most of the "educational aliens" encountered the computer relatively late**. However, also the younger ones are by no means technology enthusiasts who turned their interest into computer technology into a profession. *Servet*, for example, got in contact with computers for the first time when he returned to Germany. There he shared an apartment with his brother during the first year. He already had a computer and introduced *Servet* to it six months prior to the start of his university studies. Besides learning about working with computers during his studies he also gained much of his computer literacy in a modus of **self-dependent learning** which **is a major modus of computer literacy building for all interviewees**. *Aydin* already worked with computers when he was studying in Turkey. He bought his first computer soon after he went to Germany. He gained his computer literacy in a modus of self-dependent learning but also through the help of people who were teaching his courses. For example, he took one German class where participants had to work on the computer not only in order to learn German but also to become more familiar with the computer. *Caner* learned how to work with the computer during his studies at a Turkish university. There he took, among other, courses in programming and performed well. He gained additional expertise through the various ICT courses he completed during his retraining but also on the basis of self-dependent learning. At home he has desktop computer as well as a laptop. Prior to their studies of informatics *Hamit* and *Rafet* had not access to computers and did not how to handle them. But that was, above all, due to the fact that computers were very expensive to buy and rarely available for the public to work with. Around 1984 *Rafet* already bought an Atari computer but the device rather served his personal interest in computers and he could not really use it for his studies. It took until the early 1990s before he purchased his first own computer. However, during his studies he did not learn a lot about how to actually handle the computer. It took until he started his first paid job for a company where he worked a lot with computers and could increase his computer literacy at a high level. From the time he has been working as a freelancer he gains most of his knowledge

about how to work with digital media in a modus of self-dependent learning. All of the interviewees except *Caner* found easy access into the ICT sector.

3.2 Entering the ICT sector

A successful apprenticeship or an university degree are important and helpful requirements to get into the workforce but they do not guarantee such access. It is often assumed that IEM face additional difficulties because of their migration background that is taken as a reason to deny them access. However, **all interviewed IEM but one found employment without major problems and without being exposed to ethnic discrimination**. Crucial for their employment has been their knowledge and competence as well as their accomplishments on the job. Due to the demand for persons working in the ICT sector it was quite easy for all of them to find a job, whereas *Caner* was still searching for one at least at the time of the interview.

Some of the interviewees who studied at the university already held ICT-related **site jobs which turned out to be beneficial** when they started to search for a job after graduation. *Servet* worked for an ICT company prior to his graduation. He did his mandatory internship there and was hired as a student worker afterwards. After completing his studies he got a full time position at the same company and has been working there ever since. During his studies *Timur* worked as a student assistant at the university and was also hired by a large electronics company soon after his graduation and has been working there ever since. *Hamit* and *Rafet* also did not face any difficulties to find ICT-related jobs after completing their studies in informatics. During the interview *Hamit* underlines that he haven't had any problems to find a job and that he did not experienced any kind of ethnic discrimination.

Murat took another path. During his studies he developed a strong interest in working with SAP software applications. Eventually he decided to write his master thesis about an SAP-related topic. Coincidentally, he found an advertisement from a company who was looking for students who were interested in writing their thesis about the planed implementation of SAP into the company.

Mm: und das Thema war so interessant für das Unternehmen wo ich mich beworben habe dass die mich sofort auch als Berater genommen haben

I: ach sofort übernommen

Mm: ja die haben mich sofort nach dem Studium • habe ich glaube ich vier Wochen Zeit gehabt und dann durfte ich schon loslegen • aber es war eine andere Zeit es war 2000 der ICT-Markt hat geboomt

I: mmh

Mm: jeder der ICT schreiben konnte haben Sie genommen • es war wirklich eine sehr gute Zeit die Studenten heute haben es etwas schwieriger

I: etwas schwieriger

Mm: sehr viel schwieriger sogar (Interview *Murat*, 312-322)

Because the subject of his thesis was so interesting for the company he got immediately hired as a SAP consultant when he applied there for a job. The demand for employees with a qualification like *Murat* had was apparently very high during that time and he only had a four week long break before he had to start his job. However, *Murat* states that times were different around 2000 because the whole ICT sector was flourishing. He additionally emphasizes this with the exaggeration that an ICT-related job was offered then to everybody who could write the word ICT. However, from *Murat*'s point of view today it is much more

difficult for students to find a job than it was during the time he got his job. On the basis of our sample we cannot review whether such changes may cause disadvantages for IEM because of their migration background if competition for open job positions increases. Only the example of *Nurdan* provides a clue that the proposed assumption is wrong because she got hired as a computer scientist from a large German mail-order business about one and a half year prior to the interview. During her studies she already worked in different ICT-related side jobs before she found a job relatively short after her graduation.

In contrast to the other interviewees *Aydin* and *Caner* completed an occupational retraining before they tried to get into the workforce. For *Aydin* this turned out rather easy. He has been working for the same electronics company since he finished his occupational retraining. He tells that the company almost forced him to work for them as the staff department did not let him leave the company after he finished his retraining and therefore he simply continued working for the company. *Caner* has not been that lucky. He did not find occupation after finishing his retraining and instead completed several ICT courses to improve his qualification profile. However, at least until the time of the interview he was not able to find an ICT-related job. But that might also be caused by his limited knowledge about the German language.

In sum most of the interviewed IEM had no problems to find employment in an ICT-related job no matter if they already gathered some work experience prior to completing their degrees. However, the next chapter illustrates that the professional biographies of the interviewed IEM take different shapes with varying relevance of their migration backgrounds for their professional life.

3.3 Working in the ICT sector

Seven of the interviewed IEM were working in the ICT sector at the time of the interviews. In the first place **the group is distinguished by their status of employment**. *Rafet* and *Hamit* work as freelancers whereas the remaining interviewees are regularly employed.

Aydin, for example, has been working for a large electronics company's subsidy which produces computer chips for different applications since he finished his occupational retraining. He is a factory automation engineer and is co-responsible for the automation systems used by the company. *Nurdan* has been working for a mail-order company for one and a half year. She is a member of the quality management division. At the time of the interview she was involved with the modernisation of the company's order processing based on the introduction of new software. *Servet* is working for a small ICT company with 30 fellow employees which specialises in developing business software for banks, insurance and leasing companies. He mainly develops and programmes such software. *Timur* has been working as a computer scientist for nine years in the ICT divison of a large electronics company. The whole ICT design and development of the company takes place in that division. *Murat* works as a SAP consultant for a large company that is specialised in ICT services. He has been working for that firm for one and a half year. Before that he did the same job for a large international consultancy for six and a half years.

Rafet is one of the two mentioned freelancers. After working as a regular employee for four and a half years he did not like that occupational status anymore and quit his job to become a freelancer in 1992. At the time of the interview he was working for the same mail order company like *Nurdan* (see above).

