

ICT Supply and Demand in Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Communities in France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom

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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 eInclusion¹ 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 to explore 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 groups³ 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):

- Overview of digital support initiatives for/by IEM in the EU27
- ICT supply and demand in IEM communities in France, Germany, Spain and the UK
- Case studies on ICT uses for/by IEM (publications⁴ on Germany, Spain and France)
- The potential of ICT for the promotion of cultural diversity in the EU: final report

This publication is the one on 'ICT supply and demand' in the four countries. Together with the ICT usage case studies publications, they were produced and should be read as interim contributions to the final report. All the publications are available at <http://is.jrc.ec.europa.eu/pages/EAP/eInclusion.html>

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 present publication.

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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.

The study began with an exploratory and extensive survey of a wide range of initiatives promoting and/or using ICT for and by immigrants and ethnic minorities in the EU27 Member States (available in Kluzer *et al* 2008). The present report contains the findings of a second, more focussed step. While keeping a fairly wide view, this report looked only at four selected countries (France, Germany, Spain and the UK), allowing the researchers to investigate more deeply. The main findings helped to contextualize and inform the subsequent field work on case studies in each of the four countries about ICT usage experiences by/for immigrants and ethnic minorities.⁵

General scope, country peculiarities and comparability issues

At this stage, the research conducted in each of the four selected countries aimed to produce a stylized picture of recent immigration trends and policies and an overview of:

- The supply of digital initiatives and services of specific interest to immigrants and ethnic minorities provided by the public, commercial, and non-profit/third sectors. This entailed the identification of key actors, the analysis of their actions in this field and the detection of the most promising services for the economic and social participation and integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities.
- The demand side, looking in particular for any existing quantitative and qualitative evidence of take up and use of ICT by immigrants and ethnic minorities, and analyses of access and usage drivers and barriers and potential enablers to overcome them.

Despite using a common template for data gathering in all four countries (see Annex I), country peculiarities have constrained data availability and shaped the way in which the same topics have been treated in different contexts.

In particular, detailed statistics on the take up of the Internet and other ICT products and services by immigrants and ethnic minorities are available only for the UK. A one-off survey on media use, which also contains some figures on ICT, has been found for Germany. Spain provides some statistics, but on generic 'foreigners', as part of its annual survey on ICT use in households and by individuals. No data at all on this topic is available for France, partly because statistics in this country do not take ethnicity into account. Accordingly, the analysis of ICT take up in the last three countries is based mostly on exploratory field work, whereas in the UK it is easily drawn from available statistics.

A few additional comparative considerations will help the reader to better contextualise the evidence found in this report:

- In Spain, a country that is new to immigration issues, immigrants with a relatively short history in the country are the main cause for concern, in a context where no consolidated model of managing cultural diversity and immigration yet exists. In the UK, on the other hand, there are considerable numbers of British citizens from

⁵ For editorial reasons, the UK ICT usage case studies are included as Annex III in this report, while those of the other countries are published in three separate reports.

immigration backgrounds. The key issue here is about the inclusion of ethnic minorities and their fuller participation in British society.

- Among the countries with a long immigration history, there is a stark difference between the French assimilation model, where ethnicity is not recognised at all as a dimension of public policy and discourse, and the UK tradition (though in transition after the 7/7/2005 events) of recognising and supporting distinct cultural identities. These differences also have concrete consequences with respect to the availability of statistics and to research and policy on ethnicity: absent in France and widespread in the UK.
- Germany has its own peculiarities. Until recently, it did not consider itself a country of immigration. The application of *jus sanguinis* for citizenship acquisition has excluded many second and third generation people of immigrant origins. On the other hand, large inflows of *Aussiedler* (individuals of German descent) from Poland and countries of the former Soviet Union were granted German citizenship. Despite this, they still face several integration problems, as documented later in this report. Germany also has a strong tradition in vocational training that somehow reflects in the character of ICT initiatives/services directed at immigrants and ethnic minorities.
- Differences also exist in the scope and maturity of national level ICT policies in general and of digital inclusion ones in particular. Here again, the UK presents more information and initiatives than the other three countries.

Despite these and other differences between the four countries, a number of general, high level findings could be identified and are reported below. Country-specific findings are presented in the subsequent sections of the report.

Main Findings

Immigrants and ethnic minorities do not differ much from the host population if we consider ICT take up in general

Data on three of the four countries (excluding France) shows that, with respect to ICT awareness and attitudes, and ICT basic access and use, immigrants and ethnic minorities are not too dissimilar from the host population, and are actually, in some respects, ahead of it. The evidence gathered for Germany, Spain and the UK converges in supporting the claim that, at a basic level, ICT awareness, attitudes, access and uses are not a function of ethnicity.

Yet, differences emerge when considering the deeper process of ICT appropriation

When considering how and for what purposes ICT are used and the surrounding social context, it emerges that digital exclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities is the result of more general and multi-faceted processes of social exclusion. This also implies that access and use of ICT are not by themselves conducive to outcomes such as those envisioned in the Riga eInclusion declaration: economic and social participation and integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities. To achieve these outcomes, ICT must be combined with other intervening factors and conditions. The most successful initiatives in terms of integration are those that link ICT use to substantive everyday life needs and interests (i.e. ICT-based learning of the host country language, or ICT courses aimed at employability).

Immigrants and ethnic minorities do use ICT for 'bonding' purposes, but this does not seem to produce segregation

Immigrants and ethnic minorities use ICT intensely to stay in touch (known as 'bonding') with co-ethnics, mostly family members and friends, both in the host society and in the society of origin. Preliminary findings from the country reports do not rule out segregation effects of

such usage patterns. However, overall they seem to support more the hypothesis that strengthening group cohesiveness and identity through the use of ICT is mostly positive and conducive to more confident participation in the host society (known as 'bridging' social capital).

ICT skills are clearly perceived by immigrants and ethnic minorities as crucial for enhancing their job prospects and they play an important role in many businesses they run

The first exploration of ICT appropriation motivations and patterns among immigrants and ethnic minorities found a widespread perception that knowing how to use ICT is an essential prerequisite for educational and job success in the European labour market. Using the Internet (and having an email address) is seen as important for the effectiveness of the job search process itself. The actual impact of digital skills on employability and work patterns is, however, unclear, given the presence of other factors (e.g. discrimination). Many people from migration backgrounds also run their own businesses that often involve international transactions where ICT support is crucial (e.g. email and Internet-based phone services) and they use digital audio-visual content from the countries of origin.

ICT for immigrants and ethnic minorities is not an issue at national policy level, though initiatives of this kind flourish at local level

No explicit reference was found in any of the country evidence (with the exception of that from the UK in the period 2000-2005) to the issue of ICT and immigrants and ethnic minorities in either national policy level documents, or *ad hoc* ICT national strategies for this target group. This issue is generally bundled together with broader digital inclusion topics. On the other hand, in all four countries local delivery of publicly-supported initiatives directly or indirectly addresses the issue of ICT and immigrants and ethnic minorities. Even so, these initiatives seldom target this group explicitly, although they often do it *de facto* when addressing specific disadvantages (e.g. youth unemployment) and/or deprived areas.

Supply side initiatives mostly confirm the findings of the EU27 overview

The supply side overview confirms the main typologies of initiatives/services and the players involved presented in the overview report on this study (Kluzer et al. 2008). In particular, it is worth mentioning that: a) inclusive eGovernment initiatives are very rare (possibly with the exception of the UK); b) third sector initiatives and user-generated content, while numerous and important for immigrants and ethnic minorities, still largely consist of basic static information and communication (less so in the UK). Overall, ICT awareness, take up and usage (also known as 'eReadiness') of third sector players, including immigrants and ethnic minority associations, are still insufficient especially in France, Germany and Spain.

Conclusions

The full policy implications of these preliminary and high level findings, integrated with those drawn from the ICT usage case studies, will be elaborated in the study's Final Report. Three considerations from a policy perspective can nevertheless be made already.

First, we found that ethnicity does not shape the propensity to consume ICT products and services. Immigrants and ethnic minorities appear for several other reasons to be potentially more eager ICT consumers than the host population. This does not mean, however, that specific support initiatives addressing their needs are useless. The deeper analysis of appropriation processes in the four countries suggests that multi-dimensional processes of social exclusion still create barriers for the full and effective use of ICT by immigrants and ethnic minorities. Indeed, their eagerness to use ICT –prompted in the first place by communication needs- could be leveraged to enhance integration processes and social policy delivery in general. Evidence from the four countries shows that the most fruitful initiatives/services are those that link ICT to the substantive interests and needs of immigrants

and ethnic minorities, rather than those providing generic ICT access and skilling opportunities. The latter have been found positive only inasmuch as they enable social interaction with co-ethnics or with host society members.

Second, and directly related to the previous point, there is a clear need for mainstreaming ICT-based initiatives. There is also a need for co-ordination across different policy fields (information society, integration policy, labour market policy, education and learning policy) and across the value chain, between national and local levels and between public and private sectors.

Last but not least, the evidence in the four countries calls for better coordination between national and local efforts on the one hand, and the European policy and targets (namely the Riga goals) on the other. The attempt to match the study's findings and the Riga goals, in fact, provided ambivalent results. The relevance of supply side initiatives to such goals is documented in many cases. However, most of the initiatives considered were inspired by objectives originally defined and conceptualised differently from the Riga goals. In this light, the blunt statement in the UK section that policy and initiatives in that country are not driven by the Riga goals can also be applied to the other three countries.

1 Introduction

1.1 *Scope and objectives of the report*

This report contains the findings of the overview of the supply and demand of ICT for and by immigrants and ethnic minorities (henceforth IEM) in the four countries selected in the study for more in depth analysis, namely France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom.

The findings and scope of this report must be understood in the light of the overall development 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 IDC for the JRC – Institute for Prospective Technological Studies. The study's first step was an exploratory and extensive survey across the EU27 of the wide range of initiatives promoting and/or using ICT for and by IEM. The results of this survey are now available in Kluzer et al.(2008). The second step, leading to this report, still aimed at a wide overview of supply and demand actors and factors, but this time focussing only on the four countries mentioned above, therefore allowing the researchers to develop a deeper investigation. Some comparative analysis and interpretation of results (along the lines described later) were also expected at this stage. The third step was intended to zoom closer on specific themes, by developing a number of in depth case studies with ad hoc field research in the four countries. As the second and third steps were actually carried out much in parallel in the four countries, informing one another as they progressed, some degree of overlapping and repetition of findings will be found in the respective reports.

The scope and aims of the overview of supply and demand, reflected in the template which was prepared to orient the researchers' work (see Annex I), can be synthesised as follows:

- ☒ **Supply side.** Gain for the four selected countries, through a supply side overview of the digital services of specific interest to IEM provided by different sectors (commercial, public and third sector), an understanding of key actors, stage of development, services particularly promising in terms of the e-Inclusion goals established in Riga;
- ☒ **Demand side.** a) Gain for the four selected countries, through a mix of qualitative and quantitative sources, an understanding of IEM take up and usage of Internet and mobile based services; and b) Identify access and usage barriers and potential enablers overcoming them.

1.2 *Comparability of findings*

Each country section in this report provides a paragraph with conclusive considerations and reflections on various dimensions (including the relevance of findings for the Riga goals), on the basis of which in the final section we present some very general and high level conclusions. In this paragraph we provide only a premise on the level of comparability of the findings with respect to the peculiar characteristics of each of the four selected countries.

The four country sections provide a fairly balanced coverage of all the parts of the template used for data gathering and reporting (see Annex I). On the other hand, the actual scope and depth in the treatment of such topics across the four countries varies to some extent, mostly as a result of the countries' peculiar context and only in a minor way as a result of the peculiar approach of each of the research teams. While we have struggled for standardisation, the way

country peculiarities have shaped the variability in the scope and depth by which several topics have been addressed could not be entirely controlled for.

The paragraphs on the general background contained for each country fully provide a clear picture on the variations in countries traditions and experiences in dealing with both migration and cultural diversity policy and with ICT related policies, as well as on the demographic, socio-economic and cultural characteristics of the IEM population and of the related social processes. Here, therefore, it will be sufficient to discuss such differences in a very synthetic, selective and exemplificative fashion.

Spain is a new country of immigration, whereas the other three have a long standing migration history. In Spain the main concerns are still mostly on migrants with a short history of presence in the country and we cannot yet talk of any established model of managing cultural diversity and immigration on the side of the government. The focus, thus, in Spain is different from that, for instance, of the UK where there is a very considerable stock of British citizen of immigration background and the key issue is about the inclusion of ethnic minorities. Like Italy, Spain is facing some challenges with Rumanians and Bulgarians, which are of great interest but do not find an equivalent in the other countries.

Within the countries with a long migration history a stark difference exists between the French assimilation model (where ethnicity is not recognised at all as a dimension of public policy and discourse) and the UK tradition (though in transition after the 7/7/2005 events) of recognising and supporting different cultural identities. These differences in the principles of citizenship, have quite concrete consequences with respect to the availability of statistics and research and policy on ethnicity, absent in France and quite widespread in the UK.

Germany is also a peculiar case, which until very recently did not consider itself a country of immigration and with the application of jus sanguinis for the acquisition of citizenship excluded many 2nd and 3rd generations individuals of immigrant origins, but incorporated large inflows of so called Aussiedler (individuals of German descent) from Poland and various countries of the former Soviet Union. On the other hand, Germany is characterised by a strong tradition on vocational training that is somehow reflected also in the supply of ICT initiatives/services to IEM.

Differences exist also in the scope and consolidation of national level ICT-related policies in general and of digital inclusion ones in particular. Here again the UK presents more information and initiatives than the other three countries.

Differences and peculiarities of each country are also evident in the different way in which the findings are discussed with respect to the Riga goals. We need to underline that such discussion has been included in this report in exactly the same way as elaborated by the various research teams in the four countries. Instead of re-elaborating and standardising them, we considered empirically more telling to leave such considerations as they stand, and we comment on this in the conclusions.

So in general there is some fair degree of variability, yet the balanced coverage of topics still ensure some level of interesting comparability from which some general conclusions will be extracted.

1.3 *Dimension of analysis and structure of the report*

As this is an eminently empirical and exploratory study, the data gathering and reporting template and the subsequent analysis of ICT supply and demand have been shaped both by IPTS' tender specifications and by the ongoing work and findings, namely the main elements

emerged and underlined in the report *Overview of digital support initiatives for/by immigrants and ethnic minorities in the EU 27* (Kluzer et al. 2008).

Chapters 2 to 5 of this report provide the country findings for France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom, according to the following homogeneous structure:

- ☒ Background information
- ☒ Supply side overview and analysis
- ☒ Demand side: take up of ICT/digital media
- ☒ Demand side: ICT/digital media appropriation
- ☒ Conclusive considerations

Finally **Chapter 6** contains some general and high-level conclusions that can be derived from the findings on the four countries.

2 France

2.1 *Background information*

2.1.1 Migration context⁶

In spite of 30 years of restrictive policy toward the migrants, France remains a country of immigration and a destination for new migrations flows. The recent main characteristics of these flows are: the continuance based on family reunification and a moderate intensification of temporary migration, especially due to the increasing number of foreign students, scientific and computer scientists. These trends are challenged by the new laws on immigration and integration that officially establish a program of resumption of labour immigration according to the needs of French economy: the so-called (by French politicians) 'chosen immigration'. After ten years of regular and steady growth, the number of permanent entries stabilized, in 2005 with regard to 2004: around 135,000. Actually, this stability shows contradictory movements. On one side, we notice a decline of the permanent streams of entries based on family reunification (95,000 persons in 2005; 103,000 in 2004), but this is in part due to the disappearance in the statistics of the citizens of the new European Union member states who are now requested to get a visa only for working in some branches. The family reunifications and settlements remains however the main stream of permanent entries. On the contrary, the direct entries on the labour market and the number of refugees are increasing but it affects mainly more restricted flows; less than 9,000 persons in 2005 for permanent workers; approximately 14,000 persons for refugees (twice more than in 2000, partially because of the high flows of asylum seekers). The origin of the migrants quickly evolves: near two thirds (it was a little more than a half five years ago) come from Africa, in particular from North Africa (Algeria and Morocco). In spite of a 16% decrease of applications for asylum in 2005 (42,000 new applications), France remains the OCDE country where the largest number of applications is recorded.

During the summer 2006, a procedure of regularization of some illegal immigrants showing close ties with France was set up. The issue was actually to allow parents whose children were schooled in France since at least September 2005 to get renewable residence permit for one year. An estimated 30,000 applications were registered in prefectures, approximately 7,000 people were finally granted resident permit.

2.1.2 Policy context

On 24 July 2006, a new law on immigration and integration became effective. It contains, first of all, a series of measures to attract more qualified workers and to facilitate temporary migration. The law creates three new residence permits for three years for highly qualified people, for employees appointed in France by their company and for seasonal workers. It states that the job market's situation can not be used as an argument against some professions with known shortages of employment. A list of sensitive professions declined regionally is published every year. Finally, foreign students benefit henceforth from more flexible conditions if they want to get employed during their studies: they can work up to 60% of the annual official working time. After their studies, those who are awarded a Master diploma can get an authorization to stay for six months to find an employment in a profession in connection with their formation, then, if necessary, they can get a resident permit renewable

⁶ Based on OECD (2007) and UN (2006).

for a year. The law also contains measures in term of reception and integration. It makes compulsory the contract of reception and integration (*Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration*, CAI) for all the people older than 16. It had been experimented in 2003, before being generalized. The CAI offers a set of individualized services intended to facilitate the reception and the integration of the new entrants. In 2005, the CAI was signed by more than 9 out of 10 firstly-newcomers who were proposed. In their great majority, the signatories of the CAI being French-speaking, they did not need to benefit from language lessons: only 25% of contracts contained linguistic training courses. The signature of a CAI is henceforth one of criteria to evaluate the integration of the applicants in order to get a 10 years resident permit. This permit is indeed granted only to refugee seekers and to applicants who bring proof of their personal involvement in an integration process. The signature of a CAI had become compulsory since 1 January 2007. It imposes a civic formation about French institutions and the 'values of the Republic' (secularism and equality between men and women among others). It also includes information sessions on French society organisation (health system, education, etc.) along with the submission of a report on professional skills. On 18 May 2007, the Ministry of Immigration, National identity, Immigration and Co-development was created. It gathers competences earlier on devoted to the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Social affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, etc. The very existence of this ministry and the implemented policies provoked virulent criticisms, the most questioned measure being undoubtedly the definition of a quota of illegal immigrant expulsion, fixed at 25,000 per year.

These measures briefly illustrated above have provoked a strong reluctance and fear in the civil society insofar as they seem to establish the capacity of assimilation as a criterion of selection within the frame of a politic of chosen immigration. The French integration process is clearly in crisis and the need for a new conception of integration is increasing.

In the public debates, the issue of immigration continues to be debated in terms of French society's difficulties to integrate the newcomers and even to terms of integration IEM settled as a result of an already old immigration process. Among the revealing signs of the crisis of integration process mentioned, there are:

- ☒ The residential concentration of a large share of the immigrant population in areas affected by chronic and growing socio-economic problems;
- ☒ A degraded socio-economic situation of a large part of immigrants and their families;
- ☒ The persistence of discriminatory practices (in terms of housing, labour, etc.);
- ☒ The large presence of undocumented migrants living under precarious condition of life.

The idea of a shared solidarity has to be reconsidered; indeed, the question for migrants is not only to fit into the society, to participate and then to internalize the common norms and values, but rather to stay connected, to resist, to inhabit the world by playing with mobility and autonomy.

In the preparation of displacements, in the orientation inside crossed spaces, in the organisation of meetings, it is now impossible to avoid using ICT (Internet, mobile phones, etc.). ICT, and especially the mobile phone, have provided an undeniable easing of the specific constraints faced by a migrant population. Generalised access to the ICT has become very significant. In the society of reception, this technical support has generated the emergence of various spontaneous mechanisms of social integration (multiple and individual), which have taken place in an informal way, out of the means of institutional integration. Besides, due to the ICT' uses, individuals geographically far-away from their family have not only succeeded in keeping contact with their environment of origin but they also have had means to contribute to the decisions and to participated, from afar, to family events. Integration issues – which are a crucial object both for the authorities and the academic society – will have to be considered again according to this specific context.

2.1.3 eGovernment and digital inclusion policies

A key success factor for the balanced implementation of e-government initiatives is political support for realizing electronic government. Created in 1998, the Interdepartmental committee on the Information Society (Comité interministériel pour la société de l'information – henceforth CISI) defines the main orientations, political priorities and courses of action for the integration and the development of ICT. It estimates the initiatives undertaken and the state of development of the Information society. The second CISI (1999) issued a study on e-administration and the third one (2000) on public research.

At the same time, central government administration has commissioned several reports on e-government and a new strategy for delivering services within the state reform policy framework. Following these Reports,⁷ various actions were taken: the creation of a personalized administration account; the development of cross-organization integration; the creation of an Agency for the Development of Electronic Administration bringing together in one organizational frame the different administrative institutions, committees and competencies on e-government. The Agency for the Development of Electronic Administration (Agence pour le Développement de l'Administration Electronique – ADAE), created in 2003, was in charge of piloting and co-coordinating the e-government drive in the French public administration.

In 2003, following the French Prime Minister directive of 18 September, a four-year strategic plan (PSAE), covering the 2004-2007 years, for e-government services to citizens, the private sector, and the public sector was elaborated. In the line of this plan, the Website www.administration24h24.gouv.fr was created in January 2007 by the Ministry of the Budget. This Website became the unique access to all online administrative formalities and procedures. Within the 2007 year, more than 300 administrative formalities were put on this Website.

Finally, the government decided to merge all these access websites and services: The ADEA was dismantled in 2005 (and was integrated to the in the newly General Direction of the modernization of State (Direction générale de la modernisation de l'État – DGME, Ministère du budget, des comptes publics et de la fonction publique) in charge of the implementation of the State Reform (in cooperation with other ministries). And in February 2008, administration24h24.gouv.fr fused with service-public.fr, the French civil services gateway (created in 2000). Finally a new action Plan for the Development of the Digital Economy and for e-government services by 2012 is currently being prepared and will be submitted to the Prime Minister before the end of July 2008. This Action Plan aims to tackle five main themes, namely:

- ☒ Enlarging the access to high-speed Internet;
- ☒ Encouraging the development of the digital field;
- ☒ Diversifying the use of the digital field, including public services online;
- ☒ Adapting organisation and governance to issues regarding the digital revolution;
- ☒ Enhancing the importance of the digital field in tomorrow's society in order to foster research, innovation and enterprise creation.

The areas most frequently invested in by French government agencies were messaging and Web sites/portals; these areas also were considered to be the most successful initiatives. On-line information, on-line services, on-line forms, digital content portal have been developed and promoted. The user can – almost always – find on government websites information on

⁷ Notably the Report commissioned by the French Secretary of State for State Reform on electronic government: Pierre de la Coste: 'L'Hyper-Républic: bâtir l'administration en réseau autour du citoyen', 2003.

rights and formalities, definition, conditions to fulfil, application procedure, steps to be taken, required documents, places where the information is available, references, reports, civil service directory and sometimes guidelines and online forms. The Website Service-Public.fr offers now Internet access to all French administration and Public services. It has been transformed into a unique window of all the services and information, *the* official gateway to the French civil service. Many local government portals and Websites integrated key information from the central 'service-public.fr' portal. It fosters easier access and understanding of the information and of the administrative language.

In term of access to terminal equipments and tailored ICT training and support actions, the Delegation for the Use of the Internet (Délégation aux Usages de l'Internet – henceforth DUI), was established by 2003 CISI, and is attached to the Ministry of Higher Education and Research. The DUI is essentially tasked with increasing widespread access to the Internet and to ICT. The challenge is to meet the challenges of digital literacy and to anchor ICT uses in people's daily lives.

The key initiatives of the Delegation for the Use of the Internet are:

- ☒ To propose and implement measures for increasing the use of the Internet and ICT;
- ☒ To provide access and training for families, children and the general public;
- ☒ To streamline the measures already established by the government and public establishments;
- ☒ To support regional authorities and private partners;
- ☒ To maintain and coordinate public Internet access areas;
- ☒ To encourage the distribution of information and exchanges between public and private players.

The DUI is an important strategic platform for the implementation of e-government applications, the definition of regional digital development policies, the development of partnerships with regional authorities and companies and the monitoring of the Digital Spaces policies.

Actually, many government initiatives focused on the field of education (creation of the SDTICE – Sub-Directorate of Information and Communication Technology in education – for the 2004-2006 action plan, educnet program, etc.) and later on, for unemployed people (Personalized Pedagogic Workshops set up by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment for example).

The Public Internet Access Points (Espaces Publics Numériques – henceforth EPN⁸) were launched by the 2000 CISI as a main instrument to reduce significantly the territorial disparities in internet access. The EPN are open public spaces (free of charge), dedicated to ICT training. They offer Infrastructures and services, training and support. Since 2002, an official label 'NetPublic' is awarded to some EPN by local or central authorities.

It is probably pleonastic to say, given the lack of recognition of ethnicity as a target of public policies and as a subject of public discourse at least at a formal level, that none of the various initiatives and strategies mentioned above explicitly considers IEM as a target. In practice, however, some of the delivery of such initiative does in fact affect them (i.e. PIAP and training courses).

⁸ For the purposes of this Report, the French expression 'Espaces Publics Numériques', actually a French label – and with no direct equivalent in English – has been translated as 'Public Internet Access Points'.

2.1.4 Groups selected and rationale

Russian, Moroccan and Indian immigrants or IEM are the three groups studied in this report. This selection is based, on one hand, on their presence on and in the Web and on their high connectivity (more than on their amount). On the other hand, these three IEM groups shows different characteristics in terms of recent or old migrations, households' profiles, or integration's process (among other things, for example, mastering French language).

The community from **Morocco** (521.000 official residents according to the 2003-2004 census, without taking into account the French sons of immigrants or immigrants of second generation⁹), is the second most important community in France. It is the third foreign country (after Portugal and Algeria) in terms of employed population (180,500 Moroccans legally working in France). Finally, 37,848 Moroccans gained the French nationality in 2005. The Moroccan immigration in France is rather old one, dating from the 1910s. It drastically changed courses when the government, acknowledging the failure of the policy of repatriation, decided in 1974 to set up a family reunification process: from an individual immigration composed almost exclusively of men, Moroccan migrations evolved to family immigrations composed for a large part of women and children; from a male immigration to a heterogeneous and diversified immigration (implying feminization, social mobility, naturalizations, etc.). In terms of Foreigners citizens living in France, Moroccans are the second nation represented (after Algeria): More than 600,000 Moroccans (by nationality) live in France (of course even more Moroccan IEM of second generation are in France). The Moroccans community presents an interesting structuration for the migrations never halted during the 20th century. The intergenerational differences are shaped by the different periods of migrations.

The youth and the elder, both recently arrived, circulating or settled for one generation show common and different characteristics in their uses of ICT. Households, private life, labour, associations, banking and housing trajectories are mirrored in the Web space and, more generally, in the ICT practices. A rich commuting space across the Mediterranean therefore emerged. Moreover, the Moroccan community is interesting insofar as the Moroccan State understood the stakes of migratory resources and has set up administrative policies – among others through ICT channels – adapted to the migrant. This was expressed into the development of services, media and channels aiming at transferring information (and money).

The **Russian** immigrants are much less numerous but very significant among the East European IEM communities. They display time and space discontinuity: the institutionalisation of information and community networks is rooted in old the 1920s diaspora institutions (churches, bookshops, associations). Before the end of Soviet Union, the reference to political exile was crucial in the construction of the Russian community identity. Now, these Russian migrations diversified, they show circulatory migration trends, bringing in tourists, students, manual workers, businessmen, artists, etc. French policy promotes 'chosen immigration' of Russian elites. For several years, a large part of the Temporary Work Permits has been delivered to East European researchers and artists. Eastern Europeans are more skilled – or are viewed as more skilled – than other foreigners.

The Russians account for most in this group and, among these elite, ICT' experts (engineers, researchers, computer scientists, etc.) are numerous. One might therefore conclude that ICT contribute only to the migrations of the most qualified people. But, as we will show through the example of marriage websites (marriage being a very used strategy to settle in France or in other West European countries) that ICT actually contribute to manifold forms of migrations. According to most commonly quoted estimates of the Russians in France, they account for

⁹ By law, French censuses do not ask questions regarding ethnicity or religion, but do gather information concerning country of birth.

50,000 to 60,000 individuals (including spouses of mixed marriages, former political refugees, descendants of 1920's migrants). Such estimates, however, do not take into account the economic immigration, often irregular, the Russian students or the Russians employed by mixed companies.

In spite of a small raise these last years, the immigration toward Europe from **India** still represents only a very small part of the global immigration in Europe, to the exception of the Indian's migrations to the United Kingdom. Minority situation within India and social characteristics do have a rather important impact on migratory trajectories. The Indian immigrants show high levels of education. They count among the most qualified immigrants within the OECD area, more than half of them are graduates. The Indians also represent an important part of the persons who are going to follow studies abroad. In 2005, the Indians represented 1% of the total entries of foreigners in France; that is to say about 1,700 persons; they represent 0.5% of the Foreigners (born abroad) in France: about 24,600 persons. In 2000, Indo-French (that is to say of persons of Indian-French descent or Indian descendants living in France) were estimated to account for around 65,000 (plus 300,000 in the French administrated overseas territories of Reunion, Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guiana). A majority of the Indian community in France hails from the former French colonies in India, especially Pondichery, Mahé, Yana, Karaikal and Chandranagore. Later arrivals were mostly Gujaratis from other Francophone areas: Mauritius, Seychelles and Madagascar. Most of them are involved in small businesses. About 12,000 of them are working within the French government while about 6,000 are in the police and armed forces. Most of the Indians are middle class. While France is opening up the IT sector for Indian professionals, there might be an influx of Indians coming to France over the coming years. Apart from a few demographic studies, the Indian migration literature in France offers a poor analysis of this diaspora or community situation unlike the Anglo-Saxons studies.

The Indian diaspora, in general, display a new model of diaspora that can be called a knowledge diaspora where technologies and innovations in the field of ICT play a crucial role. The 'knowledge diaspora' reality in France – where the Indian 'diaspora' count few people – is still however debatable. Our exploratory study of the Indian community's presence in the Web and particularly the analysis of its uses of matrimonial Websites will illustrate a case of bonding and bridging social capital. The most interesting aspect of this case actually relies in the extension of Indian diaspora's uses of ICT as a toll for regeneration and reproduction of the scattered community (and for its structuration) as well as (and at the same time as) its use as an economic tool.

2.2 *Supply-side overview and analysis*

This section presents the analysis of the ICT supplies for IEM (in terms, for example, of access to terminals and training), for which we do not aim at being fully exhaustive, for this would be beyond the time and resources available for this report. Referring to cases already gathered in the initial overview of this study and to some additional ones, we will extract a qualitative overview of the supplies in France. Such analysis can not be focused on the three selected groups as no initiative toward these particular groups, and actually no real initiative directly aimed at IEM, had been launched in France. Despite the relevance of government ICT initiatives highlighted above, we must record the absence of any form of structured digital inclusion policies implemented in favour of the immigrants and ethnic minorities. It is certainly possible to disclose some initiatives (financing associations for example) but there is no coordinated action, properly speaking, no policy. What it is possible to call 'top-down integration' now characterising France, cares hardly about the question of ICT as a full topic.

Plus, given the difficulties to obtain data on specific ethnic minorities in France, the major part of the following observations are not ethnic-based. However, each time that we were able to provide some information relative to the chosen ethnic minorities, we have highlighted them. Finally, we consider for some of the cases analysed their contribution to the Riga goals.

2.2.1 Promoting digitalization and digital literacy

Online information and online services. A positive point is the integration by many local government portals and Websites of the key information from the central 'service-public.fr' portal. It fosters easier access and understanding of the information and simplifies the administrative language. But cross-reference to the central service-public portal, as an integrative and unique window of civil service information, has not been implemented by all local government websites. Delivering key services: Information on procedure and formalities are in general available and detailed. But, although mainstreaming inclusive design realised as most of the administration adopted the service-public.fr design, still, for subjects concerning Migrant/IEM, there are not that many services online: 1. not so many electronic documents or application forms are online, 2. there are very few guidelines available to help the user/applicant to handle the formalities and understand French administrative language; and 3. there is no dematerialised procedure. Last, linguistic diversity (and therefore pluralism) has definitely not been set as a standard or a priority and initiatives aiming at fostering linguistic diversity are rather rare if not non-existent.¹⁰

Access to terminals and digital literacy support initiatives. The Public Internet Access Points (EPN) or Label NetPublic: The aim of the EPN is expressly to fight gaps of digital literacy and competence in the line of the priorities defined in the Riga's declaration. They are tailored to answer the needs of groups of exclusion: unemployed people, elderly people, foreigners, children and students. They are designed to build Public Internet Access Points in remote areas and to reduce disparities in internet access between all regions. They are working as local relay station for area's inhabitants and they propose to the inhabitants a training in basic ICT and multimedia as well as more advanced training.

In the past years, one can note an evolution from a simple utilization of the terminals and the tools at the disposal of the users toward a more specialized and personalized assistance notably for employment and education. None of these EPN's missions are expressly aimed at Migrants/IEM but by targeting unemployed people or inhabitants of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, they do concern IEM. For example, out of the 19 EPN labelled in Paris, premises of some of them are located in disadvantaged areas including areas inhabited by migrants, mostly the 18th district – where there is a high concentration of North African and Sub-Saharan IEM – and the 19th districts – North African and Asian IEM – of Paris.¹¹ They are all financed by the State (Delegation for the Use of the Internet, County Direction of work and employment, Ministry of Youth and Sports...) and by local government (municipalities, regional councils) and the label NetPublic is awarded by a joint labialization system between the State and local government.

¹⁰ Research on online information and online services for migrants are to be undertaken in one of the case studies.

¹¹ An official directory of the labeled EPN in France is available on the DUT's Website : <http://delegation.internet.gouv.fr>

Table 1 Public Internet Access Points located in areas inhabited by migrants in Paris

Name	Adress and URL	Services and activites
EPN Torcy	2, rue de Torcy 75018 Paris	Internet and Multimedia Initiation
Réseau 2000	45-47 rue d'Aubervillers 75 018 http://reseau2000.net	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet and Multimedia Initiation • Initiation to word-processing • Personalized social training (to find a job) • Trainings and support to local development projects • E-library
La Goutte d'Ordinateur	7, rue Léon 75 018 www.gouttedordinateur.org	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet and Multimedia Initiation • Accompagnement recherche d'emploi
Espace 19 Multimedia	175 bis rue de Crimée 75019 Paris http://www.espace19.org	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiation Internet et multimédia • Initiation to word-processing • Accompagnement à al scolarité • Personalized social training (to find a job)
<i>EPN Belleville</i>	28 rue Rébeval 75019 PARIS http://wiki.crao.net/index.php/EpnBelleville	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet and Multimedia Initiation • Support for developing personal projects • Educational tutoring, pedagogic activities • Personalized social training (to find a job) • E-administration's matering training
EPN Relais Menilmontant:	85bis, rue Ménilmontant 75020 Paris http://relaismenilmontant.free.fr	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internet and Multimedia Initiation • Educational tutoring, pedagogic activities • Personalized social training (to find a job)
Confluences	rue Arthur Lamendin 75020 PARIS www.mac.ville-sallaumines.fr	Internet and Multimedia Initiation
Microlithe:	59 bis rue Olivier Métra 75020 PARIS	Internet and Multimedia Initiation

All the levels in computing (Internet and multimedia initiation) are represented although the beginner's level widely prevails. This way, these trainings offer basic knowledge of computing help the participants to overcome their hesitation and their fear of the tool. While workshops propose mostly introductory courses in the office automation (word processor, etc.) or in the Internet, the applications are clearly connected to the social and professional inclusion, to the integration and to the economic participation of the migrants. For the adults, the lessons aim at facilitating job searching (CV writing, job application letters) or the administrative procedures. For the children, it is the success at school which is the major issue, the usage of the computing tool joining activities of remedial lessons. We can note a strong demand of Internet use and the will of certain associations to make Internet entering the daily practices of migrants. Finally, the success of these initiatives with the public is quite significant in terms of attendance.¹² But, as we can note an evolution toward this more specialized and personalized assistance (for employment, education...), the EPN are today fulfilling a double missions of raising public awareness and social marketing (missions that have not achieved its goal so far) in the assistance for specific disadvantaged people and of assistance in the use of specific services (online administration). This trend questions the competence of the trainers and counsellors to carry on these tasks.¹³

¹² Comment borrowed from the e-migra's database of good practices: <http://www.e-migra.org/index.php?id=45&L=1>.

¹³ Comment borrowed from the "Rapport sur l'accès public à Internet en Ile-de-France", by ARTESI, January 2006 (<http://www.anetville.com/public/dossier.tp?id=10697>). The Regional Agency for Technologies and Information Society in Île-de-France (ARTESI) tasks to promote the uses of ICT within local communities in the region. It is supported by the DUI.

Partnerships, collaborations across government agencies and private initiatives.

EPN are monitored by associations with the financial support of the State (Delegation for the Use of the Internet – DIU, County Direction of work and employment, Ministry of Youth and Sports...) and by local government (municipalities, regional councils). Since November 2003, the former label EPN has been replaced by a new one – NetPublic – awarded by a joint labialization system between the State and local government. An other partner involved is the Caisse des Dépôts, a public-sector financial institution (often nicknamed as 'the financial arm of the State', its supervisory Board is chaired by a member of the Chamber of Deputies and its Chief Executive Officer is appointed by decree by the President of France). The Caisse des Dépôts supports many e-gouvernement initiatives such as the creation of Cyberbases (Public Internet Access Points similar to the EPN – www.cyber-base.org). It supports as well (often in partnership with Delegation for the Use of the Internet) various associations or networks set up for the promotion of Internet uses or exchange of competence, knowledge or research such as Ville Internet, It is a network of local elected representatives and local associations. Their aim is to share their knowledge and experience of Internet and of ICT in order to develop local and citizen-involved Internet. This exchange platform relies on more than 1,000 local communities (registered). It awards labels to collectivities (communities/towns) which undertake an Internet policy as one of their mission of public service and carry on studies. Partnerships, collaboration across government agencies and institutions have been developed. The DUI, Ministries and cities participate in partnership to the financing of EPN and therefore to combating digital gap. Associations (local and national) play a major role through this government support. However, few private companies are involved in this process. Besides associations and local and national government, the key actors are the Caisse des dépôt and la Poste (another State-owned company). The only private company who do play a role – although minor – is the recently privatized France Telecom through its 'Multimedia Spaces in Town' project.

There is also a large number of **privately-owned communication shops**, which offer access to telephones (with discount prices to call abroad) and rather cheap computer terminal and Internet access. These communication shops are owned by migrants and set up for migrants. Since the beginning of the 2000s, such shops have been flourishing in IEM settling areas such as Chateau Rouge in Paris (African and North African migrants) where hundreds of communication shops can be found. It should be noted that achievement of an affordable access to ICT networks and terminal equipment everywhere is questionable notably in remote and rural areas. However, IEM (and notably Moroccan, Indians and Russians IEM) are rarely settled in rural areas.

Such initiative contribution to **Riga's goals** can be summarised as follows:

- ☒ The Public Internet Access Points facilitate collective access to ICT networks and terminal equipment, especially in rough area, although the aim is not so much to provide access to computers and Internet as to provide computing lessons.
- ☒ The Public Internet Access Points contribute to the improving of basic digital literacy and competences among groups at risks of exclusion.
- ☒ The Public Internet Access Points contribute to the improving of the possibilities for economic and social participation and integration of migrants. If the contribution is incontestable in terms of employment, the contribution in terms of creativity and entrepreneurship is much more uncertain

2.2.2 Cell phone remittances (commercial sector).

Having full and comfortable access to banking services is a major issue for migrants. It means to be able to live as a citizen among the others: to work legally, to have an accommodation, to

pay invoices. Many reasons determine a strong, largely unmet demand for money transfer services from the host countries to the home countries: immigration in France is above all of economic nature; there are many migrants which are at the same time here (in the host country) and over there (in the country of origin) through material, social and symbolic ties; the projects of return are often not fixed and family support is a very strong practice among the migrants.. We are interested here only in the money transfers mediated by ICT, specifically by the mobile phone. We shall approach this by looking at the case of the service *i-transfert*¹⁴ offered by the Société Générale bank.

Société Générale (general company to facilitate the development of the business and the industry in France) is one of the main French banks, one of the three pillars of the non-mutualist French banking industry with LCL (ex-Crédit Lyonnais) and BNP Paribas. The *i-transfert* service is targeted to any individual having a bank account and desiring to make money transfer abroad, but it is mostly used by foreigners. As it is evident in the French context, such a service cannot be openly presented as an ethnic targeted service, but *de facto* it is one. By phone call to a voice server, one may make international money transfer 7 days a week and 24 hours a day. Two types of international transfers are available: transfers in favour of a beneficiary holding an account in a subsidiary of the Société Générale in the home country; transfers in cash (the beneficiary can go at any office of the subsidiary with his ID card to withdraw the capital).

Concerning the uses of this service we focus on Moroccans and use data reported in a study conducted by D. Bounie, D. Diminescu and C. Licoppe: *Analyse socio-économique des transferts de fond des migrants par téléphone mobile [service i-transfert de la Société Générale]* (TELECOM ParisTech - Cap Digital).

All the gathered data concerning money transfers since 1920 show the attachment which Moroccan have to their home country. It is only in the late 60's that the Moroccan government launched a policy supporting and facilitating the remittances of workers of Moroccan origin settled in France. It was done by supporting the implementation of a banking network intended for the collection of the savings in the countries of immigration and by trying to thwart the illegal exchanges and finally by motivating the savings in the country of origin. Besides, the Moroccan government allows its nationals to re-transfer all their savings or all their acquisitions at one go and without any administrative formality from Morocco towards France. Such policy enabled Morocco to get a steady and sizeable inflow of remittances by the workers abroad. According to a European Commission study,¹⁵ Morocco was in 2004 the biggest beneficiary of the financial streams of the immigrants from EU towards their countries of origin. Morocco appropriated 2,918 millions Euro from migrants in Europe, representing about 5% of GDP. Streams in the direction of Morocco come from France (1431 million euro), Spain (921 million euro), Belgium (256.8 million euro), the Netherlands (182.8 million euro), Italy (11.9 million euro), and Portugal (1 million euro).

One of the essential points here as regards *i-transfert* is that the commercial link between the customers and the Société Générale does not begin with the subscription to *i-transfert*. Indeed, for each of the individuals interviewed, the opening of an account was done before subscribing to this service. Since they registered to the *i-transfert* service, individuals of Moroccan origin had done on average (at the time of interview) five transfers. The frequencies of sending are in fact variable. The only customers sending some money regularly, that is once a month, are those who have either contracted a loan for a real estate investment, or which are the financial support of their family in the home country. The average amount sent by an individual of Moroccan origin in *one* transfer is 1,298 euro. This

¹⁴ <http://www.sgbl.com.lb/sgbl/french/templates/common.asp?folder=385§ion=15>

¹⁵ S. Jiménez-Martín, N. Jorgensen, J. M. Labeaga, *The Volume and Geography of Remittances in the EU*, European Commission, 2007 (http://www.antigone.gr/listpage/community_documents/reports/071127.pdf)

average figure is the highest among the various communities studied. The sent amounts are very unpredictable within the sample. This reflects the fact that the individuals of Moroccan origin send money for multiple reasons and have very variable financial situations.

An important part of the money transfer is to the very sender. Even if payments benefiting third parties are made, they are only few compared with money transfers dedicated to oneself. Among people asked in the qualitative sample, many customers use the *i-transfert* system in order to build a saving. So, they send money to Morocco in case they should go back to live over there definitively. For those who have the most precarious material conditions in France, sending money allows them to envisage a more comfortable return in financial terms. For others, sending money on an account in Morocco allows them to avoid the temptation to withdraw that sum at the first occasion.

The greatest strength of the *i-transfert* service according to the investigated individuals is its practicality. Indeed, the possibility to use the cell phone for the operation was particularly underlined. Furthermore, it is the fact not to have to move that is appreciated by the interviewed individuals. These ones also appreciate *i-transfert* because it is a reliable tool. The risk of error is reduced and does not constitute, according to the users, a source of particular anxiety. They know that, with this system, the money cannot be lost and that, in case of a wrong manipulation, the operation can be cancelled.

The most important cause of criticisms concerning this service is the delay of reception of the sum in Morocco. The second criticism concerns the lack of traceability. This demand of traceability concerns both the process (e.g. an SMS confirming that the money is indeed being transferred) and the outcome: having a confirmation that the sum has arrived on the destination account.

Let us note finally that one of the key actors of the chain is the account manager. These bank clerks are nationals of the various home countries whose role goes beyond that of merely promoting and selling the service. Some of the investigated persons were happy to deal with somebody of their origin, as they did not fully master the French language and communicating in their native language facilitated understanding the offer and its functioning. Furthermore, support can exceed the frame of the meeting. It is the case for some investigated persons recently arrived, who do not know the administrative registration procedures for immigrants, and were helped by the account manager in filling their forms.

The *i-transfert* service's contribution to Riga's goals can be summarised as follows:

- ☒ *i-transfert* contributes to facilitate accessibility and usability of ICT products and services by enabling remittances to be done with a now common good, the cell phone;
- ☒ Indirectly, *i-transfert* contributes to improving the possibilities for economic and social participation by facilitating money flows and by employing as account managers some nationals of the various transfer destination countries.

2.2.3 Migrations à Besançon¹⁶

- ☒ The project originates from the demand of the *Centre Communal d'Action Sociale*¹⁷ (CCAS) of the city of Besançon (116100 inhabitants). The first goal was to develop a Website dedicated to the history of migrations in Besançon. Next, it has been decided to create a *collaborative website* in order to 'write together a history of immigration',¹⁸ to

¹⁶ The following evidences come from an interview with Odile Chopard, "Migrations à Besançon" project manager, on 29 of July 2008. See also another interview: <http://www.generationcyb.net/Migrations-a-Besancon-la-mairie,1365>

¹⁷ *Communal Centre of Social Action.*

¹⁸ Interview with Odile Chopard, 29 of July 2008

"make ours together a plural France": it was a question of citizen commitment.¹⁹ The aim was then to promote Internet as a massmedia of proximity. "This is a unique initiative in France".²⁰

- ☒ The Website has been published in December 2007; the project has no end date. Anyone can submit contents (text, audio, and video) through the Website. Nevertheless, these contents are not systematically published (in that sense it is not a social application like the ones of the so-called Web 2.0). There are filters. The project team and its editorial committee decide whether a *testimony* can be published or not (in fact, since the beginning of project, no submission had been rejected). "This editorial model is very common as regards collaborative websites dealing with memory".²¹
- ☒ Actually, there are few spontaneous contributions; the collection of testimonies (interviews, etc.) is thus a crucial part of the project. When testimonies are *individual*, it is the project team which publishes them. The 'memory gatherers' help in giving contents a form.

Upstream to the Website, there are some work teams composed of voluntary workers (university professors,²² ethnologist, journalists, militants, etc.) and dealing with specific topics: migration and work, languages, cultures, etc. Among us, there are some immigrants, about one third.²³ The voluntary workers not only contribute to the contents publication (in the frame of mini-sites) but also to the Website animation and organisation.

The project manager has an assistant who provides help to the work teams, and especially *accompanies* them in their uses of Internet. Let us take the example of the members of the work team 'Women Interdistrict': some of them know how to use Internet or a word processor but they need help for others tasks: inserting a picture, audio-files, etc. The assistant provides punctual help, not a permanent one. As regards *groups*, there is consequently a real effort for *ICT training* and an effort to provide *access* to computers and digital applications. This is important inasmuch as Cyberbases do not commit themselves to group training. However, the aim is not to provide ICT training in itself: it is to make people get involved with ICT through contents publication and uses.

The 'History' section is the main section of the website but this one deals a lot with the present as well: that is why information and links about integration, education, work are offered as well as a diary of events related to immigration in Besançon (conferences, festivals, etc.). Figures of contents are the following one (08/29/08):

- ☒ 257 articles²⁴
- ☒ 76 articles in archive
- ☒ 30 articles with audio content²⁵
- ☒ 17 articles with video content²⁶
- ☒ 1010 web pages referenced by Google

As regards the IEM groups we selected, there are some contributions of Moroccans (notably living in the Amitiés area of Besançon) on the website. Some others contributions are

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² The university of Besançon is very involved in the project; it watches over the scientific content.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Most of them are original contributions.

²⁵ *Radio-Sud*, and in a lesser measure *Radio-Campus*, have provided some audio contents.

²⁶ A part of the video has been given to the project team. Another part has been done by this team

expected. The testimony of a Russian will be soon collected. There is no contribution of Indians.

As regards Migrations à Besançon's contribution to the integration, and social participation of IEM, we can draw the following conclusions:

- ☒ Migrations à Besançon contribute to the integration of IEM by favouring the *collective* writing of "a history of migration in Besançon that is a history of Besançon".²⁷ The project deals with citizenship and the participation of migrants in the city life. Moreover, it provides contents, testimonies and links about integration, education, work, etc. Therefore, it fosters the creation of links between migrants and non-migrants: it is a source of *bridging* social capital.
- ☒ Migrations à Besançon contributes to the development of *digital literacy* among migrants. Whereas Cyberbases are concerned with individual training, Migrations à Besançon is concerned with group training, focusing on contents and uses more than on technologies themselves.
- ☒ Migrations à Besançon fosters local user-generated contents reflecting the migrants' life. However, it does not abandon the contents creation to the migrants inasmuch as the project team play the role of filters and above all the role of 'testimonies gatherer'. It is therefore a multi-heading project involving individuals as well as group, host society member as well as immigrants.

2.2.4 IEM Community Websites.

Among the various types of initiatives/services overviewed and commented in the report *Overview of digital support initiatives for immigrants and ethnic minorities in the EU 27* (Kluzer et al 2008), IEM community websites (mostly falling under the user-generated content/service category) are by far the most widespread and relevant cases.

The TIC-Migrations program research activities have focused for the past several years on this topic and from our database we can anticipate the following key facts:

- ☒ Most of them are dedicated exclusively to the IEM community and establish themselves as places for community life;
- ☒ As anticipated, the activities on these websites can qualify as providing user generated content/services (published on community platforms, especially forums).

The key question for this study is to what extent these sites, often created by one or few migrant and fed mostly (cf. the forums) by the members of the community, contribute to better integration and to the economic and social participation of the IEM and, thus meet the Riga declaration's goal?

In order answer this question, we will analyse in detail three community Websites, one for each of the selected IEM groups:

- ☒ For the Morrocans – **Yabiladi** : <http://www.yabiladi.com/> ;
- ☒ For the Russians – **Russian Paris** : <http://www.russianparis.com/fr/> ;
- ☒ For the Indians – **Indians in France**: <http://www.indiansinfrance.com> .

Yabiladi: This community Website was created and is maintained by 7 Moroccans (volunteers) and targets Moroccan diaspora (but also Moroccans living in Morocco). It was launched in 2002 and is ongoing.

²⁷ Interview with Odile Chopard, 29 July 2008

To describe Yabiladi, we can quote his founder, Mohammed Ezouak: "*Yabiladi.com is a portal built by and for Moroccans living abroad. It is a place for exchanges, information sharing, and entertainment for all Moroccans, but especially those living abroad. The goal is to provide comprehensive media for a community that is thirsty for information, images, and sounds from the home country*"²⁸ Yabiladi is consequently a site (in French) dedicated to the scattered Moroccan community but where numerous Moroccans living in Morocco also participate, who either prepare a departure, or simply wish to inquire on their fellow countrymen abroad and to participate in a community life beyond the borders: "*The purpose of our site is to help MLAs (Moroccans Living Abroad), but also future MLAs. For this, we provide information useful for planning a move abroad (information Moroccan students need in order to study in France, for example).*"

The site offers numerous services to the migrants: it publishes the address of the consulates of Morocco abroad, proposes religious services (audio library of Koran suras), a converter of currencies, a system of classified ads and a forum. It shows advertisements for commercial offers of communication with the country of origin, etc:

- ☒ The communities Websites contribute to the fostering of cultural identity in the digital space by offering 'common places' for the scattered community and promoting community regeneration and/or community building. In that sense, it is the dimension of *bonding social capital* that prevails. The links with the home country are crucial (note that Yabiladi mean 'My Country'): these Websites are mirrors of the places of origin, especially of their culture (religion, art, history, etc.). They may promote offline meeting as well.
- ☒ The communities Websites foster multilingual and local user-generated content adapted to the communities' needs as it is the case for the Russians.
- ☒ The communities Websites participate to the improving of the possibilities for economic participation by the submission of job and services offers (especially on forums) and, more generally, by the sharing of professional contacts and opportunities.
- ☒ The communities Websites contribute to social participation and integration of IEM by sharing practical information and experience about living in France (sometimes creating actual practical knowledge databases), by offering advices concerning administrative steps, by providing online administrative forms or links to them.

²⁸ <http://www.itmaroc.com/Entretien-avec-Mohamed-Ezzouak.html>

Figure 1: Page of classified ads on Yabiladi (a telecommunication advertising is displayed)

The screenshot shows the Yabiladi.com website interface. At the top, there's a header with the site logo and a flash message: "Flash : Le roi Mohammed VI fustige la fermeture des frontières par l'Algérie". Below this is a banner for "www.Maroc-Ferry.com" advertising a route from "Algésiras - Tanger (48 Euros)". The main navigation bar includes links for "Actualités", "Forum", "Annonces", "Rencontres", "Chat", "Radio", "Football", and "Vidéos".

The central content area is titled "LE MAGHREB DEPUIS VOTRE MOBILE AUX PRIX DE LA CABINE" and features a grid of categorized ads:

- Auto-Moto** (66): Achat 1, Vente 40
- Entraide** (24): Entraide et échange de services
- Perdu de vue** (15): Recherche d'amis ou de proches perdus de vue
- Bonnes Affaires** (84)
- Immobilier** (402): Achat 25, Vente 177, Location 126
- Produits du Maroc** (17): Achat, vente de produits d'origine marocaine
- Emploi, services** (93): Offre 35, Demande 21
- Matériel High Tech** (23): Achat 3, Vente 17
- Services mariage** (42): Offre de services pour organisation de mariage

Two real estate ads are highlighted:

- Vente | 31.07.2008**: **TERRAIN À MARRAKECH**. Terrain Titré de superficie de 209 m2. Se trouve Sur la route principale de fez (Ain it).Façade sur la route de fez, pour plus d'information veuillez me contacter et merci
- Vente | 31.07.2008**: **terrain z.villa à vendre salle jadida rabat**. terrain de 295m à salla al jadida exp plein sud avec accès facile par autoroute (proche du techno parc). prix:5450,00 dhs gsm 061 28 56 31 prix ferme...

The sidebar on the left contains various menu items under categories like "Actualités", "Multimédia", "Pratique", and "Services". The right sidebar includes "Zone Membre" (Login, Inscription), "Navigation" (Accueil, Top 10, Top votes, Recherche), and "Spécial immobilier" (listing various cities like Casablanca, Marrakech, etc.).

Consulting the contents created by the users of the site itself, one can understand most adequately the usages of Yabiladi. Let us consider first of all the section of classified ads:

- ☑ We find classified ads dedicated to Real-estate (391 current classified ads on 11 June 2008) but these concern mainly Morocco; this shows not only that the site is used by Moroccans living in Morocco but also maybe by migrants who maintain the project of returning to Morocco.
- ☑ In a more interesting way, there is a category of classified ads dedicated to the 'Mutual aid' (at the 20 classified ads): a large number of them are about car sharing for going to Morocco from Europe during the summer.
- ☑ There are also announcements related to economic activities (transport company looking for customers in France, search for a needlewoman to sell kaftans in France, etc.).
- ☑ A section 'Marriage services' (44 current classified ads) is dedicated to the organization of Moroccan wedding, mainly in Europe, and in which individuals or companies propose their services.
- ☑ Finally, there is a column on 'Employment' (92 current classified ads) which provides job applications and job ads both in France and in Morocco.

- ☒ The total amount of published classified ads is relatively small. For example, the section 'Mutual Aid' counted only 4 classified ads for the last ten days.
- ☒ On the contrary, the forum is visited and used by many: 83 persons were connected during our visit (11 June 2008, 15h00). There were 126,203 discussions and 2,280,697 messages.²⁹ The forum is consequently very active. Among the categories of the forum, we have to highlight the categories 'Administrative procedures' in the host countries (100,224 messages, therefore 4.4% of the total of messages), 'Training, Formation, Employment, Business' (28,863 messages in this category, that is 1.3% of the total) which are dedicated as much to general information as to answer questions (about the host countries or in Morocco). The forum is therefore the section where the community's life takes place, where the departures are organized, where the economic opportunities are posted, where experiences are 'shared', where mutual aid for integration is set up. The forum is the commonplace which catalyses the interactions, structures, and unifies the scattered community. See, as an example, the screen shot below which shows a forum discussion about the creation of an import-export company.