Rm: aber ich bin ja selbstständig nicht¿ ich bin da kein Angestellter ich nehme Auftrag •
      ich führe Auftrag aus

I: ach so […] und was machen sie da konkret¿

Rm: Softwareentwicklung und Beratung • das ist so • so Entwicklung Consulting •
      gemischt aber eher in Richtung so technische Know-How Transfer undI

I: also die geben ihnen einen Auftrag und sagen wir möchten dazu eine Software haben¿
      oder wie funktioniert das¿

Rm: nee meistens haben sie ein Projekt aber sie kriegen das ihre eigenen Resourcen nicht
      zu Stande also weil das nicht ausreicht und dann holen sie aus externen Firmen Leute
      und unter anderen dann auch uns Freiberufler […] (Interview *Rafet* 22-36)

Rafet is self-employed and he carries out orders he receives from the companies he works for.
He develops software but also works as a software consultant with a focus on know-how
transfer. Normally, he got hired if a company does not have the needed resources to carry out
an internal project alone. He has been working for several companies. Also *Hamit* is a
freelancer too he has been working for the same company and in the same project for the last
16 years. The company develops software for re-insurance and leasing companies. From the
interview it becomes not clear why he has been working so long for the same company as a
freelancer which is rather untypical. Thus it can only be speculated whether the company
simply wants to save on social insurance contributions it does not has to spend on freelancers.
In some cases working in the ICT sector requires a relatively high degree of **biographical
mobility** from the employees especially if their companies serve a significant share of
customers abroad. With regard to biographical mobility *Aydin* represents the most extreme
case of the sample. In 2007 he spent 13 weeks away from home.

Am: _ja_ • also je nachdem Meeting Projekte da muss man hin •2• ja das ist so •• ich sag
      mal ähm das in der Fabrik aussehend ähm ist eh stabil • man sitzt in seinem Büro tut
      sein Job und muss auch an die Maschinen ran • klar •• aber die internationale Ebene
      dass unser Konzern halt • äh richtig international • also Deutschland Standort
      Deutschland zählt als kleines Standort […] und dementsprechend äh auch man muss
      sehr viel reisen • und andere Standorte mit dem anderen Gruppen zusammenarbeiten •
      das ist der so halt Mobilität • was das beinhaltet (Interview *Aydin* 98-109)

He states that it is necessary for him to be mobile because he is working for an international
company. Therefore he has to attend international meetings or must work in international
projects that require his in situ presence. He differs between his job in the company which he
has to do locally and the international level which is also very important for his group because
Germany is seen as a small location. It is essential for him to travel in order to work together
with other locations or affiliates. With respect to her job-related mobility *Nurdan* states that
she had to be mobile once, when she moved from Bremen to Hamburg because of this job.
She does not have to make any business trips because most of the time she needs to be in the
company to test new software and then plan and coordinate the rollout. The degree of
business-related mobility required by *Servet* is very limited, too. He only needs to meet with
customers occasionally when software reaches its final stage of development. At this point,
the customer's feedback is needed to proceed and finish the development process. However,
in many cases such tasks can be solved using the telephone. At the time of the interview
Timur was working in a project that was localized in his city of residence. However, he was
also involved with international projects which required a lot of travelling

Tm: wir arbeiten in internationalen Projekten in Finnland und überall auf der Welt in den
      USA und Ungarn Polen
I: mmh
Tm: Rumänien • meistens laufen die Projekte auf internationaler Ebene
I: ah ja und bist du dann gezwungen viele Dienstreisen zu machen¿
Tm: hängt vom Projekt ab aber die meiste Zeit machen wir Remoteentwicklungen
I: ah ja also ihr sitzt dann bei euch im Büro und habt dann Zugriff auf deren Systeme
Tm: genau (Interview *Timur* 38-46)

Such projects are located all over the world. The scope of business trips and the time to be spent abroad depend on the projects. However, most of the time he and his co-workers rely on remote development, i.e. the work that need to be done on the computer and network systems of their clients can be carried out remotely using computer networks without leaving the own office. *Timur* finds occasional meetings with co-workers from other locations of his company acceptable but declines longer periods of working elsewhere because of his family.

As a consultant, extensive travelling is an inherent component of *Murat*'s business. But during the years and with changing social situation his attitude towards the required mobility has been changing.

Mm: ich habe angefangen mit dem Job des Beraters als ich direkt frisch von der Uni
      gekommen bin das war Ende 99 2000 • damals war ich ledig nicht gebunden • es war
      eine sehr schöne Zeit kann ich sagen immer neue Städte neue Kunden neue
      Anforderungen • neues Umfeld das war schon sehr nett • auch sehr viel gelernt in der
      Zeit • aber jetzt mittlerweile • mit dem voranschreitenden Alter Familie ist das nicht
      mehr wirklich leicht die ganze Woche weg zu sein
I: ja
Mm: auch das soziale Umfeld leidet natürlich darunter wenn man nur an einem Samstag
      mal äh gesellschaftlich aktiv werden kann • weil der Sonntag ist wieder dafür dar um
      Koffer zu packen (Interview *Murat*, 128-139)

When he started his job *Murat* was single and unbound. He really enjoyed that first period of his career and was thrilled by the new cities and customers he got to know as well as by the changing requirements of his jobs and the surroundings they were embedded into. He also learned a lot during that time. However, because of his advancing age and the set-up of his own family business travel is not as easy for him as it was before. Additionally he complains that his social life also suffers from the extensive need to travel. It only leaves him the Saturday for social activities because he already needs the Sunday to prepare himself for his next business trip. *Rafet* does not have to be very mobile and he for the last 16 years he was not forced to take any assignments outside Hamburg. *Hamit*'s company works for 20 international customers which require a high level of mobility from many of its employees. However, because *Hamit* is mainly involved with further developing the company's basic product he rarely has to visit customers abroad. Additionally the company also tries to rely on remote service solutions to fulfil its customer's needs. In sum biographical mobility is of minor importance for the interviewees and may cause conflicts with increasing age and changing family relations.

This may also contributes to an explanation why **social software is of minor relevance for most interviewees**. Some but not all of them use several social networking sites for private purposes. The only one who also uses these services extensively for his business is *Rafet* who

works as a freelancer. Among others, he is a registered user of Xing an online community for business networking.[25] Another service he uses is called "GULP" that brings together companies which look for freelance ICT-specialists (http://www.gulp.de). He already got one of his jobs through that network. Interestingly he does not use these business-related networking sites regularly but only about four weeks prior to the time his current project comes to an end and he does not have a new project yet.

I: und wie oft nutzen sie dann diese Netzwerkangebote also gucken sie dann jeden Tag¿

Rm: nein • also wenn ich äh also ich kriege meistens so Aufträge die sind dann so mindestens ein halbes Jahr lang also die ersten fünf Monate schau ich gar nicht also das ist ganz zum Schluss wenn der Monat zu Ende wenn es zu Ende neigt dann erst schau ich da rein • sobald/ es nimmt ja auch Zeit also

I: also wenn ein Auftrag zu Ende geht

Rm: genau wenn es/ genau ich fange dann vier Wochen vorher an […] (Interview *Rafet* 610-617)

A **migration background may generally offer certain advantages for IEM**. Popular ones are expanded language competence and intercultural competences. For instance in respect to language competence *Aydin* has an advantage when he needs to speak with workers who have a Turkish migration background, too.

Am: (…) • aber wenn es um unsere Produktionsräume   geht da ist es ein Riesenvorteil dabei • äh wie gesagt sehr viele anteile unserer Arbeiter sind Türken

I: okay

Am: und die haben natürlich andere Verhalten äh Vertrauensbasis wenn jemand mit den türkisch spricht und die haben auch so • sag ich mal • wenn ich in den Produktionsräume eintrete und sage es wird ab heute die Maschine so gemacht weil dass so geändert wurde • und wenn das türkisch gesprochen wird das sofort angenommen • und wenn das deutsch gesagt wird muss ja auch manchmal • äh weil das doch halt so alle anderen Kollegen dabei sind • da wird das auch nicht so ernst genommen und äh (Interview *Aydin*, 502-512)

A large number of people with Turkish migration background work in the production rooms of the company. Accordingly they respond differently if they receive instructions in Turkish instead of German language. *Aydin* considers such language competence as a huge advantage. Speaking the same language causes different behaviour and mutual trust among the Turkish-based workers. *Aydin* provides an example to illustrate his explanation. Announcements made by him to change the operation of particular machines are accepted immediately. This is not always the case if such announcements are made in German because German- and Turkish-based workers receive them simultaneously. In such cases instructions are taken less serious then in the case described before. Another advantage for *Aydin* is his intercultural competence that has been shaped by his own migration background. Such competence is especially helpful when he works abroad. He reports that he already could help solving problems between his German co-workers and native engineers while they were working abroad. However, eventually this advantage is based on the interplay of his own migration experience but also his outward appearance that differentiates *Aydin* from his co-workers and signals to others

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[25]   According to information from the website "XING makes networking and professional contact management simple, with made-to-measure networking functions and services" (http://corporate.xing.com/index.php?id=138&L=1).

that he is at least not German by nature. Asked for the provided advantages of his migration background on the job *Murat* points to what he calls **intercultural tactfulness**.

Mm: ja man hat äh ne gewisse Feinfühligkeit interkulturell würde ich sagen
I: mmh
Mm: man weiß
I: also so eine Kompetenz
Mm: richtig das ist eine Kompetenz mittlerweile weil jedes Unternehmen hat entweder Geschäfte mit dem Ausland oder hat Mitarbeiter mit ausländischem Anteil • das ist mittlerweile so
I: ja
Mm: und wenn man da ne Feinfühligkeit hat weiß man wie man was weiß ich einem persischen Kollegen mit/ wie man sich mit dem unterhält und das ist bei den Deutschen so aber nicht gegeben (Interview *Murat*, 817-824)

Asked by the interviewer *Murat* confirms that the mentioned tactfulness can also be seen as a competence. This is the case because, from his point of view, meanwhile all companies act globally or employ people who are foreigners. If somebody owns the described tactfulness he knows, for example who to chat with a Persian colleague. He precludes that his German co-workers do not have such competence hence it is specific for his migration background. He continues that Germans presume many things for example that everybody celebrates eastern. For *Murat* it is easy to presume that a "Persian" may not celebrate eastern because it is a basic precondition for him that different people also have different conventions, customs, and religions. Such mental attitude is probably grounded in the fact that *Murat* virtually grew up between two cultures and could incorporate such an **intercultural understanding from the beginning** on. Therefore this is an advantage especially for the "educational natives" who spend most of their life in Germany. Respectively Nurdan argues in a similar way.

Nf: aber Vorteile hatte ich natürlich auch ich konnte eine zweite Sprache • ich habe eine andere ganz andere Kultur auch mit eingebracht also ähm ich hab versucht einfach von beiden Kulturen Deutsch und Türkisch
I: mmh
Nf: die man ja nun zwangsläufig beide lebt äh das Beste halt für mich herauszunehmen und dann halt mich auch danach irgendwie mein Leben danach zu richten und so (Interview *Nurdan*, 214-220)

One advantage for Nurdan is that she not only speaks but is proficient in two languages. Additionally she brought in a completely different culture, because she had to deal inevitably with both cultures the Turkish and the German one. Figuratively she tries to take the best out of both cultures and to orientate her everyday life around it. Besides this hybridisation of cultural belonging we may also talk about a double matrix of cultural orientation that leads to **higher degree of intercultural understanding and action**. For her like for *Aydin* and *Murat* this is not only beneficial for her professional career but also for her private life. However, even though the migration background offers some unique advantages for some of the interviewed IEM it was no explicit employment criterion in any of the scrutinized cases.

Besides the described advantages a **migration background can also cause disadvantages on the job for IEM**. Language problems are one aspect concerning, above all, but not exclusively 'educational aliens' like *Caner*. While working as a roofer his limited knowledge about the German language was not a problem, respectively it was sufficient to fulfil his

work. But when he started his occupational retraining to become a management assistant in ICT systems he had to improve his German in order to follow his courses. *Aydin* had similar problems with the German language when he migrated to Germany whereas *Hamit* and *Rafet* explain that they haven't had any language problems.

Whereas language problems can be overcome through learning and practice by IEM **ethnic discrimination** in different forms can appear at any time at the workplace without being able to avoid it. According to *Aydin*'s experiences, such discrimination are not an exception at the workplace anymore but its appearance has been increasing.

Am: (…) zufälligerweise muss ich sagen äh wir haben ja auch sehr großen Anteil äh von der Arbeiterseite auch Türken in der Fabrik also es ist fast 400 von 3000 es ist Türken und sehr viele Anteil von Vietnamesen Koreaner äh also • also Ausländeranteil in dieser Fabrik ist ziemlich groß außergewöhnlich groß • und neulich weil die die ähm • wie kann ich sagen • die Einnahmestopp ist ähm • werden keine festen Mitarbeiter mehr genommen
I: ach so
Am: aber sehr viel über den Zeitarbeitsfirmen und da sehe ich z.B. äh über den Zeitarbeitsfirmen kommen nicht mehr so Ausländer und eher aus den ostdeutschen äh Block dann kommen die äh deutschen Mitarbeiter und dort hört man öfters oder als sag mich mal verstärktes was das früher nicht war • oh wie kann das sein dass ein Türke in so einer Position sitzt und er klaut ja eine äh die Arbeitsstelle des deutschen • .hhhh ich könnte auch das werden und so
I: aha
Am: ich hab das einmal sogar auf so hart genommen • ihn gepackt hier sitz mal auf den Stuhl • mach mal • ja::: das sagst du das kannst du auch machen • weißt was für eine Ausbildung was für eine _Erfahrung_ das hier zu sitzen ist • das hat mit deutsch zu sein und mit äh was weiß ich äh Türke Kanadier zu sein hat nichts damit zu tun • die lassen mich hier sitzen nur weil ich das leisten kann und _leiste_ (Interview *Aydin*, 413-435)

In *Aydin*'s electronics company a large share of the employees are IEM, mainly people with Turkish migration background (13% according to *Aydin's* estimation) but also people from Vietnam or Korea. Because of a hiring freeze additional workforce demands are met through employees from temporary employment agencies. *Aydin* noticed that most of these workers are Germans originating from the eastern part of the country. He states that since these people are working in the production rooms, the atmosphere has changed and that he is exposed to verbal attacks. They do not accept, for example, that a person with a Turkish migration background holds a leading position within the company. They think of this as the theft of the job because they are convinced that they could hold such a position too.