Figure 2: Yabiladi's forum: Creation of an import/export company – France/Morocco

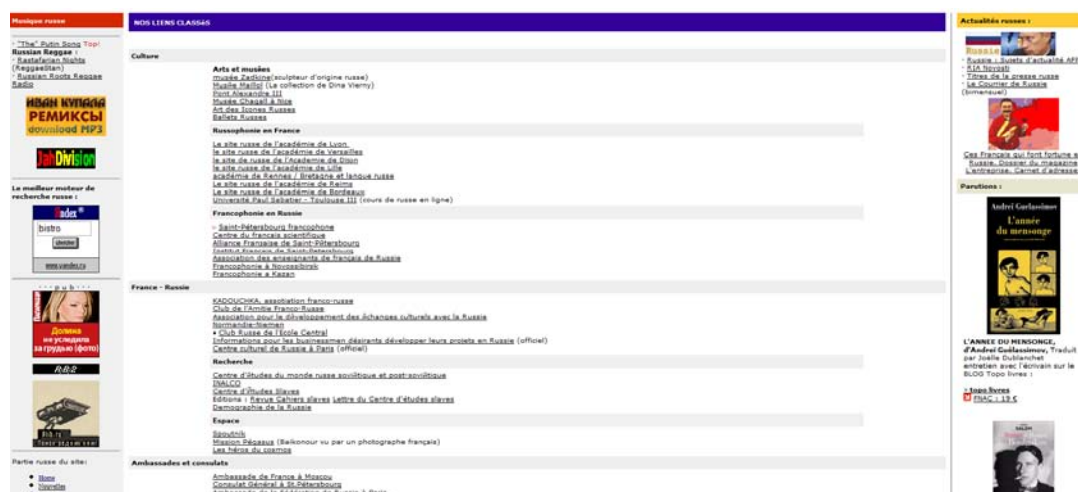
The screenshot shows the Yabiladi.com forum interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with various categories: Actualités, Forum, Annonces, Rencontres, Chat, Radio, Football, and Vidéos. The main content area displays a forum post titled "ouvrir un hamam en region parisienne" by user youyou95, dated July 26, 2008. A reply by user LEMARRAKCHI, dated July 28, 2008, provides contact information for a business concept in Paris, including a website (www.lorientalissim.com), an email address (orientalissime@hotmail.fr), and phone numbers for France and Morocco. The bottom of the page features three advertisements: "Brume de Hammam", "produits Orientaux", and "Hammam T Y L O".

²⁹ We had noted down the figures on 5 May 2008: 122,736 discussions and 2,222,416 messages. Since this date, there were thus 3,467 new discussions and 58,281 new messages, that is 96 discussions a day and 1,619 old new messages a day.

Russian Paris. This community site was created in 2003 and is ongoing and targets Russians living in Paris.

Russian in Paris is a Web portal of the Russian community in Paris. It provides a lot of information on Russian cultural life: festivals in France, publications of dvd and books, programme of the Russian cultural centre. It also offers news on Russia, allows to show webcams in Moscow, etc. and, in that sense, intends to participate to the regeneration of the Russian community in the host country. It also plays the role of sites directory, by offering group of classified links on culture (Russian speaking world in France and French-speaking world in Russia), on relations between France and Russia (for example, the club of French-Russian friendship). A whole section is dedicated to the Russians in France: sites of Russian great figures having lived in Paris, a rubric 'Frenchmen seen by the Russians' or else sites linked to religious practice. Therefore, there is not here information concerning social participation or integration, administrative steps (although practical information on consulates and embassies is given, with a link towards an online request of visa) or job search. It is actually in the forum of the website that we can find information on these subjects.

Figure 3 Russian Paris site directory



During our visit on the forum (Russian speaking) of Russian Paris (on 12 June 2008; 11h00), 66 persons (64 visitors and 2 users of the site) were connected. 4,552 persons were registered. The forum contained in total 95,158 messages for 7,882 discussions.³⁰ This forum introduces first of all topics that it would be possible to find in any Russian forum and which take back themes approached by Russian media in general: do-it-yourself, aesthetics, health, etc. But there is also a group of topics devoted to life in France (and more generally in Europe inasmuch as there is a series of messages on life in Switzerland). It deals first with questions of immigration, visas, nationality, official documents (3,604 messages, 3.8% total numbers of messages). A very interesting rubric according to us concerns the sharing of experiences and comes as a 'knowledge base'; it constitutes in a way a memory of Russian migrations in France (1,632 messages, 1.7% totals). Another rubric is devoted to life in France and answers the questions of daily life (4,289 messages, 4.5% totals). There is also a rubric called *purchases, sale, services* (with message on regulating of computers, sale of cigarettes, etc.) (453 messages, 0.5% totals). There is a section *training in France* in which information on French universities, candidacies, diploma equivalence etc. are exchanged (783 messages, 0.8%). Finally, a section is dedicated to the accommodation in France, in which the questions

³⁰ Since the opening of the forum in January, 2003, there is nearly an average of 4 new debates and 48 new messages a day. These figures must be considered with prudence inasmuch as we can think that the forum was less active at its beginning.

of lasting or temporary installation (holiday) are mixed (1258 messages, 1.3% of messages). In another section of the forum, a category is dedicated to language (French and Russian) (1,686 messages, 1.8%). Other sections of the forum concern culture, relations, etc. It is therefore possible to say that questions linked to social participation or integration occupy about 15% total volumes of the total messages of the forum. We shall point out nevertheless that it is only indirectly (by the training, services, etc.) that are recalled the questions of job in this forum.

Figure 4 Rubrics of Russian Paris forum










Indians in France. This community site was created in 2007 and is ongoing and targets Indians living in France.

Figure 5 Documents to download on Indians in France

Indians in France - Useful downloadable documents

[Home](#) | [Forum](#) | [Documents](#) | [Patriotism](#) | [TV](#) | [Music](#) | [Live cricket](#) | [Our photos](#) | [Our videos](#)

Parul Roy, a visiting scientist from India has just sent me a few documents that she thought would be handy for people coming here. Earlier, Naresh Kumar Mani sent me another document, a general pre-departure list. So I thought to create a new section in this site with downloadable documents, as that would help people to find the same (all downloadable documents) in one place. I will try to add more documents here, and hope others will contribute as well.

-  [A sample application to the state home ministry, asking for attesting birth certificates.](#) (PDF) Submitted by - Parul Roy
-  [Form 5, birth certificate.](#) (PDF) Submitted by - Parul Roy
-  [Birth certificate.](#) (PDF) Submitted by - Parul Roy
-  [A general predeparture list](#) (Excel) Submitted by - Naresh Kumar Mani
-  [Euro parliament clarification on schengen visa](#) (PDF) Submitted by - Sanjeev Jhatta
-  [France student guide](#) (PDF) Submitted by - Santosh Chavan
-  [France India Agreement for a avoidance of double taxation with France](#) (PDF) Submitted by - Vivek Chamedia

Please note that user submitted documents are not verified by the site owner, and are uploaded in the site with an aim to help others and with a belief that authors of these documents have themselves verified the content before submitting. Thanks for your understanding.

Copyright © Indians in France 2007. All rights reserved.
Création site internet : Paris web design



The website 'Indians in Paris' is composed of various sections: 1) a section 'TV' where the user can view miscellaneous channels (Indian, French, American, etc.), 2) a section 'Music' where the user can listen to pieces of Indian music, 3) a section 'Live Cricket' where cricket matches can be broadcasted, 4) a section 'Patriotism' where videos of 'patriotic songs' or debates on Sanskrit traditions can be downloaded. This sections highlights the steps taken or

to implement a community regeneration beyond the borders (the title of this page shows, for example, a 'Reboot your Patriotism' exclamation 5) and 6) two sections 'Our Photos' and 'Our Videos' where the members can publish the videos and photos of their common experiences in the host country. These sections express an offline incarnation of the online community life 7) a section 'Documents' where official documents (Pdf and Excel format) and information on administrative formalities: requests for a birth certificate, list of steps to undertake before departure to the host country, guideline for students, information on Schengen visa. This section aims at easing the settling and the integration in the host country.

But here, as in the previous cases, the community life gets organised mainly on the forum. It is particularly clear for this site inasmuch as the forum is at the same time the homepage of the site.

To begin with, let us note that 1) the forum is English-speaking³¹ and 2) a significant number of the forum's members (more or less the half) have published their photo which enlightens a significant degree of 'nearness'. Their professions are varying but students and white collars (especially engineers and ICT specialists) are predominant; there is about 80% of men and 20% of women. The forum counts 321 members (on 12 June 2008) and 4,331 messages.³² The most significant categories of the forum we selected are:

- ☒ 'Indo French Cultural Exchange' (412 messages, 9.5% of the total of messages) where are discussed possible bridges between Indian and French cultures.
- ☒ 'Indians in France' (336 messages, 7.8% of the total). This category gathers messages on various topics but they deal mainly with administrative steps, studies and job, accommodation, French language training... so much topics directly linked to social participation. There is a rubric especially dedicated to 'Jobs and Careers' but it is a poorly fed rubric (26 messages, 0.6% totals). This category is divided according to the big French cities (but only the Paris section contains messages).
- ☒ There is finally a series of rubrics devoted to specific cities in France: Indians in Paris, Indians in Lille, Indians in Toulouse, etc. (for Paris, 1,031 messages, 23.9% of the total). These sub-rubrics contain principally messages concerning the activities in the mentioned cities. These subdivisions show that, 'behind the website', there are actually groups of persons meeting together offline. This 'community dimension' is more visible and active in this Indian case than in the cases studied above.

After this review of the three community Websites, and as far as issues of their contribution to integration, and social and economic participation are concerned, we can draw the following conclusions:

- ☒ The communities Websites contribute to the fostering of cultural identity in the digital space by offering 'common places' for the scattered community and promoting community regeneration and/or community building. In that sense, it is the dimension of *bonding social capital* that prevails. The links with the home country are crucial (note that Yabilady means 'My Country'): these Websites are mirrors of the places of origin, especially of their culture (religion, art, history, etc.). They may promote offline meeting as well.
- ☒ The communities Websites foster multilingual and local user-generated content adapted to the communities' needs as it is the case for the Russians.
- ☒ The communities Websites participate to the improving of the possibilities for economic participation by the submission of job and services offers (especially on forums) and, more generally, by the sharing of professional contacts and opportunities.

³¹ It would also have been possible to study the following French-speaking Indian forum: http://www.radioteentaal.com/forum_new/index.php

³² Since the Website creation, there is nearly an average of 13 new messages a day.

- ☒ The communities Websites contribute to social participation and integration of IEM by sharing practical information and experience about living in France (sometimes creating actual 'practical knowledge databases'), by offering advices concerning administrative steps, by providing online administrative forms or links to them.

2.3 Demand side: take up of ICT/digital media

This section focuses on the IEM expectations and needs in terms of access and use of ICT. The documentation, data and analysis on ICT uses by IEM in general – and by the chosen groups – is very fragmentary or even nonexistent. There is no reliable and exhaustive statistical data about the access of immigrant populations in France because 'ethnicity' or 'home country' cannot legally be used as a criterion for statistical surveys. This lack of data and even of qualitative studies on the ICT uses by 'foreigners' in general meets the lack of policies conjugating TIC and IEM (and no Report has been commissioned by government agencies on the subject). As a result the only means at our disposal was to look at very general data on ICT uses in France (notably according to age and social status) and then extract some inductive hypotheses concerning the migrants/IEM. These general data added to our own previous studies allowed us to ascertain on one side, a list of challenges in terms of digital exclusion and on another, a list of potentials for digital inclusion.

We can, thus, start with some general data on access and usage of ICT in general³³ showing that in France (as it is the case in other European countries), the digital gap measured in terms of households having a PC and Internet access at home has been reduced in recent years: In 2007, 62% of households are equipped with a computer, 49% have access to Internet. Former constraints to the purchase of a computer (questionable usefulness, prices and lack of competences) are losing importance. The act of buying a computer does not depend on age, level of education or profession.

On the other hand, social disparities in access and use remain in France (and resemble the situation in other countries):

- ☒ 32% of men and 36% of women have never been connected to Internet – so the gender gap tend to disappear;
- ☒ For people aged from 65 to 74, 78% have never used a computer or have not used it more than once during the past year and 82% have never used Internet or have not been connected more than once during the past year – so the elderly tend to be widely excluded from the access and use of ICT;
- ☒ In general, with respect to age, young people are the most active user of Internet and, in relation to social status, students and working people are the most active users;
- ☒ The main activities on Internet are: research of information on goods and services (86% internauts) and the sending and the reception of electronic messages (76%). Let us note that 14% of users use Internet to make phone call (or to make video-conferences); 64% use it for administrative steps: consulting information on the public civil services Websites (58%) or downloading official forms (14%);
- ☒ Finally, as regards to mobile telecommunications, the market penetration rate in France is 82 subscriptions for 100 inhabitants (counting the prepaid cards).³⁴

³³ The source is a report published by *Département des études, de la prospective et des statistiques* (Deps, 2008) of the French Ministry of Culture.

³⁴ It does not mean that 82% of individuals took a subscription as some of this 82% might have taken several subscriptions.

Figure 6 % of individuals having used the Internet during the last 3 months by education

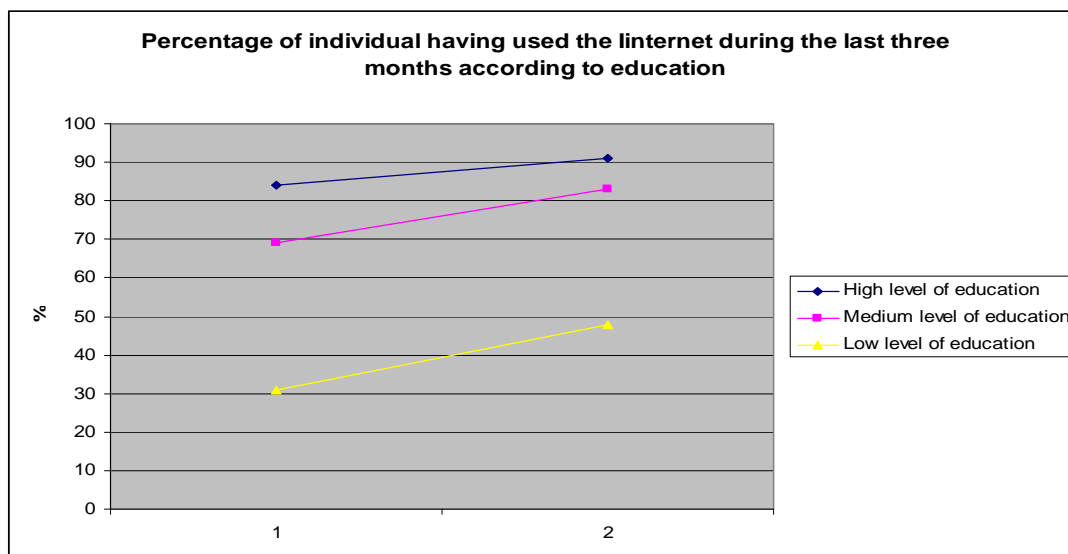
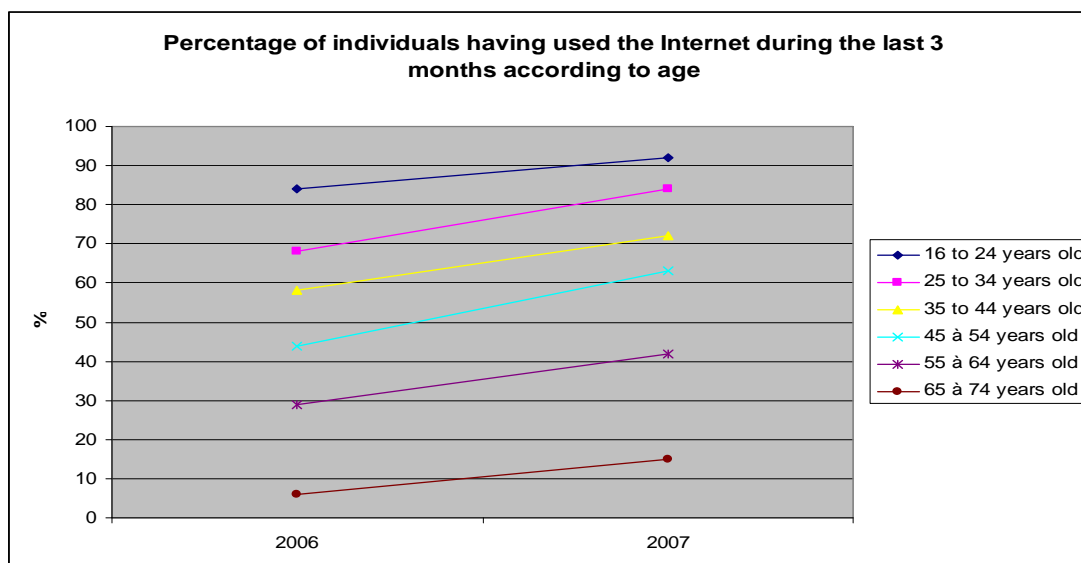


Figure 7 % of individuals having used the Internet during the last 3 months by age



The activities of the individuals on Internet (in 2007) are the following ones, calculated over the three last months of usage (Deps 2008):

- ☒ Searching online information and services
 - ☐ Searching information on goods and services: 86%
 - ☐ Searching for services on trips and accommodation: 48%
 - ☐ Searching information on health: 45%
 - ☐ Playing/Downloading games and music: 34%
 - ☐ Reading/Downloading online newspapers or magazines: 28%
 - ☐ Looking/Hearing TV/radio broadcastings: 27%
 - ☐ Downloading Software: 22%
 - ☐ Looking for a job or making a job application: 20%

- ☒ Communicating: 81%
 - ☐ Sending/Receiving electronic messages: 76%
 - ☐ Making phone calls via Internet, videoconferences: 14%
 - ☐ Others communication activities: 30%
- ☒ Achieving administrative formalities : 64%
 - ☐ Consulting information provided by public authorities websites: 58%
 - ☐ Downloading official forms: 37%
 - ☐ Sending completed forms: 28%
- ☒ Banking services: 51%
- ☒ Training and education: not available
- ☒ E-commerce (purchase/sale): -
 - ☐ Ordering goods or services for personal usage by the internet: 41%
 - ☐ Selling goods and services (auction for example): 12%

As for the context and place of usage the following data can be reported:

- ☒ Frequency of use of the computer in the course of the last three months: At home, at work or elsewhere: 69%
 - ☐ At home: 55%
 - ☐ At work (or elsewhere): 34%
 - ☐ Every day or almost: 51%
 - ☐ At least one time a week: 14%
 - ☐ At least one time a month (but not every week): 3%
 - ☐ Less than one time a month: 1%
- ☒ Internet consultations in the course of last three months: At home, at work or elsewhere: 64%
 - ☐ At home: 46%
 - ☐ At work (or elsewhere): 25%

Unfortunately no data are available as regards uses at school. We point out nevertheless that, although it is in the private/family life that the use of a computer and the access to Internet is the most frequent, uses also take place in an important way out of this context (especially in the professional context). The increase of private usages (reduction of the digital divide) does not mean of course the reduction of 'public' usage; we have to conceive of their complementarities. It is therefore on these two plans at the same time that the appropriation of ICT (especially by IEM) must be thought of.

As regards groups and networks pattern of ICT/digital media appropriation, we can establish a typology of groups in whom the usage of ICT and digital media take place, in France:

- ☒ **Family:** it is first of all as a commonplace of ICT uses that the family unit constitutes a group of users. The members of a same family very often share the same computer equipment; they share activities (downloading and listening to music or movies watching, etc.) The family also constitutes a group inasmuch as ICT allow frequent exchanges (emails, phone calls) with the sometimes scattered members of the family. This dimension is all the more important for the migrants, often separated from their family by several thousand kilometres; ICT reduce the price of communications and even give the possibility to 'live together' at distance (we could gather two interesting experiments: migrants making purchases on a e-commerce website live with their parents in the home country; migrants eating 'with' their family in the home country via the Skype software livened up with a Webcam).

- ☒ **Friends:** since the beginning of the Internet, groups of friends are communicating on the Web (especially by email). Nonetheless we can assert that it is the Web 2.0 which really marks the reproduction on the Web of offline group of friends. With social networks or some blogs platforms (as Skyblog, invested by the teenagers), the Web is not only a place where offline events of 'real life' are prepared or commented; it is a place where the social life is continuing, where new relational activities can appear.
- ☒ **Communities of interest:** The Web is invested with a multiplicity of communities centred around common interests, passions, hobbies; Most often, they are communities formed on the Web and which did not pre-existed to online activities. We can observe then the formation of communities of amateurs of Japanese animation movies, communities of embroiderers, etc. The forums were chosen instruments of the formation of such communities. Nowadays, blog networks (blogospheres, for example the political blogospheres) or groups on online social networks contribute to the emergence of such communities. Some ethnic communities on the Web belong to this type of group as well.
- ☒ **'Communities' of weak ties:** it is not properly speaking communities or groups but rather numerous networks of individuals who do not maintain strong offline relations (family, friend) but for whom this kind of 'weak' connectivity may be at the source of a multiplicity of opportunities, especially professional; it is the case for example of professional social networks such LinkedIn or Viadeo. It is the same principle which is at work on a network like MySpace, especially for the musicians presenting their work and hoping, across their relational activities, to develop their notoriety and their audience.

Next to these groups, we can add two others, certainly less 'generalised' but nonetheless important in terms of practices

- ☒ **Militant communities:** Internet is a chosen instrument for the organisation of groups (for example through discussion list) belonging to political activism; it works for the extension and the visibility of these groups. Internet even contributes in some way to the mutations of forms of political activism by giving the possibility of different levels of involvement in militant life and by unveiling new figures of social criticism ('information filterer' for example).
- ☒ **Innovators communities (computer developers, etc.):** These are, according to us, groups of great importance because they participate directly in the developments of tools and innovative practices in the domain of ICT. They contribute thus to the mutations of forms of appropriation of ICT.

2.4 Demand side: ICT/ digital media appropriation

Moroccans. It is not possible to give an account of access and usage of ICT by the Moroccan community in France in a single and uniform way. There are crucial differences in 'migratory history' and in socioeconomic status between the members of the Moroccan minority; these differences must be taken into account. We can consider first the long-time migrations of workers: according to a 1995 inquiry of the *French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies*, 63% of active Moroccans in France are blue-collar workers and only 30% of them are qualified. We are thus in presence of a broad population of 'modest status', and even often precarious status; moreover, the unemployment rate of the Moroccans in France (the highest rate with the Turks) was in 1995, of 28.7% of the men and 43.3% of the women. The family entries enlarge this population. Now, as we showed before, compared to the individuals having a high level of education, those having a weak level of education are almost twice fewer to have an access to Internet (48% against 91%). In that sense, it makes no much doubt that the access to Internet among this population is weak. Nevertheless, the 'immigrants of second generation' (children of the former) have a much more broad usage of ICT (we saw before that in terms of age, it is the young people who use the Internet the most),

these having entered forms of youthful sociability; the broad presence of Moroccan teenagers and young adults on the blog platform Skyblog proves it.³⁵ On the other hand, it is necessary to consider a very different population, composed of students and white collars. In 2004-2005, the number of Moroccan students registered in the French universities came to 27,023. As regards white collars, they represented 5% of active Moroccans in France in 1995 (15% for the whole population). This population has a very broad access to ICT; it also exploits many possibilities of communication opened by the Web and occupies especially the Web 2.0: the strong participation of the Moroccan migrants in the Blogoma, the Moroccan blogosphere (the most active in North Africa with 20,000 to 30,000 bloggers) proves it.³⁶

Russians. We do not have neither quantitative nor qualitative data on access and usage of ICT by the Russian minority in France. However, it is possible to note that Russia has a better index of training and access to the Internet and of use of mobile technologies in the business world than many countries. Its level is comparable to the level of countries having an innovative economy, such Finland and the United Kingdom.³⁷ However, in 2008, Russia counts 40.3 millions Internet users; it represents only 28.6% of the total country population.³⁸ We can suppose that the current waves of Russian migrants, especially skilled migrants (scientific diaspora, students, ICT experts, etc.), have a good access to and a high usage of ICT but we can not assert anything tangible about the other generations of Russian migrants (for example, the descendants of the 'white Russians')

Indians. We do not have neither quantitative nor qualitative data on access and usage of ICT by the Indian minority of France, although we know that contemporary Indian migrations are migrations of individuals having a high level of education and skills. In that sense, we can assume that they have a privileged access to ICT (in the Indian forum previously studied, we note the presence of an Indian's community in Grenoble, a very renowned city in the field of ICT) and a developed usage. We cannot nevertheless assert anything about the more ancient Indian migrations, notably migrations from the former French territories in India (Pondichéry, Mahé, etc.). It is however possible to have a look at the professional profiles of the individuals participating in the online Indian communities, for example in the forum we studied before. Among the first 50 profiles, we have:

- ☒ Students: 16 - 30%
- ☒ ICT: 10 - 20%
- ☒ Business/Marketing/Trading: 7 – 14%
- ☒ Management: 3 – 6%
- ☒ Teaching: 3 – 6%
- ☒ Design: 3 – 6%
- ☒ Employees: 3 – 6%
- ☒ Research: 2 – 4%
- ☒ Art: 2 – 6%
- ☒ Medicine: 1 – 2%

In conformity with the general data of access to ICT in France, there are mainly students and highly qualified individuals that use community sites. A non-participation in such sites does not mean of course an absence of usage of the Internet (for mailing or information search for example) but it is nevertheless possible to make the hypothesis that we have here an approximation of the distribution of the Internet users within the Indian migrant community.

³⁵ In a study for the European Commission (*Study on Social Computing: Usage trends and Implications*, European Commission, Institute for Prospective and Technological Studies (IPTS, Sevilla), 2009.) we collected more than 1,000 Moroccan migrants' blogs on *Skyblog* although we fixed narrow limits to our exploration: we can make the hypothesis that there are much more Moroccan migrants' blogs on this platform.

³⁶ Cf. our *Study on Social Computing: Usage trends and Implications*.

³⁷ <http://www.bulletins-electroniques.com/actualites/53779.htm>

³⁸ Ibid.

2.5 Concluding remarks

Below some conclusive considerations on the following issues are presented:

- ☒ Challenges of digital exclusion;
- ☒ Opportunities for digital inclusion;
- ☒ Patterns of ICT demands by IEM;
- ☒ Discussion of Riga's goals and policies implications;
- ☒ Most interesting/relevant cases.

Digital Exclusion Challenges. The 'digital exclusion' among IEM issue is manifold. Each problem calls for a specific answer. We will not particularly globally analyse here the three selected communities but take them into account each time they are involved.

- ☒ *Access (1) to terminals:* the first type of digital exclusion is based on the inequalities in terms of access to computer equipments and Internet: this is what is commonly called 'digital divide'. We are not able to know if, for an equivalent socioeconomic status, the chosen IEM have an equivalent or an upper degree (and why not a lesser degree) of 'digital exclusion' compared with the equivalent groups in the host society. Nevertheless, it is possible to assert that, as regards to access, social and economic criteria are crucial (although utility must also be taken into account). In that sense, access problems meet by migrants are not so different from those of the similar (socially) group of the host society meet. The achievement of affordable access to ICT networks and terminal equipment everywhere (notably with the EPN program and label) is questionable notably in remote and rural areas. Whereas Paris and its suburb are rather well equipped with EPN (59 in Paris, 48 in Val d'Oise for example), some other areas are not so well equipped. One of the main access points chosen by migrants is as well 'privately-owned communication shops' where the user remains free to 'do whatever he wants' (download music, answer mails...) but which are not free.
- ☒ *Access (2)* However, this access issue shows completely different figures for mobile telecommunications. Mobile telecommunication (portable telephones) uses, less connected to economic and social status, are extremely developed among migrants/IEM.
- ☒ *Usage (1) Training:* the second type of digital exclusion comes from lack of training, experiences, know-how. The level of education plays a key role: students and highly qualified employees are really exposed to deficiencies in this domain; and, in general, young people are as well rather well trained in ICT handling, in spite of a sometimes restrained access to ICT (cf. the very broad usage of the Skyblog blog platform by the teenagers of Moroccan origin). Nevertheless, the *degree* of competence varies strongly: Acquiring 'basic' competences certainly contribute to IEM inclusion and Internet and multimedia initiation programs set up by EPN do intent to reach this goal. But EPN offering trainings are so numerous in migrant neighbourhoods or areas and the trainings are not always so efficient. Finally, it should be noted that the level of digital literacy in the home country is also an important factor, especially for the migrants arrived recently in the host country.
- ☒ *Usage (2) Accessibility to the host's civil information:* the third form of digital exclusion relies on facility to access to information and to understand the information. Key civil services are now delivered online in France. But, 'finding' the information and 'understanding' this information is not always so easy notably as there is in general very few guideline or explanatory leaflets and as there is no translation of most of the (local and central) French civil websites.

- ☒ *Usage (3) Innovative uses* create new forms of inclusion (and economic participation) but it should be backed with a real participation in the information society. The forms and aims of ICT uses could and should be more elaborated: creation of migrant community websites, e-commerce, etc. Especially, as the main characteristic of Internet is precisely to be accessible from all geographical locations. The migrant/IEM could here capitalize his ties here (the host country) and there (the country of origins).
- ☒ *Usage (4) Portraying the IEM community and strengthening ties within the community* The production of ICT contents for IEM, or representing the IEM, in the host country, is determinant to reflect the migratory history and situation (and it participates to the preservation of the IEM memory). These ICT contents are most often produced by the very migrants as the 'ethnic web portal' exemplifies. These websites can actually become as well some 'authority sites' in the home country itself. Besides, there is a significant number of online radio and televisions. In this domain, the Afro-Caribbean community is the most active minority in France.³⁹ And here again, IEM individuals are responsible for setting up these radio and televisions. Public authorities in the host country⁴⁰ are taking no part in this representation on the Web of IEM: this relies of course on the inclusion policies in France, privileging institutional integration and 'assimilation' over cultural diversity.⁴¹⁻⁴²
- ☒ *Usage (5) Digital Divide:* 'Digital inclusion' is commonly conceived in terms of accessible digital content, interoperable assistive technologies and mainstreaming inclusive design, understanding that digital inclusion is a step toward inclusion (in the – new – society). However, using and mastering ITC tools and services do not prevent IEM individuals from exclusion. It might even contribute to this exclusion. For example, the Young Moroccans' activities on Skyblog platforms may work against them, perpetuating stereotypes about them.⁴³ The issue of discriminations in cyberspace and especially in social networks call thus for broader investigations. It seems that this type of presence on Internet is not able to open new activities and a development of migrant social capital. The situation is very different for students and highly qualified Moroccan workers who play a part in in the Moroccan blogosphere. Beyond the fact these blogs connect the migrants to the non-migrants (living in the home country), they take part in a broader community of bloggers, especially in the host country, contributing thus to the development of migrant social capital. It seems then that, as regards the Social Web, the potentialities offered by the ICT for the development of social capital are numerous but they presuppose the possession of a minimal social capital. The issue of online reproduction/transformation of offline social divides, contributing to their strengthening or, on the contrary, to their alleviation/erasing need to be reconsidered. The answer to this question requires an analysis not of the access to the ICT but of the different usages of ICT.

³⁹ See for example : <http://www.radiotropicale.fr>; <http://westindiesradio.net/>; <http://www.ouepa.com>; <http://www.cybertika.com/>; <http://www.atvweb.fr/>

⁴⁰ In that sense, the *Migrations à Besançon* initiative is very interesting, because if it leaves the content creation to the very IEM, it nonetheless gives us a technical and practical frame which renders possible this creation.

⁴¹ The few online services for completing administrative steps (offered by public authorities) and online legal help for migrants (offered by associations) belong to this logic.

⁴² In the very moment we are writing these report, a petition is circulating, calling for the creation of a French TV broadcast on migrations. This petition concern the traditional medias; nonetheless, it proves the will to make visible the history and situation of migrations in France.

⁴³ R. Gajjala shows it about « latinos » in United States on the MySpace social network : R. Gajjala (2007), "Shifting Frames: Race, Ethnicity and Intercultural Communication in Online Social Networking and Virtual Work" in Hinner, Michael B.(ed.), *The Role of Communication in Business Transactions and Relationships*, Peter Lang; N. Rybas, R. Gajjala (2007), "Developing Cyberethnographic Research Methods for Understanding Digitally Mediated Identities", *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Volume 8, No. 3, Art. 35, September 2007. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/3-07/07-3-35-e.htm>

Opportunities for digital inclusion. The possibilities for digital inclusion are numerous. In terms of *access*, the difficulties experienced by some categories of IEM are similar to those experienced by the disadvantaged social classes in the host societies. The solutions are probably similar. The initiatives favouring collective access (for example Public Internet Access Points) tend to tackle these difficulties but the increasingly broad diffusion and the increasingly low prices of computer equipments and Internet subscriptions are bringing the most decisive results. It is even possible to think that ICT will penetrate even easier migrants populations inasmuch as these populations tend to be 'installed in mobility' (Dana Diminescu⁴⁴). The migrants (in that sense, it is better to call them migrants than immigrants inasmuch as 'immigrant' tends to connote a settled way of life following the moment of migration) have a strong propensity to appropriate ICT.

In terms of training, we have to greet initiatives aiming at providing to IEM a basic computing knowledge but we think that the efforts must be extended to encourage usage of ICT not only as means but also as sources of opportunities, as instrument of innovation and inclusion.

The importance of initiatives belonging to what we can call 'bottom-up integration', a form of integration which takes its roots in the civil society (associations, networks, etc.) and which brings numerous forms of solidarity, should be underlined. It is well illustrated by the cases of the legal databases for migrants (cf. *De Quel Droit!* in our list of initiatives) and the actions undertaken for illegal immigrants by the *Education Without Frontiers Network* (RESF – [*To be studied in details it in one of our case studies*]) and where high ICT usages (discussion list on Internet, mobile phone) are required. These forms of inclusion are efficient because the active types of political activism in these cases rely on configurations or organisations (especially the open network) for which Internet is a 'natural' vector.

It is also necessary to note that experiments and services for the migrants are very often initiated by the migrants themselves as many community websites, which very often attract (especially on forums) a significant number of users, demonstrate it. This phenomenon is intensifying with the development of the Web 2.0 and the multiplication of user-generated contents. In order to be useful and innovative, these new usages of ICT require a relatively high degree of appropriation of ICT and the development of a real 'ICT culture' among IEM, beyond the mere introduction to computing.

But the initiatives in this domain cannot be entirely left to the very IEM: on the contrary, it is necessary to favour all initiatives aiming at developing multicultural platforms, 'enrolling' the migrants in the reality of the host country. The *Migrations in Besançon* platform is a good example inasmuch as it is the result of a project conducted by the city of Besançon, leaving the contents creation on the history of migrations to the users of the site and particularly to the migrants (testimonies, narrations of experiences, etc.). But this last example could well look the 'exception that confirms the rule'. Indeed, initiatives and services given by public authorities seem to be rare. It seems that for the French State (and more generally for many European States) the dimension of appropriation and uses of ICT by IEM is secondary in comparison with the usage of ICT for the control of irregular migrations (cf. the Schengen Computer System).

Patterns of ICT demands by IEM

- ☒ The issue of IEM's access to ICT remains important but it must be seen as an aspect of the broader issue of the digital divide, whose progressive reduction entails that IEM access to ICT should progressively increased.

⁴⁴ D. Diminescu, « Le migrant connecté », *Migrations/Société*, vol 17, n° 102, pp. 275-292.

- ☒ Training IEM in ICT knowledge in order to improve IEM' digital literacy is the second issue. Training in basic ICT knowledge (initiation Internet and multimedia) is an important step but remains, according to us, a first step. Innovative uses of ICT by IEM should be favored. It would allow them not only to appropriate ICT but also to invent original practices, to invest digital media in new ways: the usage of the mobile phone in the struggles of the illegal immigrants in France is the best example.
- ☒ Another demand concerns IEM's digital media. Ethnic media are already numerous and migrants can easily connect to their home country's media. But migrant's media expressing or reflecting their migratory experience in their host country should be promoted as well as their participation in the host society.
- ☒ A related demand concerns social networks. The participation of IEM in online social networks can be constructive if the relationships of an IEM individual within a network can be converted into relations of cultural and economic production, into instruments of integration; in other words, these networks can be a source for offline opportunities. In that sense, the development of properly multicultural networks (paying attention to cultural differences) would be very interesting.

Discussion on Riga goals and policy implications

- ☒ Reduce Geographical Digital Divide: in the Riga declaration the geographical divide in terms of access to ICT is a crucial issue. In France, there are rural areas where the rate of penetration of ITC is weaker (Centre of France, Massif Central, South-West) but IEM are rarely settled in rural areas.
- ☒ Improve digital literacy and competences: ICT's monitoring training have been mentioned several times in this report. However, national programs' initial objectives are not always reached. If these projects call for specific actions (for employment, ICT training) or are aimed at specific people (inhabitants of disadvantaged areas), more needs to be done in these very same defined priorities. Plus, achieving a digital literacy and competence for all IEM requires not only an appropriation of ICT by migrants but also a development of innovative practices offering to the migrant opportunities in terms of integration and social and economic participation.
- ☒ Promote cultural diversity in relation to inclusion: Pluralism, cultural identity and linguistic diversity are well represented on the Web. But this pluralism and cultural and linguistic diversity have not been promoted by government institutions. Most of these pluralistic digital contents are produced by the migrant themselves. This phenomenon is even increasing with the development of the Web 2.0 and the multiplication of user-generated contents. The danger is perhaps that these 'ethnic' networks and communities cleave themselves from other networks, in other words that ICT serve the community regeneration without serving integration. Joint actions on behalf of the migrants and of the members of the host society (especially through various forms of bottom-up integration), as well as the development of multicultural networks could bring to the migrants more opportunities and possibilities of social and economic participation.

Most interesting/relevant cases. The most interesting cases fall within what we have called bottom-up integration initiatives, an expression that refers to mechanisms which take place outside institutional integration mechanisms which meet difficulties to include ICT policies. The case of 'Online legal help' ('De quel droit') database, described in our list of initiatives, as well as the activities of the Education without Frontiers Network (analyzed in the ICT usage case studies report) are very convincing experiences. The lack of initiatives on behalf of public authorities has been underlined again several times in this report. The Migrations in Besançon project highlights nevertheless a successful experience which, according to us,

satisfies plainly the demands on the appropriation of ICT by migrants: it combines action in favour of IEM and action set up by IEM, creating original practices.

3 Germany

3.1 Background information

3.1.1 Migration context

Germany is an **immigration country**, although the number of people migrating to Germany has been decreasing significantly during the last 15 years. The most current data about the presence of people with migration background are those gathered by the Federal Office of Statistics in 2005 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007). According to the definition applied by the Federal Office, people with migration background are those who migrated to Germany from another country from 1949 on, all foreigners born in Germany, and all people born in Germany as Germans with at least one parent that migrated to Germany or was born as a foreigner in Germany. This definition covers migrants from the 1st to the 3rd generation (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 6). Data collection additionally requires a differentiation between people with migration background in a narrow and a broader sense. For the first, data is available from the Federal Office of Statistics annually. The second group also includes people with a migration status not continually determinable. That is the case for Germans born in Germany with a migration background resulting from characteristics of their parents, unless those people do not live together with their parents in the same house. Because the available data for people with migration background in a broader sense do not differentiate between countries (no matter whether people or just their parents were born there) we refer to migration in a narrow sense if not stated differently.

In 2005, 15.3 million people (18.6% of the population) with a migration background were living in Germany. 7.3 million (8.9% of the population) were foreigners, 8 million people were Germans. People with personal migration experience counted for 10.4 million or approximately two-thirds of all people with migration background. Within this group the majority are foreigners (5.6 million) compared to 4.8 Mio who are Germans. Foreigners born in Germany only account for 1.7 Mio or 2% of the population, whereas 2.6 Mio Germans born in Germany with migration background account for 3.2% of the population (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 7). Accordingly **people with migration background** have a share of 20% on the overall population living in Germany. Big cities have the highest share of people with migration background. In Stuttgart or Frankfurt, for example, about 40% of the population have a migration background. 61.7% of all migration into Germany has been originating from European countries (23.6% from the 25 European member states, 38.1% from the remaining European countries). Related to the country of origin, most migrants (14.2%) are from Turkey, followed by the Russian Federation (9.4%), Poland (6.9%), and Romania, Serbia and Montenegro (each 3%). Interestingly, people with migration background are on an average much younger than those without: 33.8 years compared to 44.9 years and almost one-third of the population aged under five has a migration background) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 7).

Socio-demographic characteristics of IEM differ considerably from the German population. On an average, immigrants are approximately ten years younger than members of the German population. The average age of people with Turkish migration background is 34 years, followed by the so-called late ethnic German repatriates (36 years), and the people with Polish migration background (39 years).⁴⁵ The difficult social situation of many IEM – and this is

⁴⁵ Ethnic German repatriates are people with German ancestors. Thus they automatically receive German citizenship after migrating to Germany. But even though they make up the largest share in the group of people with Russian migration

especially true for people with Turkish migration background – is illustrated by the considerably large share they have amongst the unemployed. For all IEM this number amounts to 19%, for people with Turkish migration background even to 29%. The number of Germans who are not employed only runs to 12% (Simon, 2007: 429).

Additionally, also self-experienced **discrimination** is most distinctive within the group of people with Turkish migration background. Accordingly, 52% of the surveyed people from this group stated that they have faced discrimination at least occasionally because of their (ethnic) origin. The number for late ethnic German repatriates is only slightly lower with 48%. 'Only' 32% of the people with Polish migration background were concerned with such discrimination (Simon, 2007: 429). A survey of people with Turkish migration background published in 2004 comes to similar results.⁴⁶ The young people questioned (more than half of them were younger than 20 years old) tended to feel rather unconfident, foreign and overstrained from the circumstances in Germany. Being rather suspicious about the political system in Germany they also expressed disaffection with current German policy. Simultaneously, they felt very well within their social and regional surroundings and were satisfied with their living in Germany (Schneider & Arnold, 2004: 495). It can only be speculated whether the latest changes in German migration policy may help to foster integration and change the self-perception of IEM within the German society.

3.1.2 Policy context

German immigration policy was shaped for a long-time by the assumption that migration – being from the 1950s to the early 1970s mainly work-migration – would be a **temporary phenomenon**. Due to the *ius sanguinis* principle of its citizenship law Germany was suspected of not being able to integrate foreigners. While migrants were asked for assimilation, the return to their countries of origin was always a topic. It took until 1999 before a right of birth for foreigners born in Germany became effective. This has been an important step towards recognizing that Germany is a migration country and that integration is a main priority of migration policy. However, even before that time and despite the lack of specific integration initiatives the social inclusion of people with migration background has always been on the political agenda. This includes among others the integration within the social security system and participation in the dual apprenticeship model that helped many young IEM to sustain material reproduction.

Successful participation within the German **school and educational system** is a precondition for this step towards social integration. Apparently, a large number of children and youth with migration background rather fail to succeed in that realm; in that adolescents of Turkish descent are apparently placed most unfavourably within the educational system and leave school above-average without any educational attainment (Bundesregierung, 2001). The competence testing program PISA showed that especially young IEM fail to meet the basic standards of functional literacy, i.e. the level of writing and reading skills, which are considered indispensable for participation in different realms of society (Deutsches PISA-Konsortium, 2001). Schools apparently fail to meet this educational challenge. The parents are also often only of limited help. Although they have high expectations about the formal educational success of their children, e.g. having them graduating from higher education or succeeding in formal apprenticeship, their placement behaviour lacks behind (Leenen, Grosch, & Kreidt, 1990; Nohl, 2001b). A rather traditional modus of sociality is probably often accompanied by a similar understanding of education, limited closeness and familiarity with the German educational context. Many parents probably also do not meet the quasi-

background, there are still others that need to be considered. When referring to data from third sources we use the terms applied originally.

⁴⁶ For the study 239 people were questioned (Schneider & Arnold, 2004: 495).

societal standard demands of functional literacy. Eventually, their social capital links them more often to people from comparable milieu-like backgrounds than to German natives who have better chances and possibilities to place their children into the sphere of basic and higher education as well as apprenticeship and the workforce.

In their **national integration plan** the German federal government underlines that education is a major precondition for social, cultural and economic integration. Perfect control of the German language is considered one of the most important preconditions for educational and vocational success and thus for societal integration (Bundesregierung, 2007: 15). The national integration plan marks an important milestone for the change of German immigration policy. In 2005, a new immigration law was passed and the country is now declared an official immigration country. A nation-wide immigration summit was held in 2006 and a comprehensive immigration strategy has been declared as a short-term goal of immigration policy. The federal government set up six working groups that discussed ten topics to provide a road-map-like agenda for the proceeding immigration policy.

Media and integration was one of these topics. But the underlying discussion mainly covered the relation between traditional mass media and integration even though the working group members acknowledged the growing importance of new digital media as well as the ongoing convergence of new (e.g. the Internet) and 'old' media (Bundesregierung, 2007: 157). One stated reason for the 'neglect' of digital media is the lack of research on appropriation patterns of digital media. Accordingly, more research is needed to use the chances multifunctional media like computers, Internet, and mobile phones offer for the integration of IEM (Bundesregierung, 2007: 158).⁴⁷ The focus on traditional mass media becomes especially apparent when it comes to the measures to be taken by the federal and the state governments, as well as the voluntary commitments made by organizations from the private and the third sector. A broader or even comprehensive 'digital inclusion' policy on the federal and state level does not yet exist. However, through different grant programs, money is made available from the federal and state governments that can be used for developing and conducting programs which strongly rely on utilizing digital media for its purposes (see Section 2, supply side analyses).

3.1.3 Groups selected and rationale

The present chapter focuses on people with (1) Turkish migration background, (2) Russian migration background, i.e. people who themselves or whose parents migrated from one of the countries belonging to the Russian Federation, and (3) Polish background. Eventually, comparing the three groups with each other may reveal dispositions, orientations and habits in adopting and using ICT, which can be related to the belonging to a particular migration background. The decision for this **group selection** is based on several reasons:

1. These groups are the largest population groups of IEM in Germany. Thus, they represent a significant share of the population with migration background.
2. Immigrants from Turkey were under the first groups that migrated to Germany in the early 1950s. Today three generations of people with Turkish migration background live in Germany. Thus this group provides a rich ground for intergenerational aspects of the relationship of migration, integration, social inclusion and digital media.
3. Despite the overall small amount of empirical data for the chosen groups with regard to ICT, at least IEM with a Turkish or Russian migration background are relatively well researched with regard to other aspects of their orientations and cultural

⁴⁷ In part, this research is undertaken by the IMKI, University of Bremen, financed by the German Research Foundation (see <http://www.imki.uni-bremen.de>).

backgrounds. Such data can be used for cross-reference and explanations related to the different dimension of ICT adoption and use.

4. IEM who or whose parents or other relatives migrated to Germany from countries of the Russian Federation have a special legal status since the majority of them have German ancestors and therefore get naturalized by arrival. So it is interesting to ask if – and if yes, how – this legal status affects the process of integration and social inclusion.
5. People with a Polish migration background were selected, because on the one hand Poland is a neighbouring country of Germany which may influence patterns of migration. On the other hand Poland belongs to one of the new EU-member states from Eastern Europe. Thus it should be of particular interest for EU policy makers to learn more about the needs and wants of those people in their role as immigrants in other European countries.

It must be noted that we have – beside differences between the groups – a high **heterogeneity within the groups**: People with Russian migration background may be further separated into Belarussians or Kazhks. Alevis as well as Kurds are just two other ethnic groups that are subsumed under the label of Turkish immigrants, even if many of them may not consider themselves as Turkish in the first place. However, due to a lack of according data and the scope of this report we stick with the three suggested group categories.

The 2.39 million people with **Turkish migration background** account for the largest population group with migration background living in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 38). 78% of them are foreigners, whereas 21% are German citizens (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 40pp.)⁴⁸ The majority of the Turkish migrants in Germany (61.4%) still have a personal migration experience (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 38). Most of them (80.5%) are also Turkish citizens. The share of male and female members is relatively equally distributed within the overall group (52 vs. 48%). The share between foreigners and German citizens in both subgroups follows the overall distribution presented above. So far only 51% of the Turkish migrants graduated from school (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 136). However, 53% from the remaining 1.15 million people is still in education. Still, approximately 550,900 IEM with Turkish migration background live in Germany who never went to school or left it without graduation. Thereby it is also noticeable that a significantly smaller number of women (531,100) than men has been graduating from school (704,200) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 136f). So far the majority of Turkish migrants who finished school successfully graduated from secondary modern school (Hauptschule) (67%). Only 18% graduated from secondary school (Realschule) and an even smaller number of 12% received a high-school diploma (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 137). So far, also only 22% of the Turkish migrants successfully finished a vocational apprenticeship. Only one third of this group is female. The same share between the two sexes exists for those Turkish migrants who graduated from college, amounting to 36,600 people (7%) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 152f). Among the households in Germany 857,800 have a main income receiver with a Turkish migration background. Approximately 41% of these households have a monthly net income of 1,500 Euro or less. Only few less households (39.2%) have 1,500 to 2,600 Euro available every month. 12.9% can spend between 2,600 and 4,500 Euro on a monthly basis (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 177).

The approximately 1.01 million people with **Russian migration background** are the second largest migration group living in Germany. But this group still has less than half the size of the group of the Turkish migrants (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 38). Almost all of them

⁴⁸ Note that all data are rounded to improve readability. In some cases this causes differences between data and percentages. The basic tendencies of the provided data are nevertheless not influenced by this.

(97%) have a personal migration experience (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 38). In this group are 347,500 foreigners with a Russian citizenship (35%). But the majority (633,300 people or 65%) are naturalized (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 40). The larger part of Russian migrants living in Germany is female (54%). Their attainment in formal education also seems to be more successful than that of their male counterparts. Altogether 79% of the Russian migrants left school with a diploma. 54% of them were female, whereas only 46% were male (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 44pp, 136pp). From the 21% who had not yet graduated from school 71% were still in education (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 137). From those who already left school successfully 40.8% finished secondary modern school (*Hauptschule*). 29% graduated from secondary school and 21% received a high-school diploma. Thus they went through the formal educational system much more successfully than the Turkish migrants. The same is true for vocational apprenticeship. 52% of the Russian migrants passed this educational step. Also more than twice as many (16.5%) (compared to the Turkish migrants) graduated from college (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 136p, 152p). But despite their higher degree of formal education, on average Russian households have less money available to spend than households of Turkish migrants. Approximately 56% of these households have a net income of 1,500 Euro or less monthly. Still 29.4% have 1,500 to 2,600 Euro available. Only 10.2% have between 2,600 and 4,500 Euro (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 177).

The 763,400 people with a **Polish migration background** form the smallest of the three groups (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 38). Similar to the Russian migrants almost all of them have personal migration experience, namely 94.3% (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 38). Within this group only 248,100 migrants are foreigners (34.5%). The remaining 65.5% are naturalised Germans with former Polish citizenship (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 40). Almost identical to the Russian migrants, 55% of the Polish migrants are female (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 50). Formal educational attainment is even higher than in the former group and 88% of the Polish migrants finished school successfully. Again women are more successful than men (56% compared to 44%) (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 136). 44.7% of the Polish migrants graduated from secondary modern school (*Hauptschule*), 18.8% from secondary school, and 28.6% hold a high-school diploma which makes the highest share of all three groups (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 137). Two-thirds of the Polish migrants who have not been graduating from school yet are still in education (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 137). Besides, 64.6% of the Polish migrants went through vocational education successfully, with an equal share between sexes. Regarding college education, women are more successful than men and two-thirds of the college graduates are female compared to one-third of male graduates (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 152p). With regard to their monthly household net income, Polish migrants are closer to Turkish migrants than to those from Russia. Accordingly, 43.8% of these households can spend less than 1,500 Euro every month, and 33.4% have between 1,500 and 2,600 Euro available. 15.8% can spend between 2,600 and 4,500 Euro monthly (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2007: 177).

3.2 Supply side overview and analysis

The supply of digital contents and services to IEM living in Germany has different facets. We will discuss them following the **differentiation between the public sector, the third sector, and the commercial sector**. Such differentiation is above all an analytical one, because corresponding initiatives are often the result of joint ventures of players from different sectors. Additionally another important remark needs to be made: On the one hand there are initiatives and actions aimed at improving access to digital media and gaining the needed literacy to use them mainly as a means by itself. Their extent is decreasing as it has been becoming more and more obvious that such approaches only attract limited numbers of people and rarely spark continuing appropriation patterns. On the other hand are initiatives which use

instrumentally digital media to reach certain goals or fulfil particular missions. This addresses, for example, the use of digital media to facilitate learning the German language or their use to maintain a database with consulting services for IEM. It should also be noted that this analysis is exemplary and can only highlight important aspects and notable examples of using ICT for different purposes related to the of integration of IEM.

However, an **overview** of some important selected public, commercial and third sector initiatives can be found in the table below. The examples presented there are an implicit reference point of our further argumentation.

Table 2 Supply Side Analysis Overview

Experiences/initiatives	Name and URL	Description (including which groups are targeted)	Supplier	Stage of development	Users Targeted and documented usage by IEM ⁴⁹	Relevance in terms of Riga goals
Commercial	Politikcity www.politikcity.de	Communication platform for political discussion about subjects relating to migration, integration, discrimination and cultural exchange with a focus on Turkey and Turkish culture	Voluntary initiative of a group of immigrants of Turkish origin in Germany	Launched in 2003, ongoing	Nearby 3,800 registered members and 4,000 unique visitors daily. Contains more than 400,000 postings and is viewed ca. 2 million times each month	The portal mainly fosters pluralism while providing a space for political debate online
	TD-IHK (Turkish-German Chambers of Industry and Commerce). www.td-ihk.de	Supporting German-Turkish business relations as well as the set-up and development of business of Turkish-based entrepreneurs through its educational projects, the chamber helps many young Turkish migrants in Germany to find apprenticeships and participate in the economy	TD-IHK (Turkish-German Chambers of Industry and Commerce)	Founded 2003, ongoing	Turkish entrepreneur / Turkish-based IEM who want to start a business / entrepreneurs who want to do business with Turkey / Turkish firms, interested in doing business with Germany	Cultural diversity with a focus on economic participation

⁴⁹ Documented means in either quantitative (how many users) or qualitative (i.e. extracts from interviews about appreciation of the service) terms.

Experiences/initiatives	Name and URL	Description (including which groups are targeted)	Supplier	Stage of development	Users Targeted and documented usage by IEM ⁴⁹	Relevance in terms of Riga goals
Public	Das Integrationsportal (Integration Gateway) www.integration-in-deutschland.de	Central information platform for all topics concerning integration available in German and (for many sections) in English. It is aimed at immigrants, interested citizens and stakeholders of integration activities and provides targeted information for each of these groups	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)	Launched in June 2007, ongoing	No further information available	Cultural diversity with a focus on integration and social inclusion
Third sector	Roots&Routes TV http://rootsnroutes.tv	Web-TV project that supports youth to produce creative products and a web-TV magazine on urban culture and cultural diversity in their everyday life. Targeted are young people with immigrant origins and from the host society	JFC Medienzentrum Köln (Cologne) in partnership with other German and European entities.	Launched in 2007, ongoing	No information available yet	The project fosters pluralism as well as the development of cultural diversity. It is also related to economic participation since it offers new perspectives to find employment in the cultural industries
	... Turkish Community in Germany (Türkische Gemeinde, TGD) www.tgd.de	TGD reflects the concerns and interests of people with a Turkish background living in Germany about achieving full civil rights and integration into German society.	TGD	TGD was started in 1996, the website was launched in 2003	Turkish community in Germany and all people living in Germany and interested in migration issues	The work of the TGD addresses especially cultural diversity with regard to integration and social inclusion

By the end of the 1990s it became obvious that the appropriation of digital media has been proceeding differently between the various groups in society and along socio-demographic characteristics. These **unequal patterns of access** to and the use of digital media have been discussed under the label of a so-called digital divide or inequality (see chapter 3, demand

side analysis). As a reaction the federal government launched the campaign 'Internet for Everybody' ('Internet für alle') to inform and convince people about the advantages of Internet appropriation. Some German states launched similar activities. However, these activities did not address IEM in particular.

Beyond individual access in the domestic realm, many public, private, and third-sector institutions and initiatives provide **collective possibilities of Internet access**. For example, almost all German public libraries offer free public Internet access stations to their patrons. To a certain degree this was made possible through funding provided by the federal government. The federal government also launched the initiative 'Jugend ans Netz' (Youth Online) which, among others, made computers available to youth centres with a significant discount. However, again both initiatives did not address diasporas in particular. But since young IEM account for a large share of many youth centres they may generally benefit from this initiative. Also many community and cultural centres offer Internet access to their visitors, even though they probably rather run programs which include the use of digital media. A good example is the project 'Media-Senior Citizens-Migration-Integration-Participation' which was aimed at promoting greater integration and participation of senior IEM by motivating them to recover their cultural identity and represent it with the help of digital media and public or community media. To reach these goals by early 2006 contacts were established on a regular basis with 13 IEM associations, groups, and initiatives of in Muenster; 38 courses were taught about computers and Internet (including six introductory courses for the stakeholders on using the project's multilingual web platform) along with 13 radio classes; the monthly talkshow 'Merhaba Europa' ('Hello Europe') was aired 13 times (in 2004-2005) through the public TV channel (Bürgerkanal TV Münster). Five television programs were produced for the same station. Together with Seniorama, a German association of senior citizens, more than 30 documents, short features or video movies were produced, always involving elderly IEM from different countries. Over 40 intercultural activities with the project partners were promoted (e.g. intercultural nights, intercultural art exhibitions, religious exchange).⁵⁰

There is also a large number of **private-owned Internet cafés**, which offer public access to computers and the Internet. Again, only very few target IEM in particular. The situation may be different for the many call shops that are located in almost any city where people with migration background live. These shops mainly offer reasonably priced opportunities to call foreign countries all over the world. But many also offer, among others, generally accessible, however not free Internet access. Since many of these shops are owned and run by IEM it might be easier especially for IEM with limited knowledge about the German language to access the Internet there where somebody may speak their native language. To our knowledge no public grants were made available so far to support the private acquisition of computers and Internet access. Some telecommunication companies offer special flat rates to call for example to Turkey on an unlimited basis.

Basic **digital literacy training** occurs in different shapes. On the one hand there are courses, which consider the digital media as a means by itself, e.g. Internet introduction courses or word processing programs for beginners. ECDL or ECDL-alike courses point in the same direction. The attractiveness of such initiatives is questionable since they hardly address the orientations and interests of people as an important precondition for developing long-lasting appropriation patterns. To our knowledge there have not been any broader initiatives aimed at IEM to provide them with opportunities to acquire basic digital literacy in the described way.

⁵⁰ The project started in 2004 and was completed in 2007. The scope of the initiative was local but also had influence on the regional level. Altogether, 158,000 Euro were provided through public, regional and local funds. See <http://www.senioren-migranten.de> for further details.