One day *Aydin* apparently had enough of such discriminations, took one of the racial offenders and forced him into his chair to explain him that there is no relation between his ethnical background and the job he holds. Instead he only holds his position because of his education and the experience he made working for this company. He also only remains in this position because he is able to meet the demands that are related to such a position and not because he has a migration background. Later during the interview he also underlines that his company traditionally does not tolerate racism or ethnic discrimination at the workplace and takes drastic measures against it. However, it remains open whether something happened in the described case. *Timur* makes a similar argument like *Aydin* when he is asked about

disadvantages caused by his migration background by the interviewer. Additionally he stresses that it is much harder for a person with a migration background to climb on a higher position than for somebody without such a background.

Tm: nee aber höher zu kommen oder oben zu bleiben ist schwieriger als für jemanden anders der • der die gleiche Schulbildung hat
I: mmh
Tm: wenn egal wie sozial oder wie ähm gebildet man sich gibt letztendlich möchte man sich von einem Türken sich nichts sagen lassen
I: okay
Tm: das ist ein Problem (Interview *Timur* 392-398)

Accordingly it is not only more difficult to climb on a higher position for a person with a migration background but also to remain there than for a person without a migration background. In such a case education also does not matter. IEM get discriminated even if they have the same educational background. He sees the reason for that in the fact that a German, no matter how social or well-educated he is, does not want to get an order from a Turk. Prior to the cited sequence *Timur* already exemplified the problematic.

Tm: ähm nö ansonsten • also man hat • das Problem sozusagen wenn du als Entwickler arbeitest hast du kein Problem wenn du als Projektleiter oder Architekt arbeitest dann hast du ein Problem
I: ja¿ wie zeigt sich das dann¿
Tm: äh ja dadurch das immer so ein Widerstand entgegenkommt die kooperieren nicht oder äh die stellen dir Steine in den Weg und das ist so • Informationen verstecken
I: also das ist schon alles vorgekommen • und wie hast du darauf reagiert¿
Tm: ja man versucht zu denen mit denen/ das sind ja nicht alle Leute so (&&) wenn's gar nicht geht muss man halt zurücktreten
I: hast du irgendwie Möglichkeiten bei dir im Betrieb irgendwie ähm zu sagen oder zu melden oder
Tm: nee das macht man eigentlich nicht • wenn dann klärt man das intern oder so eine zentrale Stelle gibt es eigentlich nicht
I: könntest du zu deinem Chef gehe und sagen ja hier • würde der was unternehmen¿
Tm: ich hab's noch nicht probiert weiß ich nicht •2• das sind ja auch • meistens sind das ja auch gebildete Leute
I: okay
Tm: das geschieht immer auch auf einem sehr hohen Level ne¿ und man macht das nicht auf offener Ebene man macht das eben sehr diskret • es ist kein offener Machtaustausch sondern eher im Verborgenen gemacht
I: kommt das oft vor oder¿
Tm: ja
I: ja¿ also die Erfahrung machst du
Tm: ja (Interview *Timur*, 343-368)

According to *Timur* IEM will not have the described problems if they work as an 'ordinary' software developer. In contrast problems occur if they work as a project manager or an architect. Consequences are manifold: Co-workers are resistant, they do not cooperate, and impede the work process by hiding information, for example. According to *Timur* such things occur regularly. It is difficult to counter such forms of discrimination because they occur on a very high level. Additionally they are discreet, not openly visible, and happen furtively i.e.

they cannot be revealed as ethnical motivated discrimination in the first place. Therefore we name them **subliminal ethnic discrimination**. Because this kind of ethnic discrimination is not obvious as ethnic in the first place it is very difficult to do something against it. Therefore in some cases stepping back from a certain position might be the only solution to avoid subliminal ethnic discrimination.

According to *Timur* he has no opportunities to report such incidents to a particular department or office in his company. But it is also not common to report such problems because they are normally solved internally. He also did not try yet to ask his supervisor for help. However, he also cannot be sure about his reaction because this form of discrimination is difficult to prove because of its subliminal shape. Such form of discrimination may also happen in *Aydin*'s case. However, he did not talk about similar incidents which might be due to the company's no-tolerance policy towards ethnic discrimination at the workplace (see above). *Murat* also has been encountering forms of subliminal ethnic discrimination while working as a SAP consultant and introducing people into working with the software.

Mm: (…) und wenn Sie rausfahren auf die einzelnen äh Stationen auf die einzelnen Standorte • dann sagt Ihnen natürlich keiner äh das Sie Migrationshintergrund haben
I: okay
Mm: aber Sie werden aus den Blicken immer wieder merken soll mir mit den schwarzen Haaren jetzt was beibringen was ich normal wissen müsste • weil das sind nicht nur Arbeiter die draußen sind das sind auch Ingenieure • Abteilungsleiter Gruppenleiter das sind schon von der Hierarchie auch mal • auch mal höher stehende Personen • die dann gegenüber sitzen und Sie mit Augen angucken und äh aus den Sie einiges ablesen können • das sagen Sie Ihnen nie • das ist so […] Sie müssen sich als äh Mitarbeiter mit Migrationshintergrund erstmal die ersten Minuten beweisen dass Sie überhaupt mitreden können in dem Bereich • dass Sie überhaupt die Expertise haben mit Ihnen am Tisch das auszudiskutieren • normal haben Sie das ja • sonst wären Sie ja nicht hier (Interview *Murat* 752-773)

If he meets his company's customers to advise them about how to work with the software, nobody would ever mention his migration background, i.e. challenging his competences because of his migration background. However, because of the way people behave and look at him he recognizes that they are sceptical about his competences. Often such trainees hold higher positions in their companies and are, for example, department chiefs or group manager. Apparently this amplifies the existing scepticism about being trained by a person with a migration background. Having such a background it is always necessary during the first minutes of a consulting situation that the consultant proves that he owns the expected competence and that he is eligible to discuss the upcoming issues with the people. However, like *Aydin*, *Murat* points out that the simple fact that he works for his company should be enough to prove that he owns the needed competences for the job. However, all of the interviewees clarify that their grade of integration and their acceptance in the company is solely defined through their achievements and accomplishments. Unfortunately, open and subliminal ethnic discrimination can occur in every job and apparently not all companies look ahead to prevent any kind of ethnical motivated discrimination.

3.4 Deeper understanding – personal success stories

To better understand the conditions under which IEM can successfully enter and remain in the ICT sector what that requires and what problems may appear in that regard we prepared a deep description of four of the eight cases.

3.4.1 The case of *Nurdan*

Nurdan is the only women of our sample. The interview with her provides no clues about any influence her gender had on her decision to study computer science. The same is true for her entry into the workforce. In that regard it was probably rather beneficial and important that she already earned work experience during her studies on the basis of different side-jobs starting during her second semester at the university. Additionally her migration background has not been turning out as a disadvantage at any occasion. In the company she is working for the equal treatment of all employees is an important policy. Thus Nurdan is sure that she could complain and ask for help at different levels in case she would face ethnic discrimination on the job.

Since she has not been facing any major discrimination or disadvantages Nurdan perceives her migration background as exclusively positive. She is not only fluent in two languages but also benefits from her broad intercultural understanding. The last is based on the fact that she grew up being embedded into three cultural backgrounds, the German, the Turkish and the Circassian one. This provides her with a deeper and more differentiated understanding of cultural practices. From her point of view she can combine the positive aspects of all three cultural backgrounds and unit them in a hybridized fourth cultural background.

Living in Germany biographic mobility has not been of major relevance for her. She completed her whole education in the city where she was born. However, after graduating she also considered moving to Turkey and to work there. But then she got the job at the mail order company. Her job does not require any mobility from her and she declares that the company is considerate about the willingness of her employees to be mobile, i.e. to work at other places.

Nurdan really likes her job and the company she is working for. Nevertheless she does not want to work for it for the rest of her work life and still wants to migrate to Turkey at some point to work there. That might also be influenced by the fact that she got married to her husband who migrated from Turkey to Germany a few months prior to the interview. Sine many German company's especially from the retail sector meanwhile conduct business in Turkey employment opportunities for people who know both cultural backgrounds might be increasingly attractive. Therefore even though Nurdan was not very biographically mobile yet it has always been an option for her she eventually wants to take.

3.4.2 The case of *Murat*

Like Nurdan *Murat* is an "education native" to and completed his whole education in Germany. But in contrast to Nurdan he is not a German citizen because he holds a Turkish passport. He considers that as a big disadvantage, because he cannot take part into political voting's in Germany. However, he also does not want to give up his Turkish citizenship to get a German one. He would prefer dual citizenships but this not possible for Turks living in Germany. That he does not want to give up his Turkish citizenship might also be related to the fact that he feels much closer to the Turkish culture then to the German.

In contrast to Nurdan *Murat* evaluates his migration background ambivalent. He faced open ethnic discrimination and had to leave grammar school because of an ethnically motivated

reprehension (see chapter 0). Being on the job, he consistently has to grapple with subliminal ethnic discrimination, aroused by clients. However, ethnical motivated discrimination does not appear within his firm and people are evaluated along their achievement and performance. According to Murrat the only perceived advantage of his migration background is what we have called intercultural tactfulness, i.e. the ability for an improved understanding of cultural differences between people.

Interestingly, *Murat* is the only member of our sample who did not went through a computer science-related tertiary education and instead studied economics. He also never had an especially close relationship to ICT like the following sequence from the interview illustrates.

Mm: […] ich bin nie ein Techy gewesen ich gehörte nie zu den Leuten die sich tagsüber hingesetzt haben und mit dem Computer irgendwas gemacht haben • so einer war ich nie also ich bin es immer noch nicht ich bin immer noch kein Programmierer ich kann's nicht (Interview *Murat* 410-414)

Murat makes it clear that he never was a so-called "techy", i.e. a person with a close relationship to computer technology and who engaged themselves with computer just for the sake of dealing with the technology without any purpose. He still does not feel very close to ICT and underlines that with the clue that he is still not a programmer and that he cannot programme software. However, working as a SAP consultant also does not require the described competences. But it definitely requires a high level of biographic mobility. We already pointed out in chapter 0 that Murat enjoyed the required mobility and the ever changing locations and people. But with increasing age and the formation of his own family he changed his mind and rather perceives local mobility as a burden (see chapter 0). Thus also communicative mobility is very ambivalent for him like the use of his two mobile phones illustrates. The only thing he appreciates about mobile communication is the possibility to keep in touch with his family no matter where he is by using his private mobile phone. He got a second mobile phone from his company but sees it only as a disturbing factor forcing him to prepared to communicate with co-workers and customers at any time. It even infiltrates his private sphere when he feels forced to check at least his voice mailbox even during the weekend.

3.4.3   The case of *Rafet*

Rafet is an "educational alien" and one of the two freelancers of our sample. He came to Germany when he was seventeen and because his parents already lived there. At that time he had already graduated from a hotel management college. Thus he saw his migration, among others, as a chance to start over. Therefore he first got a vocational diploma from a German school because his diploma was not accredited by the German authorities. Eventually he studied computer science and had no problems to find a job afterwards. He also does not think that his migration background offers him any particular advantages. Even though he did not face any open ethnic discrimination during his education and has not been concerned with them on the job he feels a basic decline of his presence in Germany.

Rm: äh das ist wahrscheinlich gefühlte ne¿ das ist das Gefühl dass man irgendwie nicht so ganz gewünscht ist dieses Gefühl also nicht dass man jetzt benachteiligt ist bei der Behörde oder so sondern einfach das Gefühl • dieses unterschwellige äh nicht gewollt sein das ist wahrscheinlich äh das ist das einzige was mich stört sonst eigentlich • wie gesagt beruflich hab ich überhaupt kein Problem • also es kommt natürlich daher ein bisschen • bei uns sind alle Kollegen äh von mir die waren fast in allen Projekten Akademiker und so • wenn die Niveau höher ist dann hat man auch weniger Probleme

mit den Leuten • das ist das Problem auch wenn man niedrig • äh niedriger äh Entwicklung Entwicklungsstufe von den Leuten mit denen man zu tun hat desto schwieriger wird es • da

I: akzeptiert sein

Rm: genau (Interview *Rafet* 878-890)

Rafet does not feel discriminated when he has to deal with local authorities or other institutions. He nevertheless has the subliminal feeling that people do not want him to be in Germany. Since this is a general perception it would be interesting to know where it derives from. This must be additionally frustrating for him since he feels closer to Germany than to Turkey, as he states at another point of the interview. However, that does not concern his professional working life where he does not have any problems. According to *Rafet* this is mainly true because most of his changing co-workers are academics. That supposes a correlation between people's formal educational background and their likelihood of reproducing ethnically discriminating stereotypes. Accordingly discrimination and exclusion increase with decreasing formal educational level.