On the other hand there are several initiatives that follow goals not directly related to digital literacy but nevertheless also provide opportunities to gain such literacy. This can be illustrated, using the relation between learning or improving the German language and digital media. These media can be applied, for example, to improve the quality of the so-called integration courses. They are one pillar of German integration policy and mainly focus on language instruction. Besides this they also consist of an orientation course.⁵¹ For certain IEM participation is mandatory. Until 2007, already 1,800 institutions were accredited to conduct such courses. In 2006, 76,401 IEM finished an integration course and 50,952 took part in the final examination for a German language certification. 36,599 (47.9%) passed to examination successfully (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, 2007: 12). Since more than half of the participants obviously failed to pass the examination there is a need for improvement. Digital media can serve this need. The public adult education centre Weiden (Volks-hochschule Weiden), for example, partnered with an e-learning consulting company to set up a computer-assisted course for language improvement. Bi-weekly the 24 participants could use a learning platform for five hours each to improve their language abilities with the help of specially trained tutors. Most of the participants had no computer competence prior to the course. Only two of the participants did not pass the examination, whereas 60% of the participants in the comparison group without computer-supported learning did not pass the examination (Initiative D 21, 2007: 12). Basic literacy training is also provided through a number of additional initiatives. The 'Verbund für interkulturelle Kommunikation und Bildung e.V' ('Association for Intercultural Communication and Education'), for instance, offers professional career orientation course and German as a second language. Besides acquiring job-related German language competence, participants get prepared for two ECDL modules (word-processing and Internet) and can take the examination at the end of the course (Initiative D 21, 2007: 13).⁵² Another example is 'Deutsch und PC' ('German and PC') a cooperation between the non-profit Hertie foundation and the Hessian Ministry for Education and Culture. With the start of the school year all first graders with insufficient German language skills in the participating schools are put together in groups of six to eight pupils, and got taught two extra hours of German and mathematics. Especially the use of the computer motivates the children to deal with the German language on a more intensive level. The program is continued throughout second, third and fourth grade classes. None of the participating children had to repeat first year's class because of language deficits. Additionally, the number of children who were accepted to continue their educational career on high school increased. Meanwhile 67 primary schools take part into the project. An expansion into three more German states was realized with the beginning of the school year 2007/2008 (Initiative D 21, 2007: 17).⁵³

Taking a glance on accelerating actions on **usage skills and competences**, we are not aware of activities related to advanced training for ICT literate users. However, activities that address, among others, issues of training for media empowerment apparently have been of greater concern to initiators and sponsors lately. ROOTS&ROUTES TV, for instance, is the web-TV for youth, culture, music, lifestyle and cultural diversity. Content is produced by young editorial crews in six German cities and, from 2008 on, all over Europe. Young people with different cultural roots get together in workshops and young journalist groups, producing creative products and a web-TV magazine on urban culture and cultural diversity in their everyday life. Results are presented on the website and at annual presentation events in all the cities involved. The project empowers the participants to do media productions on a high

⁵¹ Each integration course lasts for a total of 645 hours. The language course consists of a basic language course and a follow-on language course. It takes 600 hours to complete. The main topics on the course are dealing with the authorities, shopping, public transport, finding accommodation, and recreational activities. The orientation course takes 45 hours to complete and addresses the German legal system, history and culture, rights and obligations in Germany, the region in which the participant lives, and important values in German society, e.g. freedom of worship, tolerance and equal rights (See <http://www.integration-in-deutschland.de> for further details).

⁵² Further information can be found at <http://www.verikom.de>.

⁵³ See http://www.ghst.de/index.php?c=43&cms_det=81 for further details.

level and to communicate their wishes and demands to the public with the help of professional media workers and educators.⁵⁴ ROOTS&ROUTES TV is the successor of ROOTS&ROUTES (<http://www.routesroutes.org>), a project that was aimed at supporting young people, in many cases with migration background, to develop their singing, dancing and media skills. Besides the improvement of such skills the project also tried to show and demonstrate participants how to professionalize their talents, so they may turn them into an occupation. Such opportunities can be highly relevant for the improvement of the social and economic inclusion of young and often disenfranchised IEM. Because modes of cultural expression like we find them in hip hop dancing include far reaching educational potential (see Nohl, 2001a: 193pp and 2004: 121pp). The project 'Rap für Courage XXL' (Rap for courage) points in the same direction. Youths in the age between 13 and 18 years learn within seven days how to produce their own hip-hop video. Experiences from the projects show that especially youth who are unsuccessful in school develop positively valued skills and competences and increase their self-esteem through participation.⁵⁵ The project has been attracting many young IEM in the past.

Another important aspect of integration and social inclusion of IEM is the provision of digitally distributed and accessible **public services and content**. This addresses first the provision of content and services by the public administration. The 'Integrationsportal' ('integration portal') is the first address in that regard, respectively it directly addresses IEM migrating to or living in Germany.⁵⁶ Launched in 2007 and operated by the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF), it is the central information platform for all topics concerning integration. Beyond German most information are also available in English, Turkish and Russian language. However, forms, for example, can only be downloaded in German language. It is aimed at immigrants, interested citizens and stakeholders of integration activities and provides targeted information for each of these groups. In the 'immigrants' section, immigrants find the information they need for successful integration, written in language, which aims to be clear and easy to understand. Specific attention is also paid to the needs of people who plan to immigrate to Germany, so that they can get the information they need in their countries of origin. In the 'stakeholders' section, information is provided for those dealing with integration on a professional basis. Additionally, they can find immigration-related downloads and forms that they may need for their work. The section 'integration overview' is aimed at people who do not deal with the issue on a professional basis, but want to inform themselves in a comprehensive way. Some of the German states like North Rine-Westphalia run similar websites with a focus on state-specific integration issues.⁵⁷ Interestingly the state portal for health issues offers at least basic information about the state health system, as well as health information in Turkish language.⁵⁸

Some cities like Duesseldorf, also adapted their online information to the particular needs of IEM. The information provided on duesseldorf.de is only available in German language, which is also true for available forms. Despite this limitation, it is nevertheless an advantage that IEM can find much information that is relevant for their everyday living at one central place on the City's webpage.⁵⁹ To our knowledge there are no interactive and/or transactional online public services available which have been adapted to reflect specific cultural differences and/or are provided in the languages of specific IEM groups. The same is true for services that, regardless of the language used are provided ad hoc for immigrants.

⁵⁴ ROOTS&ROUTES TV was started 2007 and is funded with ca. 470,000 Euro over a three-year period through the German federal program "Vielfalt tut gut" (diversity does good). The same amount of money is needed as co-funding and being gradually found.

⁵⁵ See <http://www.rap-fuer-courage.de/> for further details.

⁵⁶ See <http://www.integration-in-deutschland.de> for further details.

⁵⁷ See <http://www.integration.nrw.de> for further details

⁵⁸ See <http://gesundheit.nrw.de> for further details.

⁵⁹ See <http://www.duesseldorf.de/top/thema020/auslaender/index.shtml> and Hinkelbein (2004) for further information.

A further interesting realm is constituted by **information services** that are aimed at job placement for people with migration background. The 'Stellen- und Praktikabörse für Fachkräfte mit interkulturellen Kompetenzen' ('Job- and internship exchange for skilled labour with intercultural competence'), for example, is a nation-wide and unique service that helps IEM to use their intercultural competences and knowledge as an advantage for the job search.⁶⁰ The 'Türkisch-Deutsche Industrie- und Handelskammer' (Turkish-German Industry and Trade Association) operates an online apprenticeship exchange that is part of its apprenticeship project. It is aimed at activating the potential of Turkish entrepreneurs to train especially young IEM. There youths can search online for potential apprenticeships and entrepreneurs can search for potential trainees. Additional information is available for both parties to prepare themselves for an apprenticeship.⁶¹

Eventually the digital media can also be used for networking and community building solutions. ICT is thereby mainly applied instrumental to address the communication content sharing and coordination needs of the organizations working on IEM related needs and issues. Such an example is DP NOBI – the 'Entwicklungspartnerschaft/Norddeutsches Netzwerk zur beruflichen Integration von Immigranten' ('Development Partnership / North German Network for the Professional Integration of Immigrants').⁶² Started in 2005, DP NOBI aims to establish and institutionalise an information and counselling network for better professional qualification and integration of IEM in the North German labour market. The employed ICT supports the management of the relations between the dispersed network partners. A password-protected area on the web site enables the production and sharing of materials; the up- and downloading of documents, forms and minutes for the network's work; the constant updating of an address book with information about relevant opportunities of interest to the final customers. The public webpage is, in turn, an important means for all DP NOBI's outreach activities, e.g. it provides information on past and current activities and offers a convenient means of accessing the materials produced by network members.

Another example for networking activities is the project 'Refugees Emancipation', based in Berlin-Brandenburg. The Project's goals are to improve the quality of life of Refugees in Germany by using the Internet as a tool to reduce their isolation, connecting them with each other, with their homelands, and with their local community. The Project conducts Computer Classes and maintains a Website where refugee issues, advocacy information and personal stories can be published.⁶³ The Internet may also offer them alternative pathways of education, because the financial situation of most refugees is precarious and they cannot afford educational service that need to be paid in order to call upon. Besides trained refugees, committed citizens conduct courses for refugees who are not computer literate. The project is unique in Germany.

Besides such information, disseminated by public authorities, there is an amount of services and especially content (difficult to quantify but certainly of sizeable dimension) that are either produced and disseminated by players from the **third sector or user-generated by private persons**. The scope and scale of services available to IEM strongly depends on the applied service definition. Applying a rather narrow definition that only counts an activity as a service if it is performed with a specific tool or interface (e.g. a web-based application form) leads to disappointing result, i.e. we are not aware of such services. Using a broader definition, including, among others, services like topic-related consultation, which are conducted using applications like e-mail or chat deliver better results. All third sector initiatives we scrutinized are represented on the Internet and can be contacted via e-mail and provide information

⁶⁰ The set-up and early operation of the online database was supported by the Federal Ministry for Employment and Social Affairs. See <http://www.fachkraefte-international.de> for further details.

⁶¹ See <http://www.tdihk-ausbildungsprojekt.de> for more information.

⁶² DP NOBI is financed through a public national budget as well as funding from the EU. See <http://www.ep-nobi.de> for further information.

⁶³ See <http://www.refugeesemancipation.com> for more information.

through this channel. The 'Online-Beratung zum Schutz vor Zwangsheirat' ('Online counselling centre for the protection against forced marriage'), for example, realizes a large share of its service by e-mail and through chat. GLADT, the organization for gays and lesbians with a Turkish migration background, also offers an online counselling service and counsels around 300 people annually.⁶⁴

Most of these institutions also produce and publish content in some way or provide people with opportunities to publish content via their websites, although apparently most content goes back to members or affiliates of the respective institutions or organizations. Above all the privately organized but not commercial websites and community portals strongly depend on the contribution of content by other people to attract a sufficient number of users to their pages. See for example 'Politikcity' which defines itself as Europe's biggest Turkish forum for political debate. Without the 400,000 postings from users since the start of the page in 2003, 'Politikcity' would probably not have been able to attract about 4,000 unique visitors daily and 3,800 registered members. However, no approximate numbers are available on what kind of and how many services and how much content in what quality is currently offered for IEM in general and for people with a Turkish, Russian or Polish migration background in particular.

Our research also shows that the commercial sector offers several services and content relevant for IEM. There are first online-retailers who sell all kinds of products to members of certain diaspora communities but also to everybody else who is interested in goods from a particular country like Poland or media produced in the respective language. Second commercial-driven online ethno-portals like 'Vaybee!' apparently attract a growing number of IEM. According to its own information, 'Vaybee!' not only offers e-commerce services, but also interactive community services as well as specific content for the Turkish population in Germany, covering news, entertainment, lifestyle, education, business and travel. Already in 2006, according to its operators, 'Vaybee!' had more than 600,000 registered users and more than 1 million visitors.⁶⁵ Services and content is closely related in that case and also at most other online ethno-portals like, for example, 'Turkdunya.de'. Like 'Vaybee!' it also targets mainly people of Turkish origin who live in Germany. For early 2008 the operators claimed a number of 600,000 monthly visitors.⁶⁶ There are fewer online portals for people with Russian or Polish migration background that might be due to the smaller size of these groups compared with the people with Turkish migration background (see also chapter 1, introduction). Such a portal, addressing the Russian community in Germany is 'germany.ru'. Its operators claim to give useful information on everyday life to facilitate the integration of Russian-speaking people in Germany. The site also hosts services for communication like chat, forums, e-mail, dating, and community networking, to name only a few. In early 2008 the portal had, according to its operators, 438,000 members and approximately 1,500 to 2,000 users who are online daily using 'germany.ru'.⁶⁷

Our overview about initiatives, projects, and services that appropriate the digital media with different intensity to support the economic and social participation as well as the integration of IEM is by no means comprehensive. But it demonstrates the diversity of the existing approaches. On this basis, it is difficult to appoint the key players in the commercial, public and third sector realm and to highlight their strategies. Within the public realm on the federal level the Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees) is one of the key actors. It is a main agency of the Bundesministerium des Inneren (Federal Ministry of the Interior) and responsible for the execution of asylum procedures, the protection of refugees, international tasks, the support of integration as well as the voluntary return of IEM to their countries of origin. The strategy for integration is driven by the national

⁶⁴ GLADT was started in 2003 and has now more than 100 registered members. In 2008 GLADT will have available approximately 35.000 Euro for its work on a self-funding basis. See <http://www.gladt.de> for further information.

⁶⁵ See <http://www.vaybee.de> for further information.

⁶⁶ See <http://www.turkdunya.de> for further details.

⁶⁷ See <http://www.germany.ru> for further details.

integration plan. Among the most important issues of the National Integration Plan are the improvement of integration courses, the promotion of the German language from the very start, the safekeeping of good education and vocational training, as well as the improvement of labour market opportunities, and the improvement of the life situation of women and girls. The governments of the German states are also committed to this plan and its realization. It is difficult to identify significant key players in the commercial sector. Obviously one key player is the Initiative D21 which convenes more than 200 representatives of enterprises, associations, parties, political institutions and other organizations. The shared goal of all those involved is to improve the general conditions necessary to move on successfully into the information and knowledge society and to make Germany more internationally competitive and ready for the future. Other key players in the commercial realm are probably the operators of the larger online ethno-portals like 'Vaybee!', 'Turkdunya', or 'Germany.ru'. Since they strongly rely on revenues generated through advertisement their strategy is probably organized around attracting as many users as possible. It is difficult to identify single key players in the third sector, because most of the institutions in this realm are rather small-sized. Key players of the third sector are rather the six large associations of welfare work (Wohlfahrtsverbände) like the German Red Cross, the Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO), or the Paritätische Wohlfahrtsverband. Many of their members are directly involved with projects, initiatives, and services which are aimed at improving inclusion and integration of IEM. Some of the welfare associations have formulated general principals in their constitutions that also address topics of inclusion and integration but we will not consider them as strategies in a narrow sense.

The stage of development of the introduced activities varies. Some of the project-based initiatives like 'Senioren-Migranten' (see above) are completed and suffer from project-inherent problems, i.e. they only have funds for a limited time and can hardly be sustained. Because the economic situation of many of their clients is rather difficult, they cannot be perceived from a simple consumer perspective that is based on the principle of charging people for services. Thus many projects get closed-down after the funding period. That would be acceptable if these activities were projects in a narrow sense, i.e. that they are, above all, aimed at testing new approaches or strategies to achieve something. However, such projects are often poorly evaluated and are not really aimed at gathering new experiences and knowledge that can be transferred into controlled operation if successful. However, since much funding is project-based, there is often no alternative to project work and the problem is rather system-inherent. The situation looks different for the online ethno-portals. At least the bigger ones can show up with large numbers of users and considerable traffic. This indicates together with the time period such services are already under operation that they were established and sustained successfully. The available figures also suggest that at least the mainstream portals are well accepted by their target groups. For the other initiatives, projects and services we introduced here, acceptance is difficult to paraphrase, since available evidence is rather small. However, available anecdotal evidence suggests that those activities are generally successful and that they meet existing demands of IEM.

The introduced media and services also contribute to the **Riga goals** with various degrees. We can substantiate this by focusing on the three Riga's sub-goals, (1) economic participation, (2) integration and (3) social inclusion and creativity.

☒ *Economic participation:* Many of the activities introduced in this chapter address questions of economic participation. Learning the German language, for example, increases employability. The same is true for activities that include the acquisition of media literacy as a sub-goal since media literacy also increasingly contributes to employability. Certain projects like the Job- and internship exchange for skilled labour with intercultural competence are directly related to economic inclusion. Some of the activities like the Integration Gateway or means to learn the German language directly

address questions of integration. Most other activities may probably also contribute to integration in the one way or another, even if this relation is not a causal one.

- ☒ *Integration*: The Internet itself helps to foster pluralism as far as it provides the technological basis for an increase of available cultural diverse content. However, discussing digital media from the user perspective as a form of empowerment that addresses, among others, digital literacy, we can conclude that usability has been improved, too. One can only speculate, whether the general increase of available media and content also has been contributing to the increase of variety in an integrative way. Generally, online ethno-portals, for instance, offer new and additional opportunities for maintaining, developing, representing cultural identity while being (in the political sense of the word) a German citizen. The extension of content in numerous languages also fosters linguistic diversity. However, it must be noted in that regard that learning the German language is a core principle of German integration policy. This principle may foil linguistic diversity to some point. On the other hand an increase of linguistic diversity does not guarantee that it relates local cultural heritage or European value content.⁶⁸
- ☒ *Social inclusion and creativity*: Concerning social inclusion and creativity we can argue all projects allow participants to work in self-determined ways and provide opportunities for creativity. Roots&Routes TV as well as Rap for courage XXL are probably the most prominent examples in that regard. Through working with others in intercultural contexts may also support social inclusion. But again, there is no such causal relation between certain activities offered and social inclusion achieved. The conditions for these processes are much more complex and cannot be broken down to relatively simple input-output calculations. Eventually, with regard to all the Riga goals, it cannot be said whether the existing opportunities for engaging with and using the digital media are sufficient.

3.3 Demand side: take up of ICT/ digital media

Quantitative surveys and qualitative studies on issues of migration and digital media in Germany are rare. Most academic and market research still focus on the adoption and use of mass media by IEM. One of the latest, probably most comprehensive, and according to the authors, first **representative quantitative survey** on migration and media is 'Migrants and media 2007', conducted on behalf of the two German public broadcasting companies (Simon, 2007).⁶⁹ Therefore we discuss main results with relevance for this country report in a relatively detailed way.

⁶⁸ Chapter 3 (Demand side analysis) will discuss this and the other issues, related to the Riga goals in a detailed matter, based on the activities and dispositions of IEM.

⁶⁹ Data of 3010 persons were collected on the basis of computer-assisted telephone interviews between October 2006 and February 2007 (Simon, 2007: 427). For each of the pre-defined subgroups (e.g. Turks and Germans with a Turkish migration background) 500 people were interviewed. For comparing results from this survey with the situation of German population data from the „Media Analyse“ as well as the ARD/ZDF longitudinal survey mass communication 2005 were used (Simon, 2007: 428)

Table 3 Basis socio-demographic data

Migration Background				
	Late Ethnic German Repatriates	Turkish	Polish	German Population
<i>Basis</i>	501	500	509	64 504
<i>Age</i>				
<i>14-19</i>	17	22	16	8
<i>20-29</i>	22	16	16	13
<i>30-39</i>	20	27	18	16
<i>40-49</i>	16	15	24	19
<i>50-59</i>	21	14	19	15
<i>60-69</i>	3	5	3	15
<i>70+</i>	1	1	4	15
<i>Average</i>	36	34	39	47
<i>Employment</i>				
<i>Full employed</i>	44	37	41	36
<i>Partial employed</i>	15	10	17	11
<i>Retired</i>	4	6	10	28
<i>Education</i>				
<i>(apprentice, student)</i>	19	10	14	11
<i>Temporary unemployed / re-education</i>				
	17	29	17	12
<i>Gender</i>				
<i>Male</i>	48	52	45	48
<i>Female</i>	52	48	55	52

Source: Simon 2007: 430

Compared with the German control groups where respondents had an average age of 47 years the questioned IEM are rather young. The IEM with Turkish migration background have the lowest average age (34 year), followed by that late German repatriates (36 years) and the IEM with Polish migration background (39 years). Surprisingly more people of all three groups are fully employed compared to the German control group. Also the share of partly-employed people is higher for the IEMs with the exception of the IEM with Turkish migration background (10% vs. 11%). Nevertheless is the number of people who are temporarily unemployed significantly higher than in the German comparison group. Thereby, IEM with Turkish migration background are concerned most with unemployment (29% compared to 17% in the group of the late German repatriates and IEM with Polish migration background) (see also table above).

The domestic space (mainly represented by the private home) is most important for media appropriation. A basic precondition for appropriation is the **availability of digital media**. The degree of penetration of digital media is relatively high in IEM households. Due to the fact that IEMs are more often concerned with unemployment than Germans it might be presumed that they have less access to digital media in private home, regarding ownership of these media. However, the data from the 'Migranten und Medien'-survey do not confirm such an assumption. Accordingly, in 2006/2007, like the German households, at least 98% owned at

least one TV set. 74% (70% of the German households) also owned a DVD recorder.⁷⁰ 76% of the IEM households also called a computer or laptop their own, compared to 69% of the German households. 53% of the people with migration background also had access to digital television, compared to 34% of the people living in German households (Simon, 2007: 429).⁷¹ Access to computers or laptops within the three migrant groups scrutinized in this report differs rarely. Accordingly 79% of the households of ethnic German repatriates, 76% of the households of people with Turkish migration background, and 78% of the households of people with Polish migration background had access to these media in 2006/2007 (see table overleaf).

A mean for describing the use of certain media is their **daily scope**. According to the 'Migranten und Medien 2007' survey, television is the most often used medium among IEM. 83% watch TV daily, compared to 89% of the German population. Rather low is the daily scope of radio among IEMs with 49% (84% of the German population). People with Polish migration background do have the highest daily radio use with 72%. People with Turkish migration background only account for a daily scope of 22% (Simon, 2007: 431). With 22%, the daily use of the Internet accounts for the group of IEM's a little bit lower than for the German population. Among the younger IEMs (aged 14 to 29) the daily use of the Internet lies beyond their German counterparts (38% compared to 46%). Between the three groups who stand in the centre of this country report, people with Polish migration background had the highest daily Internet use (29%), followed by the ethnic German repatriates (23%) and the people with Turkish migration background (20%).

Table 4 Available media technology in IEM households

	All Migrants	Late Ethnic German Repatriates	Turkish	Polish	German Population
<i>Basis</i>	3 010	501	500	509	64 504
<i>At least one TV Set</i>	98	96	98	99	98
<i>At least one Radio Set</i>	76	75	61	93	99
<i>DVD-Player/DVD-Recorder</i>	74	77	71	85	70
<i>Computer/Laptop</i>	76	79	76	78	69
<i>Cellphone</i>	91	89	93	91	86
<i>MP3-Player/iPod</i>	44	48	44	47	34
<i>Digital-TV</i>	53	34	73	38	34
<i>Pay-TV</i>	9	5	11	10	7

Source: Simon 2007: 431

⁷⁰ The numbers for the German population are taken from the mass media survey 2005 (Studie Massenkommunikation 2005).

⁷¹ Already in 2004 five analogous and 17 digital Turkish television programs could be watched via satellite dish in Germany. With the subscription of the DigiTurk package another 60 international programs in Turkish language could be watched (Schneider & Arnold, 2004: 493).

Table 5 Daily scope of conventional and digital media

	Migration Background						
	All Migrants	German Population	Migrants Age 14-29	Germans Age 14-29	Late Ethnic German Repatriates	Turkish	Polish
<i>Basis</i>	3 010	4 500	1 056	884	501	500	509
<i>Television</i>	83	89	84	85	80	83	87
<i>Radio</i>	47	84	42	78	56	22	72
<i>Internet</i>	22	28	38	46	23	20	29

Source: Simon 2007: 430

Sufficient control over the German **language** is regularly considered as an important indicator for the social integration of IEM. The degree of language proficiency also influences the decision for certain media. The 'Migranten und Medien 2007' survey also asked the survey people for a self-assessment about the degree of their control over the German language based on understanding, speaking, reading and writing. On this basis, it was calculated that 53% of the IEMs have a very good, 25% an average, and 23% a low language competence level. The share of people with very good language competence is, among others, highest for people with a Polish migration background (63%). Within the group of the German resettlers only 49% % have very good language competence. With 42% this number accounts even lower for the group of people with Turkish migration background. Accordingly, the number of people with low German language competence is highest in this group (36%). In all other surveyed groups these people only account for less than 20% (Simon, 2007: 429).

Thus it might be assumed that the **use of 'German' digital media** is lowest among this group. Again, the survey 'Migranten und Medien 2007' helps to provide some answers to this question. The study considers somebody a periodic user who uses at least four days a week particular media or programs (Simon, 2007: 432). German television programming reaches most IEM and just 14% only watch television in their native language and are not regular users of German television programming. The reception of television programs broadcasted only in their native language is most popular among people of Turkish descent and accounts for 30% (Simon, 2007: 432). The exclusive regular reception of television programs in German language is most popular among late ethnic German repatriates (61%) as well as among people with Polish migration background (66%) (Simon, 2007: 432).

According to Simon (2007: 432) IEM in Germany mostly use Internet pages in German language. Every tenth person with migration background also uses Internet pages in his or her native tongue. Regular Internet use is most popular among people with a Polish migration background (51%) (Simon, 2007: 432). Among the ethnic German repatriates 38% are considered regular users, compared to 36% of the people with a Turkish migration background (Simon, 2007: 433). Since the amount of regular users is relatively small among these groups only between one and 3% of the people of all three migration groups online use Internet pages written in their native language (see table overleaf)

However, within the migrant groups media appropriation is strongly shaped by **socio-demographic aspects** to a certain amount. Whether they mainly use media in their native language or in German language depends to a considerable amount from their age, gender,

place of birth and their proficiency with the German language (Simon, 2007: 433). According to their survey, the appropriation of media in German language is highest among IEMs who are younger and born in Germany, as well as among IEMs with a good knowledge about the German language. The study results show, for example, that the number of regular Internet users decreases with age. The probability to be a regular user is higher for men than for women (46% versus 25%). And whereas 67% of the people with migration background who were born in Germany belong to the regular users, only 23% of those born in another country are counted in the same way. Eventually, the likelihood to be a regular user also increases with the ability to control the German language. Thus 12% of the IEMs with low German language competences were regular users, but 36% of those with average skills and 57% with very good language skills (Simon, 2007: 434).

Table 6 Use of 'native-tongue' and German-speaking media

	Migration Background			
	All Migrants	Late Ethnic German Repatriates	Turkish	Polish
<i>Basis</i>	3 010	501	500	509
<i>Television</i>				
<i>No regular TV-User</i>	13	16	15	11
<i>German-speaking or native tongue TV</i>	25	19	35	18
<i>Only German-speaking</i>	48	61	21	66
<i>Only native tongue TV</i>	14	5	30	5
<i>Radio</i>				
<i>No regular Radio-User</i>	45	42	60	25
<i>German-speaking or native tongue Radio</i>	3	1	3	5
<i>Only German-speaking Radio</i>	48	56	28	68
<i>Only native tongue Radio</i>	4	1	9	1
<i>Internet</i>				
<i>No regular Internet-User</i>	59	62	64	49
<i>German-speaking or</i>	11	8	13	14

	Migration Background			
	All Migrants	Late Ethnic German Repatriates	Turkish	Polish
<i>native tongue Internet</i>				
<i>Only German-speaking Internet</i>	28	29	20	34
<i>Only native tongue Internet</i>	2	1	3	3
<i>Daily Newspaper</i>				
<i>No regular Daily Newspaper-User</i>	57	63	63	48
<i>German-speaking or native tongue Daily Newspaper</i>	4	2	6	1
<i>Only German-speaking Daily Newspaper</i>	36	35	23	49
<i>Only native tongue Daily Newspaper</i>	4	0	7	2

Source: Simon 2007: 433

Table 7 Use of 'native-tongue' and German-speaking media by socio-demographics

	Turkish migratory background	Age			Sex		Place of Birth		Knowledge of the German Language		
		14-29	30-49		Male	Female	Germany	Foreign Countries	very good	average	little
<i>Basis</i>	500	198	236	66	202	298	163	334	229	106	165
<i>Internet</i>											
<i>No regular Internet-User</i>	64	38	75	91	54	75	33	77	43	64	88
<i>German-speaking or native tongue Internet</i>	13	16	14	6	17	8	22	8	19	10	7
<i>Only German-speaking Internet</i>	20	42	9	1	24	15	42	12	36	21	1
<i>Only native tongue Internet</i>	3	4	3	2	5	2	3	4	2	5	4

Source: Simon (2007: 434)

Taking this data it cannot be argued that IEM are characterised by sharper **digital exclusion problems** in a one-dimensional way. Their access to digital media is comparable or in some groups even higher than the access of the German population. More conclusive than such a binary correlation seems to be a fourfold conception: Exclusion problems are not just mediated by the migration status and missing access to digital media but if there are additionally deficits in the fields of language knowledge and education. But how these factors interrelate should be discussed more carefully in a qualitative manner.

3.4 Demand side: ICT/digital media appropriation

3.4.1 Introduction

Focusing questions of media use and appropriation, media and communication research focused – and in many parts still focuses (McQuail, 2005) – on **mass media**. Mass media, especially television have been seen as a major social institution to integrate minorities into (nation) states (Cottle, 2000; Habermas, 1990; Jäckel, 2005; Maletzke, 1980). In the plurality of different positions on this issue there are at least two tendencies of understanding integration. This is first an understanding of *integration as communicative homogenization*. In this perspective integration happens when mass communication is marked by a consistent media agenda, used and appropriated in a comparative way and resulting in a shared norm and

value system (see for example Schulz, 2007; Vlastic, 2002). In contrast to this, an understanding of *integration as communicative relation* argues rather that the existence of an ongoing communicative interrelation is crucial for integration, irrespective if this interrelation is conflict oriented or not (Wessler, 2002). Despite these differences both positions meet in an understanding of mass media as an integrative tool also for IEM because they communicate across a whole (national) culture and society.

Discussing IEM **appropriation of digital media** we have to conceptualize integration more carefully. Digital media are not related to a communication across a whole society and are appropriated in a much more diverse and multi-contextual manner (context of game and play, work contexts, educational contexts, administrative contexts etc.). Having this in mind we can argue that the establishment of digital media in different everyday contexts is related to a transformation of forms of communicative integration and segregation. Concerning ICT we have to understand communicative integration as the degree and quality of a person's communicative connectivity. A high level of integration is given if he or she acts in multiple networks offering a high level of chances to participate in different contexts. On the other hand, segregation is given either if a person has no access to ICT at all and is therefore excluded from its communicative connectivity or if this person is only mono-thematically connected through digital media.

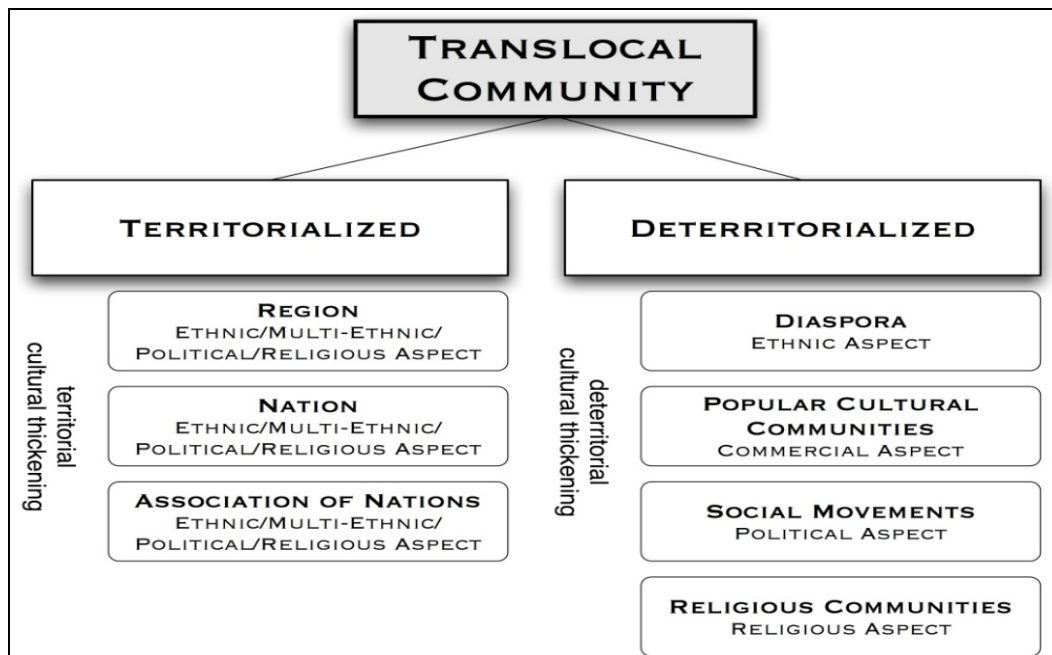
If we apply this understanding of integration to the field of IEM's ICT use this means that ICT has an integrative potential for IEM if they have not only access to it but if ICT is also used for the articulation of communicative networks on different levels and in different context spheres (private, work, education, administration etc.). On the other hand we can also argue that ICT may have a segregation potential not only on the level of digital divide ('having no access to it') but also if they are used only for a monothematic networking (communicative connectivity inside the minority/diasporic group; cf. Hepp, 2005, 2007). Therefore, researching the potential of ICT for the promotion of cultural diversity in the EU means to have both in mind: ICT (web, mobile phone, e-mail etc.) as the possibility for IEM to stay in an intensive communicative connectivity in spite of the biographical local mobility as migrants. With this we can say ICT *can* stabilise the *internal integration* of migrant/diasporic groups and through this the cultural diversity in different EU states. Beside that, ICT also offers the chance for an economic and social participation as long as they are not only used for internal communicative connectivity but also to establish communicative networks to other context fields. Hence, an *external integration* for IEM is given if ICT offer the chance to participate in different social networks of a society.

This makes a revised **research perspective** necessary. Mainly, digital exclusion is related to the concept of digital divide or inequality. Accordingly, particular groups in society find it more difficult than others to make sense of digital media and to use it for their advantage. Research on this issue and attempts to develop strategies that are likely to solve this apparent problem have been prominent from the 2000s on at least (Bonfadelli, 2005; Gurstein, 2003; Kubicek & Welling, 2000; Loader & Keeble, 2004; Warschauer, 2003). At the beginning the research on digital divide issues was mainly concerned with questions of having access to the digital media. But it turned out quickly that the number of people who do not have any access to digital media and do not use digital media like the Internet at all is small and decreasing. It is rather a question of how people use digital media and how they integrate it into their everyday life. Qualitative research provides us with a deeper understanding about biographical orientations and cultural conditions, how they are shaped and interrelated and how they influence patterns of digital media appropriation. Qualitative case studies have been conducted primarily on the use of ethnic Internet portals by IEM and on the use of such media by youth. The first underline that services like the WEB or chat serve the intensification of communicative networking within diasporic communities and can be integrative, as well as segregative. While survey data gives us an overview of the access to certain digital media

(section 3.1) we have to take additionally qualitative data into account to understand the 'how' of digital media appropriation in diasporas (section 3.2).

For our whole analyses a certain understanding of IEM as diasporas is directive: We understand diasporas as a certain form of migrant community that has to be contextualised in a further framework of research on mediated translocal communities in total (see figure X).

Figure 8 Territorialized and deterritorialized translocal communities



Source: Hepp 2006: 283

Generally speaking, we can understand communication media at all as 'tools' for building up a translocal communicative connectivity. While this communicative connectivity has traditionally been territorialised – caused by the circumstance that conventional mass media spaces had been territorial – we have an increasing relevance of deterritorialized translocal communities. For this diasporas are only one example, others would be popular cultural communities, social movements or religious communities. Having said this, focusing on connectivity practices is not only a challenge for research on media and diasporas but for research on deterritorialized translocal communities overall.

For all of these communities we can typify three characteristic aspects:

1. Networks of local groups: All these deterritorial translocal communities cannot be understood as homogeneous entities. They are articulated especially as local groups with corresponding roots in local routines. Nevertheless, these groups are part of a translocal imagined whole.

2. Translocal meaning horizon: Within such translocal communities a shared meaning horizon ('Sinnhorizont') is existent. This horizon is especially mediated by different electronic media, either traditional mass media or 'new' digital media (e.g. WEB pages in the Internet).

3. Deterritorial extension: The specificity of these groups is that they are not related to a certain territory but exist in a deterritorial extension. This does not mean that, for example, processes of nationalising do not exist. But territoriality is no main reference point for the community articulation.

If we take these further considerations as a general frame, we can develop an approach that focuses on the appropriation in diasporic communities in an adequate manner.

3.4.2 Practices of ICT/ digital media appropriation

Data reported earlier showed that the penetration rate of Internet use is relatively high among IEM in general and among the scrutinized groups of IEM in particular. However, these data do not reveal why IEM appreciate certain digital media, what kind of patterns do emerge from the point of initial appropriation and what kind of biographical relevance such patterns of appropriation have. This is influenced by a number of interrelated socio-demographic aspects as well as the social, cultural and economical capital available to people. Of importance are thereby age, gender, educational attainment, family relations, employment situation, as well as the scope and quality of personal networks beyond the family (e.g. friends and peers). For IEM we must add to additional factors which exclusively apply to them: ethnic and migration background. This is discussed in the following in a qualitative manner.

The **sample of in depth interviews** used for this report is based on the three immigrant groups selected. The largest sample group are IEM with Turkish migration background that consists of 16 people from 17 to 63 years old. The groups of the IEM with Polish and Russian migration background are smaller and account of six persons each. Except one, all members of the group of IEM with a Russian migration background are late German repatriates, originating from different parts of the former Soviet Union (SU). The group consists of four women (50, 47, 27, and 17 years old) and two men (37 and 24 years old). All of them migrated to Germany at different times (from 14 to one year ago). The group of the IEM with Polish migration background also consists of four women and two men, aged between 17 and 63 years. While the youngest person was born in Germany, all others are living in Germany for at least 19 years. All interviews were analyzed using the basic methodology of grounded theory.

All interviewed late German repatriates, except one, have an explicit diasporic environment. The student *Olga* basically has a German environment (at school, among friends) and she concludes that her appropriation patterns are quite similar to the appropriation patterns of German youth. Although she has Russian friends as well, still she prefers to speak German and to use German specific digital media. She uses such applications like ICQ, MSN, the German community platform SchülerVZ in order to communicate with her friends, sometimes with several friends simultaneously. In the following we discuss the in our perspective most striking patterns of media appropriation *across* the different groups while nevertheless being specific concerning aspects of the particular diasporas communities.

The initiation of digital media use in everyday worlds. The available statistical data demonstrated that access to or the ownership of digital media does not necessarily result into corresponding appropriation patterns. Additional reasons and motivations are necessary to evoke such practices. Most interviewees perceive the use of the computer and the Internet as indispensable, irrespective of their ethnic and migration background. On the one hand this is due to their perception that knowing how to use the digital media is an essential prerequisite for educational and job success. All of the interviewed adults with a Polish migration background, for example, needed to become computer literate at some point of their vocational career. Some of the late German repatriates also experienced an **occupational pressure** to be media literate to become or remain a member of the workforce. In some cases that already happened before they came to Germany.⁷²

⁷² This and the following quotes from the transcripts are not translated in English as the spoken German of the migrants is difficult to translate. However, the main content of the quotes is always paraphrased in the following paragraph.

Nf: nu ich glaube dass wenn ich werde auch arbeit suchen das ist sehr wichtig internet heute zu haben • wenn mir lust kommt wirklich arbeiten suchen dann ohne das geht einfach nicht und was habe ich auch in lettland erlebt • wenn • so ich letztes mal da war • das war auch erste frage • welche haben sie e-mail adresse? und dann spielt schon eine Rolle ja • ich glaube nicht dass wen werden drei konkurrierende mitarbeiter und der hat keine e-mail adresse da ist für ihn schon minus •

Natalia is convinced that it is already indispensable to have access to the Internet for successful job search. Her perception is based on a personal experience she made back in Latvia where she came from. While apparently searching for a job by herself one of the first questions addressed to her was about whether she had an e-mail address. Thus she assumes that a person who does not have an e-mail address is disadvantaged compared to job applicants who have one. In this case it does not matter whether the announced job eventually requires ICT skills. Even having a chance to get the job is tied to having ICT competences. It is noticeable that all the interviewed German migrants from Poland already owned computer for many years. It is regarded as self-evident and they could not tell exactly for how long they have been using a computer. All interviewed late German repatriates however, except one, did not own computers in their country of origin, due, among others, to financial restrictions. Nevertheless, most of them learned to handle ICT elsewhere. After migrating to Germany, they quickly purchased at least basic digital media equipment (computers, mobile phones, Internet access) and the digital media became a self-evident part of everyday life. This is true especially for younger IEM:

Of: (..) ich finde • das gehört eigentlich zum teil zum alltag • so computer internet • kann man • muss man sich auch jetzt nicht mehr so viel dafür bezahlen • jetzt früher war das so viel teurer • pro minute musste man da bezahlen • und jetzt kann man so schnell nachgucken • ach dann kommt die bahn oder • ja ich jetzt habe ich eine e-mail bekommen • ja so halt so standardsachen sind das jetzt schon • so ungefähr wie ein telefon zu haben • finde ich (interview Olga, 175-180)

For *Olga* digital media have become part of her everyday life that is due, among others, to the decrease of costs for using it. While earlier each minute spent online was billed, today purchasing a flat rate allows cost control and unlimited Internet use. Therefore users can now look up everything they are interested in at any time or check for e-mails whenever they need. *Olga* calls such practices standard which underlines their extensive appropriation. Additionally she compares them with having a telephone that is also a self-evident practice today. However, such patterns of appropriation are not specific for IEM and account for them like for any other people confronted with digital media.

On the other hand, most IEM have a distinctive interest in information about their (ethnic) cultural background, as well as to communicate and interact with people who belong to their diaspora that is increasingly deterritorialized and/or with family members and relatives who live abroad. Such appropriation patterns are specific for IEM and provide a large share of reason for their media use. Since they are also of major importance for the questions of social inclusion and integration we will discuss them in greater detail below.

No matter what appropriation patterns of digital media we take into account their performance always depends on a minimum of basic media literacy. Such competences can be acquired in different ways, at different locations and depend, among others, on peoples' age. Children and youths get taught media literacy in school and use ICT at least in class at varying degrees. Some teachers already expect their (older) students to have access to ICT at home and that they know how to use it as a mandatory prerequisite of studying. This also happened to the 21 year old *Baher* who is of Turkish descent.

- I: und ähm wann war das erste mal dass du äh internet hattest; oder wie bist du überhaupt aufmerksam geworden über die uni oder schon in der schule oder;
- Bf: schon in der schule aber halt auch seit drei oder vier jahren
- I: mmh undI
- Bf: nicht so lange also
- I: und hast du es auch schon seit der zeit zu hause auch;
- Bf: ja [...] das war halt einfach auch während des abis notwendig weil [...] weil die lehrer auch nur noch darüber irgendwas verteilten
- I: ach so
- Bf: und jetzt an der uni auch (Interview Bahar, 370-384)

A few years ago *Baher* encountered the Internet at school that she considers as a relatively short period. Apparently, the educational context fostered the extension of her appropriation of the digital media, including then the use of the Internet. During graduation it became also necessary to have Internet access at home because her teachers used the medium to disseminate certain information needed for studying. Additionally she also had to expand her media literacy in order to follow her class properly. At the time of the interview *Baher* is a student at the university. There she also needs the Internet as an indispensable tool to succeed with her studies. Other members from the sample group who study at the university confirm such description and point out that digital media is an indispensable tool for education. The younger members of the sample group from the ethnic German repatriates and the Polish IEM either already acquired basic computer skills at school in their countries of origin or in Germany. It can be safely assumed that younger IEM who go to school in Germany get introduced to computers and the Internet and receive at least basic media literacy training. Apparently, youths who migrated from East-European countries to Germany also gain such competences in their countries of origin.

The remarks made so far suggest that **media literacy** is not acquired at single locations and that the incorporation of such skills is rather embedded into an interplaying of different occasions related to various group contexts. The example of *Magdalena* illustrates that well.

- Mf: Ahm • das hat sich so ergeben • mit der schule • weil da gab's ja auch in der schule auch • computer • ja nicht computerkurse aber schon dass man am computer gearbeitet hat • • und dann hat sich das auch viel mit glaub ich selbstlernen zu tun • da hat man das irgendwie dann also mitbekommen • ja durch freunde und gezeigt bekommen • irgendwie ist man da so mit hineingewachsen (interview Magdalena, 105-112)

Like the other young members of the Polish sample group, *Magdalena* learned how to use the computer in school while working with it there. Additionally she believes that self-dependent learning processes also contribute to become digital media literate. Such processes are completed through the interaction with friends who demonstrated her how to do certain things on the computer. These are obviously continuing processes that clear if *Magdalena* describes them as a growing into digital media. The other younger members of the Polish diaspora also point out that simultaneously using digital media at school and at home results into a high level of digital media literacy. Thereby it must be noted that the descriptions and explanations of these IEMs point to very high formal educational aspiration within this group. This is one set of biographical orientations that lay at the ground of comprehensive appropriation patterns of digital media. If such orientations or motives are missing appropriation patterns often only reach basic levels and are very limited in scope. *Bilal*, for instance, is 28 years old and should

therefore be introduced to digital media in school, too. However, not until friends took him to an Internet café he became significantly interested in computers and the Internet. Prior to that time he also did not own a computer.

Bm: kumpels haben mich mal glaube ich mitgenommen zu einem internetcafé • ja so war das • die haben mich mitgenommen zum internetcafé erst/ die haben die ganze zeit gespielt und ich hatte keine lust auf spielen weil spielen auf dem computer ist für mich irgendwas langweiliges [...] und ähm •2• ja ich hab die ganze zeit erstmal nur zugeguckt • und dann hab ich gemerkt dass man dadurch chatten kann [...] was ich ziemlich lustig fand • und dann hab ich angefangen zu chatten und dann hab ich nebenbei immer noch mitgekriegt so dass halt andere leute äh musik darauf produzieren und das hat mich dann interessiert dann hab ich mir musikprogramme äh angeguckt (Interview Bilal L. 721-732).

The friends took *Bilal* to an Internet café in order to play **computer games**. Being there his friends solely played on the computer. *Bilal* did not join them because he considers this practice as boring, i.e. as weariness. Thus his action was firstly limited at watching his friends playing. After a while he realized that the computer can also be used for communicating with other people via the Internet which he found funny. The communicative possibilities of the medium are relevant enough to initiate his appropriation of the Internet. In exchange with others he discovers that the computer can also be used to produce music. Being a musician himself it becomes obvious that he can appreciate the computer as a tool for music making. From that time on, he expanded his computer and Internet skills in order to be able to chat with other users. After realising the potential for music, he made it a key element in his computer usage. Through the Internet he also could exchange experiences with other musicians, which intensified his computer and Internet usage. This development also impacted his professional life. He can now produce songs of a higher quality level which might bring him closer to a professionalization of his hobby. In the short term his newly acquired skills helped him to get a job in an Internet café where he works as the system administrator. Concerning his career as a musician, the Internet has also helped him to make his music accessible to a broader audience.

Additionally to **peers, family members and friends** also influence the initiation of ICT appropriation considerably. Many of the interviewees tell that they started to use the Internet, for example, after they were introduced to it through them. Take the example of the 47 year old *Ayse* who has been using the computer for about six years. She was introduced to the Internet through a friend of her.

Af: Du hast was wichtiges vor dir, das zu wissen wie man es benutzt also manche türkischen frauen wissen es nicht das zu benutzen nicht mal anzuschalten ich wusste es aber auch nicht {aufgeregt} .hhhhh zu mir ist auch immer eine freundin gekommen und hat mir google aufgemacht wie man darauf geht wie man schreibt .hhhhh aber so als ich langsam gelernt habe jetzt alles [...] die freundin von mir sagt jetzt jetzt kennst du dich besser damit aus (Interview *Ayse*, 762-769).

Even prior to her appropriation *Ayse* felt that it was important to know how to use the Internet. From her point of view, it is not uncommon that some Turkish women are completely media illiterate with regard to using digital media. They not only do not know how to use the Internet and even cannot switch on the computer that is a basic technical precondition for using it. The same was true for herself. Nevertheless she already had access to a computer at home. Thus a friend could visit her and teach her how to use the computer. Among others, the friend showed her how she can use Google to search for data on the web. She also taught her how to write on the computer. This initial appropriation stage apparently took a considerable amount of time. At some point, she built extensive basic knowledge, which was acknowledged by her friend by stating that she became more knowledgeable than

herself. That was probably due to the fact that she not only got taught by her friend but also expanded her knowledge about using the Internet through self-initiative like many of the other interviewees did.

Some of the members of the Russian and the Polish diaspora also tell about friends and acquaintances that have been helping them appropriating the digital media. This is especially important for IEM who just arrived to Germany. With limited knowledge of the German language and about the telecommunications and ICT market they need help to make cost-effective decisions to purchase the needed digital media and connecting them to the needed networks (above all access to the Internet and to the mobile phone network). The impulse for the initiation of *Ayses'* Internet appropriation came from outside her family. Nevertheless after building basic media literacy her family turns into an intergenerational learning space.

Af: Sicher sicher mein sohn interessiert sich auch sehr für aeh das Internet zum beispiel

I: Wie alt ist er

Af: Sechszwanzig er ist auch zum beispiel sage ich ihm wieso ist das passiert manchmal ist ja was passiert er fixiert es so und so also ich lerne von ihm auch [...] er lernt von mir jetzt sagt er ich lerne von dir (Interview *Ayse*, 782-787)

Like herself her son is also highly interested in using the Internet. If something went wrong using the computer, she can ask him for help and he fixes such problems whereby *Ayse* can learn how to solve such problems if they occur again. However, now that *Ayse* has been becoming considerably media literate by herself, her son can also learn from her and they established an inter-familiar learning space. Similar relations can be observed in the Russian and the Polish diaspora. Take, for example *Ewa* who was introduced to the computer by her children and still relies on the help of her son Marek.

Ef: (...) aufrüsten oder was verbessern oder programme oder so was da macht der kleine
•macht der Marek • der ist wirklich fiffig • der kann viel • der • wirklich auch im
Hause • jemand probleme mit computern hat • da weiß bescheid • doktor XX kommt
und so was und macht er ja (interview *Ewa*, 151-154)

According to *Ewa* her son is really smart in handling the computer and is thus responsible for maintaining and improving the family's ICT infrastructure. Beyond supporting his family he also helps people who live in the same house if they have problems with their computers. *Ewa* additionally underlines her son's high competence level by calling him a doctor. *Thomasz* fulfils a comparable role in the local neighbourhood. Being in an IT-related apprenticeship he has a high level of media literacy and can serve the community as an expert and can even earn some money through providing his skills.

For adults who cannot rely on the help of their children, friends or acquaintances or want to acquire ICT skills that go beyond the competences of these persons, **computer courses** can be an alternative. *Andrei* who belongs to the group of the late German repatriates already attended computer classes when he was still living in Uzbekistan, although he already had highly developed computer skills. The same is true for *Natalia*. Both can be characterized as very ambitious concerning the improvement of their digital media skills. Altogether, all of the interviewed late German repatriates, attended computer courses. Some also did that in Bremen, their city of residence. Thereby most of the interviewees enrolled in courses, offered by the local section of the AWO, one of the biggest German non-profit welfare services. Apparently, these courses are quite popular among IEMs and were recommended to them by former attendees. They can also be viewed as a small-scale positive example for successful integration policy regarding the improvement of media literacy for IEM as an important contribution for successful living in Germany.

But such courses not only provide opportunities to become more media literate. They also offer a platform for IEM to **exchange experiences and knowledge** relevant for living in the diaspora. *Olga*, for instance, learned there about the Russian speaking Community site Kolobok (<http://www.kolobok.ru>). In another class *Natalia* was introduced to the work of the local diasporic support group 'Familie im Hilfsnetz' (family support network) and became a member of the group. The case of the Turkish-based *Tülay* provides an example how IEM who are media literate and educational successful, i.e. that they are studying a subject that shows ties to literacy dissemination, can contribute to improve possibilities of media literacy training for IEM:

Tf: Ich hatte (.) mein sechs monatiges praktikum bei der volkshochschule gemacht und dann sollte ich mir ein projekt aussuchen [...] was man eventuell bei der volkshochschule neu nutzen könnte und dann habe ich mir das buch aufgeschlagen das vo-verzeichnis was sie anbieten .hhhh und weil ich in der edv abteilung war pädagogik und informatik wollte ich zusammen abschließen na das war auch die eigentliche idee und dann ist mir aufgefallen dass für migranten halt nur sprachkurse angeboten werden und teilweise wirklich (.) .hhhh is-ist mir auch aufgefallen dass sie:: halt in sehr sehr viele kurse hineingesteckt werden wo sie erstens die sprache nicht verstehen zweitens überhaupt gar keine kenntnisse über pcs haben geschweige dass sie internet nutzen oder word nutzen .hhhh und dann hab' ich mir halt gedacht _gut_ entwickle ich ein projekt (Interview *Tülay*, 149-159)

Tülay, a student of pedagogy and informatics did an internship at the department of informatics at an adult education centre and would combine both of her subjects during the intern ship. There she should design a project which perhaps could be used by the centre. While browsing through the courses offered by the centre she first noted that it only offered language classes for IEM. Secondly she realized that many IEM are put into classes where she did not understand the language at the one hand and on the other hand did not know how to use the computer, not to mention the Internet or a word processing program. Thus she decided to develop a course for this group.

In all, we can say that the **initiation of digital media appropriation** is manifold, especially it is caused by occupational, educational and relationship reasons. But in each case the appropriation of digital media is deeply related to the everyday world of the IEM: An appropriation then takes place if digital media get a position in the everyday relevance set of the IEMs – and then the members of the diaspora communities are willing to invest money and time to gain a certain digital media literacy. At this level we cannot see any difference to other people: It is the everyday world that is the important horizon for the appropriation of digital media.

Diaspora-specific information access. All interviews IEM use the Internet as an **information source** in various contexts. While searching for information most of them rely on established search engines like Google. They use the medium, among other, to accomplish tasks rooted in the locality of their everyday-life like finding out about public-transportation schedules, inform themselves about local events or certain services. More specific is that the Internet is also a rich source to retrieve **information about** the history, cultural artefacts (like music and movies), social life, and politics from **their geographical origin**. Thereby, neither the IEM with Polish migration background nor the late German repatriates express a significant interest in politics whereas the IEM with Turkish migration background do so. Especially for older IEM who were born in another country and have lived there for a longer period, information about the region where they grew up can be highly attractive.

We can take the example of the 63 years old *Turan* who migrated to Germany when he was 24 years old. Most of his family members still live in Turkey. In the past he could only talk to them on the telephone or had to read a local newspaper to get some information at least about

the region where his family lives. Mostly the local newspaper was available to him only once a week since it was hard to get it. Now, with the help of the Internet he reads it daily which is not only much more convenient but also much cheaper.⁷³ Asked for the reasons for these practices he points to the relation to the origin.

Tm: ja das ist die verbundenheit ja mit zum ursprung ((lachen)) und man interessiert sich halt was also in [...] was da los ist und äh man hat ja seine verwandten und mutter und äh enge verbinding noch immer dahin und man interessiert sich was da überhaupt abläuft (Interview Turan L. 167-172)

The origin characterizes his ancestry and considers it a normal state of mind to be interested in what is going on there. His interest is also probably intensified because his mother and his relatives still live there. From the group of the IEM with Polish migration background *Jaroslav* expresses a comparable interest for the region in Poland he descends from.

I: Was war vielleicht das letzte was sie so gefunden haben?

Jm: Ich habe letztes mal sehr interessante geschichte/ sagen schlesische sagen über ahm räuber und so weiter • und da hat mir auch meine oma einmal erzählt über ein räuberhauptmann pistolka • als kleiner junge • mein opa • mein opa hat mir das erzählt • und hab ich mit offenen augen und mund das • gehört • zugehört und jetzt plötzlich hab ich ahm information bekommen von meinen bekannten • lies mal die über pistolka • hab ich gelesen • und mit erstaunen dass das eine historische ahm gestalt war • ich glaubte dass das eine legende ist • aber • war interessant • das war der schlesische robin hood • (interview Jaroslav, 266-276)

During the interview he talks about an old Silesian saga his grandfather told him once when he was a child and which apparently impressed him strongly. All of a sudden he has now received information about the leader of a bandit group who stands in the focus of the saga from an acquaintance. Then he read with amazement that the bandit leader was not a pure imagination or a legend as he thought but a historical figure. Such knowledge helps *Jaroslav* to maintain his relation to the Silesia region and also helps him to **confirm and maintain his cultural identity** as well. With the help of the Internet he further investigates on the case of Pistulka, exchanges and discusses his knowledge with others and gains new insights into the history of his country of origin. Eventually he even wrote a new piece on the history of the bandit leader which he published on the homepage of the high school he graduated from.

All of the interviewed late German repatriates, except the 17-year old *Olga*, show a distinctive interest in new information about the culture and the social life in their country. However, they are not very much interested into the political situation in their homeland. *Natalia* and *Eugen*, for example, are particularly interested in new authors and books. They use German and Russian websites to find the respective information. If she is searching information about her esoteric and culture interests, *Natalia* prefers Russian websites.

Many of the interviewees with a Turkish migration background show a much more interest into politics and follow it by using the Internet as a main information source. Being immigrants, the **topic of immigration policy** is very popular for many IEM. As Turkish citizens the accession of Turkey to the European Union is of interest. In the past IEM were mainly dependent on the news coverage of the media in their country of residence and could not revert to media from Turkey with the exception of a limited number of newspapers and magazines available in Germany. This situation changed dramatically and recipients can choose now from a broad selection of different media all available through the Internet. The example of *Erdem* shows that the increased availability of alternative choices may lead to a

⁷³ Many of the other Turkish-based interviewees point to the fact that they appreciate the availability and ease of use of Turkish newspapers available through the Internet.

rapid turn away from certain media if recipients are dissatisfied with their coverage of certain topics.