Working as a freelancer professional development is a major concern for *Rafet* and he is forced to stay up-to-date with the latest developments in his sector. Because if a freelancer miss certain trends in the field he is endangered of being moved out of business because he does not own the competences anymore potential clients need. *Rafet* does not acquire the needed knowledge by taking courses but gets it all in a modus of self-dependent learning that strongly builds on reading the respective technical literature. He even develops small applications just for the sake of knowing how to develop them. To achieve adequate results he must give away parts of his leisure time for qualification measures.

Working as a freelancer requires a large network of various people that can be helpful with regard to solicit new orders. The benefit of using social networks sites to meet that challenge is apparent. *Rafet* is at least a member of two business-related social network sites, XING and GULP. XING is used to keep in touch and to network with people who are important for the own business. GULP helps to bring together supplier (freelancer) and orderer. However, he does not use such networks regularly but during periods when his current project is almost over and the next one hat not been acquired yet. The use of such tools is therefore rather selective and clearly limited in its scope.

3.4.4   The case of *Aydin*

Aydin migrated to Germany relatively late when he was 25 years old because his wife already lived there. He eventually found access into the ICT sector on the basis of three conditions: intensive support through individuals, personal engagement and effort (Fleiß), and some coincidence. During his first time, especially his wife helped him to orientate himself and to deal with the local authorities. At the local office of employment he was lucky to have a consultant who was really interested to support him and eventually pointed him to a qualification measure which paved his way into the ICT sector. Coincidentally a teacher of one of his German course was very interested in computers and helped *Aydin* to install his first internet connection at home. He also gave him additional advises concerning computers which supported his self-learning process. Because of his non-existent knowledge about the German language he had to learn the language very fast and therefore had a 'learnload' that exceeded that of other by three to four times.

Because he is working for an international company the demands of biographical mobility put on him are relatively high. Even though most technical tasks can be solved using remote

access solutions to work directly on the computer systems of the clients personal communication and even face-to-face encounters are necessary from time to time. This is, among others, necessary to avoid misunderstandings and to establish mutual trust as an important condition of cooperation. In that regard *Aydin* has been also benefiting from his migration background which provides him, among others with a relatively high level of intercultural competence respectively understanding. In the past that has been helping him to solve problems in international projects. In other cases it also turned out to be helpful that his physical appearance made business partners abroad not to perceive him as 'German' and they put stereotypes and biases towards 'Germans' away that can hinder business relations.

Aydin is not interested in social networking sites like Vaybee or Türkdünja. However, the tells that he occasionally visits what he calls hacker pages mainly frequented by young IEM with a Turkish migration background who live in Germany and are interested in ICT. The adolescents use the pages, among others, to inquire for help if they have ICT-related problems. This happens according to *Aydin*, among others, if they are stucked in school with certain problems. He not only posts comments to one of the forums but also has personal contact to a teenager via e-mail. That boy is very interested into database development and *Aydin* helps him if he needs information or wants to solve certain problems.

3.5 Conclusion

Our last case study illustrates that the entry of IEM into the ICT sector is based on different motivations and action strategies. For all but one their migration background did not turn out as a handicap to find ICT-related employment. However, acquiring the needed qualifications (university-entrance diploma, university degrees, occupational retraining, etc.) can significantly be hindered by the migration background. This is especially true for the so-called "educational aliens" i.e. people who completed their formal school education in another country than Germany. Often they also already finished their tertiary education in their country of origin. All of the interviewees who belong to this group faced problems while trying to accredit their qualifications through German authorities. Thus they either had to re-complete their needed degrees in Germany or they had to enter the workforce if they lacked the time and money to do this. Almost all were also heavily challenged with the necessity to learn the German language as fast as possible. However, most of the interviewees went over this problem relatively fast.

Some of the "educational natives" i.e. IEM who graduated from a German grammar school either in Germany or in another country encountered difficulties during their school education in form of structural or personal ethnic discrimination which made it more difficult for them then for their counterparts without a migration background to get the needed qualification for higher education.

In some cases the educational and occupational career of the analysed IEM strongly depended on decisions and actions by single persons which could be either advantageous or disadvantageous. Advantageous, for example, were employees of the local employment office who pointed some of the IEM to the chances of the ICT sector and helped them to get the competences needed for entry. Disadvantageous were, for example, the decision of a teacher to squeeze a student with migration background out of grammar school just because of its migration background.

Professionally working with ICT requires a distinctive level of *skill building*. Most of the interviewees did not show a strong interest into ICT prior to their studies or occupational retraining. Additionally they decided rather spontaneously to acquire tertiary education related to ICT. Some even only owned very limited computer literacy prior to the beginning of this educational chapter. Besides learning about working with computers during university studies or retraining all interviewees acquired much of their computer literacy in a modus of self-dependent learning.

After finishing their tertiary education in Germany all interviewed IEM but one found employment without major problems and without being exposed to ethnic discrimination. Nevertheless some of the interviewees have been facing ethnic discrimination on the job either open or subliminal although the later on is more widespread. This is probably due, among others, to the fact that especially bigger companies have explicit anti-discriminatory policies, do not tolerate ethnic discrimination and consequently act against it. Subliminal discrimination is much harder to deal with because it is discreet and happens furtively i.e. it cannot be revealed as ethnical motivated discrimination in the first place. It appears, among others, in the form of retaining information or limited cooperation or is simply embedded into feelings of subliminal decline through the native German inhabitants. However, despite existing forms of discrimination almost all interviewees state that their knowledge and the competence as well as their accomplishments on the job are the crucial parameters for evaluating their performance.

On the other hand a migration background can also be an advantage on the job. Popular ones are expanded language and intercultural competences. Executives with a migration background may help, for example, to solve inner institutional conflicts that include people with the same migration background. Intercultural competence goes along with tactfulness, i.e. people who live in hybrid cultural surroundings are often more sensitive to cultural differences and particularities because of their own cultural hybridization. We call that a double matrix of cultural orientation that leads to higher degree of intercultural understanding and action. The more international the business relations of a company are the more beneficial it is to employ people with different cultural backgrounds.

With regard to the relation between *social capital* and working in the ICT sector we conclude the following: "Educational natives" may face drawbacks when they went through secondary education and further on because their parents are often not familiar with the German educational system and do not know people who can advice them. The available social capital of "educational aliens", especially during the first time after migration is mostly limited. Encounters with members of the immigration country might be rather arbitrary and it seems to be quite accidental whether such encounters are helpful (e.g. meeting an employment office consultant that is really anxious to find the best employment opportunity).

A lack of social capital as well as the described problems above might also contribute to the fact that especially "educational aliens" cannot get into the workforce on a level that is adequate for their qualification immediately. However, after getting such qualifications (adequate language competences and professional knowledge) the majority of the IEM analysed in this case study did not face any problems to enter the ICT sector and apparently did not depend on the utilization of social capital based networks to get their positions.