I: aber deutsche zeitung en liest du ja auch oder

Em: deutsche zeitung en lese ich auch ähm nicht mehr ganz so oft ähm das ist eine ganz interessante sache seit ungefähr 1,5 Jahren hab ich mein deutschen medienkonsum ziemlich reduziert

I: ja

Em: äh das ist ungefähr hhhh. seit der ganzen eu-debatte die ich so mies fand da wurden so viele sachen aus dem bauch heraus gesagt äh ich bin weder für oder gegen einen eu-beitritt ich bin einfach kein fachmann (Interview Erdem, 168-175)

Asked whether he reads German newspapers *Erdem* replies that he did not read them as often as he was used to in the past. He continues that this change has to be seen in relation to a general reduction in using German media since one and a half years. Trigger for that change was the presentation of the debate about the accession of Turkey into the EU through the German media. In *Erdem's* opinion the quality of this debate was very poor and not carried out in an objective way. Later on in the interviews *Erdem* comes back to his criticism that not only addresses the work of the German media but also many developments in Germany in general.

Em: ausserdem gibt's so viele dinge die mich jetzt im moment an deutschland ankotzen dass ich mir mal nicht deren fernsehen reinziehen möchte • das ist so eine protest/ das ist ähnlich wie mit den printmedien' (Interview Erdem, 563-565)

Erdem feels upset about many things happening in Germany so much that he does not want to be confronted with them while watching television. He describes his turn away as a protest that applies in a similar way to his reduced reception of German-speaking newspapers. The Internet makes such a decision easy since it is not followed by a resignation but a change.

Em: nee ich mach mir gern mein eigenes programm entweder zieh ich mir was im internet rein wo ich dann mein eigener boss bin und bestimmen kann was ich sehen will was ich hören was für informationen lesen möchte von wem (Interview Erdem, 555-557)

With the Internet as a source of almost unlimited content *Erdem* can compile his media consumption independently. The medium provides him with freedom and independence concerning his decisions for certain contents but also stimulates the articulation of an **own, in part separated communicative space**. He uses the Internet as a tool for reaching other mass media like newspapers or television channels. He appreciates the fact that he can watch or read whatever he wants and that he has the possibility to make up his own mind. Thus the Internet can be described as a medium of self-dependent decisions and alternative choices. However this development is not mono-directed, i.e. turning always away from 'German' media in favour of 'Turkish' media in general. *Hülya* for instance, a woman with Turkish migration background, explains that she is unsatisfied with the recent political developments in Turkey in general and the situation of women in particular. Therefore she tries to avoid news reports on Turkish television. But unlike *Erdem* she does not use the Internet as an alternative choice of information. Beside the increased availability of print media online audio-visual media are another important source of information and entertainment for IEM. The IEM with Turkish migration background use respective websites to consume newscasts, music videos, homemade videos or episodes from series from Turkish television. The latter are almost completely available online.

Digital media not only provide more choices with regard to content but also an **improved degree of proximity** towards the country, region or sometimes even the city of origin, which was possible in the past only through the synchronicity of talking on the telephone. *Hakan's* sister and some of his relatives live in the Turkish city Kahramanmaras. He and his family members who live in Germany too, visit the city almost every summer. He also regularly visits the local websites of the city. Additionally, he listens to a local radio from Kahramanmaras online:

Hm: Ich hatte versucht also verbindung das was aus der stadt kahramanmaras [...] .hhhh das war glaub' ich sultan radio oder so was keine ahnung [...] da habe ich mal angehört ist so ist nicht schlecht dafür da fühlt man sich gleich irgendwie als ob man .hhhhh jetzt in der türkei ist nee ((lacht)) [...] hört man jetzt gleich direkt live (Interview Hakan, 680-685)

But it is not the radio station itself that is important for *Hakan* that becomes obvious because he is not sure about the station's name. It is rather important that listening to the radio provides the feeling of being in Turkey to him. Such a kind of **communicative co-presence** can also be achieved by other online media like webcams or broadcasting images from certain locations. It is *Turan* who uses this possibility.

Tm: ja • was ich ab und zu mal jetzt letzter zeit mach äh z.b. wenn ich im internet bin da gibt es eine homepage du kannst äh auch z.b. die direktübertragung live • in istanbul verkehr beobachten und wetter und so das find ich unheimlich spannend ja

I: also ist das nur ton ist das bild oder

Tm: das ist bild • zeigt natürlich wie z.b. brücke ja voll ist mit • also das ist live ja • mit webcam und das ist schon hart • guck ich manchmal wie ist das wetter ((lachen)) in istanbul weil das live ist • ja (Interview Turan L. 88-95)

Recently he discovered a webcam page where he can watch images from Istanbul including the local traffic and the weather. What seems very ordinary and not very interesting from a distance is highly exciting for *Turan*. With his description he repeatedly underlines the fact that these images are 'live', i.e. synchronous. Therefore they provide an increased feeling of proximity. Being physically in Germany he can be symbolically present in Turkey, Istanbul at the same time. Such practices and the symbolic proximity help to stabilize the relations of IEM living in the diaspora with their regions of origin.

Despite their far-reaching positive perception of the digital media and its opportunities most of the interviewed IEM are also critical about disadvantages and possible harm. Some of the interviewees address, among others, the reliability of available contents. But such concerns are not typical for people with migration background in general and rather apply to any Internet user. However, they can be amplified for IEM if those challenges go back to limited knowledge about the language information are presented in, as well as if the successful decoding or understanding of information depends on cultural context information not necessarily available to IEM.

We can sum up at this point that especially the Internet is an important tool to access diaspora specific information. While the members of the IEM groups share with other Germans the general instrumental use of the Internet (cf. Eimeren B. v., & Frees B. 2007) they differ in their search for diaspora-specific offers. The Internet makes it easy to get information about their geographical origin, about other aspects of their cultural identity, or about the immigration policy in Germany. Especially the synchronous aspect of Internet communication offer the chance of experiencing a communicative co-presence: Living locally in Germany while being connected simultaneously with a locale elsewhere. All in all we can interpret the

statements of the IEM that digital media – especially the Internet – offer the chance of an intensive communicative connectivity across territorial borders and with different local reference points. This may have segregation aspects but mostly it seems to stimulate the group stability as well as the diasporic identity – and by this also integration in the sense of our definition. This aspect shall be discussed in the following section more in detail focusing not on information access but on interpersonal communication.

Digital media and the translocality of social networks. Translocal networks are of major importance for people living in a diaspora for developing and maintaining their cultural identity together with people either belonging to the diaspora or living in the country of origin. The new communication and networking opportunities of digital media in general and the Internet in particular have been taking these forms of networking to a new level. Synchronous communication with family members, relatives and friends living in the countries of origin has always been highly important for IEM (cf. Dayan 1999, Hepp 2008, Hepp/Düvel 2008). Prior to the deregulation of the European telecommunication markets and the broader dissemination and facilitation of Internet communication, interpersonal communication with members of these groups was limited to basic **telephone services** and was rather expensive. Meanwhile telecommunication companies offer reasonable call-by-call or even flat rate services to call from almost every country to all other countries.

Today, voice-based communication can easily be realized by using voice-over IP-services (VoIP). After installing the software for a VoIP-service like 'Skype' on a computer with Internet access and connecting a headset to the computer anybody can call from this computer any other computer that is connected to 'Skype' or even a regular telephone number. Adding a webcam also allows seeing each other while talking via VoIP. *Ayse*, for example, cancelled her telephone flat rate to Turkey after discovering that she can call there using VoIP. Interestingly, almost all interviewees independently from their migration backgrounds who rely on VoIP use it exclusively to **talk with family members, relatives or close friends** whereas other synchronous communication means like chat or messenger software is also used to communicate with people one just got to know while using an online community. The intimacy and the high degree of proximity possible through using VoIP are very well illustrated by the following sequence from the interview with the Turkish-based *Ayse*.

Af: Wir unterhalten uns mit ihr so wie:: man nie von hier weggegangen wäre oder wenn cam noch an ist [...] wie sie nicht von hier weggezogen wäre kommunizieren wir mehr also statt dich selbst zu fragen wie es ihr geht ob es ihr gut oder schlecht geht schalte die cam an und guck das selbst an (Interview *Ayse*, 66-71).

While talking to one of her daughters who moved back to Turkey the family members can communicate as if they would have never been separated. Because of the visual channel of the communication made possible by using the webcam *Ayse* does not have to speculate about the well being of her daughter anymore or has to ask about it. She only has to switch on the camera and can see for herself how her daughter is by watching her on the screen. At another point of the interview *Ayse* mentions that her daughter also has a baby and how happy she is that she can almost watch the baby grow up. *Selda* is another member of the Turkish diaspora who also uses VoIP. She illustrates some additional advantages of using such technology for identity building:

Sf: .hhhh auf jeden fall finde ich das wichtig also für mich wenn ich das jetzt wenn ich da jetzt so so darüber nachdenke •• fühlt man sich dann doch ein stückchen verbundener

I: mmh

Sf: mit der äh türkei und ja das das gibt noch mal so eine eine ich-stärkung

I: mmh

Sf: allein durch durch das skype da mit äh verwandten und freunden in kontakt stehen zu können oder auch in den internetseiten zu gucken [...] ist das wirklich ähm wirklich eine tolle möglichkeit in der in der mit der türkei up to date zu sein (Interview Selda 828-838)

For *Selda* one of the advantages using the VoIP-service 'Skype' is that she feels more linked to Turkey. It is interesting that the communication does not only lead to an improved linkage to the relatives and friends she is interacting with online but to the country of origin as a whole. This improved relation leads to a strengthening of herself, i.e. her diasporic identity. Additionally it is also beneficial for her being able to take a look at Turkish Internet pages that allow her to be up-to-date with Turkey. Some of the late German repatriates use VoIP too, but in some cases the possibilities to use it are limited by considerable time differences of two and more hours between Germany and their regions of origin. In such cases it is more preferable to use asynchronous means of communication like email.

Especially the interviewed younger late German repatriates use Russian **social network sites** like the popular Odnoklassniki.ru. Similar to the Polish diaspora, they regard this site as very important for maintaining the connectivity with friends in their country of origin as well as in Germany. Interestingly many of the interviewees who use social network sites found some of their former schoolmates who live in Germany too through the sites. *Andrei*, *Eugen* und *Anna* use the site at least daily. The reasons for using the site vary and reach from searching for old friends, uploading photos, commenting about the photos of friends or writing messages. These services also support transcultural communication of a worldwide Russian diaspora, as the example of *Natalia* illustrates.

Nf: Ja • ich kontaktiere eigentlich mit leute aus ganze welt • ja zum beispiel durch diese russische site ich kontaktiere mit viele interessante frauen die • ahm leben in amerika oder argentinien oder auch in usbekistan zum beispiel • ja ich einfach frage wie dort geht • was menschen mögen ja und • das macht spaß einfach ja • die welt ist viel breiter • als nur unsere

I: Und das ist diese zhdu.ru • diese seite?

Nf: Ja • ja • das habe ich etwa viele freundinnen gefunden • aus ganze Welt • mit israel • mit russland • mit allen (..)

Nf: (..) Ja • das viel erleichtert kontakt • ja • das ist leichter • weil das • manche menschen sind (intravert) • die einfach haben sehr gute gelegenheit (interview Natalia, 404-424)

Natalia uses the Russian social network site zhdu.ru to stay in contact with Russian women all over the world. Through communication with them she can learn about the living conditions of members of 'her' diaspora in different national contexts. *Natalia* considers these women her friends. Compared to 'real' life it is apparently even easier to find new friends in such a virtual environment, concerning at least first contacts. Interestingly, the interviewed late German repatriates rarely use social network sites maintained by IEM from former Soviet countries now living in Germany. Instead they rather use sites which are meant for Russians abroad. The young *Olga* is the only one who prefers to use websites mainly used by Germans like StudiVZ. The older late German repatriates of our sample rather prefer to use email or regular telephone service to stay in contact with people living in their countries of origin.

The interviewed late German repatriates use the Internet mainly in order to communicate and to **stay in contact with friends and relatives from their countries of origin**. They maintain their translocal social networks mainly with the help of social network sites, as well as by using chat or VoIP-services. The appreciation of ICT significantly intensified the

communication of the late German repatriates with friends and relatives from their countries of origin. Digital media also contribute to the reintegration of the people who migrated to Germany into existing networks in the country of origin. The appropriation of such media tends to support the maintenance of the cultural identity itself. The migrants are now more informed about life and culture of their relatives and friends in their country of origin.

The interviewed members of the Polish diaspora, like the late German repatriates, also use the Internet to maintain their translocal social networks, including family members, relatives and friends who either still live in Poland or elsewhere. *Maria* explains how she uses VoIP to keep up with her relatives.

I: Und wie oft • wann hast du das letzte mal jetzt mit der cousine irgendwie gesprochen?

Mf: Am wochenende war das • also vor einpaar tagen • ja

I: Und was was habt ihr so besprochen?

Mf: Ach • wir reden • wie es geht • und • eigentlich alles mögliche • neuigkeiten und ja • um halt im kontakt zu bleiben • weil man sich ja nicht so oft sehen kann (interview *Maria*, 246-254)

A few days before the interview, *Maria* just talked with her cousin. Their communication covers various topics without obvious limitations and also includes news. Besides being up-to-date about what is going on in the respective community a major intention of this communication is to keep in touch. Because *Maria* and her cousin cannot see each other very often since they are living in different countries this kind of communication helps them to bridge these time periods. Like the late German repatriates most of the interviewed IEM with Polish migration background prefer **social network sites in their native language** like *nasza-klassa.pl* or *gadu-gadu.pl*. *Ewa* and *Aneta* renewed the contact to former schoolmates via *nasza-klassa.pl*. Now they can upload photos, exchange messages and search for more schoolmates who may also be registered at this community platform. The mutual utilisation of the community platforms causes inner diaspora connectivity even though many of *Anetas* former schoolmates also live in Germany. As a consequence of the improved translocal connectivity *Aneta* plans to meet with some schoolmates in Poland she has not seen for a long time. Additionally she also wants to organise a class reunion in the future.

All IEM with Polish migration background use different **digital media to stay in contact**, e.g. email, regular telephone service, 'Skype', and others. Especially those interviewees who perceive themselves as belonging to Poland – and there to the region of Silesia (which is true for *Ewa*, *Jaroslav*, *Aneta* and *Maria*) – intensively use particular social network sites. The younger IEM (*Thomasz* and *Maria*) are rather connected with friends all over the world via social network sites than with people living in a certain region. They use a mix of different media to maintain their dispersed translocal networks. *Thomasz* and *Maria* have Polish and German friends abroad as well, *Maria* also got to know friends in London. *Thomasz* also uses the community platform *myspace* to promote his band. Like *Maria* he also uses email to communicate with his friends abroad. Besides, *Maria* uses Skype to talk with a friend in Switzerland and a blog to keep in contact with a schoolmate in New Zealand. *Thomasz* uses the German social network site *StudiVZ* to find out about the friends which are abroad. Overall the media appropriation patterns within the Polish diaspora have changed, especially because of the opportunities of social network sites. Thereby translocal networks are of growing importance to the Polish diaspora and probably also contribute to ethnic identity building.

Representing the different IEM groups these selected examples demonstrate that digital media may help to strengthen the **internal communicative connectivity** of the diasporas not only by offering information about the 'region of origin' (see for this the section before); more important is the possibility of an international interpersonal communication through digital media – especially by Internet telephone and social networks. And again this is twofold: On the one hand we can discuss such a translocal connectivity in the way it supports the internal integration of the group and the personal stability of persons finding themselves as migrants in a complex biographical situation. On the other hand this might have segregative and thus excluding tendencies. Based on our data we can conclude from this interrelation that an internal communicative connectivity through digital media is productive provided it is related to a further engagement – and a possibility for a further engagement – in the new context of living. Then the internal communicative connectivity through digital media can help to stabilise the own group and identity, a point from which a further engagement in the new context of living can happen more easily. But at the moment these considerations are preliminary conclusions that have to be researched more in detail – also to reflect the chance digital media offer in the frame of the Riga goals of cultural diversity.

Living locally with digital media. Despite the increasing relevance of translocal networks a major share of everyday life is still bound to certain localities and places. As human beings we have to live our lives locally. Living locally, digital media significantly contribute to the **organization of everyday life**. Not only the mobile phone, interestingly today also the Internet is an indispensable widespread tool for organizing and maintaining everyday routines.

To substantiate this by examples: The IEM with Polish migration background not only use digital media to maintain their translocal networks but also for organizing their local living and to **inform themselves about what is going on** around their places of residence. *Magdalena*, for example, searches online for information about local entertainment possibilities. In the same way *Jaroslav* is not only interested in the history of Silesia but also in the local history of the city he lives in. He uses the city's official website to investigate its history. Another common task for him is the download of bus schedules. *Aneta* and *Thomasz* also use the Internet to find particular information about certain aspects of local life. However, despite their interest for digital media many of the Polish-based interviewees also read local newspapers and especially those that are free-of-charge and can be found anywhere. Many of the interviewees also found these newspapers more convenient to use than the Internet.

But these points are not specific for IEM themselves. More specific is another aspect: The interviewed younger IEM with Polish migration background use social network sites not only to maintain their translocal but also their local networks. However, whereas translocal networking is mainly based on international sites offered in the Polish language local networking rather relies on **German social network sites**. *Maria*, *Magdalena* and *Thomasz* all frequent the popular networks Schüler VZ ('Pupil directory') and Studi VZ ('Students directory') in order to maintain local connectivity. Additionally peer group pressure might also contribute to the decision to become a member of a social network site like StudiVZ.

Tm: (..) ich bin in studi VZ sowieso • weil als student muss man halt dabei sein um cool zu sein (interview *Thomasz*, 757-758)

Being a member of Studi VZ is obligatory and a matter of course for *Thomasz* because otherwise he may risk to lose reputation within the student community. Whether it is also useful for him does not have any relevance in this context. All of the younger IEM with Polish migration background also use such social network sites to communicate with their Polish friends who live in the same city (*Thomasz*, 937-939). Messenger software like MSN and ICQ is another means for managing local life and mobility. *Maria* uses it, for example, to

communicate with the people who belong to her closest network of friends. Those of the interviewed late German repatriates who are characterized by an intensive appropriation of digital media also use them to maintain different local and translocal social networks. This is true for *Olga*, *Natalia*, and *Andrei*. *Olga*, for example, is connected with friends and acquaintances that use ICQ, MSN and SchülerVZ. She uses these applications and services for her daily communication and for making arrangements with members of her peer group. Compared to the interviewed IEM with Polish migration background only a few of the late German repatriates use the Internet to gain information with local reference. Only the younger interviewees use the Internet to find out about current entertainment opportunities.

We can conclude here that digital media are appropriated within local live-routines. Here they have a special relevance as far as they help to **organise social networks**. While this is true in general for younger Germans as well as for younger IEM we can state one specific aspect for members of diasporas: Digital media help to stick together their *migrant* friendship networks *locally*. So digital media do not change their lives in the sense that they might have a direct effect. But they are a helpful and used 'tool' in an existing environment of the everyday world.

The advantage of bilingualism. Many of the IEM interviewed by us are bilingual and speak German and the language of their diaspora community more or less fluent. In their daily life they use **both languages**. Taking the example of the IEM group with Polish migration background, for translocal communication (e.g. using social network sites) they mainly use Polish. Local communication for example via the mobile phone is mostly conducted in German. While using the Internet, knowing different languages as well as the cultural background of those you are talking with can serve as a considerable advantage. *Thomasz*, for example, who has been living in Germany for more than 10 years, owns several Polish email accounts for different purposes:

Tm: ich hab in polen zum beispiel ein eBay account • ich hab in polen noch ein paar andere kontakte und wenn man da polnische adresse angibt • es ist immer ein bisschen besser/ es hängt davon ab wo man sich grad • in welchen bereich man sich befindet und manchmal ist das schöner allein schon dieses punkt PL dahinter zu schreiben obwohl das blöd klingt • aber das dahinter zu haben zeigt vielleicht dem partner jetzt ob privat oder geschäftlich • ist wurst • so • er ist einer von hier oder mit dem kann man besser zusammenarbeiten weil das ist jetzt nicht so • oh • wenn mir jetzt einer mir schreiben würde • schönes beispiel • ich würde jetzt zum beispiel irgendwas geschäftliches verabreden • und der schickt mir eine mail aus Punkt TY • keine Ahnung • irgendwie zimbabwe oder so was • da würde ich sagen • das ist nicht so ganz seriös • der hat seinen sitz den firmensitz sonst wo • und • das ist ein schönes beispiel • dafür •dann hat man irgendwie • da denkt man • diese person ist lokaler eben • mit dem kann ich besser zusammenarbeiten oder auch persönlich besser in kontakt treten (interview *Thomasz*, 593-609)

When *Thomasz* does transactions on eBay with people in Poland he uses a Polish email address that can be identified by the ending of the mail address. The address and the communication in the Polish language suggest to the transaction partner that the other person is Polish too. The assumed belonging to the same nation additionally suggests that these two persons can interact with each other on a better level as it would be the case if both would come from different countries. It is not the place here to discuss the nationalist stereotypes that provide the ground for such an argumentation. Just because he belongs to the Polish diaspora actually enables *Thomasz* to pretend his belonging to the Polish nation as a benefit for business and interaction. We can see here a **rationally based decision** for the use of a certain language – a pattern we also find in other cases.

Leman is a female IEM with Turkish migration background who grew up in Germany; she still knows the Turkish language but nevertheless prefers to use German – a language she feels more familiar with. This is also true for her Internet use:

I: Ja hmm hm und aehm suchen sie auch wenn sie was brauchen aehm bevorzugen sie eher türkische seit-sachen oder deutsche sachen wie ist da ihre sprachpräferenzen

Lf: Aehmm (..) deutsch das sind eher alles auf deutsch aber wenn ich etwas weiß wenn ich etwas suche was mehr in der türkei ich sag mal aktiv ist oder aeh auf dem market ist dann versuche ich natürlich gleich auf türkisch was zu machen aber sonst ist es eigentlich immer auf deutsch

I: Aeh wie aeh wieso auf deutsch?

Lf: Weil es einfach für mich leichter ist hmm hm

(Interview *Leman*, 259-266)

For her it is again rather a rational decision that she mainly uses German websites if she is looking for something on the Internet. It is easier for her because she knows the language better. However, if it is necessary to research something related to Turkey she employs Turkish websites even if it is for her a language of second choice. But this pattern of rational language self-reflexivity can be found also with migrants who are not that familiar with German. *Ayse*, for instance, migrated to Germany as a child but could not attend school there. This aspect contributed to the fact that she still speaks Turkish better than German. However, at certain occasions she also uses German content while being on the Internet:

I: Hmm hm (..) also zum beispiel wenn sie etwas suchen suchen sie dann öfter auf türkisch oder auch auf deutsch?

Af: Suchen zum beispiel aeh (..) gesundheit (d.i.o.) wie gesagt wenn es über gesundheit oder wo was ist

I: Deutsch

Af: Wenn es medikamente oder so was ist dann auf deutsch wenn es etwas ist das ich für dieses leben brauche dann auf deutsch ich gehe auch manchmal auf die türkischen seiten da sind (.) ich sag es ja die sachen über geistige sachen (Interview *Ayse*, 730-737)

Asked about what language she uses if she is searching for something online *Ayse* introduces a differentiation between two lives. 'This life' is what she calls her local everyday life in Germany that is characterized by various routines like dealing with health issues. Here she decides to use the German language based on the rational calculation of easy access to information via Internet. By contrast, she is not forced to use the German language if she is engaged with intellectual topics that she can choose independently and accordingly relate back to the Turkish culture. The better the language skills are the broader the opportunity is to benefit from them on a transcultural level. So the bilingual use of digital media may offer **economic chances** but also risks. *Selim* for example works as an entrepreneur and uses the Internet to support his business. He is also an active member of a Turkish-European economy association. He either uses German or Turkish online content depending on what is more beneficial for him:

Sm: [...]die vereinsarbeit auch geht man kurz rein und wie verhält sich es da mit der wirtschaft was ist los in der politik wie sind die örtlichen gegebenheiten soll ich eine

reise planen gehe ich natürlich auch mal kurz rein [...] um auch von der türkischen seite hier da bisschen regioninformation zu kriegen also da will ich nicht unbedingt auf diese äh deutsche seiten speziell was reise betrifft angewiesen sein ich kann da auch von der anderen seite von der türkische seite her schon äh bessere information bekommen als z.b. wenn einer eben halt die sprache nicht beherrscht und eben die anderen möglichkeiten nicht hat (Interview Selim L. 418-431)

Working for the economy association he uses the Internet spontaneously. He quickly informs himself about current economic and political trends in Turkey as well as regional conditions. He also uses the Internet if he is planning a trip to Turkey. In such cases he does not want to depend on German websites if he needs information about different regions in Turkey. Turkish websites provide him with better information. The aspects of bilingualism and transcultural competence respectively are advantageous factors for *Selim* when he is searching for information about Turkey on the Internet. He can choose whether to use German or Turkish content, depending on his expectations of usefulness of the information source.

All in all we can see the pattern of a **bilingual appropriation of digital media** within all of the researched IEM groups. It is remarkable how far the interviewed persons are aware of the situation that they select the different languages based on a rational reflection of the particular purpose – and how far this is not just a problem related aspect but also offers economic chances. Additionally it gets obvious that the bilingual use of digital media is not related to bilingual offers at the supply side: Turkish or Polish is used within Turkish or Polish contexts whereas German is used in German contexts. Offers that cross these borders in the sense of being themselves bilingual (for example bilingual administrative web pages) seem to be far irrelevant. This opens the question if the existing bilingual initiatives meet the existing bilingual appropriation patterns and transcultural competence of the interviewed IEM.

Technical constraints. Appropriating digital media is often accompanied by technical constraints, caused by hard- and/or software problems as well as insufficient knowledge about the handling of these media. While involved into translocal communication IEM may also encounter problems caused by **technical limitations** or differing standards their communication partners in other countries are concerned with. Some of the interviewees, for example, tell about people they cannot talk to using video conferencing systems because of broadband limitations. *Maria* points out that the people in Poland she is connected with prefer to use different networking applications so that she had to adapt herself to it and use the Polish application gadu-gadu.pl in order to communicate with her Polish relatives and friends.

Another problem is that the Polish and the Turkish language use capitals with special characters that are not automatically supported by a computer with standard middle-European configurations. The same is true for the Cyrillic language. Indeed it is possible to change these configurations in a way all three languages are supported by the keyboard. However, on the one hand such changes do not affect the keyboard itself, i.e. the writer cannot see where the single keys are placed. On the other hand many IEM are apparently not aware of the possibility to adapt the computer to certain languages. One example is *Bilal* who talks about problems he had while trying to chat with people from Turkey:

Bm: weil die türken in der türkei haben so ne tastatur mit s und strich untendrunter und so und dieses ding hast du hier nicht [...] und dann schreibst du dir irgendwas und der checkt das nicht richtig dann schreibt er dir was du weißt zwar was gemeint ist antwortest ihm der checkt das wieder nicht richtig weil die sprache nicht richtig ist [...] weil du nur ganz einfach/ du hast die deutsche tastatur vor dir liegen (Interview Bilal L. 1070-1077)

The lack of certain capitals on the keyboard of his computer causes continuing misunderstanding because the communication partner in Turkey does not understand correctly

what *Bilal* means. This problem disturbs the online communication considerably. In this context, it is interesting to note that *Bilal* does not have such problems if he chats within the Turkish diaspora in Germany even if they use the Turkish language because they adapted the written language in a way that might be called 'Computer-Turkish' which is understood by them.

Others have the **technical competence** to solve these problems. *Andrei*, for instance, solved the 'language-problem' on the basis of several strategies. Within his translocal communication he uses the Russian social network site called Мой Мир Агент (My Agent of the World) that allows him to write in Russian. Furthermore he uses a Russian email account that allows him to write in the Russian language, too. At home he even took one step further and replaced the existing operation system of his home computer with a Russian one he bought in Germany.

I: Habt ihr jetzt den computer auf deutsch zuhause?

Am: Jetzt ist er auf russisch • wir hatten auf deutsch • aber da die meisten freunde von uns auf russisch schreiben werden daraus hieroglyphen • wir müssen dann immer umstellen • aber jetzt habe ich russisch eingestellt • natürlich wäre es besser auf deutsch • ich weiss • man könnte gleichzeitig die sprache lernen • mein vater nutzt auch • für die eltern ist es schwieriger mit dem deutschen • deswegen haben wir jetzt russische sprache eingestellt (interview in Russian, Andrei, 153-156)

He changed the operating system because most of the friends of his family use the Russian language for online communication and the standard software of the computer could not display it properly. Thus they always had to apply changes to the software that apparently caused discomfort. Therefore *Andrei* eventually decided to replace the software. Nevertheless he acknowledges that it might be better to use the German language on the computer because it would help to learn the language. Otherwise using the German language on the computer makes it very difficult for his father to use it. Apparently, in this case supporting the family members in their media practice is valued higher than potential benefits for learning the language.

We can conclude here that while important software and hardware companies market their products as an appropriate tool for 'global communication' their everyday appropriation by IEM is still marked by **technical limits**. Especially the IEM's bilingual use of the computer and the Internet is not reflected by easy to use bilingual systems. By this we have a process in which certain 'technical experts' in the IEM groups gain the role of 'technical problem managers' (also for others) while non expert are confronted with an in part highly insufficient technical environment. Again we notice here that questions of divide are (in the meantime) less questions of access than questions of in this case technical competence.

Digital media and economic participation. It is almost self-evident that media literacy is related to economic participation since such competences can **improve employability**. In more and more cases it is a precondition to enter certain realms of employment (e.g. office jobs). Many of the interviewees have been acknowledging this by taking various computer classes. Others already work or did work in jobs that require advanced ICT skills. Many IEM also run their own businesses that often involve transnational business activities, which rely to a large degree on networks between their countries of residence and their countries of origin. Here digital media – especially the Internet – play an important role to **support the business**. *Tülay*, for example, works in a shop she owns with her partner. They sell mobile phones and offer public Internet access to their customers. *Yeliz* works as a manager in a travel agency her family owns. They specialized in offering tours to Turkey for people living in Germany. For being competitive in the market it is very important for the agency to have access to a maximum of suppliers of accommodation, flights as well as other transportation means, and additional services potential travellers may need. To offer flights to Turkey they purchased

special booking software that helps to search for available flights and their conditions online. *Leman* – another woman with Turkish migration background – also uses the Internet to conduct her business. She is a cosmetician and owns her own cosmetic studio. The studio is also presented through an Internet page a friend designed and built for her:

Lf: Ich habe die webseite hmm hm

I: Wie läuft das bestellungen oder anfragen

Lf: Nee nur anfragen anfragen wie teuer ist da wie teuer ist dies machen sie auch das .hhhh [...] kennen sie das können mir hierbei helfen also es sind mehr so frage die direkt mit der kosmetik auch zu tun haben

I: Und aeh aeh meinen sie dass das geschäftlich vorteilhaft für|

Lf: Das hat schon ein vorteil weil viele können in meiner internetseite gucken ich habe gerade eine kundin gehabt die über internet permanent make-up gesehen hat hat mich angerufen ich habe ihr den preis gesagt der preis hat ihr zugestimmt darauf hin hat sie ein termin gemacht .hhhhh [...] sind auch viele die dann eben über internet kommen weil ich einfach aehm (.) von der verbindung her wohnt in schwachhausen weiß nicht wohin fragt eben internet seite gefällt den oder der name gefällt den es bringt schon was (Interview *Leman*, 204-218).

She uses the website to present her business and attract new customers. Via email she communicates with them about services and their prices. She perceives the webpage as an advantage and provides the example of a customer who found *Lemans* information about permanent make-up online, called her and made an appointment for treatment. Overall, *Leman* estimates that many people inform themselves about the services of the cosmetic studio online. According to her the service she offers attracts mainly Turkish women. She uses the Internet to keep herself informed about the latest Turkish cosmetic trends, new products, and retraining courses. Three or four times a year she also visits Turkey to purchase materials she needs for her business and to attend courses to stay up-to-date with the latest trends. The Internet serves as an indispensable tool to prepare these trips. The Internet is also an important tool for *Eugen* and his wife who belong to the Russian diaspora in Germany. After running a grocery store and a clothes shop which both apparently went bankrupt they now own a bookstore:

I: Womit waren sie davor beschäftigt?

Em: Wir hatten ein lebensmittelgeschäft • nachher hatte meine frau einen kleidungsladen • das lebensmittelgeschäft hat nicht den konkurrenzkampf überstanden • haben wir zugemacht • auch mit dem kleidungsladen wurde es schwierig • dann haben wir uns mit büchern beschäftigt • weil wir selber gerne lesen • ein interessantes thema • ein wichtiges thema • weil menschen die die sprache nicht so gut beherrschen müssen sie verbessern und wir haben alle wörterbücher dafür • wir haben unterschiedliche bücher über deutsche grammatik • und nicht nur deutsche • wir haben auch für englisch französisch spanisch • unterschiedliche wörterbücher • unterschiedliche ausgaben von duden • belletristik und andere • das heißt wir haben die unterschiedlichsten bücher im laden • viele menschen lieben belletristik • deswegen haben wir klassische werke krimis romane sehr unterschiedliche bücher (*Eugen*, 260-276)

Eugen and his wife entered the book-selling business because they both have a strong passion for reading. *Eugen* also finds it important to support language acquisition by selling dictionaries and grammar books to learn German but also other languages. Like *Leman* their business is very diaspora specific and they try to meet particular demands of the diaspora

community. Besides specialised books they also have fiction literature in store. *Eugen* considers the Internet as an indispensable tool for their work:

Em: Internet brauchen wir für unsere arbeit • es ist leichter neuigkeiten über bücher zu erfahren • weil wir hauptsächlich mit großhandelsfirmen in deutschland arbeiten • das heißt wir bestellen selber sehr selten bücher direkt aus russland • nur wenn es irgendwelche besondere bestellungen gibt aber das ist sehr teuer • wir arbeiten mit solchen großhandelsfirmen wie atlantis • die firma janson • katalog aurora • und die firma lotus aus frankfurt am main • das sind unsere hauptlieferanten • sie schicken uns kataloge und links zu eigenen websites wo man im Internet sehen kann was sie alles haben • wir nehmen bestellungen von unseren kunden an • wer was sucht • wir bestellen bei der großhandelsfirma und nachher rufen wir unsere kunden an und verteilen die ware (interview in Russian, Eugen, 56-66)

Via Internet it is much easier for *Eugen* to receive the latest news about book releases. Even if they offer and sell a large variety of Russian books they rarely order them from Russian companies because this is very expensive. They rather work together with large German book retailers. From them they receive catalogues but also information via email. Via the latter they get web-links that guide them to the retailers' web pages where they find more information about the available books. Interestingly, *Eugen* and his wife do not place their orders online but by telephone. They also call their customers by phone if an order is ready to be picked up.

As a last example for the relation between economic participation and digital media we can refer to *Ahmet*. Besides running a record store and a record label he is also a member of a band. He uses the social network site Myspace to promote the band:

Am: da kriegen wir mit {unserer band} ganz oft irgendwelche von also so türkische promoter und so ne die da sagen hey coole musik jungs und so und dann auf türkisch und man merkt auch dass sie da sehr •2• äh ja::: sehr auch auch im bilde irgendwie was so abgeht und wahnsinn • durch myspace geht auch echt einiges in richtung türkei (Interview Ahmet Z. 659-666)

Through Myspace *Ahmet* and his co-musicians could significantly increase the popularity of their music in Turkey. Because of their myspace page they got in contact with music promoters from Turkey and received positive feedback from them. *Ahmet* is very enthusiastic about the new and increased connectivity with Turkey. It is insofar economically relevant that it might open them a new locality to go on tour and perform their music there, as well as a new market to sell their music to a broader audience.

All in all, we can argue that digital **media competence** has – in the perspective of the IEM themselves – a high importance for **economic participation**. For all interviewed persons this competence is a factor for employability. Additionally, especially the persons who work self-dependent describe the Internet as an important resource for business. Within their 'diasporic business' – small scale enterprises being focused on the diasporic market – the relevance of the Internet seems to increase as it is offering the possibility to get special, culturally specific information that is in some cases an important foundation of the business. But having said this, we have to have in mind that this is a very special, successful group and by far not every IEM has or can have this position.

3.4.3 Self-perceived degree of social inclusion

The appropriation of digital media is shaped by the **self-perceived degree of social inclusion**. Such perception, for instance, influences the choice of certain media or respectively the content delivered by them. Discussing the degree of social inclusion of the researched groups

of IEM, three specificities have to be kept in mind: (1) All members of the interviewed IEM with Russian migration background except one are late German repatriates and thus automatically hold German citizenship. (2) Three of the IEM with Polish migration background grew up in the region of Silesia that belonged to Germany prior to the Second World War. They also received German citizenship when they came to Germany. (3) By contrast, many of the IEM with Turkish migration background were indeed born in Germany but are nonetheless Turkish citizens. So if we discuss matters of social inclusion we have to be far more careful concerning the specific migration biographies than our previous analyses may indicate. Thus, in this section we want to bring such reflection into our argumentation by contextualising our previous analyses in the further context of the different IEM groups.

Polish diaspora. The overall level of social inclusion of the interviewed members of the Polish diaspora is relatively high. All interviewees expressed their **closeness to Germany** or a German cultural identity. Accordingly, some of them consider themselves as Germans. Respectively, most of the IEM with Polish migration background like *Aneta* and *Ewa* are well integrated into the local ethnically diverse community. To a certain degree they even dissociate themselves from Poland. Accordingly, their translocal connectivity is, above all, person-based, i.e. the embedding into respective networks that keep defined persons (friends, family members, etc.) together. The general political and social situation in Poland is only of minor interest to them. The translocal connectivity of those interviewees who descended from the region of Silesia is related to this **region** but not Poland as a nation. They regard Silesia as a German region and are interested in the regional history and maintain social networks with people they know and who still live there. The following statement from *Jaroslaw* illustrates their distance from Poland very well:

Jm: Wir haben polnisch/ schlesien war das ist überhaupt so ein • region wo die nicht gerne als pole bezeichnet werden • schlesien war immer was extra • ich mag nicht wenn mich man als pole bezeichnet • ich sage • ich bin eher schlesier als pole (interview Jaroslaw, 73-79)

According to *Jaroslaw* Silesia was always considered as a special region by the people with German ancestry who lived there. These people did not see themselves as Polish and accordingly *Jaroslaw* does not like it to be called a Pole because he rather considers himself as a Silesian. To a great extent, all three 'Silesians' tried to maintain a German identity within their family while living in Poland and neglected Polish culture. *Magdalena* who was born in Poland and came to Germany when she was three years old also considers herself as German. However, *Thomasz* who migrated to Germany at the age of eleven and the 17 year old *Maria* who was born in Germany both maintain a rather hybrid identity. *Thomasz* feels close to Germany and Poland and does not want to choose one of the identities. *Maria* is not sure about her cultural or national belonging.

I: Und wie ist deine kulturzugehörigkeit oder nationalität wenn du so sagen solltest?

Mf: Das • ich weiß nicht • ich fühl mich so dazwischen • irgendwie • wenn ich hier bin dann • also ich fühl mich nicht als _deutsche_ aber • oder auch wenn mich jemand hier • also hier sagen alle du bist ja nicht richtig deutsch weil deine eltern aus polen kommen • und wenn ich dann in polen wieder bin • dann heißt es auch wieder • naja du wohnst ja in deutschland die ganze Zeit und man ist dann irgendwie so dazwischen • ich kann das nicht so genau sagen • (interview Maria, 935-943)

Although she was born in Germany, *Maria* does not feel German. This self perception is probably due to the fact that she gets told regularly that she is not 'really German' because her parents are from Poland. But when she visits Poland with her family, people living there do not consider her as Polish because she lives in Germany. Thus the **hybridity** of her identity mainly results from attributions made by others.

Russian diaspora. Overall, the level of **social inclusion** of the interviewed late German repatriates seems to be **lower** than that of the IEM with Polish migration background. Above all, this is probably due to the fact that none of them, except *Eugen*, has been living in Germany for much more than ten years. But although *Eugen* defines himself as a German citizen he feels closer associated with the Russian culture than the German culture because he spent most of his life living in Russia. *Andrei*, as another example, considers Usbekistan his homeland. Those IEM who are older and spent most of their lives so far in countries of the former Soviet Union also have a strong desire to **maintain the Russian culture** in their families:

Em: Unsere kinder haben es natürlich viel leichter mit der deutschen sprache • sie kennen die russische kultur viel weniger als die deutsche • obwohl wir uns bemühen damit sie diese möglichkeit nicht verlieren • dass sie auf russisch lesen könnten • russisches fernsehen gucken • dass sie über den eigenen tellerrand schauen könnten • dass sie erfahren können was in anderen ländern passiert (interview Eugen, 348-352)

Eugen acknowledges that it is much easier for his children to learn the German language than it is for him. Since they are probably born in Germany they are not very familiar with the Russian culture. Thus, *Eugen* and his wife try to assure that their children do not loose access to this culture as a possibility. Therefore the children have to learn how to read in Russian and shall understand the spoken language for example on Russian television. *Eugen* considers this as an additional chance for his children to widen their horizons.

Reflecting the inclusion of the IEM with Russian migration background it has to be born in mind that most of the late German repatriates also migrated to Germany to improve their **material situation**. Thus, all of the interviewees are eager to succeed economically, i.e. to find employment or to set up their own businesses. These aspirations are reflected, among others, by the far-reaching attendance of most of the interviewed late German repatriates of language and computer courses, which can also be interpreted as a sign of successful integration. *Andrei*, for example, is eager to return to his original profession:

Am: Ich lerne sehr intensiv deutsch weil ich mein diplom anerkannt bekommen haben möchte und je schneller ich die sprache kann desto schneller kann ich anfangen zu arbeiten • ich bin von beruf zahntechniker (interview, Andrei, 60-61)

Originally he is a dental technician but apparently cannot work in this profession currently, since his diploma is not accepted. Thus he learns German intensively. It can be assumed that he then could take a test to get his diploma accepted which would help him considerably to find occupation. For younger IEM language acquisition can be much easier because of their involvement in the educational system. *Anna*, for example, finished the German school successfully, although she had some problems at the beginning. *Olga* found it very easy to learn the language:

Of: Ja • gute frage • • ich hab schnell gelernt • also ich hab schnell deutsch gelernt • ich bin sofort klar gekommen hier also das war jetzt gar kein problem • nirgendwo • nicht in der schule • also überhaupt so • alles ok gewesen (interview Olga, 33-35)

Olga learned German very quickly and had no problems at all to ingrate herself into the different realms of society but found it all okay. However, if she feels well integrated the personal networks she is involved in are still completely separated between diasporic and domestic ones:

Of: Na • das sind getrennte freundeskreise • weil das meistens so ist • das ist eine • komplett komplette clique • die nur aus russen besteht • aus russischen ahm leuten und die meisten • die reden da einfach nur auf russisch und wenn da ich einen deutschen

freund oder freundin mitbringe • dann geht das einfach nicht • und anders rum auch nicht • weil • dann können die sich überhaupt nicht integrieren und bei mir gab's das problem nicht • weil ich komm so oder so bei allen klar (interview Olga, 61-69)

One of her peer groups solely consists of IEM with Russian migration background speaking only Russian with each other. Thus it would be impossible to introduce some of her German friends to this group and vice versa because she assumes that members of both groups are not able to integrate into the other group. *Olga* herself does not have such problems because she goes along with all groups. This seems to be rather exceptional and the statements from the other interviewees suggest that the Russian diaspora is a rather closed community with a high level of internal cross-linkage like the following sequence from the interview with *Nina* illustrates:

Nf: Am wochenende meistens besuchen wir uns in der familie untereinander • oder wir fahren gemeinsam irgendwo hin • immer machen wir etwas mit verwandten • oder zusammen mit den kindern • die tochter besucht uns (interview, in Russian, Nina, 63-65)

At least during the weekend *Nina* exclusively spends time together with family members or relatives. There are no clues whether she also has German friends she spends her time with. The Internet can also be used to strengthen such inner diasporic connectivity. *Natalia*, for example, found new friends and like-minded people in the surrounding area of her place of residence with the Internet. Such incidences rather have a segregation character. This might be additionally promoted by the fact that at least larger parts of the Russian diaspora live close together in relatively close neighbourhood.

Turkish diaspora. Compared with the other two IEM groups the Turkish diaspora is much more **ambivalent concerning Germany**. For *Hikmet*, for example, it is not really clear if he can accept Germany as his homeland. He prefers to refer to two 'homelands'. The first is Turkey where he was born and grew up. The second one is Hamburg as a certain location where he has been living for more than 25 years now. *Bilal* who was born in Germany argues in a similar way:

Bm: ich kann jetzt nicht sagen •1• ähm mehr deutsch mehr türkisch kann ich nicht sagen _weil_ • in der türkei war ich fünf sechs mal in den ferien • hier bin ich geboren bin trotzdem noch ein teil türke • ich hab einen türkischen pass •1• ich würd' eher sagen ich bin so ich bin ich bin eher der typische bremerhavener

I: mmh

Bm: bin halt äh • nicht deutsch nicht türkisch ich bin so'n so in der mitte

I: mmh

Bm: und äh ja bin bremerhavener • so gesehen

I: also würdest du dich einfach als bremerhavener bezeichnen

Bm: ja ja • weil ich hab ja kultur von drüben und kultur von hier (Interview Bilal 40-50)

Like *Hikmet Bilal* also finds it impossible to articulate whether he should consider himself German or Turkish. Although he was born in Germany and only visited Turkey five or six times for holidays he feels at least partly as a Turk which is, among others, due to the fact that he is a Turkish citizen. Thus he would not consider himself as Turkish or German but rather as being located between those two reference points of national belonging. In contrast to these difficulties he can consider himself without any problems as a typical 'Bremerhavener', i.e. he

fully identifies with the city where he was born and grew up. Hybridity in these cases seems to be much more related to certain localities and their cultural horizon than to the imagined community of nations.

Such a **feeling of being in-between** can also be stated for the second-generation migrants within the Turkish diaspora. To take one example:

Km: Aehm dadurch dass ich migrant bin oder migrantenkind besser gesagt .hhhh aehm bin ich in zwei welten groß geworden .hhhh ich bin zwar hier geboren und aufgewachsen ich würde mich auch als deutsche bezeichnen [...] also von meiner einfach von meiner aehm von meiner einstellung her und von meinem aeh von meinem wissen dass ich hier geboren bin [...] aehm bin ich es aber auch nicht also weil mein name und meine ursprung meine herkunft meine eltern .hhhh mich dann irgendwo als türken kennzeichnet (Interview Kemal, 513-521)

Kemal considers himself not as a migrant but rather as the child of migrants: But because of this fact he still states that he grew up in two worlds: The 'outer sphere' constituted by the 'German society' and the 'inner sphere' constituted by the 'diasporic family'. While both had been important during his socialisation he would consider himself as German based on his attitudes and the knowledge that he was born in Germany. However, in everyday life he cannot be a German because his name, his origin, his ancestry and his parents characterize him as a Turk. He is not free to identify himself with the nation of choice because the process of national identification is strongly influenced by attributions made by others. Being identified as a member of a diaspora group by others causes far-reaching consequences for *Kemal* because he rejects the attitude towards integration he presumes for the Turks living in Germany:

Km: ich muss sagen ich hab' hier mit in deutschland lebenden türken großes problem weil aeh die meisten einfach so sich so daneben benehmen [...] oder was heißt daneben benehmen ist übertrieben aber .hhhhh aehm diese (..) unwilligkeit sich mit der deutschen gesellschaft auseinandersetzen [...] und sich zu integrieren [...] beziehungsweise sie müssen nicht ihre kultur und ihre wurzeln aufgeben davon gibt es gar nicht [...] also sie sollen nicht so werden wie ich das ist also auf keinen fall .hhhhh aber aehm das ist so immer so abgeschlossen ist alles also es kommt es gibt kein kontakt zwischen diesen welten [...] zwischen den türkischen und der deutschen also in vielen fällen .hhhhh und das stört mich zum beispiel (Interview Kemal, 554-570)

He mainly criticizes that the IEM with Turkish migration background are not willing to deal explicitly with the German society with the goal of integration. That does not mean that *Kemal* wants them to dismiss their culture or their main points of personal identification (in terms of 'roots'). He rather criticizes that it is closed and that there is no contact between the 'Turkish and the German worlds' in many cases. He does not specify what 'it' stands for. Later on *Kemal* states that he does not have contacts with other Turkish people in Germany and that there are big differences between him and most other Turkish people in Germany in terms of their mentality. Most of his friends are

Germans. Because of his strict personal denial of the Turkish culture he does not use any Turkish media either and is very critical about their formats and contents. *Ayse* represents the opposite of *Kemal*. She identifies herself as Turkish and considers herself to be a 'nationalist'. She also pronounces big differences between her and people who are Germans. Therefore she does not have any German friends because she cannot socialise with them:

I: Ja (..) und hier wie sind also ihre freunde sind die meiste türken oder gibt es auch deutsche und so|

- Af: Türkisch .hhhh ich kann mit deutschen nicht so aeh ich kann mich mit den nicht anfreunden [...] weil wenn ich von irgendwas rede sollte die person mich verstehen .hhhhh weil es bei deutschen anders ist können sie mich nicht so verstehen du weißt ja die deutsche sind so [...] alles rationell {düz hesap} aeh wir sind herzlicher was weiss ich aeh sensible (d.i.o) sagen die deutsche so sind wir also ich habe nicht so wirklich (.) kontakt zu den deutschen
- I: Ja also in ihrem leben hatten sie aeh dann kontakt zu den deutschen wenn sie gearbeitet haben oder so|
- Af: Klar als ich gearbeitet habe guck mal zum beispiel arbeite ich seit fünf monaten dann sehe ich öfter deutsche sonst sehe ich sie nicht nur die ärzte ((lacht)) (Interview *Ayse*, 258-271)

Ayse expects that people do 'understand' her if she is talking about something. She denies that German people could 'understand' her because she considers them to be completely rational in their behaviour. In contrast, she considers Turkish people to be more cordial and more sensitive. Because of such value differences she does not have any closer contacts to German people. She mainly meets them when she occasionally works as a cleaner. Besides such encounters she only meets other Germans when she has to go to a doctor or comparable occasions. *Ayse* only engages with the German culture and society in instrumental contexts and cannot identify herself with it or parts of it at all. Accordingly, her media use is mainly based on Turkish media and she mainly watches Turkish television at home or listens to Turkish radios online or via a satellite dish. She only uses German-speaking Internet content for particular needs like health issues for example. *Ayse's* far reaching rejection of German society and its members is additionally surprising keeping in mind that she already moved to Germany when she was 12 years old and has been living there for 35 years. However, she could not continue her school education in Germany because she had to take care for her siblings. Therefore she had to learn the language by herself without any help. Her limited language competences may also help to explain her far-reaching delimitation of integration into the German society.

Values that are grounded in the Turkish culture are also important for the 21 year old *Baher* who also dissociates herself from the German society by pronouncing the value of the Turkish culture although she is a German citizen. Interestingly her concept of the Turkish culture is rather a **diasporic imagination** or projection because she does not want to live in Turkey and thinks that she could not integrate herself into that society:

- I: und ähm gibt's denn/ meinst du es gibt irgendwelche unterschiede für dich also jetzt im gesellschaftlichen leben in deutschland also du als deutsch-türkin und jemand der einfach ganz deutsch ist sag ich jetzt mal
- Bf: ja auf jeden fall also wir wir versuchen ja äh trotzdem die normen und werte zu bewahren jetzt als türkin hier und ähm das ist mir schon wichtig also das ich jetzt nicht zu verdeutscht hier lebe und ähm also von der seite ist meine familie doch schon ein bisschen streng
- I: jaç
- Bf: ja
- I: okay
- Bf: es wäre mir auch so wichtig weil ich komm mit türken türkinen auch nicht klar die ähm • kein wort türkisch sprechen können und ähm sich total integriert fühlen wobei

man das auch so machen kann ohne sich jetzt verstellen zu müssen oder irgendwas verschweigen zu müssen woher man kommt oder so (Interview Baher, 559-577)

Baher underlines that it is important for her and her family to 'preserve' norms and values that they associate with the Turkish culture because it is important for her not to become too 'Germanized'. Apparently this is also controlled respectively assured by her family that she describes as strict. Furthermore she cannot go along with Turkish people who live in Germany and feel completely integrated because they do not speak any Turkish. In her perspective such an act is a form of disguise. From her point of view integration is possible without concealing from where somebody originates.

The diasporic context. As we have stated at the beginning, our aim within this section was to outline the diasporic context of digital media appropriation in total. Based on this description and across the multiplicity of the three different IEM groups we can now isolate three general interrelations between diasporic contexts and patterns of digital media appropriation that help to understand the latter in a better way:

- ☒ *External differences and internal diversity:* When we talk about the digital media appropriation of IEM in Germany we have to be careful not to draw a 'black and white picture'. If we look more carefully we have to notice the differences between the IEM groups – groups reaching from the rather well integrated Polish group to the more excluded Turkish diaspora. And also within these groups we have – beside different migrant generations – high differences concerning the felt cultural belonging. This gets also manifest in the way digital media are appropriated – in the web pages that are searched, in the occasions when and how social software (Web 2.0) is used etc.
- ☒ *Mediated cultural experience:* Across the different IEM groups we get an insight how far cultural experience is mediated in a double sense of the word: First, we see that within the different diasporic groups an own 'cultural self-understanding' is articulated that mediates between the (perceived) 'culture of origin' and the (perceived) 'national German culture'. We find many cases in which the interviewed persons characterise their belonging as such an 'in-between' or 'hybridity'. The specificity of diasporic communities seems to be this general mediation process. Secondly, the media themselves are important tools of this mediation process. A certain insight into both the (perceived) 'culture of origin' and the (perceived) 'national German culture' happens via traditional mass media (television, radio, print) or digital media (WEB, social software, email, mobile phone). So the different patterns of media appropriation – for example the use of the Internet for information access – have to be arranged in this whole mediation process.
- ☒ *Double networking:* Having said this, we can state a double networking in which the appropriation of digital media takes place. By this double networking we refer to the level of building and maintaining ego-centred networks: On the one hand an important question for the IEM is to maintain the diasporic network (family, friends, and acquaintances of same cultural origin). And this focus marks the appropriation of different digital media (social software, WEB, email). On the other hand the interviewed migrants – again in a varying degree – try to gain affiliation within the German society. For this, other (digital) media have relevance. To formulate this point exemplarily: While a Polish social software web page is used to stay in contact with other members of the polish diaspora, German social software web pages are used to stay in contact with other Germans. So the diversity of digital media corresponds to a certain degree with the needs of IEM.

Following this argument we can state in a nutshell: While it is important to differentiate between the general patterns of digital media appropriation it is also important to have their various manifestations in the different diaspora communities in mind.

3.5 Concluding remarks

To conclude our report we want to highlight the following aspects:

- ☒ Challenges of digital exclusion;
- ☒ Opportunities for digital inclusion;
- ☒ Patterns of ICT demands by IEM;
- ☒ Discussion of Riga's goals and policies implications;
- ☒ Most interesting/relevant cases.

Challenges of digital exclusion. The aim of this country report was to reflect the relevance of ICT/digital media for people with migration background in Germany. To do this, we have started with a general overview of the migration situation in Germany based on which we selected three IEM groups for a more detailed examination, i.e. the Turkish, Polish and Russian IEM groups in Germany. Our main argument was (see Figure 1, page 21) that the specificity of all these groups can be seen in their diasporic character: Beyond all internal diversity they constitute deterritorialised translocal ethnic communities we can ascertain alongside three criteria: (1) They are articulated through *networks of local groups*. (2) As a community their members share a *translocal meaning horizon*, i.e. a certain shared self-understanding and belonging. (3) They are characterized by a *deterritorial extension*, that is their members do not live in a defined territory but as migrants dispersed across the territories of different nation states. However, we have to understand these diasporas as highly fragmented internally.

If we discuss the accessibility to ICT/digital media in a quantitative frame we can argue that there is no general exclusion of the focused groups: All of them have access to digital media, some on a slightly lower level than the German majority society (Turkish diaspora), some on a higher a slightly level (Polish diaspora). While the present statistical data does not offer clarity at this point we nevertheless can assume that the main point for having no access is at least in part related to education. Of course at this point the question of migration status comes in again as the level of formal education is in part lower within diasporas. However, accessibility is no real challenge of digital exclusion in Germany.

Challenges of exclusion rather come in when we discuss questions of practices and contents of appropriation. So across the different investigated groups the main point especially at the level of the Internet is the missing of special shopping offers to them (a Turkish Amazon, for example) or the missing of special web pages with information in their mother language. However, as bilingualism is usual in these groups at least in the younger generations we have to discuss this point again carefully.

The most striking aspect is how far digital media are appropriated in developing different communicative networks within and beyond the diasporas. At this point questions of inclusion and exclusion gain a completely different relevance, an aspect we want to discuss in the following.

Opportunities for digital inclusion. If we reflect diaspora relating to their status as networks of local groups, their translocal belonging and deterritorial extension, we get an understanding that media traditionally had an important internal role for them: Media are a 'tool' for staying in contact while being dispersed or – in other words – for internal integration. We could demonstrate that exactly this is the case for digital media, too: They offer an easier chance to get/stay connected within the three investigated groups of the Turkish, Polish and Russian diaspora. However, media have also an important external role referring to these groups: Regarded in the perspective of the incorporating state (and by this in the perspective of politics) these diasporas are discussed as 'migrant minorities'. The general hope here was that

especially mass media can take a role to integrate these groups into the hosting state and society.

Based on our research one can argue that this interrelation of internal and external communicative connectivity gains a new relevance in the frame of digital media: Digital media can help to stabilise the internal communicative networks of the IEM and by this stimulate a 'self-empowerment' of the questioned groups. However, a real digital inclusion can be expected when at the same time digital media are also used for external communicative networking (for example with the present living context of the migrants). At this level we can see the main relevance of digital inclusion as soon as – like in the case of Germany – the question of access is not the main question any more. But how far such a 'double networking' takes place has first of all researched by further studies. Nevertheless our investigations demonstrate processes like these.

Patterns of ICT demands by IEM. The main empirical focus of our study was on the demand side – or more concrete on the appropriation – of digital media by IEMs. We can systematize our findings by the following table *across* the different groups of IEM:

Regarding the *initiation of digital media appropriation* we found three main moving powers, i.e. occupational pressure (the need to have for example Internet skills to gain certain jobs), diasporic pressure (the need to have access to digital media for diaspora-internal communicative networking), and entertainment interests (computer use for gaming, for example).

Additionally we have seen that especially the Internet is important for *information access*. Here we cannot set a fundamental difference between diaspora members and other Germans. The main difference point comes in when we look on the contents of information seek. At this point we can state for diasporas a search for cultural information especially about the (in part purely imagined) 'home regions' and a search for administrative information (especially concerning migration questions).

A maybe much more interesting, in our reflections on opportunities of digital inclusion already mentioned point is the *translocal social networking*. While we have a transmedial, diaspora-specific networking via different media (telephones, letters, private videos etc.) for long social software sites seem to get an higher relevance especially for younger members of diasporas.

Table 8 Summary of findings and policy implications

Field of practice	Main results	Policy implications
Initiation of digital media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Occupational pressure • Diasporic pressure • Entertainment interest 	⇒ IEM specific information
Information access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural information seek • Administrative information seek 	⇒ Portal pages
Translocal social networking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transmedial communicative networking • Multilingual use of social software sites 	⇒ Networking support
Local embedding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local information seek • Local social software sites 	⇒ Local embedding support
Bilingual communication	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rational use of competence • Bilingual appropriation 	⇒ Utilization of existing competence
Technical constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical limitations • Special technical competences 	⇒ Technical policies ⇒ Utilization of existing competences
Economic use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve employability • Support the business 	⇒ IEM specific information

Here we find a multilingual use, i.e. a use of diaspora-language-based sites for an internal networking and German sites for a local networking also with Germans at the locality of residence.

Striking is also the far-reaching *local embedding* of digital media appropriation: As already mentioned information-seeking is to a certain degree orientated to local information, or German social network sites are used for a local networking with other Germans. Additionally, the transcultural relations in which the interviewed persons position themselves are far more translocal (the city of living, the village of origin etc.) than transnational (Germany, Turkey etc.).

All the different practices mentioned so far are contextualized in a *bilingual communication* of many of the diaspora members. As we have demonstrated they make a quite rational use of their different language competences (while we nevertheless have to state that the skills of German and the diaspora language are not in all cases both well developed). In a certain sense we can regard this as a field of competence that might be 'used' in further contexts. As many other studies have demonstrated members of diasporas are 'translators' between two (or more) cultural contexts – a process, which also takes place within digital media – we have here a potential for diverse and plural societies.

For us interestingly questions of *technical constraints* are still important. While it is technically possible to use digital media in various languages – and also to switch between them –, in everyday life many do not seem to have the skills for this. So while we have certain 'experts' doing this for others, the 'laities' are confronted with many problems.

Finally we can see that digital media have an important *economic relevance* for members of diaspora. On a first level all interviewed emphasized the digital media literacy as an important aspect of employability. But more interesting for us is the direct support of business we have by digital media. So as diaspora members have a certain use of digital media for internal communicative networking we find a special business here, for example in the form of diasporic Internet and telephone shops. But also in other fields of diaspora business the Internet is an important help: In many discussed examples the information access via the Internet is a help for the business.

Discussion of Riga's goals and policy considerations. A specific political implication of this discussion lies in the role media – and here especially digital media – might play to support diversity within and across European states. At this point we can see the relation between the more media centred, scientific discussion and the more policy oriented, EU discussion like it is reflected in the Riga goals. In the latter especially three goal aspects gain relevance: (1) economic participation, (2) integration and (3) social inclusion and creativity.

Focussing our results to questions of policy, especially the Riga goals, the following aspects are striking at the supply side of analyses:

- ☒ *Economic participation:* Many of the existing activities address questions of economic participation, but often in an indirect manner (learning German language, media literacy). Additionally we find certain projects focusing the job market directly (like job- and internship exchange portals).
- ☒ *Integration:* We can state that we have a variety of different offers in numerous languages. But how far this variety and the related easier access to certain content are helpful for integration or not, is an open question considering only the supply side of analyses.
- ☒ *Social inclusion and creativity:* Concerning social inclusion and creativity we can argue all focused offers allow participants to work in self-determined ways, provide opportunities for creativity. But again, there is no such causal relation between certain activities offered and social inclusion achieved.

To reflect our research results in this more general frame of the Riga goals more in detail we can relate our different researched fields of practice with further policy implications (see again the table above with summary of findings and policy implications):

- ☒ *Initiation of digital media appropriation:* As there are no general access problems we can conclude as a first policy implication that especially specific information programs might be a help (see for this point more in detail later on).
- ☒ *Information access:* Looking for information the members of the different diasporas have an high level own initiative and an comparable competence to other Germans. Nevertheless it might be appropriate to reflect the possibility of support programs for diaspora based portal pages (in the best case related to existing initiatives).
- ☒ *Translocal social networking:* Especially the appropriation of diaspora-language-based sites might offer additional chances for an internal stabilization of IEM communities and it might be worth to reflect if a networking support in this field might be helpful. Such a support could be transnational at European level and by this bring certain diasporas across various European countries better together. But again such a program should be rooted in the existing (local) practices of the IEMs why a support and/or extension of related initiatives might be helpful.
- ☒ *Local embedding of digital media appropriation:* The local reference point of the appropriation of German Internet pages makes one reflect how *existing* (and by that already used) local information and networking sites could be supported in a way that they might help a better local embedding of IEM.

- ☒ *Bilingual communication*: A policy implication of the bilingual language competences of IEM would be to reflect the chances of these – a point that nevertheless goes far beyond questions of digital media.
- ☒ *Technical constraints*: Reflecting policy implications of technical constraints we might demand certain technical policies that make multilingual digital media use more easily. But again the more relevant point might be a better support of the existing competences.
- ☒ *Economic relevance*: Reflecting the economic relevance of digital media on the levels of education, employability and business making one can argue for the necessity of appropriate professional information ('best practice' stories, portals with Diaspora business information). Such offers might be helpful as long as they stay integrated in the existing environments (for example migrant employer chambers).

So in all our research indicates for Germany that a number of policies might make sense. Most of them might be rather middle range projects that nevertheless would – to a different degree – support economic participation, integration and social inclusion. However, before developing a wider policy, a more large-scale investigation of the appropriation of digital media in different German (and other European) diaspora communities seems to be necessary. This would offer the chance to look at various (institutional) contexts (e.g. different kinds of diaspora and other business, arts engagement, political engagement) and at certain fields of problems (e.g. education and language training) of digital media appropriation. Such an investigation also should have a survey part that goes far beyond the 2007 ARD/ZDF-Commission research results and much more reflects the presented qualitative patterns. In part we can understand the studies undertaken by us for this country report as an explorative research for such a large-scale investigation.

Most interesting/relevant cases. Reflecting our research in total we do hesitate to name most relevant cases in the sense of a specific group or context. The aspect we consider as most relevant is rather cross sectional: The specificity of digital media in everyday life of IEM/members of Diaspora as the possibility they offer for an everyday networking within the Diaspora (which can stabilise the community but also offer for example business possibilities) as well as beyond its borders. The most relevant point in our perspective would be (a) to see the potential of digital media at that level, (b) to investigate these processes of 'digital networking' more and detail (for example in their relation to the biographical mobility of members of diasporas and/or occupational implications) and (c) develop then based on a more large scale European research an inclusive 'digital networking support strategy'.

4 Spain

The desk research and field work carried out in Spain has been focused in three clearly identified IEM groups (South-eastern Europeans, Ecuadorians and Argentinians), and in three different locations (respectively, Catalonia, Almería and Cádiz). The report pretends to provide a general characterisation of the country as a whole, but providing in-depth description of particular contexts and nationalities, which could show the diversity of experiences and dimensions related to ICT. Each paragraph, when doable, will be clearly divided in these three parts.

Naturally in the conclusive considerations, besides groups' specific conclusions, overall and general considerations will also be added. Also some integration of the information is provided in each part of the report. Finally, Annexes containing very interesting material gathered for each group (such as website analysis and/or interviews) are added at the end of this report and will be referenced as the illustration of analysis proceeds.

Figure 9 Mobile recharge machine (Romanian airport)



Foto: Jose Molina

4.1 **Background**

4.1.1 **Migration context**

In Spain there has been a significant change on the migratory tendencies during the last 25 years. Spain has been for years a traditional country of emigration (to the Northern countries of Europe as well as to the Latin-American countries during its colonial period). Today, Spain has become a new pole of attraction and is the second country in the world in terms of new migrants received each year. According to Eurostat data, foreign residents (including all countries of nationality) in 2005 in Spain totalled about 3.3 million people. Of these the largest groups coming from Non EU countries were: Moroccans (461,000), Ecuadorians (449,000) and Argentinian (138,000). The increasing immigration into Spain also entails a change in the composition of the migratory inflows. A most recent but quantitatively increasing trend is the inflows of immigrants from Bulgaria and Romania who in the past few years registered the greatest increase in inflow, as well the largest relative level of irregular presence due to the moratoria imposed on them for 2007 and 2008 (see *infra*).

During these 25 years, Spain (a) became an immigration country, (b) started to attract foreign population from developing countries and, more recently, (c) to absorb a strikingly high flux of immigrants per year. This situation has contributed to the visibility of the phenomenon, which now is listed among the most important problems in Spain according to the opinion of the Spanish population. Let us see each element separately:

1. During the 1980s, Spain experienced a **change in the migratory balance**. First time in the recent history, the foreigners entering Spain each year outnumbered the Spaniards that were leaving Spain. Coincidentally, in 1985 the Government enacted the 'Law on the Rights and Freedoms of Foreigners in Spain', or *Ley de Extranjería*, which is the first law on immigration in Spain. However, at that time foreigners were comparatively a small proportion of the general population. The inversion of Spanish migration flows during the 1980s is then rather a symbolic milestone, showing the conversion of Spain into an immigration country, and announcing new trends for the immediate future. In fact, the enactment of the *Ley de Extranjería* constitutes an anticipation of politics to the social needs (with still few foreign residents in Spain and low awareness of the migratory phenomenon in the Spanish population). The enactment of the first law on immigration corresponds more to the incorporation of Spain into the European Union than to an ongoing demographic pressing need. At the same time, civil society groups started to organise a response to the social need of immigrants, before the organization of a more or less structured response to the phenomenon by the Public Administration itself.
2. During the 1990s a significant **change in the ethnic composition of the migratory fluxes** occurred. Most of the new migrants come from Africa (in particular, from Morocco) and Latin America. Anyway, even with this change in the composition of the fluxes, until the late nineties most of the residents (that is to say, the immigrant stock) are still from other European countries. It is the case, for instance, of the German, Dutch and British elderly that arrive to the Spanish coasts after retirement. However, the new fluxes come in a big part from extra-Communitarian and developing countries. Thus, it is a migration with new social and cultural characteristics, which is directly related to the international segmentation of the labour market. Probably, this change in the composition of the fluxes is as important to understand the situation of the immigrants in Spain as the changes in the migratory balance and the number of immigrants itself.

3. Since 2000, there has been a striking **acceleration of the migratory fluxes to Southern European countries** (especially to Italy and Spain). Between 2001 and 2005, it is estimated that Spain has absorbed two thirds of the new immigrants entering into the European Union. Spain is the second country in the world in terms of new immigrants received per year since 2001, only after USA. As a consequence of the acceleration of the migratory fluxes, most of the immigrants residing in Spain are still recent immigrants. Although there is a segment of immigrants with 10 years or more residing in Spain, the averaged length of stay is around 4 to 5 years (as was the case with the surveys during the nineties). The result is that the higher prevalence of recent immigrants is stable along these 25 years. This is a fairly important point, as far as recent migration has significant social and psychological particularities. For instance, this is one of the factors that contribute to the fact that the problems perceived by immigrants are stable along the period. Recent immigrants are in the process of adaptation and they maintain the personal (or familiar) migratory project as a reference for their goals and needs. Recent immigrants focus on labour, savings and sending remittances to the home countries. They are generally experiencing a phase in which they are simultaneously coping with the acculturation stress and fighting to get their material aspirations. Along time there is a general convergence with the life conditions of the host society. But, in the case of Spain, the high prevalence of recent immigrants is sometimes hiding the processes of settlement and social integration among some segments of the collective.

To sum up, in 2008 Spain is an emigration and immigration country, which absorbs European and Extra-communitarian immigrants, with an important component of irregular migration. The demographic changes have evolved suddenly and unexpectedly, contributing to the social visibility of the phenomenon and the public and political awareness of the problem. The novelty of the phenomenon contributes to understand the situation in Spain. Migration is a recent fact, both in terms of historic experience as host country and in terms of the average length of stay of the foreign residents. This is the reason why the novelty may be understood as a main characteristic of the Spanish case: in other words, generic references to 'immigration' (without taking into account the host and settlement context) should be avoided to prevent the misunderstanding of the phenomenon in new immigration countries.

Table 9 Immigration in Spain: demographic trends and social reality

Demographic trends	Social reality
Change in the migratory balance	> Conversion into immigration country
Change in the composition of the migratory fluxes	> 'Economic' immigration > Perceived social and cultural distance
Acceleration of the migratory fluxes	> Recent immigration

Source: Maya-Jariego (2007)

4.1.2 Policy context

Given the mostly fragmented and disorganised nature of the flows and the delay of national authorities to react to this new phenomenon Spain, like Italy, did not develop until recently a coherent and consistent incorporation model. This, however, has been changing since 2004 (with the new government) and now Spain, like Germany, is at a turning point of its immigration policy. On the one hand, there are signs of a new attention to integration, but on the other the increasing dimension of inflows are also leading to restrictive policies.

In particular the recent immigration from Bulgaria and Romania, initially considered not problematic given these countries relation to, and then entrance into, the EU, has instead turned out to be critical in terms of integration issues and has led to the introduction of restrictive measures (see *infra*).

As in other countries in Europe, Spain is living the contradiction between restrictive immigration policies (focused in controlling incoming fluxes from developing extra-communitarian countries), and the need for social integration policies. Since the 1990s Spain is implementing policies for promoting social cohesiveness and intercultural mediation. The financing by European institutions has contributed greatly to this aim, in some cases multiplying the budget for immigrant population services.⁷⁴

However, the Spanish government has not yet established a stable and ad hoc structure to cope with migration. There have been changes and political debates on the incorporation process, alternating with extraordinary regularization processes. Unfortunately, some opportunities for political consensus in this topic were disregarded and now it is a much politicised and controversial phenomenon. It is frequent to dramatize migration, instead of contextualizing the situation in its actual character.

A part of the civil society has been very active in defending the rights of foreigners in Spain and providing services to these groups (in occasions even in advance to the establishment of public services). There are a big amount of specialised services, which sometimes has turned into a low level of access of this population to general services. In terms of accessibility to those services, the highest risk groups (that is to say, newcomers with a bad command of Spanish and with poor social connections) have problems for accessing social, educational and health services.

For what concerns policies in the area of eInclusion, national and regional governments are implementing general plans and programs for promoting the acquisition of ICT infrastructure; facilitating the incorporation of ICT in educational centres and health and social services; and also reinforcing business acquisition of ICT. These programs have an indirect impact in eInclusion. More information is discussed below.

4.2 The three groups selected

The present report focuses on (a) Romanians and Bulgarians in Catalonia, (b) Ecuadorians in Almería, and (c) Argentinians and other foreigners in Campo de Gibraltar. Although the goal of the report is to provide a general description of the supply and demand for and by immigrants and ethnic minorities in Spain, the comparison of these three cases may reveal some key dimensions and processes in using ICT.

⁷⁴ For instance, by the mid 1990s in Andalucía, the European Social Fund duplicated the budget for immigrant social integration programs.

The group selection is based in the interest for covering variability in both the migratory process of each group and the social context around them. For instance, first, immigrants with different length of stay in Spain and different level of ripeness of the chain migration process are examined; and, second, local and relational communities, as well as rural and urban communities are analysed. In summary, several reasons may be highlighted:

1. Ecuadorians and Romanians are two of the three largest population groups of IEM in Spain.
2. The three cases cover a significant rank of population diversity: (a) Europeans, European with special status (as Romanians and Bulgarians), extra-communitarian economic immigrants and other extra-communitarian residents; (b) Spanish-speaking and non Spanish-speaking immigrants; (c) different levels of technological competence; and (d) diverse cultural distance; and etcetera.
3. The ICT supply and demand is examined in local and relational communities. The cases of Tarifa (Cádiz) and Vera (Almería) allow the examination of technology appropriation in everyday life, and concrete contexts. On the other hand, the existence of relational (trans-local and/or trans-national) communities is also analysed.
4. The contexts represent rural and urban communities. Vera is located in an intensive agriculture area, with a rural background. Tarifa is relevant because of its geographical position, as one of the key points of the European Southern frontier. And Catalonia is a broad region, with the main urban reference of Barcelona.

A brief summary is provided in the following table.

Table 10 The three groups selected

Group	Population	Language	Technology	Social and cultural distance	Context
Romanians and Bulgarians in Catalonia	European with special status, prejudiced or invisible	Non Spanish-speaking	Medium ICT users	High perceived cultural distance	Urban, local/relational community
Ecuadorians in Almería	Latin American, economic immigrants, prejudiced	Spanish-speaking	Low ICT users	Medium perceived cultural distance	Rural, local community
Argentinians in Campo de Gibraltar	Latin American	Spanish-speaking	High ICT users	Low perceived cultural distance	Touristic, frontier, local community
Other foreigners in Campo de Gibraltar	Diverse	Non Spanish-speaking	Low to high ICT users	Medium to high perceived cultural distance	Touristic, frontier, local community

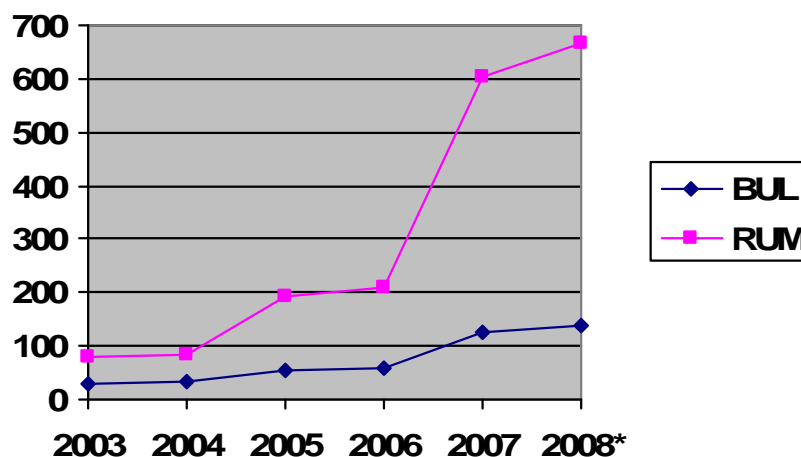
4.2.1 Romanians and Bulgarians

One of the focuses of analysis is on Romanians and Bulgarians in general and particularly their communities settled in Catalonia, where they are growing faster: A particular focus will be especially on the Romanian group given their higher relevance with respect to the topic of the use of ICT. The data come from desk analysis of Internet initiatives and ethnographic fieldwork.

Brief characterisation. Non Spanish-speaking, high perceived cultural distance, medium ICT users.

Migration and other background data. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (MTAS), the amount of foreigners with valid documentation (registration certificate or residence card) has increased by about one million people considering all nationalities between 2003 and 2008. In 2007 the largest increase in this category concerns Romanians (+ 185%) and Bulgarians (+ 111.15 %).

Figure 10 Trend in Romanian and Bulgarian presence in Spain



Source: MTAS,⁷⁵ *Up to March, 2008.

According to the Federation of Romanian Associations in Spain (FEDROM⁷⁶) the principal destiny in Spain is the Madrid Community followed by Valencia and Catalonia. While Romanians are the greatest foreign group in Zaragoza, Teruel, Castellón, Guadalajara, Cuenca, and Ciudad Real; Bulgarians are the greatest group in Valladolid and Segovia.

In November 1989, the communist regime fell in Bulgaria and one month later the Romanian Revolution began. During socialism, the migration in both countries was characterized by a ban on the free movement of citizens. The change of country of residence was basically of a political and ethnic nature. The Romanians were then called 'Diaspora romanesca', although this name continued for the following migration waves. According to Viruela (2004), full employment is incompatible with the efficiency and profitability of the market economy. In Romania the consequence has been the unemployment of two million people in ten years. The immigration from Bulgaria and Romania has supposed a significant political change. However, the real situation is still critical.

⁷⁵ <http://extranjeros.mtas.es> (last view may 7, 2008).

⁷⁶ FEDROM, Federation of Romanian Associations in Spain <http://www.fedrom.org/es/info/estadisticas/>

In December 2006, the Spanish government introduced the continuation of the moratoria (delay in applying the conditions insure to all EU citizens) to the citizens of these countries for two more years from January, 2007. During this time, Romanians and Bulgarians will be able to live in Spain and set up their own businesses but would only be able to take up jobs regularly if recruited from Spain when they are still in their countries. However, Romanians and Bulgarians come easily with tourist visa and stay. As a consequence they end up living and working in irregular conditions.⁷⁷

Reasons for selection. First, although Romanians and Bulgarians have the right for free circulation in the Schengen space since 2002, their labour rights have not been yet made similar to those of other European citizens and, thus, present a potentially problematic situation.

Second, because most Bulgarians and Romanians migrate for economic reasons, ICT play for them a fundamental role in three aspects: (a) in the migratory chains; (b) in the job search; and finally in (c) the creation of new opportunities of economic development resulting from the use of the computer as a tool, and the network usage as a disseminator of goods and services. We can see how to the recent migration waves the ICT usage plays key role at all migratory stages, ranging from the preparation of trips to everyday life once installed on destination. As in other nationalities, the mobile occupies a prominent place and is considered a necessity also encouraged by the boom that it has experienced in the countries of origin. Particularly, Bulgaria and Romania have greater cell phone signal coverage than Spain. The use of 'locutorios'⁷⁸ is also widespread and, as a consequence, the telephone at home is progressively less used and less valued by the users.

Third, despite the fact that these groups are European and that in their physical appearance do not differ much from the Spaniards, there is high perceived cultural distance. So another important reason making these two groups worth studying is the negative perception that the Spanish host society have, especially, towards the Romanians. The Internet has been a diffusion source of shared ideas, particularly blogs and forums that offer different views on this matter. There is an existent confusion inside or outside the network about the gypsies as ethnic and historically stigmatized group and the Romanians in general.⁷⁹ Although there are similarities in the type of migratory chains of these two groups and the level of use of ICT in origin is more or less similar, the reception is different in destination, as we shall see social aversion towards Romanians is reflected quite clearly on the Web. By contrast, Bulgarians are a much more neglected and ignored collective. Anyway, the matter is also being portrayed on the Web and in the provision of services to this community.

4.2.2 Ecuadorians in Almería

The second focus of analysis is on Ecuadorians, also in general, but particularly on their communities settled in the town of Vera (Almeria). The data comes from information already published on the use of ICT in Ecuador and especially with research data from an ethnographic research that since 2003 has been conducted in the town of Vera.

Brief characterisation. Spanish-speaking, medium perceived cultural distance, low ICT users.

Migration and other background data. The migration from Ecuador into Spain becomes important in the last ten years, becoming visible from the end of the Twentieth Century. The

⁷⁷ <http://www.intermigra.info/extranjeria/archivos/impresos/INSTMedidasTrans2.pdf> (last view May 5, 2008)

⁷⁸ Internet and phone shops, which are usually cheap and very often used by immigrants.

⁷⁹ The information in this document about Romanian Gypsies (henceforth RRom) group was provided by Oscar López Catalán from the field work he is currently doing for his doctoral dissertation.

migration process from Ecuador to Spain is a unique case by the magnitude of growth reached by the migratory flow in very few years. From being a group barely included in official registers it became the second largest group of foreigners in just five years: in 1997 there were nearly 4,000 Ecuadorians and in 2002 were close to 400,000. In subsequent years, migratory flow has entered a stage of settlement and stabilization: From massive immigration entry to visa requirement for Ecuadorians from 3 August 2003, until today, when people are still entering because of flows for family reunification and contingent quotas (Collectivo IOE, 2007).

The immigration process has its roots in the social, political and economic crisis in Ecuador since 1995 and the collapse of its financial system in 1999-2000. This situation is a consequence of the accelerated degradation of this country of 12 million people between 1995 and 2000, when the number of poor increased from 3.9 to 9.1 million, that is to say, from 34% to 71% of its population. The 'boom' of migration is one of the most visible effects of the social and institutional decomposition process, being Spain the main destination of this massive migration, unprecedented in Ecuador's History.

In Spain, as in other cases of recent immigrants (e.g. Romanians), the Ecuadorian is an economic migration. Since their arrival they are inserted into high labour demand sectors, with low qualification requirements, and who are not attractive for Spanish workers because of hard and precarious working conditions, temporary contracts and low wages. Most Ecuadorians are employed in domestic service, social care services, intensive agriculture, construction, and hotels and restaurants. The employment and social inclusion status have been marked, in part, by the conjunction between informal economy and the high percentage of people with irregular status of residence.⁸⁰ The decline in the rate of irregularity has been mainly due to the extraordinary regularization processes applied by the Spanish Government, which somehow has generated some improvements in working conditions and recruitment, as well as better access to housing and public services, although the imperatives of the informal economy are still operating.

There are other characteristics that contribute to the consideration of the Ecuadorians in Spain as a unique case of analysis:

- ☒ There is a growing presence of minors and a clear impact of family in the migratory process: family reunification, arrival of daughters and sons of immigrants, the creation of mixed couples, and etcetera.
- ☒ The fluxes have evolved from an initial predominance of female migration to a rapid gender balance. Women has played key roles as pioneers of the family groups, with an active role in the process of regrouping, and 'pulling' other family members.
- ☒ High concentration of the Ecuadorian communities in Spain: The provinces of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Murcia concentrate 60% of Ecuadorian immigrants.
- ☒ Growing ethnic diversity in the migratory contingent, with people coming from different regions, with more diversity in the migratory project. Paradoxically, it is frequent in relevant social studies to consider the Ecuadorians a 'homogeneous group'.⁸¹

Since late 2007 Ecuadorian people, as other immigrant groups, are significantly affected by the current slowdown of the Spanish economy and, as a consequence, the rising unemployment.⁸² The situation has generated concern not only among immigrants, but in

⁸⁰ For a more comprehensive view of situations, see Torres (2005).

⁸¹ On the ethnic, regional, generational and gender variations see, among other works, Fernández (2003), Pedone (2005), Yepes del Castillo and Herrera (2007).

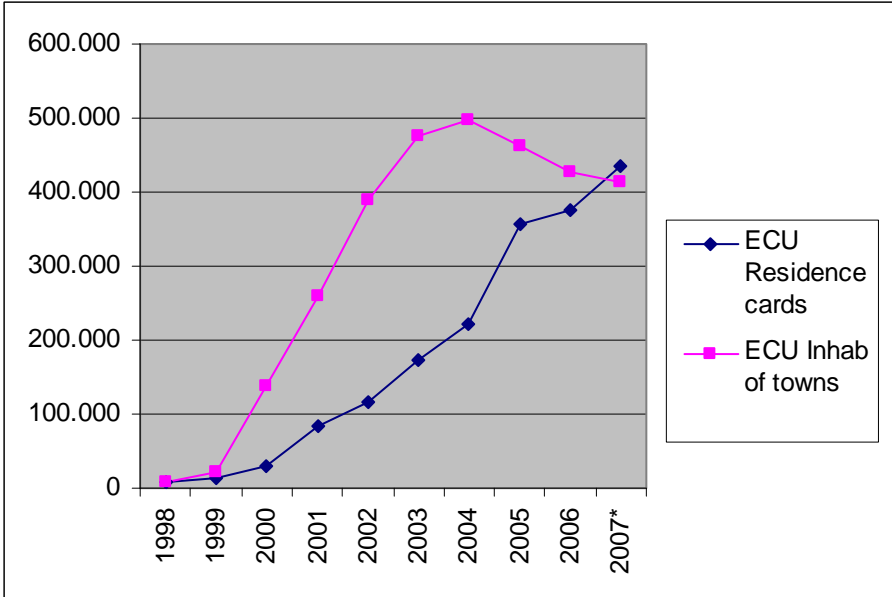
⁸² In May 2008, 10.57% of registered unemployed in Spain are abroad, among whom the largest number corresponds to originate in a third country. INEM (Institute for Employment):

Spanish society as a whole. The Spanish Government and Ecuadorian authorities have announced programs to facilitate the voluntary return of those immigrants who no longer wish to remain in Spain.⁸³

At present, according to statistics from the Ministry of Labour and Immigration (MTI), Ecuadorians are the third largest group of foreigners with regular residence in Spain, after Moroccans and Romanians: There are 413,642 registered Ecuadorians, which correspond to 9.86% of total foreign population.⁸⁴ However, according to the Municipal Census (*Padrón Municipal*) the numbers of Ecuadorians are even greater, reaching nearly half million people. Such statistic is recorded annually and indicates the number of people registered as resident in a Spanish town. It should be noted that foreign people to be registered in municipality do not need to accredit legal status or residence card. That is why Municipal Census data have been frequently used to estimate the foreign population without residence permits.

In the case of Ecuadorians, figures of Municipal Census show a large population increase between 1997 and 2004, and a steady decline from 2004 as shown in Graphic 1. The graphic also summarizes ten years of official statistics of Ecuadorians in Spain (1998-2007), and shows the contrast between the registry of Municipal Census (inhabitants of towns) and figures of Ecuadorians with registration certificate or residence card offered by the MTI.

Figure 11 Ecuadorians in Spain: 1998-2007



* Residence permits in March, 2008. Source: ECU Residence card <http://extranjeros.mtas.es>; ECU Inhabitants of towns <http://www.ine.es>

http://www.inem.es/inem/cifras/datos_avance/paro/index.html (last view 4 May, 2008). In April 2008, Eurostat (Statistical Office of the European Communities) observed increased unemployment rate in Spain over the last year: 8.1% to 9.6%:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/pls/portal/docs/PAGE/PGP_PRD_CAT_PREREL/PGE_CAT_PREREL_YEAR_2008/PGE_CAT_PREREL_YEAR_2008_MONTH_05/3-30052008-EN-BP.PDF (last view 4 May, 2008).

⁸³ Plan Return of Ecuadorian government, see: http://www.icam.es/docs/ficheros/200705040002_6_2.pdf and <http://migranteecuadoriano.gov.ec/content/view/30/38/> (last view 4 May, 2008).

⁸⁴ Data 31 March, 2008. OPI, http://extranjeros.mtas.es/es/general/Informe_Marzo_2008.pdf (last view 5 May, 2008).

To complement this description, a summary of other basic indicators is provided (using as source the residence and labour permits according to MTAS, March 31, 2008):

- ☒ Among Ecuadorians, as with other Latin American immigrants in Spain, there is a strong feminization of the initial flows, and progressively a higher balance between sexes. On 31 March, 50.93% of the Ecuadorians are female, and 49.07% are male.
- ☒ The average age of the collective is around 30 years old, with 83.46% in the interval between 16 and 64 years. The presence of elderly Ecuadorians is minimum (0.52%), while there is 16.02% of people with are less than 15 years old.
- ☒ Most are living in Madrid, Cataluña, Valencia and Murcia.
- ☒ Up to 46.68% are employed.

The level of education and training is equal or even higher than the level of Spanish workers, and clearly higher than Asians and Africans. A high percentage of Ecuadorians has secondary and tertiary studies, and the number of residents with a university degree is clearly higher than in African workers (Collectivo IOE 2007).

Reasons for selection. There are several reasons to pay attention to the Ecuadorian case.

First, the immigration to Spain has characteristics that make it worthy of interest. It is a recent migratory flux, mostly compound by new economic migrants from non European countries. It has experienced a big increase in fluxes in very few years, reaching the highest proportion of foreigners residing in Spain in its recent history. Ecuadorians constitute one of the groups that have contributed most to the last migratory fluxes, coping with a fast process of insertion into Spanish society and labour market. Consequently, they have suffered problems of adaptation and hard working conditions, and very often they have difficulties to obtain residence permits.

Second, the intense migration from Ecuador to Spain is not only generated by macro-structural 'push' and 'pull' factors between rich and poor countries. It also depends on the functioning of chains and social networks that support the processes of displacement and integration, and that put into play a complex system of overlapping social relations: kinship, neighbourhood and the articulation of social networks in destiny play key role in adaptation and integration processes. Precisely in this process of social networks and chains ICT play a major role as a pathway for a better flow of information and communication between origin and destination, as well as contributing to the subsequent social representations in both countries.

Third, it provides an opportunity to explore the role of appropriation of ICT in the process of adaptation and integration in Spain. Ecuadorians constitute a group whose support networks are anchored at the country of origin, and are relatively closed, with a tendency to inbreeding. Despite the apparent common cultural matrix, they experience some difficulties of adaptation related to the perceived social distance. Spanish perception of Ecuadorians is fraught with stereotypes and prejudices that constitute social barriers and affect negatively their social integration. It is of interest to analyse whether the use of ICT has contributed to strengthen ties with the country of origin and/or to expand their social networks incorporating new contacts with Spaniards.

Fourth, as part of the difficulties of the process of social integration, Internet seems to have become a channel to debate those disagreements and problems with the host society. Some forums and newsgroups focus on topics such as discrimination and xenophobic attacks against the Ecuadorian people, and involve not only Ecuadorians but also Spaniards and other nationalities. Internet is also used for organizing, coordinating and empowering Ecuadorians as a collective (with an impact in social identity and social reproduction issues). For instance, this is the case of some Ecuadorian residents associations WebPages and also of some magazines and newspapers addressed to the Ecuadorian collective.

Fifth, in the Ecuadorian case it is possible to observe the gradual dissemination of ICT use, as far as the appropriation and use of ICT does not seem as widespread as in other Latin American groups (e.g. Argentinians). Among Ecuadorians, ICT has got higher dissemination among young people, which have greater possibilities and availability for assimilating new technologies. In particular, the access and use of ICT is increasingly important for job seekers and among teenagers who use it predominantly as a channel for communication and entertainment.

Additionally, the potential of ICT for transforming interpersonal relationships may be analysed. It allows everyday communication between origin and destination (for instance, some mothers supervise through IRC tools the homework of their children in Ecuador); and also the emergence of virtual communities. ICT offer a range of new capabilities that interact with the needs of immigrants for continuous contact and communication.

Finally, the report pays particular attention to the case of the town of Vera (Almería). In a small town it is possible to observe the ICT role in a local immigrant community, examining the daily lives of Ecuadorian immigrants with high geographical concentration. The use of ICT in a local community is associated with the forms of sociability of the community itself, and marked by the need to communicate with their relatives and friends in Ecuador, but also with other locations with Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain, the United States or other European countries.

Until 2003, 99% of the Ecuadorians residing in Vera maintain contacts with their social networks by telephone in *locutorios*. They have not telephone lines available at their (usually) rented houses. Since late 2003, Internet is also available in some *locutorios* and is competing with telephone as a mean for communication. In this context, the use of *locutorios* is not only a place for calling the family in Ecuador, but also an space where the immigrant community meets, forms relationships, disseminate gossip and information, forge opinion and recreate the Ecuadorian identity.

4.2.3 Argentinian and other foreigners in Campo de Gibraltar

The third focus of analysis is on foreigners residing in Campo de Gibraltar, and in particular in the town of Tarifa. Particular attention is paid to the case of Argentinian residents. The fieldwork is based in 20 interviews (10 of them with Argentinian residents).

Brief characterization. Diverse levels of Spanish command, cultural distance and ICT use. Argentinian residents are Spanish-speaking, with low perceived cultural distance, and high ICT users.

Migration and other background data. Tarifa, a town in the autonomous region of Andalucía, Spain, is located at the southern-most tip of Europe, approximately 14 kilometres across the Strait of Gibraltar from Africa (36°28' N -6°12' W). The proximity of this coastline, the Costa de la Luz, to Morocco makes this area popular for illegal migration crossings over the water from Africa, usually on wooden pateras or inflatable dinghies. Despite this situation, however, Tarifa does not evidence many illegal migrants, at least from the neighbouring continent. This may be due to the presence of an immigrant detention centre on the Isla de Tarifa, administered by the Guardia Civil and national police. Most illegal crossings land further up the coast towards Bolonia/Barbate. Renowned as a fishing port that specialises in seasonal tuna catches, Tarifa has boomed over the last decade. With the installation of a fast ferry link between Tarifa and Tanger (35 minutes) the harbour has expanded significantly. The town relies to a large extent on the revenue earned during the lucrative tourist season of the summer months, from June to September but peaking in July and August, when the population of the town rises from approximately 18,000 to around 100,000 inhabitants. This is

the case because Tarifa, with its strong Levante and Poniente winds, is a mecca for wind-surfing and kite-surfing, along with other water-related activities such as diving, sailing, surfing and swimming, and terrestrial activities such as horse-riding, trekking and mountain climbing. Hence, because of its location, Tarifa has a large hospitality and trade sector, and houses a significant number of foreign immigrants, from the European Union and beyond, who reside here on a temporary, seasonal or permanent basis.

Through 20 structured and unstructured interviews, Argentinian and other foreigners are compared in this particular site. This provides a contrast between the Argentinians (Spanish-speaking, low perceived cultural distance, high ICT users) and others (diverse, but with a tendency to Non Spanish-speaking, higher perceived cultural distance and lower to medium ICT users).

Argentina, located remotely in geographical terms, evidences a shared language, culture and religious heritage with Spain. The other nationalities explored in Tarifa have a different language and more distant cultural tradition. Respondents were recruited from other nationalities outside of the EU, including Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, Senegal and South Africa, where, at least in Tarifa, there is no existence of an expatriate community.

This part of the study employs a convenience sample obtained through personal connections. The subject selection in terms of gender representation was balanced (55% female, 45% male). Ages range from young adult to early middle age, with an arrival and duration of stay in Spain from a few months to more than two decades. Civil status ranges from single to married and divorced, although the singles group was in the vast majority, while several interviewees have children or dependents to support. The educational spectrum extends from basic schooling to post-graduate study, with professional or occupational skills ranging from unskilled to highly skilled in conventional market terms. All subjects were economically active on a part-time or full-time basis; hence no data were obtained for unemployed migrants. From this initial survey a group of potential 'success stories' in terms of using Information and Communication Technology (ICT) innovatively was selected, for a further round of interviewees. Below the key demographics of the individuals interviewed are reported.

Table 11 Summary of respondents in Campo de Gibraltar (Cádiz)

<p>Total: 20 participants</p> <p>Gender: 11 female, 9 male participants</p> <p>Nationalities: Argentina (10),⁸⁵ Brazil (4), Canada (1), China (1), Morocco (2), Nigeria (1), Senegal (1)</p> <p>Dual nationalities: 7</p> <p>Age: Range 24 – 47 years, mean 34.15 years</p> <p>Civil status: Single (8), Married (8), Separated/Divorced (4)</p> <p>Children/dependents: 7 participants</p> <p>Home language: Arabic (2), Castellano (10), English (1), French (1), Isibio (1), Mandarin (1), Portuguese (4)</p> <p>Other languages: 2 participants- none; 6 participants x 1 language (4-English); 4 participants x 2 (4-English); 6 participants x 3 (5-English); 2 participants x 4/more (2-English)</p> <p>Education: Range from junior high school (3), through high school (5) to polytechnic/ university graduate (12)</p> <p>Profession: 16 participants- 1 accountant*, 1 computer technician*, 4 businesspeople, 1 graduate*, 3 health professionals*, 2 journalists, 3 lawyers,* 1 teacher*. *9 participants currently working in other fields that do not, on the whole, require their qualifications. See below.</p> <p>Current occupation: 19 participants- 1 administrative worker, 7 bar staff/waiters, 2 café/restaurant owners, 1 childminder, 1 chef, 1 hotelier, 2 journalists, 2 kite instructors, 2 shop owners, 1 therapist</p> <p>Date of arrival in Spain: Range 1985 – 2008, mean date of arrival 1999.20% of the sample arrived in 1985-6, with isolated arrivals in 1992, 1998, 1999 and 40% after 2004, 30% from 2006.</p> <p>Reason for coming to Spain: accompany spouse/family (4), living/improving quality of life (4), studies (2), travel (3), work (5), work and travel (2)</p> <p>Residence/visa requirements: No requirements- either dual citizen or permanent residence (7);Renewal every 5 years (9); Renewal every 2 years (2) 3 months/no papers (2)</p> <p>Foreseeable duration of stay in Spain: Indefinite (14), unsure (2), year-end (4)</p>

Reasons for selection. In this case the selection of nationalities was open to more diversity than in the two previous cases (in Catalonia and Almería), looking for innovative and new ways of approaching ICT. Particular attention is paid to Argentinian immigrants. Argentinians are very active in the design and implementation of virtual communities of immigrant compatriots in Europe. These sites are oriented to networking and facilitate the adaptation of

⁸⁵ Including 2 nationals of Mexico and Peru, both having lived in Argentina and married to Argentinians, and who identify themselves with this group. Originally, we sought to compare 2 focal groups, Argentinians and Moroccans, but owing to the difficulty of obtaining interviews with the Moroccans, we opened up participation to other non-EU nationals, from Africa, North, Central and South America and Asia.

recent immigrants. They usually give services oriented to new immigrants, facilitate the contact with the home country and facilitate the contact with other compatriots. But there are also commercial services between both countries that are managed through on-line communication. They are among the big consumers of Internet in Spanish in general, and among Spanish-speaking immigrants in particular. They show a clear inclination towards entrepreneurship, building new businesses in Spain. There is an important group of software developers among Argentinian immigrants.

Tarifa is a location with an interest in itself. On the one hand, it is part of the southern frontier of Europe. On the other hand, it is a place where tourists, European residents and extra-Communitarian residents meet. This is an interesting background for cultural and socio-technological innovation.

The in depth study of the Argentinian and other foreigners in Tarifa will be described in the digital media appropriation part, examining the interactions between ICT supply and demand in this particular case.

4.3 Supply side overview and analysis

4.3.1 Introduction

This part of the report puts in perspective (a) the general ICT supply for the relational community of Romanians and Bulgarians in Spain, and (b) the particular ICT supply for the Ecuadorians in the local community of Vera. In the case of the South-Eastern European immigrants a list of key online journals, virtual communities and institutional actors (both governmental and non-governmental organizations) are reviewed. On the other hand, the case of the Latin-American immigrants serves to illustrate the role of technology shops and facilities, skill-training courses, secondary schools and immigrants associations in the local community level.

The analysis of the ICT supply for Bulgarians, Ecuadorians and Romanians in Spain represents the first steps towards the elaboration of a typology of ICT actors for IEM and it also allows the description of some key general processes in the supply side.

Online ethnic communities are among the most salient ICT-based services offered for IEM in Spain. Websites and networking tools bring people of the same culture, language or nationality together. Through online interaction and community participation individuals develop a sense of community and eventually it serves for recreating the cultural identity of the participants. Very often they take the form of 'Argentinians in Spain', 'Ecuadorians in Spain' or 'Romanians in Spain' and so on. However, they can take different forms depending on the socio-demographic composition of the members, the contents and activities that they perform, and the boundaries of the community. Sometimes these online communities offer advice to new immigrants, keep in contact with relatives and friends in the sending country, and constitute an international ethnic network. In other occasions, it works as an expatriate community, connecting immigrants from the same nationality in the receiving country. Third, they may also connect second generation foreigners that were worried for maintaining the native language and their cultural heritage. Or even they can combine several of the previous forms simultaneously, as well as others. Regarding the groups of foreigners researched in Spain, these communities are among the most interactive and dynamics online communication tools. Probably, they are also the ICT resources where more Web 2.0 tools are implemented and successfully working. Finally, some of them are particularly widely spread with statistics showing a large coverage. We will show some examples in each national group.

It is frequent that online ethnic communities depend on a small group of active participants and /or the leadership of an individual. Some online communities show a core-periphery structure, where an active leader and a group of regular participants are responsible for maintaining interaction and collaboration among the whole set of members (Maya Jariego, 2001). This structure usually is reflected in the sense of community of the members, even in the case of being an occasional participant or just a *lurker*.

Locutorios are key resources for recent immigrants in local communities. *Locutorios* generally combine telecommunication with other commercial services. Originally, most of them were phone facilities offered at cheap prices, and mainly addressed to recent immigrants (which were lacking landlines at home and had a pressing need to be in contact with relatives and friends in the home country). However, they have been progressively incorporating new services for the same collective: Internet access, remittances facilities, ethnic food, phone cards, and telephony equipment, etc. Actually, each *locutorio* offers a particular combination of services. They provide ICT services for a concrete segment of the IEM population. But they have also become a meeting place for immigrants, playing in consequence relevant social functions. With some parallelism to online ethnic communities (see *supra*), *locutorios* may be a place where the expatriate local community meets. Most of the time the attendants are members of the same national community (or at least there is a tendency to relate to them), but in other cases immigrants from different nationalities or ethnic collectives experience intergroup contact. *Locutorios* may play a role of articulation of the local immigrant community. They are important in terms of socialization, identity recreation and even ICT learning. Lots of newcomers are introduced to the Internet first time in these settings. There are informal learning and informal experts contributing to ICT dissemination. These processes will be analysed for the case of the Ecuadorians in Vera. So these phone and Internet shops are a context where recent migrants can meet with others that are experiencing the same situation. Potentially they are contexts that can act as buffer against acculturation stress and play an active role in the adaptation process of recent immigrants. Also there is a potential for social control, not only (but also) applied to the ICT patterns of use. And finally they are in part associated to a segregation process, as far as *locutorios* are mainly used by economic migrants, where Spaniards and other Europeans usually attend other services.

Online versions of journals, associations and institutions. As average and referring to the cases that we have examined, they are less dynamic and interactive than online ethnic communities. Some of them are still in the process of incorporation and adaptation to the new digital media. The set of resources examined in our study (generally specifically addressed to IEM) do not seem to extract the full potential of ICT for interaction and community building. May be that they are still socializing in the new media. Ellis and Cravens (2000) distinguished five levels of online interaction or 'degrees of virtuality' applied to volunteering programs. These levels, from the bottom up, are (1) getting information from the Internet; (2) interacting with other individuals that are online; (3) putting information on the Internet; (4) integrating cyberspace with real-world volunteer assignments; and (5) virtual volunteering. These levels may be applied also to other organizations. Most of associations and institutions tend to use the Internet as a way to disseminate information on their activities. It is only a static informative extension of the offline institution. A lower percentage of organizations make an instrumental use of the internet for some activities, as recruiting members, obtaining information on the consumers, and so on. And finally very few use the Internet to function as a network of organizations, to promote interactivity and participation or to build online communities. The web 2.0 tools could contribute to improve this situation. There is still a potential to work with. Some organizations experience a **transition process from offline activities to online participation**. For instance, this is the case of some journals that decided to develop an online version. As far as online interaction has its own peculiarities, this transition takes time and it is a process of socialization and learning in the new media. As contrast, online ethnic communities emerged in the online context and, as a consequence, have not experienced the need for adaptation to the new media. This may explains part of the

differences observed between some of the initiatives examined. In other words, an online journal *from the beginning* and an online version of a journal are different in nature (particularly when the second is initiating the transition process).

The **public sector focuses predominantly on ICT skill training**. There is a significant amount of courses and educational programs, although a considerable part of them are introductory courses and basic abilities teaching programs. It is also remarkable the existence of courses and programs specific for immigrants. This usually improves the cultural pertinence of the activities but lessens the potential for relational integration of mixed (for immigrants and Spaniards) courses. The **government initiatives are usually a catalytic actor** in the ICT sector. The government finances some initiatives and indirectly regulates the behaviour of the actors. In the case of expatriate communities, the government may act through institutional actors, as Consulates and Embassies, and also collaborating with Non Governmental Organizations, incentivising commercial organizations or financing other programs. For instance, for the Romanian case we will show that the government plays a relevant role through the consulate, with connections with individuals that act as key players and collaborating with some associations.

Perhaps since the Lisbon summit in 2000, ICT politics is considered a priority in Spain last years. The Spanish Government and the Autonomous Regions, as well as other actors, are trying to invest in programs and initiatives to promote ICT use among businesses, public services and citizens. Each regional government is trying **to bet on emblematic projects related to ICT**. For instance, for the case of Andalucía we can mention several programs of this kind: *Guadalinfo*, *Centros TICS* and *Compromiso Digital*, among others. These examples covers general access, education and volunteering, but there are also others initiatives and programs. *Guadalinfo* <<http://www.guadalinfo.net/>> is a network of free-access public centres spread around Andalucía. Second, *Centros TICS* <http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/averroes/centros/mapa_centros_tic.php3> (or ICT Centres) are educative centres that incorporate ICT to teaching and management, with financial, technical and expert support. Finally, *Compromiso Digital* <<https://www.andaluciacompromisodigital.org/portada.php>> is a volunteering program for the dissemination of ICT. Similar initiatives may be found in other regions in Spain. These regional initiatives are usually complemented with national programs. Just to take an example, the program *Ciudades Digitales* (or Digital Cities) <<http://www.mityc.es/ciudades/>> is an ambitious plan of the *Ministerio de Industria, Turismo y Comercio* (Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Commerce) in Spain to finance and support the incorporation and dissemination of ICT in councils and local communities.

Employment and discriminatory attitudes and behaviours are two of the issues with more contents and activities for and by IEM in the Internet (and in part, this is extensible also to other tools). Job searching and social integration are two recurrent needs among the immigrant population, which are expressed through the net.

Some **network processes shape the implementation of ICT for IEM**, as we can illustrate with a list of examples of the foreign groups analysed: (a) The access to telephony suppliers is organised according to chains of clients: a significant percentage of Ecuadorians are users of Vodafone in Vera (or a high proportion of Argentinians use Movistar in Tarifa), as far as there is a tendency to the dissemination of the same provider among groups of friends and acquaintances; (b) There is a clear segmentation of the demand: for instance, in some towns Spaniards, tourists and European residents attend to Cybercafés, while extra-communitarian immigrants usually go to *locutorios*; (c) Some processes of opportunities hoarding seem to condition the labour market: Moroccans have more tradition than other groups in locutorio businesses and bazaars, and when other groups enter in the market some competence come out. (d) Finally, homophilia seems to influence business transactions among different groups:

for instance, there is certain trend for Ecuadorian immigrants to attend *locutorios* owned by Ecuadorians.

4.3.2 Romanians and Bulgarians

The table below summarises some of the cases analysed for the production of the supply side overview focused on Romanians and Bulgarians.

Table 12 Supply-side overview snapshot: Romanians and Bulgarians

Service	Service name	Service description	Service supplier	Stage of development	Relevance in terms of Riga goals
Commercial	Hoba Dyma	The newspaper of the Bulgarians in Spain	News	Medium	Medium
	Romania din Spania	Website for Romanians in Spain	Chat, forums, classifieds, events	High	High
	Roman in lume	Media for Romanians in Spain	Marketing, Web design, accommodation, advertising, radio online, newspaper, classifieds	High	High
Public	Consulado de Romania en Barcelona	Romania consulate in Barcelona Website	Basic information about Spain and Romania, guestbook and links of interest	Medium	Low
Third Sector	ASOCROM del Vallés	Association Romaneasca of Vallés Website	Events information, directory of the entity, labour guide	Low	Medium
	Scoala Romaneasca de Catalunya	Romanian school in Catalonia	Courses, information, radio, television, videos, newsletter	Medium	High

Below some of the cases are further illustrated. Then some general analysis and interpretation is provided.

Nova Duma

☒ URL: <http://www.novaduma.com>

☒ Description of Service supplier: Weekly journal with headquarters in Fuenlabrada (Madrid). *Nova дума* means new word and it is the first written media in Bulgarian for Spain residents. They have a free newspaper and the Website. It operates under the legal form of Limited company and is financed through advertising. The Website language is Bulgarian.

☒ Stage of development: Although it is the most important Bulgarian newspaper with a circulation of 10,000 copies distributed throughout Spain, the Website is not sufficiently well developed as it is limited to broadcast information. The first print edition was publicized in 2002 but joined the Website afterwards.

Romania din Spania

☒ URL: <http://www.romaniadinspania.com>

☒ Description of Service supplier: Website for Romanians in Spain. It has forums, blogs, chats, classifieds, jobs (in Spain, Romania and elsewhere in Europe) and general information. It works as a virtual community where is necessary the registration to join the services. The website is maintained by advertising companies like Internet providers, insurers and automobiles. Also, it has on the Google bar ads and voluntary contributions from users through the payment system PayPal. It has three versions (only for the template): Spanish, Romanian, and English.

☒ Stage of development: It has all the tools of Web 2.0 and has an average of 2,700 visits per week.⁸⁶ Users come mainly from Spain and secondly, Romania. It is located at the place number 67, the most commonly viewed Websites at the regional level.

Roman in lume

☒ URL: <http://www.romaninlume.com>

☒ Description of Service supplier: *Roman in Lume* (Romanians in the world) born as a free distribution daily throughout Spain in 2001. Joined the network to diversify its services and also to show the same pdf editions of the paper version. Has a file of records, transmission of live radio, lawyer service for free legal consultations and a forum. It also offers advertising services, web page creation and spot recording. It is financed with banners of different companies (real estate, airlines) and with donations from users. It has Romanian and Spanish versions.

☒ Stage of development: Unlike the Bulgarian newspaper Nova Duma, Roman in lume has seized joining the technology. Although it does not have statistics to estimate the number of views nor their origin, the forum has a regular flow of people and sustained (although low) participation.

⁸⁶ According to the traffic counter: <http://stat.traffic.ro>

Romania General Consulate in Barcelona

☒ URL: <http://barcelona.mae.ro>

☒ Description of service supplier: Website of Romanian consulate in Barcelona. It is an official website with basic data about Spain, Barcelona, and the service hours. It has a newsletter, which requires registration, and a guestbook. Its funding comes from public sources and only has a small box advertising to promote tourism services in the country. It has a Spanish and Romanian version.

☒ Stage of development: Developed in 2004, the site has basic information but some of its links are broken or categories are empty. Does not have visits and because it is an official site, depends on the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Romania.

ASOCROM del Vallès

☒ URL: <http://www.asocromvalles.org/>

☒ Description of service supplier: Basically this is an informative site on the activities and services provided by the ASOCROM Vallés. It also contains information of general interest on procedures and documentation to work in Spain or to access various services and some data on Cerdanyola del Vallés and Romania. The site is developed in Catalan and does not offer 2.0 tools. The only way to contact is by e-mails that are shown in the association directory. It does not show the financing source for a web nor the partnership.

☒ Stage of development: The copyright dates from 2007. No data offered for number of visitors to the page.

Scoala Romaneasca de Catalunya

☒ URL: <http://www.edu.inforomania.eu>

☒ Description of service supplier: Provides information about the Romanian School of Catalonia, an educational project on Romanian culture and language. As ICT tool you can search videos, and online radio, designed as a tool for learning. It is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania and is assisted by the Secretariat of Acció Ciutadana of the Generalitat of Catalonia and the Escola Urgell. Both logos are found on the homepage. The project also accepts individual donations by PayPal.

☒ Stage of development: The site serves as a tool for learning, even has a link to a blog to that effect⁸⁷ and has some videos on the activity in the classroom. Possible response by the user of the website by the Web itself. No public statistics available.

From the empirical material gathered, the following analysis can be developed.

The services listed in the table above are a sample of what we can find regarding existing resources for the IEM. The private business sector is the one which offers more services for the immigrant population of the two considered groups. The services for the Romanian population are greater than those for the Bulgarian population. In the case of commercial services, we see better use of resources and the empowerment of national virtual communities. Although we do not find resources for this specific service or IEM in Barcelona, we can confirm that participation is important from Catalonia. For example, in <http://www.romaniadinspania.com> we can see the many connections that come from Catalonia through the 'live traffic feed' of the Web.

⁸⁷ Though the link is broken for one month up to the date (June 10, 2008)

The case of the two newspapers show us two different ways of dealing with ICT from an initial similar perspective. While the Bulgarian newspaper has opted for a traditional and static Web, *Roman in Lume* has managed to use the advantages of expanding its Web offer, using the same space to generate support for ethnic entrepreneurship and ICT-based employability. Both in *Roman in Lume* and in *Spania Romaneasca* Websites the most visited sections correspond to the supply and demand for jobs, which is also the most interactive section in both cases.

The facilities for the groups from East Europe are rather precarious. On the one hand, joining 'halfway' to the European Union puts them in a situation of apparent exception. On the other hand, those populations that are particularly vulnerable as Romanian gypsies are not considered by the government as a group but as a national issue of social services. In consequence, their linkage with the ICT is quite low (even though the Romanian Gypsies make up an active group of users). In terms of ICT, the host institutions make no differences between IEM and in any case support some initiatives coming from other organizations to encourage their use.

In this table we have highlighted the presence of the Website of the consulate in Romania. This is a sober government Website, which seeks to facilitate the visit to the consulate as well as to provide information on the services and procedures to perform. But this site almost has not taken advantage of the potentials of ICT. By contrast, for instance, on Argentina's consulate in Barcelona, the Website has incorporated a system for automatically issuing citations for the paperwork.

There are multiple cultural associations for Bulgarians and, particularly, Romanians in Spain. In the case of Catalonia, most of these associations have failed to harness the potential offered by ICT for the collective. When these resources are available, in most of the cases they are simple newsletters to disseminate the activities of the association. The Association of Romanians in Catalonia (ASOCROM), which is the largest association for this collective, takes months with its Web site 'under construction'. ASOCROM del Vallès has a website showing their local events and information on Cerdanyola del Vallès and Romania. However, it lacks Web 2.0 tools, and also lacks opportunities for interaction among users. In the case of *Scoala Romaneasca de Catalunya* we found a better use of ICT but still nascent. In sum, there are still opportunities for community development strategies applying ICT to start.