If IEM meet all the requirements necessary to enter the ICT sector social software applications can be helpful to increase available bonding social capital that is helpful to find

employment. Such platforms can either be used for networking or to find employment. It seems to be that they are especially useful for people who are not regular employees but work as freelancers. However, eventually such virtual networks cannot replace face-to-face networking and social capital building. Nevertheless these are powerful tools to complete it.

4.   CONCLUSIONS

We started our case study research with an analysis of the relevance of ICT for the social integration and economic participation of IEM (particular with Russian migration background) living in a low-income neighbourhood and concluded, among others, that social inclusion and economic participation are interrelated or rather economic participation contributes significantly to social inclusion. The reason for this is that regular employment is important, since it not only assures material reproduction, but also social acceptance. We emphasize the attribution 'rather' as a considerable share of people living in the analyzed neighbourhood indeed works, but cannot cover their living expenses from their income because working hours are too short and/or payment is to low thus even working people (working poor) may depend on welfare.

Since unemployment has been continually high on a level considerable above city average, an external observer might be tempted to conclude that the attempts (including ICT) to improve employability and therefore economic participation failed. Such an interpretation would be short-sighted. First, without the measures taken the unemployment rate might be even higher. Second, due to the relatively short occupancy of people we may speculate whether they found employment that allowed them to move to a neighbourhood with better reputation and social conditions. Third, it is important to offer courses to disseminate basic computer literacy, because today it is an almost indispensable precondition to find a job and an increasing number of occupations require such competences.

However, especially during the early stage of migration many members of Diasporas have others and more profound problems. Many come with large language deficits and it is very demanding to catch up with the local people. At the same time, many newly arrived migrants face tremendous problems to get their educational and professional degrees accredited by the German authorities and are forced to repeat large parts of their education. Together with the language problem, this is a huge double burden for many migrants. Nevertheless, the examples of the so-called educational aliens who completed their formal school education in Turkey illustrate that these hurdles can be overcome, above all, on the basis of patience and engagement (see case study 3). Eventually most of them found permanent employment in the ICT sector. However, such examples cannot be generalized and further research is needed on the conditions of successful economic participation between different groups of Diaspora.

The Neue Vahr Nord case also raises the question why measures and services (no matter whether supported by ICT or not) offered by the institutions which serve the neighbourhood reach almost exclusively women. This issue has far-reaching consequences for all other areas concerning social inclusion and related to the topic of communicative mobility.

The interviews with IEM with Russian migration background who live in the Neue Vahr Nord suggest that many members of this Diaspora are characterized by a relatively high degree of communicative mobility and connectivity (see case study 3 and Hepp 2008: Chapter 3.2}, hence confidence with the new media. Nevertheless, we found that initiatives such as an online forum maintained by a community centre were people can communicate about certain topics with supposed relevance have been rejected. Also, we found that local mobility of IEM living in the neighbourhood is very limited, at least with regards to accessing and using measures and services (e.g. training opportunities) that might benefit them. They must be delivered in the local neighbourhood in order to be taken up. These observations hint to a **double segregation** that concerns first media practices, which are mainly oriented towards

the diasporic community and its cultural frame of reference, and second spatial segregation. This observation confirms the need to carefully research which social groups are affected and which forms of local mobility are actually enacted by these groups. It can be asked, for example, whether a high level of communicative mobility within the Diaspora promotes a rejection of external services offered to the community and thus limits certain aspects of community re-generation. This also recalls the question posed in our country report (see Hepp and Welling 2009) about how existing local information and networking sites can be further developed to support a better local embedding of IEM communities.

Our case study about the Neue Vahr Nord shows that activating people is a major precondition for promoting civic engagement, community re-generation as well as relational integration in such a neighbourhood. Face-to-face interactions are indispensable in that regard and provide the basis to build the needed trust and mutual understanding. That does not require any direct use of ICT. However, since ICT use is integrated in most initiatives that try to serve the interests of local IEM groups, the latter can benefit indirectly from it, to the extent that ICT use enables better and more efficient service delivery.

Communicative mobility along with local mobility is highly relevant for people working in the ICT sector. But not everybody is concerned with it and not everybody appreciates it. Enforced professional communicative mobility is rather seen as a burden by the IEM which became part of the research for case study 3 and it disturbs the inner sphere of family and personal relations. Again, the **ambivalence of the appreciation of communicative mobility** emerges clearly. However, to a certain degree the scope of necessary professional local mobility can be reduced through technical applications, like remote control solutions that enable ICT professionals to maintain computer systems worldwide without leaving their location.

Nevertheless especially complex international ICT-projects may regularly require face-to-face interactions to solve problems and to avoid misunderstandings. Executives with a migration background can thereby benefit from an advanced level of intercultural competence that goes along with a similar tactfulness in such situations. People who are used to hybrid cultural surroundings find it easier to anticipate and accept cultural differences and particularities and to act appropriately. We call that a **double matrix of cultural orientation** that leads to higher degree of intercultural understanding and action. Not to mention the often advanced language competences as another advantage.

However, our third case study also revealed potential disadvantages caused by a migration background. Some of the interviewees faced **open or subliminal ethnic discrimination** on the job although the latter is more widespread. This is probably due, among others, to the fact that especially bigger companies have explicit anti-discriminatory policies and do not tolerate ethnical discrimination. Because subliminal discrimination is discreet, it is often difficult to be revealed as ethnically motivated. It takes the form of concrete actions (e.g. retaining information) or is simply expressed by feelings of subliminal decline by the native German inhabitants. Despite such problems most of the interviewees had no problems to find employment because of their migration background. On the job, the self-perceived crucial parameters for evaluating their performance are knowledge and competence as well as accomplishments. Thus the ICT sector generally seems to be an interesting field for IEM offering multiple opportunities for economic participation.

Contrasting discussion of results

Some of the highlights of our case study research are presented in the table below.

Areas	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3
skill building	strong focus of programmes / effects unclear because of evaluation limits	implicit through intensive media practice and networking	essential for success / high degree of self-responsibility
community re-generation	tendencies of double segregation might limit scope / limited through short occupancy of inhabitants	intensifying of communicative connection within mobility can outcome in community re-generation processes	no direct effect / successful IEM may serve as role models
communicative and local mobility	high level of local immobility	complexity of communicative mobility and relativity of local mobility	varying degrees of required local and communicative mobility on the job
acculturation	rather low level of acculturation / apparent gender bias, i.e. adults are difficult to reach	ICT rather strengthens the diaspora (contra acculturation)	double matrix of cultural orientation
relational integration	segmenting tendencies / limited continuity through project-based funding	possibility to keep family, friendship and diasporic networks within biographical and situative local mobility can be a precondition for relational integration	highly individualized / social software as a promising tool to support relational integration
civic engagement	focus of social work with unclear outcomes and limited relevance of ICT	possible effects are ambivalent depending on the networking focus	mainly applies in the early stage of acquiring the skills needed for entry into the job market
economic participation	extremely challenging for IEM	contribution rather casual	ICT sector provides good opportunities for economic participation of IEM

Table 5: Main results of the case study research

The three case studies address the key Riga-related research issues of the study at different levels. Permanent **skill building** is a prerequisite for remaining in an ICT-related employment

since the sector is highly dynamic. A high level of communicative mobility may also contribute to skill building because it goes along with an intensive media appropriation. Skill building is also an important goal of services and measures initiated for people who live in low-income neighbourhoods. Apparently, disseminating ICT knowledge as a skill itself is still a high priority in these projects. In sum the relation of ICT and skills-building spans a rather large field ranging from the provision of very basic skills up to very sophisticated skills.