Only in the case of *Romania din Spania* we can refer to a community, where the actors participate, both receiving and transmitting information and interacting with other users. The service provider is at the same time the webmaster and the moderator of the forums and blogs. Although there is no personal information on the webmaster (it does not appear his /her name, or phone number or address to contact), it is possible to communicate with him/her commenting on your blog. On the other hand, *Roman in Lume* offers e-mails to contact them and small templates for services, legal advice, advertising or partnerships. Curiously, in the written version of the newspaper it appears the whole directory of members (as is usual in paper publications). Finally, *Nova Duma* shows its complete directory, in the same way as the written publication.

In other cases the Web is just a way of communication of institutions or associations. For instance, the consulate is a governmental organization that provides information, because only plays an institutional role. The communication is via email. In ASOCROM is visible the whole directory of the association, but the president plays key role: Florin Gaiseanu Tutuleasa is President of the association and also directs the Romanian-Spanish Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (COCITRE by its initials in Spanish), whose website is under

construction, and that also provides economic advice and legal and marketing professionals for companies to Eastern Europe.⁸⁸

Finally, the *Scoala Romaneasca de Catalunya* has the financial backing of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania but is presented without a directory.

With respect to the stage of development, as we have observed previously, the progress is very well known in virtual communities and business sites compared to the official Web sites, where we lack statistics and information on use. An example of growth is the experience of *Romania din Spania*, as the Webmaster informs in an email:

We have begun in 02/12/2006 with a forum for discussions. We finished a basic version of the website at the end of January 2007. Then it has been improved over time. We have about 1559 subscribers and about 600-700 visits per day (unique visitors).

The development and acceptance of this Website has been remarkable, according to the information provided by the manager, as well as the number of users that are usually logged into the chat and the frequent visits to the forums. Looking at the ads that finance the site and the flood of visitors, the manager estimates that the sustainability is guaranteed.

Roman in Lume has a wide dissemination and acceptance as print media among Romanians. In ASOCROM it is distributed regularly. The Website is an important extension of the written media and has been successfully adapted to the needs of the network. The regular and free distribution, as well as service delivery, is key factor in the sustainability of this initiative. On the other hand, official websites, as the Romanian consulate, have a continuous flow of information regarding formal procedures, and it is also a service guaranteed for the future.

ASOCROM del Vallès' Web is a tool for disseminating the activities of the association, but poorly developed compared with the scope of the social partnership itself. The *Scoala Romaneasca de Catalunya* is a nascent project. The problem is that many of its links are broken and missing channels; therefore, we can say that their state of development is low but there is a tendency for using the website as an instrument for ICT education, which will show its potential in the near future.

4.3.3 Ecuadorians

This part of the report describes the resources and supply available for Ecuadorian immigrants in Vera (Almería), and therefore is an example of the appropriation of the ICT by local communities. Additional information on other nationalities also targeted by these initiatives is provided. The inventory is divided in three parts according to the differentiation between commercial sector, public sector and third sector.

The key resources in this locality are (a) Internet shops (commercial sector), (b) courses for basic training in computer use (public sector) and (c) an association of Ecuadorians (third sector).

Vera, a small town of 12,256 inhabitants in 2007,⁸⁹ has 3 telephony shops, 2 cyber-coffee and 6 Internet shops or *locutorios* (described in Table below).

☒ The three **telephony shops** are owned by Spaniards, and correspond to three different service suppliers: Vodafone, Movistar and Orange. Although the three shops have a

⁸⁸ See: <http://www.gaiseanu.eu>

⁸⁹ Instituto de Estadística de Andalucía (IEA) (2007).

diverse clientele, Ecuadorians usually attend the Vodafone provider, probably showing a case of chain of consumers.

- ☒ The **two cybercafés**, owned by a Spaniard and a British person, are attended by Spaniards and tourists from the European Union and both services are 7 to 8 years old. There is a clear segmentation of the market, as far as the Internet shops are only attended by extra-communitarian immigrants.
- ☒ Four *locutorios* are owned by Moroccans and two by Ecuadorians. They are usually a mix of Internet shop, phone calls facility and telephony services. Sometimes they also provide ethnic products and clothes. Except one that was initiated in 2003, the rest of them have been created along the last year. Although the clientele is fairly divided, Ecuadorians predominantly attend two *locutorios* owned by Ecuadorians.

Table 13 Supply side overview snapshot: Commercial sector (Ecuadorians)

Service name & owner's nationality	Service description	Begin	Major users/ Nationalities	Relevance in terms of Riga goals
MOBYME S.L. (ES)	Company selling: mobile telephony, mobile phones. Service supplier: Vodafone.	*	ES (30%), EC (35%), BOL (10%), MAR (10%), RU (5%)	Economic participation
SETESUR S.L. (ES)	Company selling: mobile telephony, mobile phones. Service supplier: Movistar.	*	ES (35%), BOL (15%), RU (10%), UK (8%), FR (5%), DE (5%)	Economic participation
VOZ Y DATOS ALMERIA (have two locals) (ES)	Company selling phones & communications equipment: telephone fixed and mobile, GPS, alarms, video surveillance, radio stations and telephone exchanges. Service supplier: Orange.	*	ES (40%), UK (25%), DE (15%), FR (10%)	*
Cybercehn (UK)	Internet and coffee burger	2001	ES and UE tourist: (UK, FR, DE, especially)	*
Leon. Cyber Café (ES)	Internet and cyber coffee	2000	ES and UE tourist: (UK, FR, DE, especially)	*
Sin Fronteras (MAR)	<i>Locutorio:</i> telephone calls, recharge mobile, Internet, sending money, fax transmission, sells CD & candy	2003	ECU (30%), BOL (15%), MAR (15%), RO (10%), ARG (8%), ES (5%)	Economic participation Integration and social inclusion
Al Manzora	<i>Locutorio:</i> telephone calls, recharge mobile, Internet, sending money, fax transmission	2007	MAR (70%), BOL (10%), RO (8%), ECU (5%)	Economic participation
Universal (ECU)	<i>Locutorio:</i> telephone calls, recharge mobile, Internet, sending money, fax transmission, Sales ethnic products of ECU and BOL	2007	ECU (50%), BOL (25%), MAR (15%)	Economic participation Integration and social inclusion
Lizbet (ECU)	<i>Locutorio:</i> telephone calls, recharge mobile, Internet, International call cards,	2007	ECU (40%), MAR (20%), BOL (10%), RO (5%), LT (5%)	Economic participation Integration and social inclusion

	sending money, fax transmission			ICT fostering within IEM relational integration
Without name yet (MAR)	<i>Locutorio:</i> telephone calls, recharge mobile, Internet, International call cards, sending money, fax transmission, small supermarket (also sells clothing)	2007	MAR (40%), ECU (15%), BOL (15%), RO (10%), LT (8%), ES (5%)	Economic participation ICT fostering within IEM relational integration
Marrakech (MAR)	<i>Locutorio:</i> telephone calls, recharge mobile, Internet, International call cards, sending money, fax transmission Sales ethnic products of MAR	2008	MAR (80%), BOL (8%), ECU (5%)	Economic participation

Nationalities: ES: Spain, ECU: Ecuador, MAR: Morocco, BOL: Bolivia, RO: Romania, LT: Lithuania ARG: Argentina, FR: France, DE: Germany; UK: United Kingdom

The public sector focuses in ICT skill building in the locality. The offer consists of courses for basic training for the use of personal computers and the Internet. The courses are provided by the Municipal Office for Immigrants, the Program Guadalinfo (which consist of a network of centres for the open public access to the Internet, created by the Junta de Andalucía) and others.

There are courses with different levels of specialization, and some of them are oriented to training of specific programs, particularly in the area of accountability, and financial and human resources management. However the most basic courses are usually more attended by immigrants.

Public programs, as the case of Guadalinfo, are open to all the residents of the locality, with independence of the nationality. But in this case, most of the users are Spaniards and British people. On the other hand, Ecuadorians are predominantly users of the courses provided by the Municipal Office for Immigrants. These are courses of a very basic content and particularly addressed to women.

All of these courses are free and generally provide a general introduction to computers. The Municipal Office for Immigrants has provided a course in 2007, financed by Junta de Andalucía and the Foundation Key Mare, and was attended by 300 immigrants (most of them Ecuadorian women, up to 30% of participants). Since 2002 the Centre for Adult Education also has offered introductory courses. These are usually opened to Spaniards and foreigners, and 10% of the participants are Ecuadorians, predominantly men.

Finally it deserves to mention the experience of the Secondary School Alyanub. This is the Secondary School with a higher number of foreign students in Vera. Most of them are from Ecuador, Morocco, Romania, Bolivia and Colombia. The program 'Centros TICS' (ICT centres) is sponsored by Junta de Andalucía (the regional government) and is oriented to provide a computer per each two students in each educative centre participating in the program. The ICT centres have also additional allocations of personal computers for teachers, administrative personnel, library, university students and mothers and fathers' associations.

Table 14 Supply-side overview snapshot: public sector (Ecuadorians)

Service name and organizer	Service description	Begin	Users	Relevance in terms of Riga goals
Municipal Office for Immigrants (Municipality of Vera)	Informatics for immigrants Basic courses and training for beginners: personal computers and Internet; Duration of courses: 3 month (1 hours by 3 days each weeks)	2007	300 immigrants of different nationality (65% women); Major user: ECU, MAR	ICT-enabled skill building; ICT fostering within IEM relational integration ICT fostering within IEM relational integration
Guadalinfo Program	Basic courses and training for beginners: computers; sessions to 45-60 minutes	2003	Open ES; UK	*
Basis Computers	Basic courses and training for beginners: user of computers; Duration of courses: 9 months		5 groups (12-13 persons each group) ES, BOL, GHA, ECU	ICT fostering within IEM relational integration ICT fostering relational with host society
Computer applications Management	Computer programs such as: Accounting, Financial Management, Personnel Management, Billing and Warehouse			ICT fostering local and communicative mobility
Alyanub Secondary School	ICT centre		Open Students between 14-18 years	ICT-enabled skill building ICT fostering relational with host society ICT fostering within IEM relational integration

Nationalities: ES: Spain; ECU: Ecuador; BOL: Bolivia; MAR: Morocco; GHA: Ghana; UK: United Kingdom.

Figure 12 Personal computer training courses, Oficina de Atención a Inmigrantes (2007).



Foto: Mario Augusto Vásquez.

In the third sector, the Association of Ecuadorians Huancavilca del Amazonas (HUDEA) offers attention for Ecuadorians and other immigrants residing in Vera. Curiously, it has an important coverage of Bolivian immigrants. The main contribution of this initiative is oriented to community building and relational integration with the host society members.

In 2002, the Association of Ecuadorians HUDEA got a personal computer for the association's office. The computer was financed by the members of the association. In 2006, they managed to install three personal computers in the office, making up a local network with Internet connection. The computers are available for free use for those who need it, especially Ecuadorian immigrants, but also others immigrants who visit the office. As the president says, in 2008 there is a group of women friends that use regularly the PCs for an online course for learning to drive. They usually attend the office in the evening, at least two days per week.

Table 15 Supply-side overview snapshot: third sector (Ecuadorians)

Service name	Service description	Begin	Major Users	Relevance in terms of Riga goals
Association of Ecuadorians Huancavilca del Amazonas (HUDEA)	Offers attention and care for needs of Ecuadorian and other immigrants residing in Vera	2002	BOL (40%) EC (30%), MAR (8%)	Integration an social inclusion ICT-enabled or focused community regeneration ICT fostering relational with host society ICT fostering within IEM relational integration

4.4 Demand side: take up of ICT/digital media

4.4.1 Introduction

In this section the same structure than in the previous chapter is followed, describing the ICT demand by South-Eastern Europeans and Latin-American immigrants to arrive at general conclusions. First, several statistics comparing the ICT situation in Spain and the sending countries, as well as the behaviours of Spaniards versus Bulgarian, Romanian and Ecuadorian immigrants is provided. Second, the factors and processes that condition the ICT demand by immigrants are examined.

The resultant description is fairly consistent with the supply side (see *supra*). Migratory project, mobility and inter-group relations are important elements in the context both for supply and demand for and by IEM. Some differences among immigrants groups are also highlighted.

1. **The average access of foreigners to ICT is pretty similar** to the statistics available for the general population in Spain. But there are cases, as Ecuadorians, where the digital divide between countries is clearly evident and it is then reflected in ICT patterns of use of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain. However, for Bulgarians and Romanians almost all the dimensions are fairly comparable with the situation in Spain.
2. **Mobility and the need for contact** are two key factors influencing immigrants' ICT demand. Recent migrants need to communicate to the sending country to maintain their personal contacts. They also need to use ICT for adapting to the mobility situation in Spain: after relocation, there are more probabilities for more labour and residential movements, and consequently they experience the need for adapting to less stable situation. Strikingly, ICT use is a priority even taking into account that saving and sending remittances (as part as the migratory project) are pretty important for newcomers. Also, ICT are cheaper and easy to use, facilitating this process.
3. **The digital divide, as observed between Ecuador and Spain**, conditions the ICT demand of IEM in Spain. People arriving in Europe from developing countries (where ICT is less widespread) are **less familiarised with technologies**; and simultaneously they experienced **less incentive for adopting ICT**, as far as the contact with the sending country is less probable because of the corresponding lack of Internet access, mobile telephony and so on in origin. On the other hand, **the dissemination of ICT among immigrants in Europe contributes to the corresponding dissemination in the sending countries**: for instance, the instalment of *locutorios* in Ecuador has been developing at the same pace that immigration abroad.
4. **Mobile telephony is particularly well disseminated among immigrants in Spain**. Mobile phones are used as an alternative to lacking landlines at home, and it is used for job seeking and references, as well as to adapt to a mobile life in the receiving country. For instance, immigrants are among the more mobile people in the labour market (with changes both between jobs and between locations).
5. Migration is a selective process and in consequence immigrants are not representative in sociological, psychological nor demographic terms of the general population. According to this, **immigrants are more mobile and connected than the general population from the sending country** and this predisposition works as a facilitating factor for ICT adoption.

6. **Discriminatory attitudes and behaviours** are reflected on the Internet, and this **may inhibit online participation among immigrants**. We have observed this practice particularly in the case of Romanian immigrants, but the same may be true with other nationalities.
7. All these processes mentioned above are generally observed within all the immigrant groups. However, **each national group experiences peculiarities in the incorporation process**. For instance, Romanians suffer comparatively more discrimination, Bulgarians are frequently 'invisible' residents, and Argentinians are widely accepted and are the most active online participants. These characteristics may be somehow reflected in the patterns of use of ICT.
8. There are **significant differences in the patterns of use between generations**. Teenagers and youth immigrants in general tend to be more active and skilful in ICT. Also very often they participate in online activities different from the predominant familiar communication among adults immigrants, and even sometimes there are interesting subculture forms in the way that teenagers relate to technology. Generational differences may play an important role in socio-technological change. Also young generations contribute to the dissemination (or even indirect use) of ICT by the whole immigrant community; and may play the role of informal experts, facilitating learning for acquaintance, family and friends.

4.4.2 Aggregate data on foreigners PC and Internet access and use

Although no statistics and in depth studies are available to shed light on the immigrants 'e-inclusion' real level, a few studies on the use of ICT exist, from which it seems that immigrants are not too dissimilar from the Spaniards in the pattern of uses of PC, Internet and mobile phones.

The table below, for instance, illustrates the variations between the Spaniards and foreigners, and the differences between uses and frequencies, according to the data from a survey conducted in 2007 by Spanish National Statistics Institute (INE).⁹⁰ There are, as is visible in the table, differences between Spaniards and foreigners but not very marked ones. The relative greater intensity of use by Spaniards can be explained by their ease of access at home, whereas foreigners often have to rely on alternative options (cybercafés, libraries, job places, and etcetera). The use of the mobile phone is the only indicator in which the foreigners outnumber Spaniards in percentage.

⁹⁰ <http://www.ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do>

Table 16 ICT usage by Spaniards and foreigners

Indicators	Spaniards	Foreigners
Population	15.864.495	1.072.543
Persons who have used the computer in the last 3 months	61.1%	58.9%
Persons who have used Internet in the last 3 months	55.9%	55.1%
Persons who have used Internet at least once per week in the last 3 months	49.0%	42.0%
Persons who have used Internet to buy goods and/or services in the last 3 months	16.0%	11.5%
Persons who use the mobile telephone	86.9%	96.4%

Source: INE

In the same survey, 38.3% of the foreigners with computer literacy and/or Internet skills, have acquired such learning in the primary or secondary school or university, while the same situation is presented for the 32.5% of the Spaniards. While 29.9% of the Spaniards have learned computer skills in their jobs, 11.2% of foreigners present that situation. Even though the foreigners acquired computer skills in educational levels, they attend specialized courses in a less percentage than the Spaniards do. Of the total number of foreigners who use the computer, 50% had never completed a course of this nature. Spaniards who have not joined specialized courses are 35.5%. INE pointed out that 37.6% of the foreigners are very concerned with the needs and reasons that encourage using the Internet; on the other hand, for Spaniards this apply to 18.6% of the respondents. Analyzing those percentages, we can deduce the significant communication necessity of the foreigners.

Unfortunately, data of each IEM group separately are not available. Accordingly, we will attempt to induce a characterisation of the tree groups based on the limited available sources.

4.4.3 Romanians and Bulgarians

The table below provides comparative statistics on various ICT parameters for Spain, Romania and Bulgaria. As we can see, the gap between ICT diffusion between the country of origin and that of destination is substantial for certain parameters. In particular Internet usage and mobile subscribers are in some cases higher in the country of origin. Adding the consideration, demonstrated in empirical research (Viruela 2007), that the immigrants in most cases tend to be the more mobile and connected segment of the population of the sending country, we can then hazard the conclusion that both Romanians and Bulgarians have at least the same level of access and use observed by the INE survey for the foreign population as a whole.

Table 17 ICT Statistics for Spain, Romania and Bulgaria (2006)

Indicators	Spain	Bulgaria	Romania
Population	44.279.182	7.638.830	21.437.888
Fixed telephone lines per 100 inhabitants	41.97	30.11	20.06
Mobile telephone lines per 100 inhabitants	110.24	129.57	106.70
Computers per 100 inhabitants	36.88 (2006)	5.94 (2004)	14.79 (2006)
Internet users per 100 inhabitants	44.47	52.36	55.98
International Internet bandwidth (Mbps)	120,461 (2005)	26,130 (2006)	63,464
Broadband Internet subscribers per 100 inhabitants	17.94	7.37	9,95
% population covered with mobile signal	99.00%	99.95%	98.00%

Source: Internacional Telecommunication Union BDT⁹¹

In addition to these inferential comments from the available statistics, we can further characterise the situation of these two groups on the basis of the information gathered through the analysis of relevant Websites and, for Romania, also through interviews.

Language. The language is the first obstacle for the immigrants' integration into the host society. We have to pay attention to the language difficulties because they result in social and labour problems. In Catalonia the coexistence of two languages (Spanish and Catalan), represent an extra problem. According to the study of Language and Cultures in the Network (2007)⁹² the number of Websites in Catalan is up to 0.14% while the Websites in Spanish are 6.05% of the total of the network. On the other hand, the Websites in Romanian are 0.45%, experiencing a rapid growth in comparison with the two previous languages. There are several free courses of introduction to Catalan. The labour integration is easier when the individual has a good command of the two official languages. ASOCROM (the Romanian Association of Catalunya) promotes Catalan courses in Barcelona, which are well received by partners. Nevertheless according to the *Fundació Observatori per la Societat de la Informació en Catalunya*,⁹³ the proportion of people that uses technology in Catalan (mobile phone, software for personal computers, PDA, mp3, among others) is very low. However, to know something of Catalan is required for an average user of ICT, because there are many procedures that can be made via the Internet in Catalan and does not usually resort to intermediaries but friends who understand better the language. In other words, the Catalan language is 'useful', but with ICT is usually limited to fill in forms, to visit government information on the Web and to carry out administrative procedures. It is very rare to find this language in the computers of the Internet shops. The disadvantages of the Bulgarian group are more than those of

⁹¹ <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ICTEYE/Default.aspx> (last view 11 May 2008)

⁹² http://dtiil.unilat.org/LI/2007/es/resultados_es.htm

⁹³ See: http://www.fobsic.cat/opencms/export/sites/fobsic_site/ca/Documentos/TIC_Llengua_2007/Resum_executiu_TIC-Llengua2007-FINAL.pdf

Romanian group. Romanian is closely related to the Spanish language and further with Catalan because both share the same Latin origin. On the other hand, the Bulgarian language is an Indo-European language and uses the Cyrillic alphabet (although there are minorities that use other languages as the Macedonian, related with the Romanian). The Bulgarian language is considered as one of the official languages to the EU; however, its usage is minimal. Bulgarians' participation in Spanish forums is very low in comparison to Romanian immigrants. The situation also affects the use of tools that are not appropriate to the language (keyboards, general hardware, instructions, and etcetera). Bulgarian and Romanian immigrants in Catalonia were not as numerous as other groups, as Chinese or Moroccan. For example, the following Web site depends on the Barcelona municipal government and provides information in Catalan, Spanish, Urdu, Arabic, Chinese, English and French: <<http://www.bcn.es/diversa/drets/cat/cap1.htm>>.

Technology access. Several studies and our own fieldwork show that one of the first purchases of foreigners in Spain is a cell phone. Independently to the utility of the cell phone itself as a tool, it is a constant issue. The renewal of the cell phone and the access to fourth generation cell phones is very important between both groups. The desire to change cell phone and to have a computer has been well received by the bank La Caixa to spearhead a promotional flyer in Romanian (see below):⁹⁴

Dorți un mobil nou?

Do you want a new cell phone?

Libreta Proyecto Estrella 'la Caixa' vă va permite să economisiți lună de lună cantitatea de bani ce se potrivește cel mai bine nevoilor dumnevoastră, fie că este vorba de cumpărea unui calculator, de o călătorie în țara dumnevoastră sau să transformați în realitate orici proiect de viitor.

The Book Project Star 'La Caixa' will allow you to save every month the amount that best suits your needs, to buy a computer, travel to your country or realize any future project.

As we can see, it seems that the need to buy a new cell phone (assuming that they have one) and to have a computer, are among the priorities for the Romanian immigrants. On the other hand, the banks and stores offer facilities to the costumers to obtain small credits allowing them to have a computer at home. This, and the massive use of ICT, and hence lower prices, makes it much easier to obtain technology. According with the observation, the newcomers are those who most use phone booths for communicating by telephone and by Internet, while Internet shops remain as an encounter point when the technology is available at home. Technology access is increasingly easy, but also implies an expense that affects the family economy. However, the majority of those interviewed had agreed that 'is a necessity', as far as it has an impact in everyday life of recent immigrants that need to keep in contact with the sending country. However, the acquisition of the infrastructure is not enough to solve the needs, and some shortcomings may appear in the level of digital literacy and the use of technology. Training and information may contribute to maximise its use.

Racism and prejudice and the media. It is very common to observe in the mass media discriminatory images against eastern Europeans. Albanians, Ukrainians, Russians, Bulgarians, and specially Romanians suffer a constant stigmatization. In the Romanian case, they suffer eventually a double discrimination: first, because they are part of the East Europeans group, and second because of the direct relation with the gipsy ethnic group. Very often there is no difference between Romanians and gipsies in general terms, so it is very

⁹⁴ See Annexe II

common to supply one adjective by another or giving for fact that all the Romanians are gypsies. As a consequence, Romanians are participants of all the discriminatory stigmas that the gypsies have suffered per years. It is quite common that Romanians associations emphasize in their speech the social and cultural proximity with Spain, the importance to avoid the prejudices and the need to be recognised as friendly, cultured, responsible and good workers.

In a Website for Romanians in Spain, we can find posts with racist contents and full of prejudice.⁹⁵ Although the incidence of uncomfortable discussions in the forums and blogs is diminishing considerably in Romanian WebPages (and it is practically nonexistent in the Bulgarian websites), there are usually discriminatory comments in Websites as YouTube. They are examples of anonymous and non moderated comments that strongly express exclusion attitudes towards Romanians. This kind of stuff is not anecdotal: writing 'Romanians in Barcelona' in Google provide a list of sites and comments that refer to them in negative terms. In the Bulgarian case, the entrances in general are very few. Sometimes up to the point to become invisible citizens.

This type of comments and contents may inhibit the participation online, as well as having important negative consequences in terms of social integration. The acquisition of abilities for using ICT needs to be complemented with a respectful, tolerant and plural environment.

4.4.4 Ecuatorians

As for Romanians and Bulgarians, it was not possible to find statistically representative data on ICT use specifically for Ecuatorians, and accordingly below we provide a picture putting together various sources, including some data specific for the town of Vera.

First, it must be said that the results of the INE survey presented earlier (paragraph 5.4.1) cannot be extended easily to Ecuatorian immigrants. In fact, both from the comparison of ICT data in Spain and Ecuador, from some previous research (Castello 2005, Ramirez 2007),⁹⁶ and from the mentioned ongoing ethnographic work in Vera, it is possible to conclude that Ecuatorians have a lower level of ICT use compared to other foreigners.

Table 18 ICT Statistics for Spain and Ecuador (2006)

Indicators	Spain	Ecuador
Population	44.279.182	13.341.199
Fixed telephone lines (per 100 inhabitants)	41.97	13.53
Mobile telephone lines (per 100 inhabitants)	110.24	75.60
Computers per 100 inhabitants	36.88	12.74
Internet users (per 100 inhabitants)	44.47	11.54
International Internet bandwidth (Mbps)	120.461	3.000
Broadband Internet subscribers (per 100 inhabitants)	17.94	2.39
% population with covered by mobile signed	99.00%	84.00%

Source: <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ICTEYE/Default.aspx> (last view Jun 6, 2008)

It is evident from the Table 18 above that the digital divide is wider in Ecuador, both inside the country and within an international comparison. This empirical evidence has two implications (perhaps with the exception of mobile phone dissemination): first, Ecuatorians

⁹⁵ See Annexe II

⁹⁶ See also Quito: Plan Migración, Comunicación y Desarrollo: <http://migrantesenlinea.org>.

may experience (as average) less familiarity with digital technologies and a lower level of digital literacy when they arrive to the new country; second, the incentive to adopt ICT in Spain is lower, as far as its use is less widespread in Ecuador and then is comparatively less efficient to keep in contact with the sending country.

These considerations are confirmed with the data referred to the specific case of the Ecuadorians in Vera, based in a research carried out since 2003 (Cruz 2007). There is an increase in use and appropriation of ICT from 2003 to 2008, although almost entirely confined to mobile phones. The internet usage has experienced a progressive but still small dissemination, while other devices are very rare. These are the specifics for each case:

- ☒ Mobile Phone: in 2003 there were 60.8% of Ecuadorians versus 39.2% who do not have mobile phones (Cruz 2007: 59). In 2008 it is estimated that 99% of Ecuadorians living in Vera have got mobile phones.
- ☒ Internet: by 2003 only 3% of 220 Ecuadorian respondents Vera used the Internet in addition to telephone calls to communicate with their relatives and friends. In the following years until 2008 there have been some changes. The use has spread to about 15% of Ecuadorians, but also the patterns of use have changed. Internet is not only an instrument of communication with family and friends in Ecuador, but is also used for employment and seeking information, to see programmes or videos, to download music, to play video games, and etcetera.
- ☒ The access to other devices is less widespread among Ecuadorian immigrants in Vera (including: PCs, WAP Mobile phone, USB, iPod, digital TV, DVD player, and MP3 player). Finally, approximately 2.5% of Ecuadorian households have acquired a personal computer between 2006 and 2008.

However, to balance the considerations above (especially those based on the wide digital divide in Ecuador), we should also consider other important aspects as the fact that the immigrant population (and hence their families) offers a profile that would make it more conducive to the appropriation and use of ICT rather than the rest of the population of Ecuador: (a) higher levels of educational training; (b) greater purchasing power and economic resources; (c) higher component of young people; and (d) the need for constant communication with the outside world.

Moreover, in Ecuador Internet use is fairly associated with 'Cybercafés',⁹⁷ because it is from these places that Ecuadorians are connected with their relatives or friends in other countries. In particular, it seems to be a clear relationship between the higher number of cybercafés and the recent increase of the exodus of population. Cybercafés are concentrated precisely in provinces with higher migratory rates: Pichincha, Guayas and Azuay. According to the statistics of the Superintendencia of Telecommunications (SUPTTEL), until 2005 there were altogether 1,180 cybercafés in Ecuador and the number grew to 1,600 in 2006.⁹⁸

So there are mixed and contrasting factors and trends that certainly justify the assertion that Ecuadorians are less familiarised with ICT compared to other foreigners (based in the average figures provided by the INE), but also leaves spaces for improvements. The list of barriers and facilitating factors observed in the case of the Ecuadorians in Vera are summarised below.

⁹⁷ Locals to providing access to different services: Internet access, telephone, fax, scanner, photocopy, and etcetera.

⁹⁸ <http://www.supertel.gov.ec> (last view 8 March, 2008).

Table 19 Ecuadorians in Vera: barriers and facilitating factors

<p>Factors of digital exclusion and barriers for ICT use</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Limited ICT knowledge, training and know-how.• Scarce resources and ICT supply in Vera.• The needs for specific communication are covered with telephone calls and Internet shops.• Limited access to ICT among relatives and friends in Ecuador.• Extended working hours (in some cases, 10 to 14 hours per day).• Space limitations (except for mobile phone).• Some technologies are expensive for the economy of Ecuadorian families.• Other priorities are considered more relevant. <p>Factors facilitating ICT use and digital inclusion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• There has been an important increase in the supply, with more Internet shops in Vera.• The need to be located to get a job and received alert news from Ecuador has significantly contributed to the dissemination of mobile phones.• The lack of telephone lines at the flats Ecuadorians rents in Vera increases the opportunities for mobile phone.• Active role of public and private institutions to disseminate technologies among immigrants in general.• Financial credits specifically available for the acquisition of ICT.• Webcam and chat increase the sense of closeness with family and friends.• Relative increase of the purchasing power among Ecuadorians, and the relatives and friends with whom they communicate.• Ample offer for basic digital training.• Relative increase of skill training, whether through courses and informal education and/or friends and relatives.• The students at Secondary School need personal computers for their homework.

4.5 Demand side: ICT/digital media appropriation

4.5.1 Introduction

To complement the description of the previous section, this part provides a qualitative description of the interaction of immigrants with ICT, focusing on the incorporation of technologies in their everyday lives. Bulgarian, Ecuadorian and Romanian demand is described. The peculiarities of the rrom subgroup among Romanians are also mentioned.

In this part of the report the results of the interviews to Argentinians and other foreigners in Campo de Gibraltar (Cádiz) is also presented. Both supply and demand, and their interaction, is examined for this case. This provides interesting insights that are discussed, following the Riga categories, in the next part of the report.

In this section we will describe the patterns of appropriation. We pay special attention to mobile telephony, as far as it is among the most widespread technologies among first generation migrants and is particularly well suited for relocation processes.

1. Migration is a form of mobility that does not finish when individuals arrive to the destination country. Immigrants are individuals that, especially during the first phase

of resettlement, look for and change jobs very often; they look for and change residences more frequently than the rest of the population; and they actively look for and change new relations. **Mobile telecoms and mobile phones in particular adapt particularly well to this way of itinerant life.**

2. Mobile people need devices for communicating when they are moving or places to step by to communicate when they are moving: both of them are found, respectively, in mobile phones and other telecom devices, and in Cybercafés, Internet shops or *locutorios*. **Mobile phones and locutorios, very widespread among recent immigrants, are two different ways to adapt to the requirements of mobility.** This is one of the reasons to find a higher use of mobile phones among foreigners that among autochthonous in Spain.
3. Curiously, **even for Mobile people Website visits are influenced by locality.** For instance, we have observed that Romanian immigrants look for a job in Spain in Romanian Websites when they were in Romania, but in Spanish Websites when they had arrived into Spain. Although the offer of Internet resources is global, the perception and patterns of use is conditioned by local dynamics.⁹⁹ Anyone can read *Diario de Sevilla* when is visiting England, but at the end of the day most of the readers of the online journal are from and are located in Sevilla.
4. ICT tools usually have an intuitive design, in the sense that users can *learn by using* the technology. As a consequence, it is frequent to observe **lay notions about the tools** shared by groups of users: for instance, occasionally they do not classify the tools according to their design properties but according to the use that they made. On the other hand, as an important percentage of recent immigrants are **recent and occasional users of technology** it seems to be also less extended among them active online behaviours, and there are comparatively more *lurkers*, and more passive attitudes and behaviours.
5. In each community we have observed the existence of key **informal leaders in the adoption of new technologies.** They usually contribute to appropriation acting as models, facilitating the learning of others, influencing attitudes and behaviours, as well as with concrete behaviours ranging from installing hardware and software to showing new Internet resources and uses.
6. In this context, as we have mentioned before, **teenagers play a significant role for the relation of the immigrant community to ICT.** They are early adopters, they need computers to do the homework (which impulse families to buy new equipment), and they use technology in groups, mainly for entertainment but also generating new socio-technological products, for instance in the form of youth Latino subculture.
7. For the cases examined, we have observed a different process of appropriation in Argentinians: they are more frequently landline owners, connect at home and comparatively the Internet is less frequently used for job purposes. **Argentinians seem to be, as average, a more integrated and stable group, which is reflected in their patterns of ICT use.** They also show different uses and priorities.

4.5.2 Romanians and Bulgarians in Catalonia

As we have seen previously, the practices and appropriation of digital services and ICT are pretty similar between natives and foreigners. According to an investigation with Romanians

⁹⁹ Of course, there are other factors contributing to the same process: language barriers, local versions of search engines, and so on.

in Barcelona, it is not surprising that they have more than one **mobile phone** per person. Very often this is the consequence of alternating marketing promotions of different telephony companies, changing older phones for new models, and taking advantage of the different rates and benefits available.

The use of home phones is very low compared with the use of cell phones. As Catalin says, (Male, 31 years, 2 in Spain):

When the home phone rings I think it is always to sell me something. Nobody calls me to home phone. I do not use it much to call.

It is the same case with Mihaila (Women, 43 years old, 5 years in Spain), which only uses the home phone to call any other person being at home. To contact Romania prefers phone booths or cybercafés:

- *It is cheaper and I also use the computer in the cybercafés.*
- *But you have Internet at home.*
- *Yes, but my children are always using the computer, so when I go to the cybercafé I call my country, use the Internet and talk to other people.*

Here we reach another topic: The spaces to complement the use of ICT. While the use of mobile phones is fairly widespread among the population, for immigrants is one of the first acquisitions for several reasons. First, it provides mobility compared to the uncertainty of the immigrants' first location. It also allows communication to get a job, housing and to perform other procedures. At the same time, it facilitates communication with origin and destination, especially in the first stage of migration, where there is a lot of mobility, changes of residence and employment, and a very active process of formation and reconstruction of social networks.

Even though it is increasingly easy to have ICT services at home, **cybercafés** also represent important hubs for communication. Cybercafés have been gradually expanding and improving their services: very often they have evolved from telephony and the Internet to other complementary services as sending money or contacting to others users in the same place. They usually advertise warnings and housing and job opportunities, generally placed on the walls. In addition, they are also informal ICT learning centres. As Mihaila says:

I learned to use the Internet gradually, because I started to hear that people used it to different things and telling me what to use. My children taught me something, but after I no longer had much patience. In the cybercafé the girl who served there helped me, and I saw what she did and then I no longer needed help. Its easy. At first I thought I was old for this, but there are people older than me who use it.

As regards to the **use of the Web**, we have observed that once at destination, Bulgarians and Romanians use the same Websites for looking for a job: e.g., <<http://www.infojobs.com>>, <<http://www.monster.com>>, <<http://www.laboris.net>>, and others. However, during the planning of their trips the search of employment was remitted to local entries as for example <<http://www.myjob.ro/locuri-munca/spania.html>>, where job is offered from origin. Once at destination, job search and expectations of the type of employment that they can find are pretty similar. Romanians refer to the type of works available and which they are looking for as 'temporary', 'whatever', 'services'. It is very common to seek an employment through Internet, although they do not expect too much from the type of jobs they can find.

Internet is also used for entertainment. The impact of sites such as *Youtube* is quite remarkable both among Bulgarians and Romanians. All of the respondents interviewed during the fieldwork informed of knowing and using *Youtube*, despite this site is one of the media where some expressions of racism and discrimination are found. The use of *Youtube* and similar sites is rapidly increasing to share music, videos, fragments of television programs and even regional events such as village festivals and family events.

In the Roma case, the use of household phone is virtually nonexistent. They usually experience difficulties to access to housing, because of irregular contracts, high prices and high mobility. Very often the result is to live in precarious housing conditions, with lack of equipment, and etcetera. This is a population with high mobility, in part influenced by the search for new economic opportunities, settlement difficulties, problems in the places of arrival and family dynamics, among other factors. As in other cases, the use of cybercafés or telephone booths for international calls is fairly frequent.

With regard to mobile phones, their use is also very common and its use is widespread, as well as the mp3 and video camera. The use of mobile phones by Roma population interacts with the public image of this group and the prejudices associated to the collective. Some of them participate in the resale and exchange of mobile phones. There is a segment dedicated to collecting scrap, which can use older terminals that have been thrown to trash and then reused. But as far as some individuals participate in small thefts this image is generalised by some part of the host population to the whole group.

As Bulgarian and non-Gipsy Romanians, the demand of Roma population is particularly active in employment issues. ICT is applied for job placement and then job search sites and similar others are generally visited and well-known (we have mentioned the case of Info-jobs, Monster, and etcetera). There is also a demand for information related to legal procedures and social aid.

Finally, among Romanian and Bulgarian teenagers is remarkable the use of the Internet for communication and identity issues (predominantly through Messenger and Chat). They hang on *Youtube* videos, including pictures of their daily lives in Catalonia, and music or video recordings of musical performances and other events made with mobile phones.

Moving to the **relevance of the social context of ICT/digital media appropriation**, one significant factor is that Bulgarian and Romanian communities are not geographically concentrated in Barcelona, as is the case in other localities and provinces (e.g. Coslada in Madrid, or Castellón and Alicante in the Levante coast). The physical location is rather sparse, and hence there are different contexts influencing ICT supply and demand. Most of them are working on the services sector, but there is also an important group of professionals and students. There are three main uses of ICT that consistently appeared in the interviews and observations during the fieldwork (in order of importance: (a) the main activity consist of communicating with family and friends; (b) most of the informants have looked for work through the Internet, and may claim to have found a job this way; and (c) it is also used for paperwork and background information, advice and services.

The length of stay is a relevant dimension to understand the variations in ICT use, and the WebPages and the frequency of using Internet. For example, while Catalin, with 5 years in Spain, can connect to Internet each day at home, often searching for a job, downloading music and using the messenger; Lon, also 31 years old but with just 3 months in Barcelona, the most commonly used tools are email and messenger, but still has not search job over the Internet and he only connects every time he can go to cybercafés.

Curiously, users generally recognize the service provider that facilitates the service rather than the type of application. For instance, Ana (Women, 51 years, 1 year in Barcelona), use Skype

with a couple of friends who live in Romania. However, talking to another friend that also uses the VoIP service Nonoh <<http://www.nonoh.net>>, he explained that both are VoIP applications, and she replied:

No, is not the same thing, because Skype is like messenger and there I connected to Magda. In Nonoh I have to dial the phone to communicate Sorin. I can also dial other numbers even if they are not connected to the Internet. The Nonoh is as a normal telephone.

In the same vein, service providers become its own brand: for instance users may not locate what is a search engine but anyone knows what Google is and how and for what is used. Ana's case is interesting, because she started using Internet one year ago when she left Romania. Ana has a bachelor and she has a fairly extensive social network. She does an intense use of mobile phone (for SMS and phone calls), landline phone (both at home and at the office) and email, IM and VoIP telephony. She has relatives and friends who live in different places, as Bucharest, Maramures, Timisoara, Barcelona, Granollers, New York, and London. She does not use applications to share pictures nor join social network services. And despite their entire social network is connected by ICT, she does not like it and at least during Christmas, she sends postcards by ordinary mail.

Moving to the **network patterns of ICT/digital media appropriation** (everyday chances and patterns for social networking based on ICT/digital media), we must first introduce Kemp¹⁰⁰ classification, according to whom there are six categories of social computing: publishing, commenting, networking, gathering, listening/watching, and ignoring. To describe the appropriation of digital media we will use these categories with a very brief explanation:

- ☒ *Publishing*: this activity is represented specially by Websites and blogs. We have mentioned blog involvement for the case of *Romania din Spania* and *Spania Romaneasca*, but there are also hundreds of personal blogs as for instance <<http://mormoloc.blogspot.com>>.
- ☒ *Commenting*: this activity is fairly usual in *Youtube* and Fotologs. Sometimes the contents try to show the way of life of Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants in Spain. This is the case, for instance, of the interesting parody in Taran's videos raised to the Youtube.¹⁰¹
- ☒ *Networking*: It is not very widespread the use of social networking sites and online communities, but we have observed some examples that are among the most active and interactive examples of online participation (see *Supra*). Also two interviewees referred to Hi5.
- ☒ *Gathering*: This activity is also represented by online virtual communities, as *Romania din Spania*.
- ☒ *Listening/watching*: There are active users in Internet forums (in the pages mentioned above and elsewhere). There is also extensive use of *Youtube*. One of the interviewees mentioned also the frequent use of *Flickr*.
- ☒ *Ignoring*: A large group neglect and ignore social networking sites. They prefer to contact directly through email and very often prefer to join peer to peer: *Skype*, Windows live messenger, and etcetera.

¹⁰⁰ Drawn for "Europeans have adopted social computing differently" by Mary Beth Kemp, Forrester, 11 June 2007.

¹⁰¹ <http://es.youtube.com/watch?v=1QZq7vtIDP4&feature=related> (last view 13, June 2008).

4.5.3 Ecuadorians in Almería

In 2008, **mobile telephony** is widely disseminated among the Ecuadorian community in Vera. Almost each Ecuadorian has his/her own mobile phone when they are 14 or more years old. Most of the users (around 95%) are in the interval between 16 and 30 years old, and 60% of them are men. As usual, phone calls is the predominant use, but it is also very common text messaging and, although less frequent and more focused in some segments of the population, the exchange of photos and music. By 2007, the most spread supplier is Vodafone (70% of the Ecuadorians), but some of them use Movistar (17%) and Orange (0.25%), among others. It is very common the use of rechargeable cell phones, which means the need to be in contact with Internet and phone shops from time to time: 95% of the users recharge with 5 Euros cards. There is a trend to change the mobile from time to time, although maintaining the phone number, and also to personalise the mobile with Latino ring tones and singers.

Ecuadorian immigrants bought their first mobile phone when arrived to Vera. Mobile phones were an expensive and poorly distributed product even until 2003 in Ecuador (when the first Ecuadorians where arriving into Vera). At the home country it was then a device for the exclusive use of 'executives and important business' owners. So they recall the moment of buying the first mobile phone as a mix of novelty and surprise, which caused them many new sensations. Some of them inform of having the impression of acquiring a luxury item (the costs were still high for their newcomer's economies), and in some cases experienced the fear to have a possible inability to use the device. This is reflected in the great care to handle the device and the slow way to dial the numbers. When owning a mobile phone, many felt a sense of belonging to a higher social status in Ecuador. These feelings were particularly noticeable among popular extraction and ethnic minority individuals (e.g. Saraguro).

The most common place to access the **Internet** is Internet shops or *locutorios* (90%), and only a few accesses at home (5%), at the HUDEA association (3%) or in other places (2%). Ecuadorians tend to use *locutorios* Internet connection for 30 minutes (70%),¹⁰² which suppose a cost of 0.50 Euros. The users are predominantly men (70%) and most of them are between 18 and 26 years old (60%). They usually chat (40%) and visit WebPages (28%).¹⁰³ Anyway the dissemination of the Internet and, as a consequence, the patterns of use are recent and still experiencing important changes.

In order to complete the description, some notes on the **social context of ICT appropriation** by the collective follow. For newcomers in 2003, the lack of telephone lines at the houses that they rented upon arrival prompted the decision to urgently buy a mobile phone. Mobiles phones became an essential item for labour and social insertion in the new context. It was very useful to write the mobile phone in ads that were publicised in *locutorios* in order to get employment and housing (Cruz, 2007a).

Until 2003, there was only one business selling personal computers and giving introductory computer lessons for Spanish students. The creation of new small businesses for selling computers, teaching basic computer skills and providing access to the Internet have been essential in the dissemination of Internet use among Ecuadorians. But even in this case the hours of operation of this supply is a barrier for use, as far as it coincides with working schedules of the Ecuadorian population. In 2004 and 2005 two new *locutorios* offered Internet services, and were working until 2006 in which both were closed ('BAM *Locutorio*' and '*Locutorio* Bolivia').

¹⁰² 25% use 60 minutes sessions, and 15% more than 60 minutes.

¹⁰³ Internet used by ages group: 10-14 = 2%; 15-17 = 20%; 18-26 = 60%; 27-35 = 10%; 36-45 = 6%; more 46 = 2%. Common uses of the Internet: e-mail only = 10%; e-mail and ear music = 20%; chat = 40%; views webs = 28%; games = 2%.

Recently, Internet usage has been very important to Ecuadorians in the current context of economic crisis in the Construction sector in Vera, which began to show some symptoms in late June 2007. They have the chance to seek new jobs when in Vera they do not find the same opportunities than before. It is frequent among unemployed Ecuadorians to go to *locutorios* to send the CV to the companies where they are looking for a job.

From 2003 until now, **the network patterns of ICT appropriation** has also changed. In 2003, 40% of Ecuadorian respondents did not have a mobile phone. As far as they had the need to be located, they usually shared the mobile phone with a spouse or other relatives. Also in 2003 there were no Ecuadorians less than 16 years old that were owners of a mobile phone. Today the personal use of mobile phones is widely spread and any Ecuadorian adolescent usually gets a mobile when he/she is 14 years old.

There are also interesting gender and family dynamics contributing to ICT appropriation. Some women express the desire to find other jobs, and they are learning to use computers and the Internet. Some families with children and teenagers are concerned for purchasing a computer so that their children can use it for the homework. In this context, the acquisition of a computer is a kind of family decision, in which to take into account also other economic priorities (debts, sending money to relatives in Ecuador and so on).

For some teenagers and some young men (especially up to 30 years) to learn new uses and resources of the Internet is a kind of hobby to occupy free time on weekends. Teenager students (men and women) gather to go to *locutorios* in couples and groups of three or four peoples to look for information and/or doing the homework. Also at evening and nights, particularly on weekends, couples and groups of teenagers go together to *locutorios*, to chat with other friends, watch videos or movies, play games, and etcetera. They are requested to do this kind of entertainment activities in silence, otherwise the owner of the local ask them to go out.

Internet has introduced new patterns of conversation in the social networks of Ecuadorians; more photos, videos and Websites to share, and etcetera. It has improved the communication with relatives in the sending country. The opportunity for looking and listening to relatives and friends –e.g. with a Webcam- gives more confidence to personal ties, and enhances proximity as well as the emotional content of the communication, diminishing the distress and the anxiety of separation. In fact, some people prefer Internet rather than phone to communicate with their personal networks in Ecuador. Not only prices are cheaper, but it also offers the possibilities of seeing the other.

Finally, it is important to mention the role of some individuals that are graduated in computer science or that just have basic knowledge. They receive request from friends to solve problems in the use of e-mail, to surf the Internet or to install a new PC. For instance, we have documented the case of an Ecuadorian that was title as computer technician in Ecuador and is a continuous reference for friends and acquaintances.

4.5.4 Argentinians and other foreigners in Campo de Gibraltar

In this section the analysis of the interviews with Argentinians and other foreigners in Campo de Gibraltar is presented. The qualitative examination allows documenting how supply and demand are intertwined. Up to 20 interviews were realised, which allows an exploratory description of ICT appropriation within the group considered (although neither representative nor conclusive).

The interviews had an open-ended part and a brief questionnaire on ICT use. The participants were asked to rank frequency and/or importance of use according to a 3 options scale: 1) not

much/not important; 2) sometimes/more or less important; and 3) often/very important. Both the qualitative description and the exploratory statistics are summarised below.

Table 20 Frequency and importance of ICT use by foreign respondents in Campo de Gibraltar

Communication	Number of participants that use it /20	Frequency of use	Cumulative frequency	Service provider
Landline phone	14	2.5	1.75	Telefónica (14)
Phone calling cards	8			
Mobile phone	19	2.6	2.15	Movistar (13), Vodafone (5), Orange (1) Contract (11), Pre-paid (7), Both (1)
Internet	19	2.25	2.25	Home (11), Cybercafé/ <i>locutorio</i> (1), Work (3), Work and home (3)
E-mail	17	2.71	2.3	
Chat sessions	15	2.33	1.75	Messenger (5), Skype (2), Both (4)
Surfing the Internet	20	2.25	2.25	Dial-up (7), Wi-Fi (12), Both (1)

The respondents show in general a good level of accessibility to ICT tools. Both phone and the Internet are fairly used for information, communication and other uses. Chat, e-mail, mobile phone, landline phone and websites are all resources incorporated in the daily lives of the foreigners surveyed.

We observed some differences in this collective compared to Bulgarians, Ecuadorians and Romanians. Argentinians and other foreigners interviewed in Campo de Gibraltar used more frequently landline phone and connect more frequently to Internet at home. It seems to be a relatively more established group. On the other hand, it is less frequent to use Internet for job seeking. However, these trends need to be checked with more data, as far as this study only provides exploratory and qualitative orientations.

Table 21 Usage of ICT by foreign respondents in Campo de Gibraltar

Type and modalities of access to ICT		Usage of ICT	Mean	Participants	Cum. Freq.
Have access to ICT: participants	20	Information	2.34	19	2.22
Helpful	20	Communication	2.59	17	2.2
Your own language:	11	Job/work opportunities	1.86	7	0.65
In a language you can understand:	18	Social networking	2	10	1
Culturally relevant:	12				
Practically relevant:	19				
Preference for free access:	18				
Most important Internet:	10				
Most important mobile:	4				
Telephone importance:	2.53 (rank)	Average total number of Websites visited per week	26.27	18	
Computing importance:	2.5				

What: We opted to study the use of telephone and internet technology. 100% of our sample uses the telephone. 70% of respondents use landlines, and within this subset the landline is ranked as 2.5, i.e. highly important. Taken over the study as a whole, the importance falls to the ranking of 'not that important'. 95% of our sample uses mobile telephones to communicate. And although the within-subset value appears lower than for landlines, although still ranked as important, over the study as a whole the mobile ranks substantially higher than the landline, as quite important. Movistar occupies over 2/3 of the local market with 68.4%, followed by Vodafone at 26.3% and Orange just over 5%. Interestingly, the majority 57.9% have a contract and 36.8% pre-paid, with just over 5% having both.

All subjects report having access to the internet. The majority use internet from home (55%), with an equal number (15%) using internet at work or at work and home. 60% of the sample uses Wi-Fi, 35% dial-up and 5% both. Both in terms of relative frequency and cumulative frequency, e-mail is the most frequently used aspect of the internet, ranking closer to very important within the subset and as quite important overall. In terms of within-subset use, this is followed by communication use, and then closely by surfing the Internet for information, both of which rank as quite important. Interestingly, however, taken across the study, the significance of communication, ranking at less than average importance, comes out lower than surfing the internet, which ranks as quite important.

If we look at specific rankings for internet usage we see that within subset groups, communication is ranked the highest, but taken across the study, it tips in slightly lower than the function of information. The use of internet for social networking flattens out third, both relatively and across the study, while its importance is average within-subset and not so across the study. Interestingly enough, the lowest ranked use of the internet is looking for

work opportunities, ranking as less than important within the subset of users and as hardly important at all over the study.

If we analyse the percentage breakdown of average total number of Websites (26.67) browsed by participants (n=18), we see that the significant majority of 69.23% of sites used (13 interviewees) are international sites, 35% of sites (10 interviewees) contain local, Spanish content, while only 25% of sites (for 10 interviewees) are home/origin sites. This is not to say the immigrants cannot gather information regarding home and the local country from international sites or vice versa, since this former method seems to be used readily.

If we consider the Top 10 ranked websites, we note immediately that the general and international search engines Google, Hotmail and Yahoo are top-ranked. Google has a clear lead, with an exceptionally vast majority of rankings as favourite and most used site, followed by Hotmail and Yahoo (these also permit web surfing and e-mail). Interestingly, the next ranked site is *Youtube*, an international site which is recreationally based for watching audio-visual clips. After this comes the local Spanish site, *El País*, followed by another international site *Windguru* (albeit specialized for wind/climactic information), followed by the Argentinian newspaper, *Clarín*, another local Spanish newspaper *El Mundo*, the international social utility/communication site, *Facebook* and finally, an international (albeit Latin) general interest site, *Terra*. Only one ethnic minority site (*Clarín*) was present and ranked lower than middle, and three local sites averaging in the lower middle marks the importance of general search engines and international sites amongst users.

Table 22 Top 10 websites for Argentinians and other foreign respondents in Campo de Gibraltar

Website	Overall site ranking /10	Number of participants	Favourites for...	Most used by...
Google	2.4	(10/15)	6 participants	7 participants
Hotmail	3.56	(9/15)	1	1
Yahoo	4.75	(4/15)	1	1
Youtube	5.67	(6/15)	3	
El País	3.33	(3/15)		
Windguru	4.67	(3/15)		
Clarín	5.67	(3/15)		
El Mundo	4	(2/15)		
Facebook	4	(2/15)		
Terra	5	(2/15)		

How: In terms of the 'how', with respect to the series of questions concerning economic participation, professional development and innovation, the leading response was that of ICT improving economic participation, followed by its use to advance one's education and a tie in

impact for building one's skills and/or assisting one's business. The use of ICT to find work was substantially lower.

Regarding the questions pertaining to communication, inter-cultural mediation and social well-being, the vast majority of this sample uses ICT to maintain contact with people in their home country, followed by the awareness of information resources on the web in case one needs help, and then for communication with home citizens in Spain, ahead of the use of ICT for care or assistance and understanding Spanish society, and finally, much lower down, ICT is hardly used better to fit into Spanish society.

When we probed to ask whether immigrants feel adapted/included to life in Spain, it is interesting to note while that the participants feel very adapted to life in Spain on the whole, they feel less so, overall, to life in their own communities. Understandably, several interviewees could not respond to the question since they have either arrived recently or there simply is no 'home' community in their area.

Table 23 Importance of ICT use for foreign respondents in Campo de Gibraltar

Impact of ICT	Frequency	Percentage
<i>Education, career/professional development and economic participation</i>		
To build your career skills	9	60
To further your education	11	73.3
To find temporary/permanent work	2	13.3
To help your business	9	60
To participate economically	12	80
<i>Communication, intercultural mediation and social care</i>		
To communicate with other home citizens in Spain	8	53.3
To keep in contact with those back at home	14	93.3
To understand Spanish society	6	40
To better fit into Spanish society	4	26.7
When needing care or assistance in Spain	7	46.7
ICT resources such as Websites that you can visit to help	11	73.3
<i>Social inclusion/adaptation</i>		
	Mean	Respondents
To feel that you are adapted/included to life in Spain	2.7	20
To feel that you are adapted/included in your own community	2.35	15

Scale: 1) not much/not important 2) sometimes/more or less important 3) often/very important.

4.6 Concluding remarks

By way of concluding we propose five categories of considerations on:

- ☒ Challenges of digital exclusion;
- ☒ Opportunities for digital exclusion;
- ☒ Patterns on ICT demands by IEM;
- ☒ Discussion of Riga's goals and policies implications;
- ☒ Most interesting/relevant cases.

These will be discussed separately for each of the three groups and then in general and comparative terms.

4.6.1 Romanians and Bulgarians in Catalonia

Challenges of digital exclusion. Romanians and Bulgarians have a good access to ICT. As we have documented, there are emergent specific initiatives for each collective and, although with some barriers and difficulties, the process of appropriation is evolving positively. However, we have observed some factors of exclusion in both groups. First, Romanians suffer discrimination and prejudices as far as they are stereotyped as gypsy marginalised population. On the other hand, Bulgarians are somehow an 'invisible' collective. Although this may be an advantage in terms of social inclusion it may also mean problems of cultural pertinence and lack of community adjustment of the supply for this group. Both situations may condition the interaction with ICT of each group.

Opportunities for digital inclusion. Although there is a limited range of resources for and by the IEM, we have observed a rapid spread of the use of ICT. The forums and Websites offering jobs and employment generally function as a bulletin board, but they are among the resources with have shown more success among Bulgarians and Romanians. On the other hand, some initiatives are trying to enhance the cultural pertinence of market services. This is the case, for instance, of *la Caixa*, which is developing the program 'Intégrate XXI'. This financial institution has created a network of organizations for the social advancement of foreigners residing in Spain. The Romanians Association in Catalonia participates in this network: there is a module at the ASOCROM offices provided by *la Caixa* where the users of the association can access e-mail, general information on Spain and an inventory of the resources provided by the bank: loans, remittances services.

Other activities could contribute to digital inclusion of both groups:

- *Bulgarian language.* Bulgarian is an official language of the European Union, and they are among the fast growing populations. Official Websites –as those provided by municipalities or the regional Government- could use also this language, especially when they are informing on basic services (as health and education facilities) that are essential for newcomers.
- *Training for webmasters.* In many cases websites are created for economic purposes, either by placing advertisements in banners or promoting goods and services. These activities have an important social dimension both in origin and destination. As we have documented, websites could adopt a more professional and more elaborated form.
- *Promotion of anti-discrimination campaigns.* The cases of discrimination and xenophobia against Easter-Europeans weaken the digital inclusion potential of these groups. They tend to limit to their own Websites, where they can speak their language and that are generally inaccessible for the rest of the population.
- *Awareness among associations for more interactive websites.* Associations use their Websites as mere bulletins of their activities. There are important opportunities for interactivity and community participation that can be developed. For instance, some members of ACOCROM participate actively in forums provided by *la Caixa* or the Generalitat (the regional government), while the association Website remained under construction for several months. To help to create WebPages that allow for effective feedback would be beneficial for partners and leaders of the association, and would help for disseminating services, improving the organization and promoting a more active participation.