For the improvement of low-income neighbourhoods **community re-generation** is very important, but tendencies of double segregation (cultural and spatial) that can be amplified through ICT can limit its scope. Communicative mobility is also two-folded in that regard and does not necessarily contribute to community re-generation. IEM who work successfully in ICT-related employments may serve as role models for others living in the community. Unfortunately, many people often leave low-income communities after improving their socio-economic circumstances. Additionally, professionals working in the ICT sector may serve as mentors for youth living in low-income communities.

Communicative mobility within Diaspora is itself structured in a complex and highly differentiated way. A high level of communicative mobility within the community like that found in the second case study might provide new opportunities to reach certain IEM targets (e.g. younger people) in the neighbourhood. A high degree of communicative mobility is definitely contrasted by the apparent local immobility of many people living in the community. For the IEM working in ICT-related businesses communicative mobility is an integral aspect of their daily routines but with a disturbing potential when the work sphere interferes the private sphere.

ICT does not necessarily contribute to **acculturation**. In principle, communicative mobility enables IEM to limit their whole media appropriation towards diasporic sources and to restrict communication with members of the Diaspora. However our research provides no examples for such practices, even though a certain bias in favour of the diaspora seems to be common. For IEM working in ICT-related professions, what we called the double matrix of cultural orientation suggests that IEM figuratively can take the best of the different cultural worlds they belong to.

Concerning **social inclusion** and **relational integration** our first case study shows that social support is of high importance especially for people who cannot access the workforce despite high qualifications, because their competences either do not get accredited or are not valued. ICT seem however to play only a minor role for support services which target IEM. On the other hand, ICT seem important for maintaining personal networks of support.

With respect to **civic engagement** the neighbourhood analyzed for our first case study shows that activating people, as well as building trust and mutual relationships do not require the use of ICT and are apparently more important to foster civic engagement than the provision, per se, of public internet access or digital training opportunities. The relevance of communicative and local mobility to civic engagement is ambivalent and strongly depends on media appropriation by each individual.

Economic participation is closely related to skill building. For members of different Diasporas living in a low-income neighbourhood such participation is very challenging and many apparently lack basic skills not only to work in certain professions, but also for finding jobs that meet their own qualifications and to apply for them in the expected form. The

contribution of communicative mobility to economic participation is rather casual and it is obvious that limited local mobility decreases the chances for employment. For IEM who own the needed competences the ICT sector is a promising opportunity for economic participation. Social software seems to provide new and promising opportunites, especially when one is already inside the labour market to enhance economic participation.

Policy considerations

On the basis of our case study research results, we would like to add to what has already been said in (Hepp and Welling 2009) the following considerations about the Riga goals for cultural diversity:

- In order to enhance their economic participation, educational aliens (people trained abroad) face the problem that, too often, their formal qualifications are not accredited prior to their arrival in Germany. Thus it would be helpful to (a) facilitate the accreditation process and (b) provide better support for any needed re-qualification. Occupational retraining is another strategy for finding ICT-related employment. ICT may serve as a facilitator in that regard, for instance by supporting self-managed learning processes (e-learning).

- For some members of different diasporas, it would probably be sufficient to improve the available information about career opportunities and strategies for realising them. Our case studies suggest, however, that existing counselling services could be improved to provide equal opportunities to all customers, by making them less dependent on the capacity and good will of single counsellors.

- A main challenge for the measures aiming at integration, economic participation, social inclusion and creativity of IEM living in low-income neighbourhoods is the way funding of activities is organised. Funding is mainly project-based with no guarantes for continuation. More secure funding would increase the planning reliability of the main players and enable more mid- and long-term initiatives for systematically improving local conditions.

- As integration is often hindered by ethnic discrimination, ICT might be used to inform people about the causes of ethnic discrimination and ways to overcome it. However, such information is already available and it would be overly optimistic to assume that a simple extension of such opportunities would solve the problem.

- As integration is strongly dependent on employment, the foundations of which are built at school, efforts are needed to improve the educational achievement of young migrants (who are known to often perform worse than students not from a migration background) and ICT can make an important contribution on the basis of more need-oriented learning.

- Besides employment, which facilitates social inclusion by providing the material assets needed for a number of participation opportunities, newly-arrived immigrants in particular have special support needs, because they lack social capital in their new place of residence. Such support is mostly people-based and depends on face-to-face interactions. ICT can be used as a tool to support such processes, but replacing human beings with ICT-based support or better information systems should be avoided.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ICT   Information and Communication Technologies

IEM   Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities

LOS   'Lokales Kapital für soziale Zwecke', programme (Local Social Capital)

VHS   Volkshochschule (adult education centre)

WiN   'Wohnen in Nachbarschaften' programme (Living in Neighbourhoods)

Abstract

Following the Riga Ministerial Declaration on eInclusion (June 2006), the Institute for Prospective Technological Studies (IPTS) carried out, on the request of DG Information Society and Media, Unit H3 (eInclusion) of the European Commission, a study on 'The potential of ICT for the promotion of cultural diversity in the EU: the case of economic and social participation and integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities'. A broad overview of policies and ICT-related initiatives was initially conducted in all the EU27 Member States, followed by deeper research of ICT usage in four selected countries: France, Germany, Spain and the UK.

This report is one of the outcomes of the study and provides the in-depth analysis of ICT usage and role in three different contexts in Germany. The first two cases explore the role of ICT for the digital and social inclusion and/or the socio-cultural integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities, while the last case addresses aspects related to their economic participation.

The first case concerns the reactions and effects of the use of ICT in projects and services provided by local institutions to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants of Neue Vahr Nord, a low-income neighbourhood in the city of Bremen where almost 50 percent of residents have a migration background from the Russian Federation.

The second case explores the appropriation by members of the Turskish, Polish and Russian Diasporas living in Germany of different digital media, especially the mobile phone, to manage a life shaped by high mobility and multiple pressures to 'keep in contact'.

The third case investigates through biographical interviews the conditions of occupational success in the information technology industry faced by eight Turkish professionals who were either born and educated in Germany, or migrated there as yound adults. The case study investigates how they entered and performed in such sector and whether they faced particular difficulties or rather had any advantage due to their migration background.

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