Patterns of ICT demands by IEM. The access to ICT and digital media is one of the factors transforming new waves of migration. The quantity of available information is much greater than before, by word of mouth from relatives and friends at destination. The amount of news and recommendations is such that might create confusion. Among Romanians and Bulgarians

a recent case of confusion concerns the moratoria and the integration policies of the European Union. As Viruela (2007) pointed out, "the Internet has become the best platform for the exchange of migrant knowledge among migrants". The participants in online forums help to solve questions, although sometimes it is not authoritative information.

It seems that the access to ICT is pretty similar in Spain and the sending countries. However, both in Bulgaria and Romania the asymmetry in terms of Internet services is growing inside the country. On the other hand, the signal coverage for mobile phones is higher in Bulgaria and Romania than in Spain. The rise of cellular use is in part the consequence of a previous fairly precarious landline network.

However, far from the access to hardware, there is still a significant work to be done in terms of generating specialized contents for IEM.

In terms of employment, ICT is used for the creation of Small and Medium Enterprises (e.g. *Roman in Lume*, *Nova Duma*, *PROromania*, *Simions*) and for the diffusion of products and services across the network. However, in this area the most common use is the job search on the Internet. In the case of SMES and the marketing of products, the examples are often disparate and the ICT use fairly irregular. On the other hand, job search occurs both in origin and destination through specialized and reliable search engines. However, the influence of job searching is not only limited to specialized tools, but also to forums and virtual communities, where it is usually a topic of interest. According to the traffic feed, a lot of visits come from searches related to job search, administrative procedures, and opportunities for mobility, among others.

It seems that there is a demand for skill training greater than supply, and also more motivation to use the Internet than opportunities to do it. Even in some cases there are problems managing and extracting the full potential of the resources available. For instance, ASOCROM owns a cybercafé (four computers with Webcam), which is used for the project 'Intégrate XXI' of *la Caixa*. Some members feel that the space should also be used for training and other activities.

Finally, it should be noted the integrative role that the Internet plays for people that are spread in the territory. Romanians are fairly scattered in Barcelona and they lack places to meet in groups (compared to Chinese or Latin-American, which have meeting places clearly recognizable). In this case, the needs for cohesion and interaction are also covered by online communities.

Discussion of Riga's goals and policy considerations. The table below recalls the cases considered earlier in the supply side overview and match them to Riga's goals.

Table 24 Supply-side cases for Rumanians and Bulgarians in Catalonia and Riga's goals

Service name	Riga's Categories	Contribution to Riga's goals for cultural diversity
Hoba Dyma	ICT fostering within IEM relational integration ICT in support of ethnic entrepreneurship	Integration and social inclusion
Roman in Lume	ICT fostering within IEM relational integration ICT in support of ethnic entrepreneurship ICT-supported employability for IT/technical profession	Integration and social inclusion Employment in creative and innovative professions
Romania din Spania	ICT fostering within IEM relational integration ICT fostering local and communicative mobility ICT in support of ethnic entrepreneurship	Integration and social inclusion Economic participation
Consulado de Rumania en Barcelona	ICT fostering acculturation and adaptation processes	Integration and social inclusion
ASOCROM Vallès	ICT fostering acculturation and adaptation processes ICT fostering relational integration with host society ICT in support of ethnic entrepreneurship	Integration and social inclusion Economic participation
Scoala Romaneasca de Catalunya	ICT fostering within IEM relational integration ICT fostering relational integration with host society	Integration and social inclusion

☒ **Hoba Dyma** is a company created by Bulgarians to disseminate information regarding this IEM group. It reinforces sense of community and also supports ethnic entrepreneurship.

☒ **Roman in Lume** is another initiative supporting ethnic entrepreneurship. In this case ICT has contributed (a) to promote the employability of technical and IT professions, (b) to expand legal advisory services to online communication and (c) to develop a small radio station online. *Roman in Lume* reinforces the Romanian sense of community, as it is explicitly shown at the Website: "(...) Communication, friendship, tradition, customs, and etcetera are just a small part of the values that we promote from all corners of the world (...) in the long journey to the unknown is great to have someone to support, to listen and to understand you. Our team is always at your disposal!"

☒ **Romania din Spania:** It is a virtual community that looks for the integration of the collective, with useful information that is exchanged in forums and blogs. *Romania din*

Spania also promotes economic participation through job and classified advertisements, and is also linked to ICT professions.

- ☒ **Romania Consulate in Barcelona:** It is the only Romanian official reference in Barcelona. Its website provides information on basic administrative procedures.
- ☒ **ASOCROM del Vallès:** The WebPage is in Catalan, which shows the emphasis on relational integration with host society. ASOCROM del Vallès is linked to COCITRE and the Website 'Professionals from East Europe', and also advises on the implementation of international commercial services.
- ☒ **Scoala Romaneasca de Catalunya:** The aim of this school is formulated in these terms: "The program objectives are to preserve Romanian identity and culture, within the Catalan space as host country. This objective is carried out by teaching Romanian language and literature, and Romanian history and geography among other subjects". Therefore, it is mainly aimed at strengthening this IEM group. However, it also offers courses for people who are interested in Romanian language.

The Riga goals are very open categories and allow broad interpretations of their statements. We have observed that the economic impact of ICT clearly transcends those directly related to IT / technical professions and 'ethnic' economic initiatives. In the same vein, although IEM Websites has an interest in itself it is important to take into account the participation of IEM groups in the Internet in general. In this context, below we provide a list of priorities and policy recommendations on the basis of the findings discussed above:

- ☒ Establishment of a digital agenda: agreements and articulated actions among the three sectors. To promote networking and coalitions among organizations.
- ☒ Training for e-employment initiatives for active South-Eastern Europeans. Training for the implementation of Web 2.0 tools.
- ☒ Outreach anti-discrimination campaigns against direct aggression in Internet forums and prejudices spread through media. Integration of disadvantaged groups such as the Roma groups.
- ☒ Improve the accessibility of official websites: diversity of languages, and user-friendly design.
- ☒ Riga's goals may be used as a guide to designing, implementing and assessing the projects for the promotion of ICT for IEM. This presupposes to define in operative terms the Riga's goals and the diffusion of them.
- ☒ Digital intermediaries may contribute to promote e-Inclusion. Mediators participate as consultants in design an implementation of ICT tools that promote the integration of IEM. It offers an alternative for employment in third sector.
- ☒ SMES have an important potential in this area. In particular those initiatives related to e-commerce and e-services, for ethnic goods and services in general. It is also interesting to pay attention to the companies in charge of distribution, financing and diffusion, which also play key role.

Most interesting/relevant cases: The most relevant cases have been summarised above. Additionally, other interesting initiatives may be mentioned:

- ☒ **PROromania** <<http://www.PROromania.com>> is a Web interface that allows searching for electronic products from Bulgaria and Romania. Despite the design and technical limitations, it is an alternative for people that have not an ethnic shop near their places of residence. Although there is no empirical evidence, e-commerce is an activity that is gaining adherents and facilities.
- ☒ At the local level, some experiences have success in the integration of Roma minors. For instance, in the *Ateneu San Roc* some of the children attending the Open Centre for

Children <<http://fundacioateneusanroc.org/Projectes/centreobert.html>> are Roma and they are initiating a computer course. In the *Lungo Drom* project there is also computer lesson in a job placement project <<http://www.lungo-drom.org/ing/index.htm>>.

The level of usage of ICT among South-Eastern Europeans is growing, in coincidence with an increase also in Spain. In the Bulgarian case the number of bilingual Websites is still low. Anyway, in sum we have documented that the demand has exceeded specific supply.

4.6.2 Ecuadorians in Almería

Challenges of digital exclusion. Ecuadorians have a good access to mobile phones and are connected to the Internet through *locutorios*. However, they are the group with more difficulties to accessing ICT compared to the other national groups examined in this report. They constitute a collective of economic immigrants with less economic and material resources and less experience with ICT before migrating to a new country.

Opportunities for digital inclusion. We have observed several factors that may facilitate ICT use. The command of Spanish language put them potentially in contact with opportunities for social inclusion. This is an advantage in comparison with Non-Spanish speaking immigrants. *Locutorios* play a mediator role fairly important in terms of articulation of the community. These places may be important for training, for community development and also for social integration initiatives. Finally, teenagers are actively participating in the appropriation of ICT, even in some cases contributing to a subculture with digital media play key role. They are relevant not only in terms of generational change but also as active disseminators of ICT in the broader community.

Patterns of ICT demands by IEM. Most of the Ecuadorians are owners of a mobile phone. Internet is used by less than 20% of the Ecuadorian population in Vera (which contrast with the Ecuadorians living in big cities where this technology is more disseminated). Anyway, only 4% of the population in Ecuador uses Internet. So it seems that immigrants generally have some characteristics conducive to a greater use of this technology than the general population: greater purchasing power, higher education, more skills and etcetera (Ramirez, 2007).

At Vera, access and appropriation of Internet by Ecuadorians are marked by insufficient computer skills and predominance of very specific needs (communication with their personal networks in Ecuador and other countries; seeking for a job, and entertainment and fun).

Since 2003 there have been rapid changes both in level of access and patterns of use. In 2003, there were very few users that accessed primarily to maintain communication with their relatives in Ecuador. Although this is still the predominant use in 2008, there is also a growing demand for job seeking and information. Moreover, there are more Internet shops, more and better knowledge and training, and a significant increase in the purchasing power of immigrants.

Among young people, particularly from 14 to 22 years, the patterns of appropriation have more to do with their Spanish peers and, in consequence, they are a factor of integration for the rest of the Ecuadorian community. Usually they look for communication, entertainment, gaming, building virtual communities of general interest and so on.

There are more men than women among active users, but women predominate among introductory courses attendants.

Informal experts contribute to the dissemination of knowledge among their friend and acquaintances. They are important actors in the connection of the Ecuadorian community with ICT.

The intensive and long working hours limit the possibilities of learning and usage of the Internet, because people are unable to attend courses that are offered in the locality.

Discussion of Riga's goals and policy considerations. The table below organizes some of the observations of the Ecuadorians in Vera's case with Riga's goals. The list of resources and problems highlight some areas that may be considered priorities for intervention.

Table 25 Supply side cases for Ecuadorians in Almeria and Riga's goals

Riga's Categories	Case of Ecuadorians in Vera
ICT-enabled or focused community regeneration or development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ICT is contributing to maintaining contacts with relatives in the sending country, improving the quality of communication. • Collective identity and values as the respect to the parental authority are expressed through this media.
ICT-supported employability for IT / technical professions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most of the training in this area corresponds to introductory courses, and there is a lack of vocational and professional training in this area. • IT jobs are scarce in Vera and/or occupied mainly by Spaniards
ICT in support of ethnic entrepreneurship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SMES generally have incorporated personal computers (ethnic products shops; hairdressers, and etcetera).
ICT fostering acculturation and adaptation processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some segments of the Ecuadorian population are particularly affected by ICT use. It is the case of popular sectors and indigenous people that are in contact with knowledge, cultural contents and technologies that were inaccessible for them in Ecuador.
ICT fostering relational integration within IEM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different groups of foreigners meet in Internet shops, which give them opportunities for contact. • Internet shops articulate Ecuadorian community, as far as they are places where recent migrants meet.
ICT fostering relational integration with host society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For this case we haven't observed a clear impact in this area. However some intergroup contact has been observed in introductory courses.
ICT fostering local and communicative mobility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People with prior knowledge of ICT act as links with the local community and channels for information.

It seems that ICT provide nascent support for the social integration processes of Ecuadorian immigrants in Vera (which could be extensive to other immigrants who come from Morocco, Bolivia or Senegal). They are also an important segment of consumers of ICT products.

Introductory courses to personal computers and the Internet are offering opportunities for intergroup contact. These courses are offered to all the residents, regardless of origin, fostering the interaction between immigrants and Spaniards (which usually have few opportunities for contact). By contrast, specific courses for immigrants facilitate contact among attendants of different nationalities.

Most interesting/relevant cases: Particular attention has been paid to the case of *locutorios* (and it will be deeply analysed in a specific case analysis). At the moment, some of the most promising patterns observed in Vera are summarised:

- ☒ The Computer Course for Immigrants held in 2007 by the Municipal Office for Immigrants is a 'success story'. The attendance exceeded the expectations of the organizers, with 300 participants in 6 months. Some of them were members of the same family: was usual to see the parents and their children attending the same course. The level of motivation, attendance and effort was also above the expectations of the organizers.
- ☒ The association HUDEA offers free public access to the Internet, and some women have organized themselves to participate in online driving courses.
- ☒ A computer technician, who now works in the Construction sector, gives free support to the families that are installing a personal computer, connecting the equipment to the Internet or just giving the first steps in the World Wide Web.

Regarding negative examples, we can mention that young men generally enter the labour market when they finish compulsory studies. Then they have fewer opportunities to continue with more training than the basic ICT skills already developed in introductory courses.

4.6.3 Argentinians and other foreigners in Campo de Gibraltar

The pattern of ICT demands and the factors related with social inclusion are described and discussed below, as part of the general reflections in terms of Riga's goals.

Discussion of Riga's goals and policy considerations. The opening principle of the EU ministerial declaration at Riga, Latvia, 11 June 2006, states that: "Information and communication technologies (ICT) are a powerful driver of growth and employment. A quarter of EU GDP growth and around 50% of productivity growth are due to ICT. ICT services, skills, media and content, and their use in other industry sectors, are a growing part of the economy and society. ICT is thus strongly instrumental to achieving the Lisbon strategy goals."

Before we commence our analysis, it appears to be necessary to know what these Lisbon strategy goals are. In Portugal, March 2000, the European Union's Council proposed that Europe "must become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion." To enable this process, the governments concerned advanced "not only a radical transformation of the European economy, but also a challenging programme for the modernisation of social welfare and education systems". It was subsequently suggested that by 2010, the quality of European education and training systems should be globally superlative. However, following the collapse of the 'dot.com' industry and given the economic crisis it has been necessary for the Commission to revisit its aims.

Returning to the Riga document, then, its second principle recognizes that: "ICT contributes to improving the quality of everyday life and social participation of Europeans, facilitating access to information, media, content and services, to enhanced and more flexible job opportunities, and to fight against discrimination. Improving ICT access for people with disabilities and elderly is particularly important."

Our study suggests that access to immigrant and ethnic minority groups is widely available, since all participants could access ICT and all report that it is helpful. Little over half, however, state that the information is available in their own language, while 90% state that it is in a language which they can understand. 60% rank the information available as culturally relevant, while 95% rank the information as practically significant. 90% of respondents would prefer free access, as one might expect. 50% of the sample ranked internet access as most important, 20% mobile phone access and 20% as both internet and mobile phone technology.

If we consider 'eInclusion', we learn from Riga's 4th principle that this means "both inclusive ICT and the use of ICT to achieve wider inclusion objectives. It focuses on participation of all individuals and communities in all aspects of the information society. eInclusion policy, therefore, aims at reducing gaps in ICT usage and promoting the use of ICT to overcome exclusion, and improve economic performance, employment opportunities, quality of life, social participation and cohesion. To establish whether or not the group under study is 'eIncluded', it is necessary to consider the supply and demand of ICT/digital services. This entails establishing 'what' is being used and 'how'".

Analysis in terms of Riga's goals. The Table below summarises the perception of immigrants on the impact of ICT. The table compares the importance of the telephone and the internet in terms of Riga's goals, with some modifications in the categories since these categories did not seem broad enough to facilitate an ease of understanding on the part of 'non-specialised' interviewees. It seemed important to gauge opinion on the importance and relevance of ICT resources in the light of Principle 20 of Riga, which states that by the current year, member countries will implement: "digital literacy and competence actions, in particular through formal or informal education systems, building on existing initiatives. These actions will be tailored to the needs of groups at risk of exclusion, because of their social circumstances or their capacities and special needs, notably the unemployed, immigrants, people with low education levels, people with disabilities, and elderly, as well as marginalised young people, contributing to their employability and working conditions."

Table 26 Supply-side cases for foreign residents in Campo de Gibraltar and Riga's goals

Impact (modified from Riga categories)	Telephone	Tel. Rank (Cum freq)	Computer	Comp. Rank (Cum freq)
Skill building	2.38 (8)	6 (.95)	2.47 (15)	1 (1.85)
Community re-generation/development	2.2 (5)	8 (.55)	2.5 (8)	6 (1)
Communicative and local mobility	2.84 (20)	1 (2.84)	2.09 (11)	5 (1.15)
Adaptation/acculturation	2.14 (7)	7 (.75)	2.27 (11)	4 (1.25)
Relational integration within community	2.23 (13)	5 (1.45)	1.88 (8)	8 (.75)
Relational integration with host society	2.2 (15)	4 (1.65)	2.38 (8)	7 (.95)
Entrepreneurship	2.84 (13)	3 (1.85)	2.9 (10)	3 (1.45)
Economic participation	2.86 (14)	2 (2)	2.67 (11)	2 (1.47)

Scale: 3=very important; 2=fairly important; 1=not important.

If we consider skill or capacity building: within-subset users feel that the telephone can be useful for building skills, whereas taken overall, this figure drops to less than important, scoring the 3rd lowest rank. The internet is regarded as more important in this regard, coming in as highly important for a larger subset of users, and overall, ranking as the highest amongst all the uses of the internet.

The telephone is viewed as useful for community re-generation/development by a small subset of users, although on the whole this use is the lowest ranked in the table. Similarly, although the computer is regarded as more significant/important by a slightly larger subset, its significance also tumbles when taken over the entire study to 3rd lowest position. The computer, regarded as more or less important by the within-subset of users in this regard, falls into middle position when taken over the entire study.

For communicative and local mobility, the telephone was both the highest ranked within subset of users (all) and also across the study, effectively scoring as the most important specific tool in the study (unlike the internet, which scored lower middle). In terms of adaptation and acculturation, the telephone was viewed as more or less important, although this sentiment fell off dramatically over the study, being ranked 2nd last, that is, not important at all. The computer functions better in this regard, rated more highly as important by its users and overall, coming in at 4th place.

While the telephone was viewed as fairly important for relational integration with other immigrants from the same home community by a large subset, taken overall it dropped to mid-way in the rankings. The internet received the lowest ranking in this regard, both relatively and overall. Similarly, a large subset of respondents viewed the phone as relatively important for relational integration with Spanish society, although this figure comes in at 4th

position for the study as a whole. Although the within-subset of users rates the internet highly for this function, overall significance drops miserably to 2nd to last in the study.

In terms of facilitating entrepreneurship, both the telephone and the internet were viewed as highly important by many participants, reflected by the overall rankings of 3rd place for both means of technology. Likewise, the computer was ranked the highest by a single user community, suggesting its utility. Along similar lines, when considered in terms of economic participation the telephone is very closely ranked by its user community, coming in at 2nd place overall in the study, which is also how the computer is regarded in this study.

Hence, whereas the telephone appears mainly to be used for communication and local mobility, followed by economic participation and entrepreneurship, the computer is being used for skill building, followed by the same two categories. Taken within subsets, the phone is used mainly for economic participation, then communicative and local mobility and entrepreneurship, while the computer functions most importantly for entrepreneurship, economic participation and skill-building. The lowest importance attached to the telephone relates to skill building, adaptation/acclulturation and community re-generation and development, which is understandable, while relational integration within the 'home' community and with the 'host' community is given moderate significance. Note that these two categories rank lowest for the importance of the computer, which is given moderate importance for adaptation/acclulturation and communicative and local mobility, followed by community re-generation and development. Let us now relate these observations to the promotion of "cultural diversity in relation to inclusion" clauses of Riga. First of all, Paragraph 23 states: "Fostering pluralism, cultural identity and linguistic diversity in the digital space. Promoting digitisation, the creation of accessible digital content, and wide and cross-national access to digital information and cultural heritage in support of European integration. Fostering multilingual and local content throughout Europe, as well as European values of freedom, tolerance, equality, solidarity and democracy. ICT innovation and good practice exchanges at all levels are important means to achieve this".

We note from the access to ICT/Digital media resources are many immigrants cannot access information in their own languages and also that a minority feels that the information available is culturally relevant to them. Either they are actively looking for practical information, as appears to be the case, or they are finding other means for acquiring cultural information. Positively-speaking, at least a high majority of participants can access required information in a language that they can understand. Negatively-speaking, ICT neither appears to be used very much to understand nor better to fit into Spanish society (hardly at all for this latter category), but mainly to sustain communication with those at home, to look for information and then to communicate with other expatriates living in Spain. Perhaps this overall situation is explicable given that people feel less in contact with 'home' communities here in Spain and on the whole, feel comfortable in this society. We shall address this scenario in our final section on policy recommendations and 'good practice'.

Moving on, Principle 24 relates to: "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. Particular efforts shall be made to improve the employability and productivity of minorities. Tailored ICT training and support actions can be important in this context."

A glance back to our Section 3 on Supply of ICT, sub-section B on internet technology, reveals that the computer is being used mainly for information and communication, much more so than for social networking and hardly at all to find employment. While ICT is viewed as highly important both for economic participation in the labour market and for innovation and entrepreneurship, it still appears to be highly under-utilised for education and capacity/skill building. Our study of websites shows that most participants are mainly

browsing international websites that act as search engines for information, and which also host e-mail and the possibility of communication. In addition, local Spanish sites adopt a higher ranking than 'home' sites for our participants.

Cognisant of the above report, and in the light of Riga's call in Section 36 to "Support evidence gathering, networking at all levels..., benchmarking and exchange of good practices...Mobilize civil society and industry as main stakeholders and undertake co-ordination where necessary" we move now to make some recommendations. These suggestions are largely informed by a thematic analysis of the comments of our participants in the self-report sections.

Policy considerations: the people speak. One area for concern pertains to work, jobs, money, the labour market and the treatment of immigrants in relation to these economic considerations. As one respondent comments, "When workers are needed, Spain says come, and when they are not needed anymore they say go away." Another respondent comments that with the economic crisis "there is no work. The immigrant is disposable; therefore it is much easier to send him/her home. If I need you, I like you, if not, I send you home."

Several interviewees spoke of the need to minimise the bureaucracy of obtaining papers and to facilitate legal immigration, to expedite the process of adaptation and well-being. An interviewee who initially arrived without papers spoke of the need to have more information about jobs and types of work to minimise risk and discomfort. Another immigrant wants "to express to Spanish people that other people also have economic needs and that everyone can experience economic difficulties."

As we observed in our demographic data, many skilled immigrants are working outside of their professions. In this regard, note the comments of one participant: "There are so many things: most of the immigrants are qualified- some are doctors, mathematicians and they are working on farms and some in factories making tyres and car parts. This situation can't help people or integrate them in the community. The solution- give opportunities for people to work in their professions, because if they work in their professions they can develop their knowledge. I have a friend in Barcelona who is a mathematician- he sells papers on the street and parks cars. Someone in this situation cannot be jobless in Spain."

In this regard, one respondent feels that "open-mindedness is needed on the part of all and for all, in other words, social thinking needs to change and be more open." In relation to this we encounter the need for recognition, which entails provision of social status. Another participant spoke mainly of the need for social security, including work, health care and pension cover, another to ensure security of life in socio-economic terms. As one person comments, when one does not have benefits such as social security, "one is a second-class citizen". In relation to this, another informant notes that the government of Spain needs (both) to help the immigrants to establish themselves and maintain themselves in the country.

Picking up on this theme, another respondent observes that "Many immigrants come here, they are encouraged to become educated and informed about opportunities but there is no more- help immigrants with kinds of support." In her opinion, "When there are elections the government does badly, making proposals that they do not take very seriously about the proper Spanish and those from outside of Spain. They will have to work very hard until immigrants are integrated with the society." This can be contrasted with another interviewee, who feels that immigrants are given what they need to integrate in Spain, so the issue still remains contentious. What is not contended is the need for integration.

One participant argues, "To integrate the immigrants, basic themes are health and economics and that there are fewer restrictions to be able to incorporate oneself economically, politically, and socially. In Barcelona, for example, the immigrant simply does not exist." Someone else

makes the acute observation that "Some have it easier than others- for example if you have a profession or a specific job. If not, it is very hard and not only in Spain. A lot of racism- for 'white' people it is easier than for 'coloured' people. With immigrants coming from Africa it is a lot more difficult, they do not have the language and it is harder to stay. For South Americans it is much easier- because of colonization the government gives more opportunities. Idealistically there should be more chances for immigrants but there are already too many- everybody looks to Europe but they end up doing the worst jobs."

The theme of 'race' related difficulties does seem relevant. Compare the sentiment of a North American participant who also has a dual European nationality, "Immigration has been a blast, a vacation, I haven't had any difficulties" with an Asian immigrant who states that "The people don't have education or manners, at times there are people who behave very badly towards foreigners, destroying property and using foul language." Besides a need for 'racial' justice in this regard, there is also the need for gender justice and 'equal gender rights' in the words of another respondent.

Taken holistically, however, we cannot consider any of these challenges in isolation from the crucial perspective of psycho-social well-being. As one migrant suggests "While education, giving classes in Spanish and Informatics, helps to obtain jobs more easily and to learn about other cultures, it is very important for people to feel part of society because they have to. They give and receive- as a part of society- it is about social health- some have the feeling that they need to hide themselves- they don't have to feel this." She goes on to state that it depends on 'status'- if sufficiently educated one can easily integrate. If you have less, you need more to integrate. Education then jobs.

One immigrant suggests that "more space could be provided for showing the culture of ethnic and minority groups to explain their lives through festivals, for example." To be more included in Spanish society, he proposes that there should be a person who can introduce immigrants to the town council, a contact person. As he says, "I just want to be part of society."

For such desires to become reality, it seems as if there is some work ahead. One participant is unimpressed with government, at local, regional and national level, his objection "the local council is very bad, they don't do anything" and he wants to see improvement. Yet, if we consider ICT specifically, we hear from one participant that "the thing is that informatics impacts a lot upon us- if you don't know how to help yourself you can't find other opportunities" and from another "it is impossible to adapt oneself to Spanish society without internet and looking for information- including social aspects and working with these people to know them." In this regard, one participant notes that there is "Much to improve upon: laws that facilitate the learning of the language in schools, informatics for the public officials."

There are positive comments too, one participant suggests that the telephone and the internet also help her to better fit into Spanish society through much dialogue- as a way of understanding 'the other'. Another, that "ICT has helped me a lot with my work and to communicate with my family- thousands of kilometres away from Spain- I speak with my mum and sister 3 times a week- imagine how helpful this technology is. I can also communicate with my younger son living in Cadiz through the phone every day. I use technology to find information, to contact organizations, to look for people."

Most interesting/relevant cases: 'success stories' in innovative uses of ICT

Rounding up, then, it seems that there is still much research and development of thematic ideas and concepts to follow, if this supply and demand report of ICT/Digital media from a town in southern Spain has value to offers at a microscopic and macroscopic level. From

these intensive interviews, and in keeping with the Riga Declaration, we have selected several examples of good practice to follow up with more comprehensive interviews.

These participants include a female Nigerian immigrant who works as a journalist, in this way combining her professional interest with inter-cultural mediation and social care. As she says, "Through my programme I can join people of different cultures". Furthermore, through her work with a women's association, she provides social care for women in need and uses technology to help. In her words, "It is important that women can study and improve themselves."

Next we have a male Brazilian jewellery seller, who has his own shop and who manufactures and sells his own goods, also importing and exporting others. He relies heavily on ICT to make his business a success- especially on the internet and innovatively, uses his own webpage to display catalogues etc, as well as online translators to communicate with other manufacturers, traders and wholesalers and maintain relations with them. He says that he feels well adapted to life in Spain- and if anything can improve his situation, he says that it is himself.

Third, we have a seasonal migrant, also from Brazil, who comes to Tarifa in the summer to teach kite-surfing and to market his own kiting business, which is back in Brazil. He views ICT as crucial to his business, which in a sense involves inter-cultural mediation, since he hopes to share his own country with foreigners, as he himself learns and experiences foreign countries with others. For this reason, he has just launched his own website and for him, "the website is the ultimate thing- because it is my personality in Europe". In this sense, technological innovation is central to his professional success.

Our fourth and final case is that of conventional use, albeit intensively, by a male Moroccan immigrant of ICT mainly for educational and professional development purposes, as well as to look for jobs. Although this does not involve any form of radical innovation on the part of the user, because we have shown this function to be under-utilised from our study, it make be of interest for the project to see how this participant uses ICT to adapt and flourish, itself a form of innovation.

4.6.4 General considerations

The aim of this country report has been to examine the key factors and processes that shape the supply, demand and appropriation of ICT for and by IEM in Spain. To do this, we have analysed the situation of Argentinians, Bulgarians, Ecuadorians, Romanians and others foreigners. Desk analysis and fieldwork was developed in Andalucía and Catalonia. Although there are significant differences between groups, immigrants generally have a relatively good access to ICT (particularly to mobile devices). However, there are distinctive patterns of use to take into account for designing ICT politics.

The key findings are summarised in the following table.

Table 27 Summary of key findings: Spain

Key factors and processes	Description	Policy implications
Recent immigration	Needs for family contact, employment and prevention of discrimination	⇒ Contents and services addressing these issues
Mobility	Mobile devices and cybercafés	⇒ Key contexts to implementing programs ⇒ Competences for mobility
Intermediary communities	Online ethnic communities and <i>locutorios</i> articulate social support, sense of community and integration issues	⇒ Key contexts to implementing programs ⇒ Need for bridging interventions
From offline to online communication	Needs for socialization in ways of online participation and interactivity and implementation of 2.0 tools	⇒ Specific training for this transitions ⇒ Recruiting natural leaders for significant initiatives
Government role	Catalytic actor that focuses on emblematic projects and skill building	⇒ Extent to empower local actors and mediation strategies
Network processes	Chains of clients, segmentation of the demand, opportunities hoarding and homophilia	⇒ Mixed training courses ⇒ Active break down of endogenous dynamics
ICT access	Selective character of migrations and need of recent migrants contribute to a level of access equivalent to host population, but with an striking dissemination of mobile phones	⇒ Key contexts to implementing programs ⇒ Prioritize appropriation politics above access
Differences among different national collectives	Ecuadorians are less familiarized with ICT and have less incentive for technology adoption; Romanians eventually experience discrimination; Bulgarians are eventually an 'invisible' group; and Argentinians are particularly active and skilful with ICT	⇒ Segmentation of intervention programs according to population
Appropriation, perception and behaviours	Predominance of local dynamics, lay notions, and recent and occasional users	⇒ Content for training courses and strategies
Informal leaders and new generations	Act as models, early adopters, influencing others and generating a socio-technical subculture	⇒ Digital mediators ⇒ Accompaniment programs

The research in Spain has served for the identification of **relevant contents and contexts** for developing the potential of ICT for the promotion of cultural diversity in the European Union:

- For recent migrants, ICT are tools for family contact and job searching, taking as reference for self-evaluation the migratory project. These contents seem to be essential when designing resources for IEM in Spain.

- On the other hand, mobile phones, *locutorios* and online ethnic communities are key contexts to take into account to implement politics for this collective. They can be prioritized in order to get the highest coverage and impact of ICT programs.

Second, it also served for the **segmentation of intervention programs** according to national groups. Although the supply, demand and appropriation of ICT are pretty similar in different groups, some peculiarities were identified that need to be taken into account:

- Training courses for skill building and for stimulating ICT access among Ecuadorians are required. For Bulgarians it is important to address language barriers and to promote the cultural pertinence and adjustment of ICT initiatives. Finally, anti-discriminatory campaigns and programs are the priority in the Romanian case. On the other hand, Argentinians may provide creative and innovative experiences in this area to replicate with other populations.

It seems to be a predominance of top-down initiatives, mostly oriented to basic skills training. National and regional governments are key actors in ICT promotion, through infrastructure and educational programs. **Training strategies may be extended to other areas** (far from basic introductory courses for personal computers and Internet use) and also it seems pertinent to **implement a community approach in intervention**:

- We have documented lay notions, localism and occasional use of ICT. Specific training for preventing a naïve use of the Internet and other ICT tools could be successful (and not only for IEM). During the fieldwork we observed that more 'advance-user' skills than merely technical abilities are required. To take the full potential of ICT is in part related to psychological skills in the interaction with computers and similar resources. In the same vein, training could focus on managing mobility, which refers to other competences to be connected with independence of location and continuous movements. Third, specific training is also required to facilitating and accelerating the transition from offline to online communication. In all these cases a 'best practices' approach would be useful to identify relevant competences and approaches.
- Emphasis is needed in empowering local actors and implementing mediation strategies. Some local actors are striving to maintain the level of participation; interactivity and sense of community (see *Supra*). They are essential for the success of any ICT politics for IEM: online ethnic community leaders, cybercafé owners, informal experts and groups of teenagers could enhance pertinence, adjustment, community control, and impact in social interventions oriented to these collectives. Some of these actors may be recruited to specific initiatives and programs. They also can participate as digital mediators and/or in accompaniment programs.
- The existence of small groups of teenagers that usually go to Internet shops together is an opportunity to promote different ways of relating to ICT (mostly individualized).

Example of community approach intervention: (a) informal experts are recruited for (b) accompaniment and teaching (c) general psychological competences, skills for coping with mobility and offline/online management. (d) The instruction is provided to groups of teenagers in (e) *locutorios*. (f) Then teenagers act as digital mediators disseminating knowledge, competences and attitudes to their families and other adults, or as bridges between the families and local services.

As we have shown, there is a significant potential for implementing strategies that are oriented to appropriation of ICT rather than to merely facilitating access. Finally, it is essential to **put in practice programs aimed at social integration of IEM**:

- Endogenous network dynamics may turn into segregation. ICT initiatives should be designed to break down these dynamics. For instance, mixed training courses may facilitate the contact between IEM and Spaniards. Or just the implementation of programs more oriented to interfere with negative networks dynamics than to the ICT content itself.
- In the same sense, bridging strategies are required. As we have documented before, online ethnic communities, cybercafés and other resources play a role of community integration. But it is necessary to complement this articulation with strategies aimed at the insertion of IEM in the host society. Any IEM initiative should be contextualized in the broader society to assess its whole impact.

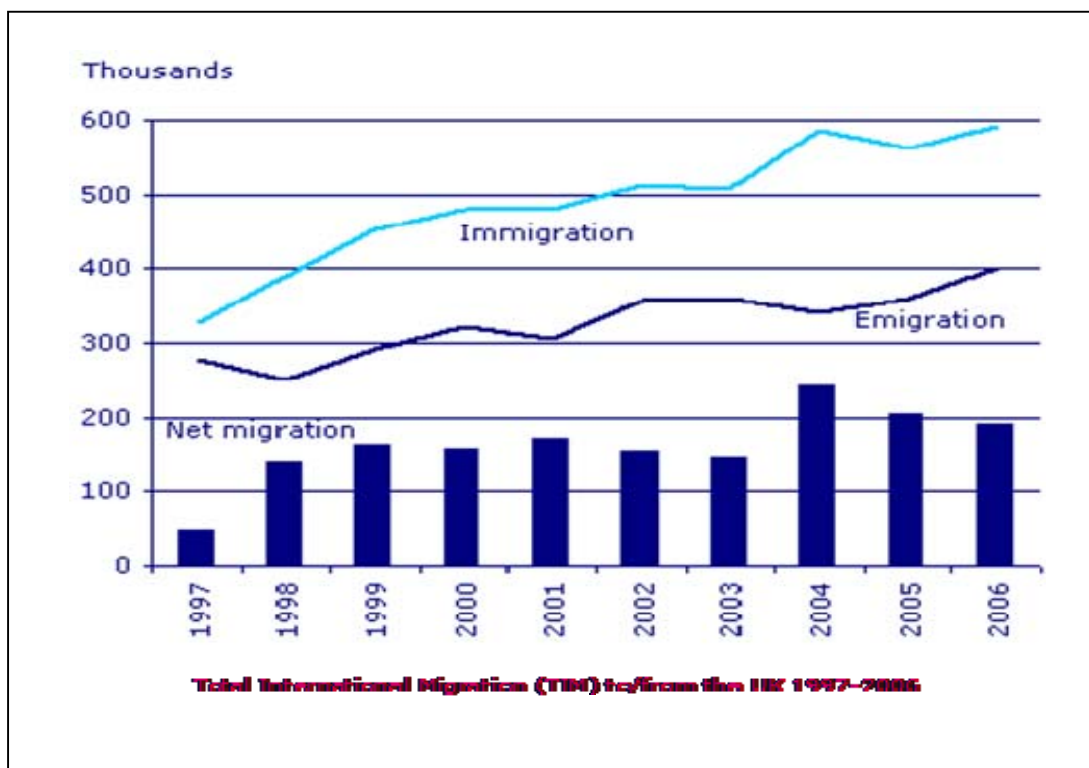
5 United Kingdom

5.1 Background

5.1.1 Migration context

The following characterisation of the migration context in the UK is derived mainly from the publicly available data of the UK Office of National Statistics the UK Statistics Authority.¹⁰⁴ These agencies compile data from a number of sources, which are indicated in the text.

Figure 13 Overall migration in the UK



The figure above details the total immigration into the UK in the period 1997 to 2006. This gives a total net immigration of 191,000. In 2006, an estimated 191,000 more people immigrated to than emigrated from the UK. This net migration (the difference between immigration and emigration) was 53,000 lower than the 2004 estimate of 244,000, which was the highest since the method to calculate Total International Migration (TIM) was introduced in 1991. An estimated 400,000 long-term migrants left the UK in 2006. This was the highest recorded level of emigration since TIM began and was 41,000 higher than the 2005 estimate. Just over half of these emigrants (207,000) were British citizens. In 2006, an estimated 591,000 long-term migrants arrived to live in the UK. This was up from the previous highest figure of 586,000 in 2004. Just over 85% of immigrants (510,000) were non-British citizens.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/>

¹⁰⁵ Total International Migration (TIM), International Passenger Survey (IPS), ONS

The population of the UK increased 1.5% between 2000 and 2004. This was similar to the rate of increase seen in the EU25 as a whole (1.6%). The four fastest growing countries of the EU25 in this period were Ireland (6.6%), Spain (6.0%), Cyprus (5.8%) and Luxembourg (4.2%). Net inward migration has played a much bigger role in population change than natural change in recent years, accounting for around 85% of the total growth in the EU population between 2000 and 2004. The UK registers large migratory flows, both into and out of the country. In 2002, it was one of the four EU countries that between them received 71% of the net inflow into the EU.¹⁰⁶

Migration is generally most common among younger adult age groups. In 2003, the 15 to 24 and the 25 to 44 age groups together accounted for the large majority of both in-migrants (84%) and out-migrants (75%). Both in-migrants and out-migrants were slightly more likely to be male than female. Study and work are the main reasons for migration. In 2003 more than one quarter of all in-migrants (135,000 people) came to study in the UK. More than one fifth (114,000 in-migrants) came for work-related reasons and had a specific job to go to. Over the decade, net inflows of non-British citizens increased substantially, from 127,000 in 1995 to 342,000 by 2004. At the same time, net outflows of British citizens have increased. Net losses of Britons from the UK grew rapidly over the decade, from 17,000 in 1994 to 120,000 in 2004. The largest numbers out-migrating are in the 25 to 44 age group, but since 1999 there has also been a net outflow of British citizens aged 45 to state pension age. In 2003, around two fifths of British citizens out-migrating were moving to other countries in the EU and over one quarter to Australia or New Zealand. (Data source: International migration, Office for National Statistics).

Within the UK immigrants and ethnic minorities are mainly described as black and minority ethnic (BME) groups or communities¹⁰⁷. Almost 8% of British citizens can be ascribed to this category. Data on ethnicity is collected routinely in the national Census, by local government and as part of monitoring equal opportunities legislation in employment and public life. This is in stark contrast with the French case where such statistics are not routinely collected. As will be noted below, in the UK case culture and ethnicity are taken to be one among many key factors in social exclusion and are therefore addressed within public policy.

5.1.2 Policy context

Defining social inclusion/exclusion. In the context of the UK Government policy social exclusion has been defined in 2000 by the (now closed) Social Exclusion Unit of the Cabinet Office as:

"Social exclusion is a shorthand term for what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. In the past, governments have had policies that tried to deal with each of these problems individually, but there has been little success at tackling the complicated links between them, or preventing them from arising in the first place."

This broad definition fits with that in the broader social science literature and with the 'two dimensions' model of integration – in that a lack of integration is measured as a lack of engagement (possibly due to skills, income, housing etc) with socio-economic and citizenship issues.

¹⁰⁶ Sources: Eurostat 2004-based UK population projections, Government Actuary's Department.

¹⁰⁷ As BME is the commonly used acronym in both social science and policy contexts in the UK, it will be used in this chapter of the report and in Annex III where three British cases are presented in details.

In light of the above, the policy context must be understood with respect to the broad socio-economic characterisation of the ethnic minority population. People from ethnic minority groups who experience the most acute levels of socioeconomic disadvantage include – but are not limited to – Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, black Caribbeans and black Africans. These four groups include approximately 1.3 million working age people and account for 42% of the ethnic minority population in Britain. These ethnic minority groups consistently experience disproportionately poor outcomes across a range of socio-economic indicators, including:

- ☒ Health
- ☒ Qualifications
- ☒ Employment
- ☒ Location, housing and language.

Health. Ethnic minorities are more likely to be in poor general health. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, for example, are up to four times as likely to be in poor health as their white counterparts. Ethnic minorities are also more likely to have specific health conditions:

- ☒ South Asians are 40% more likely than the rest of the population to contract coronary heart disease, and are around 50% more likely to die prematurely from it;
- ☒ Diabetes (type 2) is up to six times more common among South Asians.

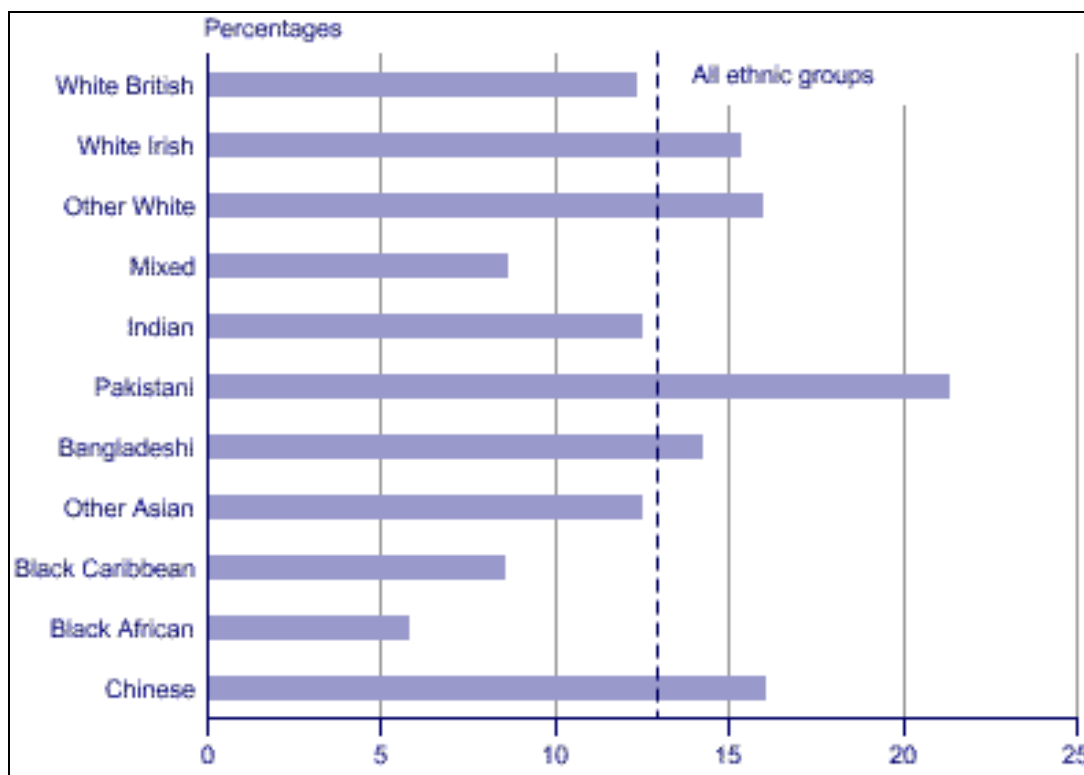
Qualifications. Ethnic minorities are less likely to have qualifications than the population as a whole. For instance, 46% of Bangladeshis aged 16-64 have no qualifications.

Employment. The employment gap between ethnic minorities and the overall population has narrowed but remains substantial. The ethnic minority employment rate raised from 57.7% in 2001 to 59.4 in 2004, compared with the overall employment rate which remained at almost 75%, a historically high level. But certain groups continue to have persistently poor labour market outcomes. Bangladeshis are twice as likely to be unemployed as the overall population. The employment gap is even starker for women. Pakistani and Bangladeshi women have the lowest rates of economic activity – 31% and 24% respectively, compared with around 75% for white and black Caribbean women. The gap in unemployment levels between ethnic minorities and the population as a whole is lower in Great Britain than in some of its European counterparts. In Holland, for example, the unemployment rate for ethnic minorities was 14.5% in 2003, compared with 4.2% for the population as a whole. In Great Britain in 2004, the figures were 7.6% and 3.9% respectively. In 2002/03, around one quarter (23%) of Pakistanis in employment was self employed. Certain ethnic groups are concentrated in particular industries. In 2002/03, three fifths of Bangladeshi men in employment worked in the distribution, hotel and restaurant industry, compared with one sixth of their White British counterparts. Pakistani men were the group most likely to work in the transport and communication industry - 25% of them worked in this sector compared with 10% of employed men overall. Bangladeshi women are also concentrated in the distribution, hotel and restaurant industry. Two fifths of the group worked in this industry in 2002/03, compared with one fifth of all women in employment. The groups with the lowest proportions of professionals were the black groups, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, each with less than 10%. The pattern was similar for managers and senior officials.

Location, housing and language. The ethnic minority population is largely concentrated in urban areas – particularly London – and in disadvantaged areas. Ethnic minority families are more likely than their white counterparts to live in poor housing and experience poor living conditions. 2% of white households live in over-crowded conditions, compared with 23% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi households. Ethnic minorities, in particular, are more likely to experience homelessness. At least 19% of those classified as homeless are from ethnic minorities, far higher than the 8% of households from ethnic minorities in the population as a

whole - around one in seven people from ethnic minorities who need information to be translated into another language.

Figure 14 Self-employment by ethnic group in the UK



National policy with regard to social, economic and cultural integration. Debates over definitions of citizenship, social integration and multiculturalism have dominated UK government and public debates in one form or another for nearly 200 years. In many cases debates were driven by periods of high immigration, global political events or by social and economic change within the UK. At different points in history different groups have provided a focus for debates – for example the Irish in the 1800's, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Afro-Caribbeans in the 1950's to 1970's, and recently Eastern Europeans since the expansion of the EU. Current global debates over culture and identity in response to globalisation, international terrorism and the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan have also pushed the issue to the fore. In particular, the events of 7/7/2005 have sparked a debate over british citizenship and integration policies, whereby a polarisation emerged between those holding Britain's multicultural model responsible for the London bombs of July 2005 and those arguing instead that such models needs to be extended to a 'politics of equal respect' that includes Britain's Muslims in a new, shared sense of national belonging.¹⁰⁸

A running theme in the current Labour government's discourse prior to and since their election in 1997 has been that of 'celebrating diversity'. The government commissioned report 'The New and the Old' chaired by Professor Bernard Crick (Crick 2003) stated:

"Who are we British? For a long time the UK has been a multicultural state composed of England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and also a multicultural society ... made up of a diverse range of cultures and identities, and one that emphasises the need for a

¹⁰⁸ See for instance the commentary published by Modood in September of 2005 (2005a) or the proceedings of a seminar on multiculturalism after 7/7 published in 2006 by *Critical Quarterly* (MacCabe et al 2006). The key dimensions of such debate were actually anticipated before 7/7 in a book by Modood published in the spring of 2005 (Modood 2005b).

continuous process of mutual engagement and learning about each other with respect, understanding and tolerance."¹⁰⁹

Implicit in this is a 'two-sided' view of 'Britishness' in which cultural identity is, and has been for a long period of British history, partly separate from aspects of citizenship, and social/economic integration. This could also be viewed as a 'dual identity' view of 'Britishness' with both a cultural/ethnicity dimension and a socio-economic citizenship dimension. The report goes on to conclude: "To be British means that we respect the laws, the parliamentary and democratic political structures, traditional values of mutual tolerance, respect for equal rights..." In this model social and cultural integration is the co-existence of communities and unimpeded movement between them rather than assimilation. The focus in government policy has therefore been on the 'socio-economic citizenship dimension' – rather than upon 'cultural assimilation'. Different cultural identities were an accepted fact of society and to some extent supported, under the assumption that fostering inclusion within the socio-economic dimension of citizenship would bring about productive co-existence of such diversity among such different identities within the broader umbrella of Britishness. In other words, individuals would develop an allegiance both to their ethnic roots and to British values and citizens. The 7/7 event came as a shock to this assumption and today the British model is at a turning point.

'The New and the Old (2003)' report, published in advance of 7/7 2005 but still after 9/11/2001, proposed a sort of compromise in which the multicultural aspects of the British society and model were reaffirmed at the same time as some manifestation of knowledge of British value was requested at least for new comers. This was in the form of the 'Life in the UK test' for new migrants. This test requires migrants to demonstrate competencies in the English language and knowledge of UK laws, history, political process, employment rights and policies, aspects of social and cultural life, and religious tolerance. This test became compulsory from 2 April 2007 for all applicants for indefinite leave. Such applicants will have to show evidence that they have passed either the Life in the UK test or an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) test that includes citizenship materials. Similar developments, for instance, occurred in the Netherlands also as a result of the Van Gogh homicide and other violence associated with the Muslim community. While such developments cannot be deemed as a move toward an assimilation model, they certainly manifest a concern related to immigrants and ethnic minority acceptance of, and adherence to, the mainstream value of the host society, which was not so emphasised earlier.

This new ambivalence is also reflected, for instance, in the most recent report on the issue by the House of Commons titled *Community Cohesion and Migration* (House of Commons, 2008). The report notes that migrants make 'significant contributions' to local communities often working in the NHS or other public services. At the same time the report also remarks that there is 'significant public anxiety' in some areas about the impacts of immigration on public services, tolerance and the economy. The members of parliament who wrote this report argue that such anxiety "cannot simply be dismissed as expressions of racist or xenophobic sentiments". Again, a difficult balance.

Within this UK report we have therefore focused on the manner in which ICTs have been viewed as supporting the social, economic and cultural integration of BME communities within the context of this 'two dimensions' changing and ambivalent view of a culturally diverse citizenship in the UK.

¹⁰⁹ The report sparked a lively debate as can be seen, for instance, in a series of comments and discussion reported in the BBC website (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/3600791.stm).

National policies on social inclusion and IEM. Overall social policy on social inclusion in the UK focuses mainly on socio-economic factors. Ethnicity and race form second level considerations in much of the material published by the government on this topic.¹¹⁰

The UK Government maintained a Social Exclusion Unit from 1998 through until 2007,¹¹¹ whose role was to coordinate the Government's drive against social exclusion, ensuring that the cross-departmental approach delivers for those most in need. The Task Force championed the needs of the most disadvantaged members of society within Government, ensuring that as with the rest of the public service reform agenda, people are put first.

Initially this existed under the Cabinet Office and then under the Office of the Deputy Prime-minister. With the recent change in cabinet and the structure of government departments the Unit became part of a broader neighbourhoods initiative. Within this policy area work is primarily focused on broad national economic policy to overcome issue of exclusion due to poverty and low income across all cultural groups. A secondary focus, with a de fact more celar mandate with regard to issues of race and ethnicity, are policies in support of neighbourhood renewal. Since BME groups are over-represented in deprived neighbourhoods, they are the prime beneficiaries of such neighbohourood policies.

National policies linking social inclusion to ICT (including eGovernment) and IEM. Within the work of the Social Exclusion Unit a focus on ICT was made in the period 2000 to 2004 through an ad hoc Task Force. The Unit report *Bringing Britain together: a national strategy for neighbourhood renewal* (Social Exclusion Unit 1998), led to set up 18 Policy Action Teams (PATs) to take forward further work in key policy areas and recommendaions were produced in 2000.¹¹² The separate PAT 15 was asked to produce a report on Information Technology, which was also delivered in 2000. The overall policy context derived from these reports has a local community focus – with policies, delivery and solutions to be expected at and supported at a local level. This is indicated in a number of statements from the the two mentios reports, which we report below (so the text has not been changed and reflect the timing and plans set in 2000):

PAT 18:

- ☒ Local management of ICT facilities should encourage local ICT champions and mentors to be drawn from the same background as the community they serve. They should also ensure that local provision reflects the cultural background of the neighbourhood, e.g. by providing supported home loan of laptops in communities where women find using public facilities difficult. Project proposals should be carefully assessed to make certain that they do not discriminate against particular groups, explicitly or implicitly.
- ☒ A key target group of the UK online centres includes people from minority ethnic groups. In addition; all centres must provide access to people with special needs.
- ☒ Department for Education and Employment is exploring designing UK Online Centre content specifically for minority ethnic groups. DfEE is planning to undertake research and development activity to identify ways of supporting access to ICT for Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups in deprived areas. This will include exploring the role of local ICT Champions and mentors

Below are the key recommendations from the PAT 15 Report:

- ☒ There is evidence to suggest that there is scope for further development of combined basic skills and/or language (ESOL) and computer literacy training to meet the needs of BME groups in deprived communities.

¹¹⁰ Naturally minority specific laws and report are a separate domain death with by the Commission on Racial Equality amounting to a vast body of material whose analysis is clearly outside the scope of this report.

¹¹¹ http://www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force.aspx

¹¹² See for instance PAT 18 (2000).

- ☒ In order to promote training in, and use of, ICT it is important to build on those aspects that people value – including ability to help children with their studies, improving employment prospects and social interaction at publicly provided ICT facilities.
- ☒ In order to meet a diversity of client preferences/requirements, there is scope for promoting networking amongst local providers, to co-ordinate provision and promote each other's services.

So it can be concluded that as early as the year 2000, while there was not any specific and ad hoc national policies on ICT for IEM, the BME was at least recognised as a target alongside other disadvantaged groups as long as they lived in deprived communities.

Following up on the recommendations of PAT18 and PAT15 the UK Online Centres were set up as joint action of the Department for Education and Skills (DfES, now split into Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills) and the Department for Trade and Industry.

In particular the DfES has followed up on the recommendations of PAT18 and in 2003 published a report with recommendations titled *Supporting Access to ICT for BME Groups in Deprived Areas* (DfES 2003a) based on two research projects: a) *The Use Of and Attitudes Towards Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) by People from Black and Minority Ethnic Groups Living in Deprived Areas* (DfES 2003b); b) *Scoping the availability of software in ethnic minority languages* (DfES 2003c).

The research on use and attitudes toward ICT (DfES 2003b) was undertaken jointly by CRER, the Institute for Employment Research and the Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies at the University of Leeds. The project was concerned with how people from minority ethnic groups living in disadvantaged areas of the UK access and use ICT. It involved both a national household questionnaire survey and detailed local studies involving qualitative interviews and focus groups conducted in Handsworth, Wolverhampton, Bradford and Leeds. The research found a variation in ICT use according to ethnicity, with the averages for ownership being 72% mobile phones, 43% digital TVs and 38% PCs. The main reasons for not using the Internet were lack of skills (48%) and lack of interest 41%. Already in 2003 the report found that BME populations show a higher uptake of the Internet compared to the expected rate based on wealth, which is thought to be because the motivation is higher, since relatives overseas can be communicated with cheaply (Bradbrock and Fisher, 2004: 42). The report recommended combining ICT with English language classes, finding a relevant link to an individual's life and supporting the joining-up of ICT projects / provision. The second research project (DfES) on software availability recognized that language is a barriers with the dominance of English and recommended the adoption of technical solutions allowing any language and characters to be displayed as real text (as Unicode for instance). A solution adopted, for instance, by the Multikulti project (www.multikulti.org), which we surveyed in step 1 of the study.

On the basis of these findings and of the analysis of 9 good practice cases the policy report (DfES 2003a) concluded that many of the ways of reaching black and minority ethnic (BME) communities with technology are not different to reaching any generic community e.g. holistic, flexible and localised ICT provision and that the cases have good outcomes but are not able to communicate these sufficiently to funders. Accordingly, following on from a gap recognised by PAT 15, the report made several recommendations including the following:

- ☒ Support functions are needed, such as language support, childcare and services, which are culturally sensitive and ethnically diverse;
- ☒ Increase access to software in minority languages.
- ☒ Use the term 'project champions' rather than 'community champions'.

- ☒ Map BME projects and help establish networks and partnerships to develop joint funding applications, exchange good practice and facilitate capacity building.
- ☒ ICT learning opportunities need to make available women only times to be accessible to specific BME groups.

It is important to note, however, that these documents published in 2003 by a national level department such as DfES remain to our knowledge the only national level policy material where an explicit reference and focus on ICT and BME appears. Ever since 2003, no other material has been published on the topic by the DfES or by its successor.¹¹³

In 2005 the UK Cabinet office published the national digital strategy: *Connecting the UK: the Digital Strategy* (Cabinet Office 2005), where no specific references to BME was present at all. A new Digital Equality Strategy is due to be released in October 2008, but confidential information indicates that will not contain any ad hoc reference to BME.¹¹⁴

The same kind of dynamic of disappearing focus at least at the national level can be observed for what concerns **eGovernment** services and multi-language. In 2002 The UK governments now closed (May 2007) Cabinet office e-Government Unit provided online guidance on government WWW site development. Within these guidelines three issues with regard to language and cultural context were raised. First, under the section '2.4.2.1 Key audiences to remember' the following point is made: "Many people in the UK do not use English as their first language. Extra care should be taken to ensure that the English used on a web page is clear and simple to understand". Second, reference is made to the 'Race Relations (Amendment) Act' and the need for web site developers to: "have 'due regard' to how you will: eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, promote equal opportunities, and promote good relations between people from different racial groups". Third, direct reference is made to the Welsh language as "The Welsh Language Act 1993 establishes in law the equality of the Welsh and English languages in Wales. It places an obligation on the public sector to treat the Welsh and English languages equally in the provision of services to the public in Wales." Specific guidance is provided on the method by which language specific pages should be implemented in HTML with some commentary on the fact the typography, layout and length of content may vary by language.¹¹⁵

This guidelines site is no-longer live and can only be accessed via the cabinet office archive (<http://archive.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/e-government/about/>). The directive is maintained only for archive and historical purpose. As a matter of fact among website of high national relevance, only the NHS one provides information in different languages.¹¹⁶ The main UK e-government site where citizens from all backgrounds can access information on government, citizenship and legal issues is at <http://www.direct.gov.uk/> and makes the following statement about language and government information: "English is the official language of the United Kingdom and is spoken by around 400 million people around the world". The site notes the global nature of English as a first and second language, varieties of accent and dialect around the UK, the equal standing of Welsh as a national language of government in Wales, and comments on Scots Gaelic and Cornish. The direct.gov pages are only available in English and Welsh. It is also interesting to note that the governments 'Life in the UK Test' information website is also only available in English and Welsh, and that the test itself can only be taken

¹¹³ Based on advanced search done at <http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/research/programmeofresearch/index.cfm?type=5&keywordlist1=ICT&keywordlist2=Ethnic+minorities&keywordlist3=0&andor=and&keyword=&x=41&y=12>

¹¹⁴ Work in support to the strategy has been undertaken by Foley, Osimo and Codagnone of Tech4i2 Limited. This information, however, cannot be made public until the mention strategy is released.

¹¹⁵ Also in 2002 The e-Government Metadata Standard laid down directives concerning languages (www.govtalk.gov.uk/documents/e-Government_Metadata_Standard_v1.doc).

¹¹⁶ The website of the NHS is an example (see <http://www.nhs24.com/content/>, bottom of the page on the left). Moreover, if ones send a question via e-mail to the NHS website, the reply asks if he/she requires the answer in a language different from English.

in English, unless the migrant intends to live and work in Wales and takes the test in Welsh. Language support for other UK minority languages is only available via telephone.

From this overview it can be inferred that policy focus on ICT and minorities has disappeared at least in very explicit ways from national level discourse and documents. In our view, this reflects the new ambivalence that characterise in general the issue of cultural diversity in the UK. This ambivalence can also be noted at the very micro level of individual cases and projects. In fact, some of the cases we reported in step 1 of the study, if judged only by the explicit information available on their self-description would not be immediately come across as targeted to BME, except in those cases directly organized and managed by associations/organizations of ethnic minorities. This is so, not always but in several cases, as a result of recent debates on positive discrimination that have started to consider this as negative and too exclusive. Accordingly some initiatives do not openly label themselves as targeting ethnic minority, although in practice they do. This is particularly true for initiatives whose *de facto* targets are 2nd and 3rd generations. For instance, the Scottish anti-racisms toolkit apparently does not seem to be targeted specifically to IEM. In reality, the Sheffield Hallam University (SHU) researchers know (personal contact and their overall accumulated tacit knowledge in the field) that the main beneficiaries are 2nd and 3rd generation school teachers who, unfortunately, tend to under achieve even on subjects clearly close to them.

This new ambivalence and sensitivity of the topic, however, does not imply at all that relevant ICT initiatives for IEM have stopped in the UK. Indeed the amount of cases relevant for this study that can be found in the UK is far larger compared to the other three countries included in this study (*see infra*), as can be gathered by the following illustrative overviews.

In the UK it is not uncommon to find local level government institutions providing access to services in multi-language and here we report just two local level examples. Bradford local council has published guidelines about multi-language services (<http://www.bradford.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/B1933B4F-B34C-440A-A566-AA9A6A36977D/0/InterpretationTranslationPolicy.pdf>). They prescribes that in many cases ad hoc responses in languages other than English is to be expected (for instance upon request and providing some time for the council reply) and lists the languages currently catered in some way or another: Punjabi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujerati, Hindi, Polish, Ukranian, Russian. Languages currently catered for in some degree in web presence are: Spoken English (Browsealoud – majority of site); British Sign Language (Video – information about main services); Urdu (pdf – some documents belonging to social services); Polish (pdf – there is one housing benefit document in Polish on the site). The Leeds local council provides basic information and a call centre access concerning taxes in several languages (http://www.leeds.gov.uk/contact_Us/Contact_us_Arabic.aspx) including: Urdu, Arabic, Chinese, Punjabi, Kurdish, Hindi, Farsi, Bengali, Gujerati.

Every public library in the UK must provide information in several languages (which one depending on the location) at least on: a) health; b) safety; c) general public information and services.

A number of publicly funding schemes and privately sponsored funds and competitions still fuel projects and cases that directly or indirectly end up targeting ICT and IEM. Two schemes over the last 5 years appear to have been the main drivers at a national and regional level. First, the Beacon Council project, which identified councils with best practice.¹¹⁷ Second, the digital challenge competition was a follow on vehicle for this. This call was won by Sunderland City Council and the project is currently being implemented.¹¹⁸ Both schemes were run by the Office of the Deputy Prime-minister. A further 10 local authorities who did

¹¹⁷ <http://www.local.odpm.gov.uk/research/beacon/beacon.htm>

¹¹⁸ <http://www.sunderland.gov.uk/wherepeoplematter/>.

not 'win' the Digital Challenge tender have formed the DC10 group and are running or coordinating a range of ICT and inclusion projects.¹¹⁹

Finally, the The ICT focus of the Social Exclusion Unit, and its impact on BME, is now reflected in the goals and activities of the UK Online Centres and their coordinating office at Ufi Ltd.

It must be noted that the link to BME is not direct and explicit but that they are de facto among the primary beneficiaries of the projects.

Therefore, while the more explicit and ad hoc focus that could be found in the period 2000-2003 at the national level is no longer visible and often individual cases do not describe themselves as targeted explicitly and only to BME, the amount of relevant empirical material in the UK is very large and could only be partially analysed within the scope of this report.

5.1.3 Groups selected and rationale

The following are the groups selected both for the supply and demand overview and for the case studies presented in Annex III:

- Bangladeshis
- Pakistanis
- Polish

They reflect two of the most socially and economically excluded BME groups (Bangladeshis and Pakistanis) and a group of European migrants that have had a high media profile over the last five years.

Table 28 Ethnic minority population size

	Total population		Minority ethnic population	
	Count	%		%
White	54153898	92.1		n/a
Mixed	677117	1.2		14.6
Asian or Asian British				
Indian	1053411	1.8		22.7
Pakistani	747285	1.3		16.1
Bangladeshi	283063	0.5		6.1
Other Asian	247664	0.4		5.3
Black or Black British				
Black Caribbean	565876	1.0		12.2
Black African	485277	0.8		10.5
Black Other	97585	0.2		2.1
Chinese	247403	0.4		5.3
Other	230615	0.4		5.0
<i>All minority ethnic population</i>	4635296	7.9		100
All population	58789194	100		n/a

¹¹⁹ <http://www.dc10plus.net/links-and-resources/research>

Table 28 above details the total minority ethnic population in the UK. The size of the minority ethnic population was 4.6 million in 2001 or 7.9% of the total population of the United Kingdom. Indians were the largest minority group, followed by Pakistanis, those of mixed ethnic backgrounds, black Caribbeans, black Africans and Bangladeshis. The remaining minority ethnic groups each accounted for less than 0.5% but together accounted for a further 1.4% of the UK population. (Data Sources: Census, April 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census, April 1991, Office for National Statistics.) Table 29 below breaks down the migration patterns in 2006 by standard UK categories of EU, Commonwealth nations and 'other'.

Table 29 Total migration in 2006

Total International Migration (1,000's) in 2006										
Citizenship										
	All citizenships	British	Non-British	European Union 15	European Union A8	European Union 25	Commonwealth			Other foreign
							All	Old	New	
Inflow	591	81	510	71	92	167	201	62	139	142
Outflow	400	207	194	44	22	66	67	42	24	61
Balance	+191	-126	+316	+27	+71	+100	+134	+20	+115	+81

In selecting these groups for the UK, we are addressing a number of specific variables. First, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis represent two populations which formed part of the larger scale migration to the UK in the period 1950s to the 1970s, in part engendered by UK industry, which proactively sought labour from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. They are also Commonwealth nations and are part of the UK's colonial history. Bangladeshis and Pakistanis are two of the most socially, culturally and economically excluded BME groups. The Polish community represents a group of European migrants that have had a high media profile over the last five years.

In undertaking the research and fieldwork it has become clear that few projects, groups or institutions work solely on any reasonable scale with only one community. For example the Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti (see Annex III) was selected as, from available data, it appears to be highly focused on the Bangladeshi community and on social and cultural integration. In many cases the funding available to such delivery organisations is not, and cannot be, solely apportioned on the basis of ethnic community membership. Such funding is provided to support general issues of social, economic and cultural exclusion and therefore in domains such as ICT, that are deemed not to be culture specific such organisations provide support to a wide range of socially and economically excluded groups. This reflects aspects of policy described above and below in which cultural and ethnic community issues are deemed only to be part, potentially secondary ones, of social exclusion issues.

5.2 Supply-side overview and analysis

5.2.1 Introduction

A number of premises and clarifications are needed for a correct reading of this country report. First, as noted above a key starting point was the work of the Social Exclusion Unit

(SEU) Task Force focussed on ICT. After the closing of the SEU the task force was included until 2007 a Digital Inclusion Team, subsequently its activities have been shifted to the Welsh office and at present the SHU team could not identify any major additional work coming out from such Task Force. Much of the national government strategic work on ICT and exclusion/inclusion, with its more or less direct or indirect relevance to BME, appears to have been undertaken in the 2000 to 2005 period. A key project at that time was UK online – now UK Online Centres. Accordingly in section 7.2.2 we review some national and regional level strategic initiatives in addition to those already discussed in the characterisation of the policy context (section 7.1.2). To our knowledge, the combination of the contents of sections 7.1.2 and 5.2.2 is a fully comprehensive account of this kind of activity.

Second, also as explained earlier, despite the decreasing visibility within national strategic initiative since 2005, the amount of cases and materials potentially relevant for the topic ICT and IEM in the UK is very large and there are many sources and repositories of cases widely available:

- ☒ CLG's 'ICT Bucket'¹²⁰
- ☒ The Digital Challenge case study database¹²¹
- ☒ UK Online Centre Case Studies¹²²
- ☒ Awards
 - ☐ eWellbeing Awards¹²³
 - ☐ AOL awards¹²⁴
 - ☐ BT Community Connections awards¹²⁵

Providing a representative and comprehensive overview of all this material was starkly beyond the time and financial resources available for this study. Accordingly for step 1 of the study we provided new cases with respect to those that can be found from the cited sources. This list had no ambition to be exhaustive but was only exemplificative. The earlier collected cases represents part of the evidence commented in sections 7.2.3 through 7.2.5 (the summary tables on the various cases are included in section 7.2.7). In addition we have identified a range of ICT projects with BME involvement or that are focused on supporting/integrating BME. The supply side overview remains, however, exemplificative and illustrative with respect to the bulk of cases that could be potentially retrieved and analysed. This especially valid with respect to the wide range of user generated and/or language adapted content cases that exist in the UK. It must be stressed that in examining the activity of this range of organisations the goal of cultural integration is in nearly all cases a secondary activity to that of social and economic integration, especially to issues of access and skills.

Third, within the context of the UK supply side, organisations and institutions do not split easily into the categories of Commercial, Public and Third Sector. For example UK Online Centres are mostly run on the ground by small 'third sector' local organisations – in the spirit of the government's local focus for ICT provision. The University for Industry Ltd (UFI), that manages the network of centres, is a commercial institution. The money received by the UFI to support its activity comes from the Learning and Skills Council, itself funded by central government. The UFI can charge commercial rates and sell specific learning products. Some of the on-the-ground organisations themselves receive other local, regional and national funding as well as, in some cases, offering for profit services. In the following sections we have therefore concentrated on: National/Regional strategic projects; Commercial support and

¹²⁰ <http://archive.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/seu/downloaddoc1890.pdf?id=790>

¹²¹ See search tool on <http://www.dc10plus.net/>

¹²² <http://www.ukonlinecentres.com/corporate/content/category/6/17/110/lang/en/>

¹²³ <http://www.sustainit.org/ewell-being-awards/index.php>

¹²⁴ <http://info.aol.co.uk/about/community/innovation/case-studies/index.adp>

¹²⁵ <http://www.btcommunityconnections.com/page.php?id=36>

provision; Local (often 'third sector') activities. A contrasting case is that of www.citizenonline.org.uk. Citizenonline is a national charity set up to create cross-sector partnerships to promote digital inclusion. Individual projects and partnerships supported or brokered by Citizenonline are set up to enhance social inclusion, communication and connectivity in deprived communities in the UK. The charity works with business to create action programmes and to award schemes for community based ICT schemes in communities. The charity also works as a national body to lobby government on policy issues. Citizenonline offers commercial consultancy on aspects of digital inclusion. The charity has strong links to industry and the commercial sector through its Alliance for Digital Inclusion whose main sponsors are AOL, BT, Cisco Systems, DSG International Plc, Intel and Microsoft. As with UK Online Centres, actual project delivery is often through local and community organisations. In the summary table we have provided some key examples listing them as best we can against the categories of commercial, public and third sector.

5.2.2 National/regional strategic projects

Following on from this broad definition of social exclusion a number of government departments have undertaken to support the use of ICT for social inclusion. The focus of the majority of this work has been on local 'community based' provision of access to ICT. For example the Department for Education & Employment (DfEE) report 'ICT: Help Your Community to Get Ahead' in 2000 argued that:

"ICT learning centres will provide a *local* place for *local* people to meet, learn and achieve. They could be in a community centre, church, or a mobile centre, for example for those in rural or dispersed communities – whatever best suits the needs of the people who will use it. (emphasis in original)"

The implementation of this approach to 'bridging the digital divide' involved a number of cross government projects, for example:

- ☒ Department for Education & Employment 1999 initiative to establish 85 City Learning Centres, based in inner-city schools
- ☒ Department of Trade & Industry's 3000 'IT For All' centres in libraries, schools, adult education centres and other community groups, aiming to provide beginners with 'entry level' experience of IT.
- ☒ Department of Culture, Media and Sport committed to link every public library to the internet by 2002 through £200 million of New Opportunities Funding to the Public Libraries IT Network.
- ☒ Department of the Environment, Transport and Regions' included access to ICT as part of its 'New Deal for Communities' funding.

Though specific local, regional and national funding initiatives continue this push towards a 'community based' approach to ICT access and skills has become formalised in the UK Online Centres. The former Department for Education and Skills created the UK Online Centres. The network is now run by the UK online centres team at the University for Industry (Ufi). The Ufi also runs the learndirect programme. The Ufi is a Limited Company whose major income sources are directly and indirectly from government (Learning and Skills Council, which in turn is funded by the Department for Education and Skills, Home Office), EU (European Social Fund) and from the sale of learning materials to its network and small businesses.

As noted earlier, policy and resources are directed towards local activities, often at a sub-regional level. The main conduits for resources being UK Online Centres, Local Council/Authority initiatives (using both local tax income and national funding), Regional

Development Agency programmes (e.g. Objective 1 and ERDF funded) as well as programmes funded locally or nationally from key departments (Previously Department of Trade and Industry and Department of Education and Skills – Post the change in premiership Department for Children, Schools and Families and Department for Innovation Universities and Skills). As such most of the supply is provided through local organisations, with one of the key co-ordinators being the UK-Online Centres.

Apart from a number of specific cases, the examples we have found of BME and ICT projects linked to issues of BME social inclusion (very broadly defined) have been part of, sub elements of or spin-outs from other ICT inclusion projects. Very often they appear to be specific community engagements within broader 'community ICT projects' and are not initially or overtly designed around a BME/ICT inclusion strategy. In all the cases we have identified the key objective is increasing ICT skills – for education, access to services or general employability. It is important to note is that few, if any projects are overtly for the purposes of broader cultural integration.

5.2.3 Public sector

We have identified four main public sector providers of ICT-related support, content, training and access outside of formal education and igher education:

- Public service broadcasters – essentially the BBC
- Libraries
- LearnDirect
- UK Online Centres

Public service broadcasting in the UK – especially and predominantly the BBC – has a major role to play in national culture. The BBC provides a large range of radio, TV, print and online resources for BME groups. Simple searches of the BBC WEB site provide access to a wealth of material of relevance to BME community members. This content is not yet presented in as structured and organised a manner as the BBC radio, TV and print materials.

Libraries provide a key point of access to ICT in many communitis following the implemntaion of nation policy to enure their connection to the Internet. As a result libraries form a major part of the UK Online Centres network. Libraries can also function to support community engagement projects. One such example was the 'Black Country Libraries in Partnership – BITS for All' project. This project involved Wolverhampton, Dudley, Sandwell, and Walsall Councils supporting this library-based project to provide older people and ethnic minorities better access to ICT provision and to develop ICT skills. The project developed tailored ICT training packages in English and community languages such as Punjabi, Hindi and Urdu to teach users about computer, internet and e-mail use. Some specific goals relevant here were to encourage the use of ICT facilities in libraries by ethnic minority elders and to form partnerships with local colleges, voluntary organisations and trainers.

As noted above, UK Online Centres and LearnDirect are run by Ufi. LearnDirect has a remit from the government to support post-16 training in the UK. Both activities are a mix of government funded and charged provision through directly and indirectly delivered services. The Ufi is registered as a limited company and as a charitable trust. The work of the UK Online Centres in engaging with BME groups predominantly takes place though local and third sector organisations accredited by UFI. As such discussion of this provision is left for the following sections of this report. LearnDirect offers a very large range of training in ICT, languages (including ESOL) and business skills. These courses are delivered either online or through key agencies which may be schools, colleges, private suppliers and possibly

accredited local community agencies (that may also be a UK Online Centre). Courses range in cost from nothing (free) through to full cost accredited qualifications. LearnDirect operates a network of more than 800 online learning centres in England and Wales. Provision is tailored to both individual needs and to employers looking for staff training solutions. The LearnDirect website claims that, since 2000, more than two million learners have enrolled on almost 4.5 million LearnDirect courses. A key aspect of LearnDirect delivery is access to ICT facilities and the Internet. The LearnDirect web site does not discuss issues of social exclusion/inclusion and BME groups – except in relation to the provision of ESOL support and training.

An example of a regional initiative is that of the Yorkshire-Safe programme illustrated in Annex III.

5.2.4 Commercial sector

Commercial provision for access and training in ICT for BME groups, especially with a focus on social and cultural integration, is limited. This section overviews some of the main potential examples, noting the points made above that many providers and organisations function at the intersection of the private, public and third sectors, the key example being the UK Online Centres.

Standard commercially provided access and training includes internet cafés and commercial ICT training. Internet cafés, the first of which (Cyberia) opened in London in 1994, are now available in nearly all UK towns and cities. Access costs and facilities vary greatly – though currently costs of £3 to £4 per hour are normal. This makes Internet Cafés good for short-term use of facilities but very costly for longer term or repeated use. Commercially provided training and ICT consultancy is widely available throughout the UK. This provision obviously includes all levels of skills and training from basic digital literacy through to accredited training with respect to major ICT suppliers such as Microsoft. Much of this training is likely to be far too expensive for many in the target BME communities.

Commercial television offers a range of media services to the BME community. In particular digital and satellite providers supply BME targeted channels such as Simply Asian and Black Entertainment Television. Though the project team could not find specific examples of UK based 'Internet TV' channels dedicated to BME community it is likely that some may exist and that these will develop soon. Also a number of YouTube channels support BME groups (e.g. Showing Black.Com), are dedicated to ethnic groups in the UK (e.g. Net Broadcasting Inc (pvt) – Pakistani TV) or focus on issues of social, economic and cultural inclusion (e.g. Equality and Human Rights Commission).

One example of local commercial provision we have found in reviews of third sector intervention is SheBytes, which is a private sector ICT consultant and provider based in London. SheBytes aims to provide training, advice and support to organisations and individuals. SheBytes has delivered services in conjunction with community organisations working with BME groups. It is likely that many community-based and third sector organisations make extensive use of such networks of local commercial and other non-commercial partners in supporting their on going day-to-day activity.

5.2.5 Third sector

Over the course of this project we have identified over 100 local organisations that offer access, training and support for ICT use to BME communities – either directly or as an element of other activity. In the following discussion we address those cases that we view as

having a strong BME support aspect to their work. In the examples table that follows at the end of this section on the UK we have listed examples from this set. In the rest of this section we provide further information on a sample of some examples of such organisations to support the following discussion points and Riga goals analysis.

Groups working primarily with the Bangladeshi Community. Bangladeshis are one of the most socially and economically excluded Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups in the UK. As noted in the discussion of migration and social exclusion above, unemployment rates for the Bangladeshi community are high both in some local areas and nationally. Bangladeshis are twice as likely to be unemployed as compared to the overall population according to the Office for National Statistics.

The Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti (BYCS) presented in Annex III particularly targets ethnic minority groups in Leicester in the area surrounding the organisation's two centres based in a mostly residential area of Victorian terrace housing – these are predominantly, but not solely, occupied by the Bangladeshi community.

The Bangladeshi Youth Organisation (BYO) operates in the Manningham area of Bradford. It represents one of the few organisations that focus solely on the Bangladeshi community. In this case it provides a social, cultural and educational support for in the local area. Like the BYCS case, the BYO was established to meet the social and cultural activities of local youth. As with the BYCS it now offers education and training – including that in ICT. The BYO focuses on young people with limited education and new arrivals to the UK. For the BYO ICT use is viewed as a means of addressing a range of issues including language skills, which limit inclusion in UK society. Like the BYCS it offers a range of services supported by staff that is local and sensitive to cultural issues. ICT support focuses on skills and language acquisition and training to improve socio-economic involvement.

Groups working with Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian communities. CALTEC (Computer Assisted Learning and Training Centre) provides access to ICT for adult learners in Bradford. Like the BYO case it operates in the Manningham district. The project runs accredited and non-accredited ICT courses. These courses are delivered through a network of neighbourhood venues such as community centres and local schools. The two locations used by CALTEC have UK Online Centre status. Like the previous cases CALTEC offers accredited training within a local community context. In this case the majority uses of CALTEC are women from the local Pakistani community. Recognising the significant barrier that language can play for many of its users, CALTEC provides a number of language support mechanisms for its users whilst also taking a flexible approach. Once again language barriers preventing access to both ICT and the wider UK society are major issue and language-training provision is provided as part of the CALTEC offer.

Jamia Rehmania Educational and Cultural Trust is a faith-based voluntary organisation in Castlefield in Buckinghamshire serving the Muslim Kashmiri (Pakistani) community. It was set up in 1996 and has since been serving a large number of local residents regularly throughout the week, including after school lessons for children. They are taught to read in Urdu and Arabic as well as reciting from the Quran. The Trusts primary aim is to be a focal point for the local community and to provide religious and cultural. The organisation provides ICT courses on a weekly basis from its ICT suite. Language support is provided including teaching in Urdu and Arabic.

Naari LETS is a women's project in Leicester serving the local South Asian community. It is based on the principles of exchanging skills among members using a non-monetary exchange system of 'Motis'. Members exchange skills in areas as wide as cookery to sewing through to ICT. Naari LETS represents a small project providing access to ICT in a non-traditional and culturally sensitive way.

The Oxford Ethnic Minority Business Service (OEMBS) is an initiative of Oxfordshire Ethnic Minorities Enterprise Developments Ltd established in 20 years ago. The EMBS aims to: help members of ethnic minority communities to start new businesses in potentially viable markets; encourage and promote the expansion of existing ethnic minority; provide skills training to improve access to the labour market, specifically in Business Start-up Skills, Information Technology, Sewing, Basic Literacy, Numeracy and Communication Skills. The OEMBS has offices in Oxford and Banbury. As with the BYCS case members of the local BME community run the OEMBS. The OEMBS board members are volunteers representing minority ethnic groups, local government and public sector organisations. They over-look and control all aspects of the Ethnic Minorities Business Service activities. Unlike the BYCS case these offices are not located centrally within a low-income area of a majority BME population, and the Centres do not work as drop-in ICT resource for the surrounding area.

Organisations offering support to a variety of socially-excluded groups. A range of other local providers support a wider spectrum of people experiencing aspects of social exclusion. This includes the groups covered above as well as less 'visible' minorities with the UK such as migrants from Europe, asylum seekers, and marginalised groups within the longer standing British population. Two examples of such organisations that also focus specifically on women are First Step North East and MEWN Cymru. First Step North East is a charitable organisation based Newcastle-upon-Tyne. First Step is a multi-racial project providing women with accredited pre-vocational and vocational education, training and employment opportunities. It also has an UK Online Centre linked to the National Grid for Learning. The organisation was set up by a small group of community activists and is now a larger professional organisation. Minority Ethnic Women's Network Wales (MEWN Cymru) is an umbrella body representing ethnic minority (visible and non visible) women across Wales, regardless of their age, religious observance, ethnicity or life choices. The aim of the network is that of empowering black and minority ethnic women and increasing their access to a wide range of opportunities and services. Once again ICT training is a core part of the service provided, as are language skills.

5.2.6 Qualitative assessments from case studies

In discussing the supply side issues faced by project leaders and developers seeking to engage BME groups and communities with ICT, some key issues came to the fore in the two cases illustrated in Annex III:

- ☒ There is a recognised need to ensure that delivery is local and sensitive to the cultural and personal needs of community members;
- ☒ ICT access and skills are very important to supporting community members in their social and economic integration – especially in relation to employability – and this skills agenda drives activity and delivery;
- ☒ Funding for organisations predominantly focuses on initial language, citizenship and skills agendas;
- ☒ Integration does not mean cultural assimilation but relates to opportunities to engage dynamically in social, economic and civic life;
- ☒ Acculturation is viewed, at best, as a long-term impact of ICT use. Skills, social and economic engagement and citizenship issues remain the focus. Acculturation was seen as being a potential long term effect, but one which communities or individuals may resist;
- ☒ There are key differences in needs between generations and genders within BME communities;
- ☒ Funding is key to the structural form of delivery. In the two case studies in Annex III and in nearly all the cases described above funding comes from the following sources:
 - UK Online Centres

- ❑ Learning and Skills Council
- ❑ Regional and national government
- ❑ Regional Development Agencies
- ❑ European Regional Development Fund
- ❑ European Social Fund

As such the agenda for activities by local community agencies is often directly tied to the skills agenda and therefore to practical social, civic and economic integration. Such funding does not support softer acculturation outputs. Such funding also limits engagements to initial training rather than longer-term personal development of service users.

5.2.7 Supply side overview summary tables

Table 30: National and strategic initiatives

	Name and URL	Description (including which groups are targeted)	Supplier	Stage of development	Users targeted and documented usage by IEM ¹²⁶
commercial	UK Online Centres Network managed by University for Industry Ltd www.ukonlinecentres.com	Central unit for the management and accreditation of UK Online Centres	University for Industry Ltd	2001 Setup by DfES - now run by Ufi - organisers of Learn Direct	UK Online Centres Web Resources are available to all users.
public	Social Exclusion Unit (now closed) http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/ (www.socialexclusion.gov.uk - available through cabinet office archive)	Main aim was to assess past policy and identify future trends.	UK Government	Setup - 1997 by PM - part of the cabinet office - then moved to office of the deputy prime minister (ODPM) in 2002	All persons experiencing social exclusion
third sector	Citizens Online www.citizensonline.org.uk	National charity committed to researching and addressing the issues of Universal Internet Access and promoting digital inclusion.	Key sponsors: BT, AOL, Cisco, Microsoft, Intel	Set up in 2001, projects ongoing	All organisations, companies, groups and government agencies engaged with the digital inclusion agenda

¹²⁶ Documented means in either quantitative (how many users) or qualitative (i.e. extracts from interviews about appreciation of the service) terms.

Table 31 Examples of local and community providers

	Name and URL	Description (including which groups are targeted)	Supplier	Users targeted and documented usage by IEM127
Commercial	Shebytes www.shebytes.com	Commercial company which works to deliver ICT services in the East London area	Commercial consultant	Range of ICT users in the local community – via local community groups
	The Ethnic Jobsite Marketing@ethnicjobsite.co.uk	Working with public and private sector which strives to see that job placements in the UK provide an accurate reflection of diversity within British society.	Online Ethnic Media Ltd	Ethnic Minorities nationwide
	LearnDirect	Provision of ICT and language skills training	UFI Ltd	Any persons wishing to take up training
Public	Greenwich Online www.greenwichonline.gov.uk	Nationwide Government initiative targeted at groups that are traditionally thought to be social excluded	Local government	Low income, non ICT users
	Black Country Libraries in Partnership BITS for all www.idea.gov.uk/idk/aio/1002497	Four regional councils have developed libraries project for older people and ethnic minorities better access to ICT provision and to develop ICT skills	Local government authorities	Older people and ethnic minorities in Wolverhampton, Dudley, Sandwell and Walsall
	Online support for ethnic minority attainment www.emaonline.org.uk/ema/index.cfm	Online resource for teachers developed by Birmingham, Manchester and Leeds LEAs	Local area education authorities	Focuses on children and young people with English as an additional language and ethnic minorities.
	Yorkshire eSafe	Partnership between SHU, police, DTI SOCA and MYCCI to enhance awareness of esafety issue in IT	Police, university and regional development agency	Ethnic Minorities and community engagement in business.
	iRespect www.irespect.net/index.htm	Exists to promote positive tolerance, cultural diversity and active citizenship.	Local government authority	Regional service for the people of Gloucestershire

¹²⁷ Documented means in either quantitative (how many users) or qualitative (i.e. extracts from interviews about appreciation of the service) terms.

Third sector	Bangladeshi Youth Organisation www.bym.org.uk/spash.asp	Aims to create better lives for the Bangladeshi community and address the economic exclusion experienced by the community	Local community members	Young Bangladeshi people who live in Manning in Bradford
	CALTEC Computer Assisted Learning and Training Centre www.bradford.gov.uk	Basic skill education for adults experiencing social and economic disadvantage in the Bradford District	Local community members	Ethnic Minorities, Low incomes, Lone Parents, 16-18 year olds
	The Ethnic Minority Business Service http://www.s105152020.websitehome.co.uk/	Help ethnic minorities to start new businesses in potentially viable market areas with the assistance of existing services	Local community members	Ethnic Minorities Nationwide
	Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti http://www.bycs.org.uk/	Aims to create better lives for the Bangladeshi community and address the economic exclusion experienced by the community	Local community members	Bangladeshi community and others in the local area experiencing social exclusion including the Pakistani and Polish Communities
	Jamia Rehmania Educational and Cultural Trust http://homepage.ntlworld.com/khalilahmed/jamiarehmania/index.htm	Faith based voluntary organisation based in Castlefield in Buckinghamshire serving the Muslim Kashmiri (Pakistani) community. Provides ICT courses on a weekly basis from its ICT suite. Language support is provided including teaching in Urdu and Arabic.	Local community members	Pakistani community in Castlefield

	<p>Naari LETS http://beehive.thisisleicestershire.co.uk/default.asp?WCI=SiteHome&ID=2030</p>	<p>A women's project in Leicester serving the local South Asian community. Based on the principles of exchanging skills among members using a non-monetary exchange system of 'Motis'. Members exchange skills in areas as wide as cookery to sewing through to ICT. Naari LETS represents a small project providing access to ICT in a non-traditional and culturally sensitive way.</p>	<p>Local community members</p>	<p>South Asian (Bangladeshi, Pakistani, and Indian) community in Leicester</p>
	<p>First Step North East</p>	<p>First Step North East is a charitable organisation based Newcastle-upon-Tyne. First Step is a multi-racial project providing women with accredited pre-vocational and vocational education, training and employment opportunities. It also has an UK Online Centre linked to the National Grid for Learning.</p>	<p>Local community members</p>	<p>Women from all BME groups in the West of Newcastle-upon-Tyne especially Bangladeshi and Pakistani Women.</p>
	<p>MEWN Cymru.</p>	<p>Minority Ethnic Women's Network Wales (MEWN Cymru) is an umbrella body representing ethnic minority (visible and non visible) women across Wales, regardless of their age, religious observance, ethnicity or life choices. The aim of the network is that of empowering black and minority ethnic women and increasing their access to a wide range of opportunities and services.</p>	<p>Local community members</p>	<p>Minority Ethnic Women in Welsh communities experiencing social exclusion</p>

	Fatima Woman Network www.fatima-network.com	Online Resource helping to present all woman's issues at a regional and national level	Local community member	Woman - especially from diverse communities and disadvantaged backgrounds
	Black and ethnic minority experience www.be-me.org	Research and curriculum project to unearth the hidden stories of Wolverhampton's black heritage	Local community member	Black and Asian people in Wolverhampton
	Multikulti www.multikulti.org.uk	Portal providing information and learning materials in community languages	Lottery Funded	Ethnic Minorities nationally
	The engine room UK online centre www.peabody.org.uk/pages/getpage.aspx?id=127	Encourages BME to have a say in how their local area is managed and developed	Local community members	Local community, young people, BME

5.3 Demand side: ICT take up and appropriation

5.3.1 Introduction

For the UK two fairly comprehensive surveys focusing on awareness, access, and use appropriation of ICT by IEM with break down into groups (white, BME as a whole and within BME break down) are available and provide data for 2002 and 2006. This allows treating ICT take up and appropriation under the same section and using for both quantitative data that speak for themselves. In this respect this UK country report differs in that it does not contain the in depth qualitative analysis of processes presented for other countries, for the scope of the quantitative evidence provides sufficient insights into the end results of such processes. Only some complementary considerations extracted from the case studies are added.

5.3.2 DfES 2003 Report (2002 data)

The first, and up to date the most comprehensive, study published on use of, and attitudes toward, ICT by BME is the earlier quoted research projects published by DfES (2003b). The key results are based on a national representative survey including 1,585 respondents (392 white and 1,193 BME) and conducted in 2002. The respondents were selected from communities in six locations (Inner and Outer London, Glasgow, Cardiff, Birmingham, Leeds/Bradford). The key findings of the study are reported below.

Awareness

- Awareness levels for the sample as a whole were high for mobile phones, digital TVs, PCs and DVD players, but varied for newer technologies like PDAs and MP3 players;
- Awareness of ICT items did not differ considerably between the white group and the aggregated BME group for well-known items like mobile phones and PCs, but there was

some disparity for newer items such as PDAs and WAP phones, with awareness levels higher among white respondents;

- ☒ Relatively low awareness of newer technologies was particularly the case with South Asian and black respondents. For example, awareness of PDAs was 46% and 54% for these groups compared to 66% among the white group;
- ☒ Awareness levels were greatest amongst households containing two or more adults and in households where school-age children were present. This pattern was less apparent for BME groups than the white group.
- ☒ Age was the main predictor of awareness of PCs. Economic position and skill level were significant factors, irrespective of ethnic group. Location was also a significant factor in its own right (people living outside London were more likely to be aware of PCs).
- ☒ Being South Asian was also a significant predictor of PC awareness – South Asian respondents were less likely to be aware of PC technology than other groups after controlling for other factors.

Table 32 ICT awareness (% of respondents)

Item	White	BME Groups	Mixed	South Asian	Black	Chinese & others	All
PCs	87.7	82.8	91.3	82.4	81.4	88.0	84.0
Mobile Phone	99.2	98.9	100.0	98.4	99.5	98.0	99.0
WAP Mobile phone	56.9	45.1	65.2	41.4	46.0	56.0	48.1
Combination Mobile phone and organiser	55.1	44.5	68.1	40.7	46.7	40.0	47.2
PDA	65.9	51.2	72.5	45.9	54.2	62.0	54.9
Internet-connected games console	70.3	59.3	82.6	56.2	60.7	54.0	62.1
DVD Player	83.8	72.7	88.4	70.5	73.3	74.0	75.5
MP3 Player	43.3	36.5	55.1	33.7	35.8	52.0	38.2
Digital TV	92.6	86.3	97.1	86.0	86.3	76.0	87.9
None of these	0.3	1.9	0.0	2.4	1.2	4.0	1.5
Any	390	1170	69	621	430	50	1560

Ownership and availability within the home

- ☒ 83% of the sample owned one or more of a list of ICT items. Ownership of mobile phones was highest (72%), followed by digital TV (43%) and home PC (38%).
- ☒ In the sampled population there were no large differences in general ownership levels of ICT between the white group and the aggregated BME group, and no marked differences by ethnic group in the age of PCs where they were owned.

- ☒ However, PC ownership among South Asian (42%), Chinese and Other (44%) and Mixed (41%) groups was higher than ownership levels of both white and black groups (37% and 31% respectively).
- ☒ Respondents with mixed parentage and those of South Asian origin were more likely to own a digital TV than other groups (52% and 47% compared to an overall BME group figure of 43% and a figure of 39% for white respondents).
- ☒ When analysis controlled for other factors, like household type and income, being black was a significant predictor of lack of PC ownership. Economic position was the main predictor of this, with unemployed and economically inactive people least likely to own a PC. Other significant factors were income level and household type, particularly the presence of children in the household.

Experience of using ICT

- ☒ 78% of sampled respondents had used an ICT item, mobile phones being most used (76%). 42% had used text messaging. 49% had used a PC/laptop. 42% had used the Internet.
- ☒ Experience of use of ICT items was generally higher among men than among women in the sampled population.
- ☒ Age was the main predictor of probability of having used a PC (pensioners were very unlikely to have used one). Other significant factors were economic position and skill level.
- ☒ There were some differences between ethnic groups in the sampled population in experience of using a PC. Respondents of mixed parentage and from Chinese and Other groups reported the highest levels of experience of use across the range of named ICT items, while respondents from South Asian groups reported lower levels of experience than other ethnic groups. Being South Asian was a significant predictor of PC use, after controlling for other factors.
- ☒ Only 38% of South Asian respondents and 40% of black respondents had used the Internet, compared to 45% of white respondents, 54% of Chinese and Other respondents and 61% of respondents from the mixed parentage group. After controlling for other factors, being South Asian, or from a Chinese and Other group were significant predictors of use of the Internet.
- ☒ Use of the Internet at home was lowest for black respondents (22%) and highest for respondents with mixed parentage (38%) and Chinese and Other groups (35%). For white respondents, this figure was 31% and for South Asian respondents, it was 26%. After controlling for other factors, being black was significant in predicting probability of using the Internet at home.
- ☒ Experience of using ICT was greater for respondents in households with children than those in households without children. This was a stronger pattern for white respondents with children (63% had used the Internet) than for BME respondents with children (40% had used the Internet). Levels of use for those without children were very similar between white and BME groups.
- ☒ As might be expected the main influence on use of the Internet was use of a PC, but age and economic position were also significant predictors.

Use of PCs at home

- ☒ The most common use for a PC at home was for own study or learning (70% of respondents reported this). Use of email and surfing the web were the next most common activities (60% for both).
- ☒ Women were more likely than men to have helped children with their learning (68% who used the PC regularly reported this, as opposed to 45.5% of men).
- ☒ BME respondents were more likely to have used a home PC for educational purposes than white respondents (73% compared to 61%).
- ☒ There was little difference between white and BME groups regarding the proportions using their PC to help children with their homework.
- ☒ In contrast, white respondents were more likely than respondents from other ethnic groups to report using their home PC for all other purposes (leisure, e-mail, web surfing, buying goods, etc.)
- ☒ After controlling for other factors, being South Asian was a significant predictor of the probability of using a home PC for leisure and using a home PC for email, probability being lower for South Asian people than other groups.
- ☒ Being a student was the main predictor of using a PC for study purposes. Across a range of purposes, usage levels were greatest among students, those in work and those in higher skill groups.
- ☒ A greater proportion of white respondents than BME respondents had used a home PC to access statutory service provision. 26% of black respondents and 20% of South Asian respondents had done this compared to 34% of white respondents.
- ☒ A higher proportion of respondents from BME than from the white group had used the Internet to access information of relevance to ethnic/religious background (21% of BME group users compared to 9% of white). Interviews indicated that some people valued the use of ICT to access information of specific relevance to their ethnic/religious/cultural background.

Local provision, awareness and use of ICT outside the home

- ☒ Overall awareness of UK online centres and Learndirect was 53%. South Asian and Chinese and Other respondents were less aware of UK online centres and Learndirect than other groups (43 and 38% respectively, though the sample size for the latter group was small).
- ☒ Despite these levels of awareness of UK online centres and Learndirect brands, 64% of respondents in the sample as a whole reported that they were aware of public computer facilities. The local public library was most often cited (by 50%), followed by schools/colleges (32%) and Internet cafes (30%).
- ☒ Highest levels of awareness of public computer facilities were among younger people and respondents with mixed parentage. Of all ethnic groups, awareness was lowest among South Asian respondents, however this was still relatively high (60%).
- ☒ 46% of the total sample had used a public access facility. This was most likely to be a school or college (34%) or a library (26%). Young people were most likely to have used public access facilities.

- ☒ Levels of use of public ICT access facilities were broadly similar for white, South Asian and black groups (42%, 43% and 49% respectively), and were higher for mixed and Chinese and Other groups (63% and 63% respectively, though these figures need to be treated cautiously, due to small sample sizes).
- ☒ People in the South Asian group were significantly less likely to have used public Internet facilities than other groups. Other significant predictors of using public Internet facilities were economic position, skill level and age.

Barriers and facilitators to the use and ownership of ICT

- ☒ The main reasons cited for not using a PC (see table overleaf) were lack of computer literacy (48%) and lack of interest (41%). Lack of computer literacy was more likely to be reported as a barrier among Chinese and Other non-users (60%) and mixed parentage non-users (58%) than other groups.
- ☒ Lack of interest/need was the main reason given by white non-users (60%), compared to only a third of those from black, South Asian and mixed groups. Lack of interest/need was particularly prevalent among older age groups.
- ☒ 25% of South Asian non-PC users and 33% of Chinese and Other non-PC users reported that problems in reading and writing in English prevented them from using a PC. This was not a significant issue for other groups. Controlling for other factors, having poor English language ability was a significant predictor of not having used a PC.
- ☒ Cost was cited by a relatively higher percentage of mixed, Chinese and other and black respondents compared to other groups (58%, 38% and 47% respectively cited this). For white and South Asian groups this was reported as a problem for 26% and 28% of non-users. However, statistical analysis did not reveal ethnic group membership in its own right as a factor in reporting cost as a barrier.
- ☒ 63% of the overall sample reported that they had non-existent or beginner-level ICT skills. This was especially the case for older respondents. Those in work had the highest self-reported computer literacy levels. Overall, reported ICT skill levels were similar between white, South Asian and black ethnic groups, but higher for mixed and Chinese and Other groups.

Table 33 Reasons for not using a PC

Don't use a pc because	White	Mixed Parent Age	South Asian	Black	Chinese & Other	All ethnic groups
Not computer literate / don't know how to use one	46.8	58.3	44.6	51.0	60.0	47.6
No need for a computer / not interested	60.1	33.3	35.1	33.3	53.3	40.8
Cost / cannot afford it	26.0	58.3	27.7	38.4	46.7	31.6
Problems reading and writing in English	5.8	4.2	24.9	7.6	33.3	15.2
No time / too busy	5.2	33.3	21.8	10.1	13.3	15.0
Do not have access to a computer	13.3	16.7	12.0	17.2	20.0	14.0
Other	14.5	4.2	5.8	4.5	6.7	7.5
Lack of information about where to go to use computers or on what is available	3.5	8.3	4.9	5.6	6.7	4.9
Someone else in the household uses it	2.9	4.2	5.8	1.0	0.0	3.7
No software available in my language	0.0	0.0	3.4	2.0	33.3	2.7
Don't like going to places that are mixed sex	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.5
Don't see people from my culture using it	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.5
<i>All responses</i>	173	24	325	198	15	735

- ☒ 80% of respondents said that computer skills were essential to children. BME respondents were slightly more likely than white respondents to say this.
- ☒ Training in computer skills was most often undertaken for reasons linked to employability (i.e. for 'developing skills', 'to succeed at work' or 'to get a new job'). Respondents from the South Asian group were less likely to have undertaken ICT training than those from other BME groups.
- ☒ After controlling for other factors, women, black people and people with intermediate skills were significantly more likely to have undertaken formal ICT training than other groups.
- ☒ Qualitative interviews indicated many participants were motivated to become more conversant with ICT for study and work purposes and also to develop ICT skills like the use of email.
- ☒ The most common reasons for non-use of public facilities were not wanting or not needing to use the facilities (32% and 30% of non-users). This was especially the case for white respondents and older respondents. The most significant factors in non-use of public facilities included age and skill level. South Asian people are also significantly less likely than other groups to use public facilities.

- ☒ In line with findings, above, about barriers to the use of PCs, 25% of BME respondents stated lack of skills in English as a reason for non-use of public facilities. There were indications from interviews that gender may also act as a barrier for some Muslim women.
- ☒ Evidence from qualitative interviews suggests the importance of localised provision for public ICT access in order to encourage BME groups to use facilities. There were mixed views about the importance of targeting provision towards specific ethnic groups or age groups.

The study concluded that: a) awareness and use of ICT among BME emerged as higher than could be expected given their social position; and b) Many of the differences in levels of ICT access and use can be accounted for by age, household structure and income. On the other hand, it also recognised that to some extent ethnicity also emerged as a factor in its own right, for on average in some key aspects South Asian and black groups emerge as disadvantaged - particularly South Asian women. People across all ethnic groups are aware of the importance and role of ICT training, but language and computer literacy represented barriers to this to some extent. Accordingly the recommendations were:

- ☒ There is evidence to suggest that there is scope for further development of combined basic skills and/or language (ESOL) and computer literacy training to meet the needs of BME groups in deprived communities;
- ☒ In order to promote training in, and use of, ICT it is important to build on those aspects that people value – including ability to help children with their studies, improving employment prospects and social interaction at publicly provided ICT facilities.
- ☒ In order to meet a diversity of client preferences/requirements, there is scope for promoting networking amongst local providers, to co-ordinate provision and promote each other's services

5.3.3 OFCOM Reports (2006 data)

The Ofcom report *Communications Market Special Report. Ethnic minority groups and communications services* present some results for the internet consumption services and attitude to communication services specifically for ethnic minorities. During 2006, 9,118 UK adults were interviewed for Ofcom's tracking survey, including 783 individuals from Ethnic Minority Groups (EMGs). The number of interviews with people from EMGs broadly reflects that sub-group's penetration within the total population in 2001 (7.9%). However, the representativeness of individual ethnic minority groups within the total base size (n=783) is not assured as sub-group quotas were not specified within this. The 2006 data has therefore been re-weighted on age, gender and ethnic group to reflect the 2001 Census profile. Base sizes per individual EMG are small and caution should be exercised in data interpretation.

Although the comparability with the earlier presented data is not full (the DfES report focussed more clearly on BME and in specific communities with clear disadvantages), it can be anticipated that the OFCOM 2006 seems to show a clear improvement in BME access and use of ICT. In some respect they present some striking results in which the BME population has overcome the white population (i.e. in access to broadband).

Take up of Internet services 2006. Table 34 shows that computer take-up levels are similar between all adults and BMEs, with around two-thirds of each having a computer at home (66% and 65% respectively). Black Caribbean and black African respondents had slightly lower levels of computer ownership (61% and 58% respectively). Internet household penetration was also similar between groups at around 55%. Among the EMG populations, black Africans were the least likely to have internet access at home, at 42%.

Type of Internet connection. In 2006, of all people who had an internet connection at home, those from an BME were more likely than all UK adults to have broadband (80% compared to 74%), as shown in Table 35 overleaf.

Table 34 Internet access and use

	All Adults(9096)	BME Total (783)	Asian Total (368)	Indian (157)	Pakistani (109)	Black Caribbean (99)	Black African (92)
Have computer - no internet	8%	9%	10%	9%	9%	10%	11%
Internet access - don't personally use	3%	4%	2%	3%	3%	4%	6%
Internet access - personally use	55%	52%	53%	55%	54%	46%	42%
Total	66%	65%	66%	66%	66%	61%	58%

Table 35 Type of Internet connection

	All adults (4745)	BME Total (383)	Asian Total (179)
Broadband	74%	80%	83%
Dial Up	21%	11%	10%

Motivations for having an Internet connection at home. Although the most popular motivations for having an internet connection at home are similar among people from BMEs and all UK adults, those from BMEs are much more likely to see 'children's education' as a reason for having internet access (74% compared to 47% respectively). This is likely to be driven by the greater presence of children in BME households. Other commonly cited reasons from both groups were for emailing/messaging, shopping/transactions and information-seeking as shown in the table below.

Table 36 Motivation for having Internet at home

	All Adults (598)	All BMEs (576)
Email / messaging	76%	77%
Children's education	47%	74%
Shopping / Banking Transactions	59%	58%
Information seeking	57%	57%
Home Working	44%	50%
To be entertained	39%	40%
Knowing what everyone else is talking about	35%	26%

Perceived broadband benefits and features. Both all UK adults and BMEs value speed of access along with reliability of connection as the most important features of broadband (see table overleaf). The ranking order of features was very similar

Table 37 Perception of broadband

	All Adults (1017)	All BMEs (750)
Faster access and download speeds	51%	61%
A more reliable connection	55%	59%
Download music tracks	37%	44%
Wider access to entertainment	36%	43%
More ways of communicating with voice text and SMS	37%	40%
Play interactive games	19%	22%
Listening to radio as it is broadcast	27%	19%

Households with no internet connection 2006. While 42% of all UK adults do not have internet access at home, BMEs appeared less resistant towards adopting the internet, as shown in the table below. In response to the question 'How likely are you to get internet access at home in the next twelve months?' a smaller proportion of BMEs claimed to be unlikely to do so than the total population (59% compared to 73% respectively).

Table 38 eExcluded households

	All Adults (1874)	BME Total (141)
Likely to	22%	25%
Unlikely to	73%	59%
Don't Know	5%	15%

Attitudes to technology. The Ofcom residential tracker asks respondents to agree or disagree with a number of statements regarding communications technology. An overview of the results indicates that the BME population is much more interested in technology across the board, the table below demonstrates this:

Table 39 General attitudes to technology

	All (6679)	BME total (621)
Technology is important to me	69%	83%
I try to keep up with technology	59%	72%
I am more knowledgeable than most people about landlines	16%	27%
I could quite happily live without a mobile phone	50%	37%
I am more knowledgeable than most people about mobile phones	18%	33%

Attitudes to technology: among 15-24 year olds. When isolating young adults aged 15–24, differences in attitudes towards technology are diminished (see table below). The table indicates that the only significant difference in attitudes towards communications technology lies in the level of claimed knowledge regarding mobile phones.

Table 40 Youth attitudes to technology

	All (1169)	BME total (154)
Technology is important to me	86%	90%
I try to keep up with technology	78%	83%
I am more knowledge than most people about landlines	19%	24%
I could quite happily live without a mobile phone	20%	25%
I am more knowledgeable than most people about mobiles	42%	58%

Ofcom's report *Consumer Engagement with Digital Communications Services* built on research relating to availability, take-up and consumption exploring the 'how' and 'why' that underpins these data. The report focused on consumer attitudes and motivations towards digital communications services, and, in particular, the value people place on these services. The core findings of the research were that there are wide-ranging differences in how and why UK consumers engage with digital communications services. Differences in engagement cannot be explained by an individual's age, gender or income alone and broader attitudes towards technology and digital services are also influential factors. An attitudinal segmentation model was developed to provide a richer and more in-depth understanding of the different ways UK consumers engage with communications services. One of the key conclusions was that the majority (68%) of UK consumers have the same broad attitude towards each of the four main digital communications platforms: television, radio, the internet and mobile phones (cross-platform attitudes). A minority (32%) of consumers think about and see value in one platform differently from the others (platform-specific attitudes). (Ofcom Communications Market Special Report: Ethnic Minority Groups and Communications Services. June 2007).

5.3.4 A view from the case studies

Though issues of access remain and are confirmed, the above quantitative results paint a positive picture of BME attitudes toward, and use of, ICT. More positive the picture provided by Ofcom for 2006, than the one presented in the DfES research for 2002. Such improvement can certainly be attributed to time (serious progress has been achieved in the UK Information Society as a whole between 2002 and 2006), but probably is also a result of the difference in the sample, with the 2002 data focussing more on less advantaged communities and the 2006 more generally and generically on the BME population as a whole.

That the situation is probably less positive than how it emerges from the Ofcom report it is confirmed through the work undertaken with our target communities. Field work confirms that in less advantaged communities social exclusion is a multi factored problem that intertwines ethnicity, education, housing, wealth, language, and employment prospects as well as ICT access and skills. In our case studies, the project and community leaders identified the combined impact of many of these factors on their community. Whereas the above quantitative results took BME groups 'en mass' factoring out various other forms of

social exclusion in play. At the same time our interviewees also articulated how their communities viewed lack of access to ICT and ICT skills as one of the main impediments to social and economic integration. Consequently they and their community members had a positive attitude towards ICT use. Once again we saw the social and economic factors coming to the fore over cultural differences.

Having stated that, it must be also recalled that the 2002 data did not show very marked differences between white and BME groups living in the same communities. Accordingly it is safe to state that in general, as regard strictly ICT access and use, differences between BME and the white population are much smaller than one might have expected.

5.4 Concluding remarks

In this final section, we provide some overall and general conclusions, and then we proceed to remarks more specifically related to some of the issues that are the object of this study.

General conclusions

The key and main finding is that overall attitudes to ICT are not a function of ethnicity. Some differences are notable, but in general BME groups view ICT equally as important, or sometimes more important, than the overall population. From the UK case we can draw the following additional general conclusions:

- ☒ Social exclusion with regard to access to and use of ICT maps other key variables including ethnicity
- ☒ ICT policy in relation to BME groups and social exclusion is part of wider social exclusion/inclusion policy
- ☒ National policies and bodies exist – but most delivery is local, and the explicit focus on ICT and BME has disappeared in recent years from national level documents
- ☒ Local delivery is often in-with BME groups
- ☒ Riga goals are broader than BME group issues, and many crosscut each other and other social exclusion issues, this cross cutting is often present in projects and institutions at both national and local levels
- ☒ Links to Riga goals are present in many projects but no often directly articulated in terms of the Riga declaration
- ☒ Policy has not historically been driven by Riga goals but does match them
- ☒ Local provision may struggle to meet some aspects of Riga goals
- ☒ Attitudes to ICT in BME groups is comparable to the overall population
- ☒ Access and use remains to some extent an issue for BME groups in deprived communities and this impacts demand, but with no noticeable difference from the white population living under the same conditions.

From this we can proceed to provide conclusive considerations specific to the following four issues:

- ☒ Challenges of digital exclusion
- ☒ Opportunities for digital inclusion
- ☒ Patterns of ICT demands by BME
- ☒ Riga's goals and policies implications

Challenges of digital exclusion. Though many ICT products have dropped markedly in price, access remains the major stumbling block with regard to the uptake and use of ICT for many

members of all BME groups in the UK. Interviewees in our field work argued strongly that a lack of access and skills forms another layer of social exclusion within contemporary societies over those already existing due to social, economic and cultural factors. At the same time ICT access and skills were not seen as a 'magic bullet' solution to these issues. Rather they were viewed along side issues of basic literacy, numeracy, and skills in other community relevant areas as well as aspects of broader community and regional economic and civic development.

A good piece of news is that attitudes to ICT and demand factors (access excluded) are similar for all groups in the UK, and these attitudes are positive with regard to the use of ICT for social, economic and cultural activities. Having said this, general level and case studies data show that social exclusion remains disproportionately high, especially in the target groups of Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and low-income EU migrants. One of the key issues for these groups remains English language skills which impact a variety of social exclusion factors of which ICT access and use is just one. Support for English for Speakers of Other Languages is particularly important for first generation and recent migrants in all the communities examined. Not only does this limit the use of ICT systems, often set up to work in English within both work places and public access spaces, but it also limits access to accredited training as this also tends to be delivered in English.

Opportunities for digital inclusion. Combining the results of the supply and demand side analyses the prospects for the UK to support greater digital inclusion look good. Overall BME group members appeared to be aware of the key offerings from national networks such as LearnDirect and UK Online Centres, though levels of awareness are lower in some of the groups targeted for this study. This optimism has to be tempered by the realities on the ground where many delivery units, run by community members are dealing with complex and combined social exclusion factors. It also needs to be restated that much UK policy is directed towards skills and socio-economic integration with acculturation and other forms of integration being seen as second-tier impacts of ICT use. The closure of elements of the UK Cabinet Office dedicated to both social and digital exclusion and the rolling up of these functions into other new departments (Department for Innovation, Universities & Skills; Department for Children, Schools and Families; Department of Communities and Local Government) marks an organisational, if not overall policy shift. Specifically ICT and digital exclusion policies appear to have become wrapped up in broader social exclusion issues. In some respects the goal of embedding ICT provision in local communities has been taken to be successful (via UK Online Centres).

Community based ICT access, training and support appear crucial to providing 'fit for purpose' interventions. Funding for such provision however is limited and where provided is difficult to obtain and also comes with targets and obligations that may militate against longer-term community based engagements. Often these structural constraints can limit units to a 'first point of contact' role with regard to ICT access and training.

Patterns of ICT demands by BME. From the available demand side data BME community member's demands for ICT are comparable to the rest of the UK population. Overall demands from members of the most excluded BME communities remain access and skills. ICT training (formal and informal) provides a basis for skills development that is seen by both training providers and users as a route to better employment prospects and potentially to better economic integration and business development.

Riga's goals and policy considerations. Opportunities for members of BME communities to engage with ICT in relation to social, economic and cultural integration (the three dimensions of the Riga goals of IC and cultural diversity) are varied. In this report, we have focused on the mechanisms by which members of these communities experience social exclusion through a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor

housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown. This often prevents access to ICT and consequently skills, and the following social, economic and cultural benefits. In doing this we have in part followed the position of UK government policy which views lack of access to ICT and ICT skills as part of the broad problem of social exclusion. As such the focus on skills and access reflects a desire to firstly address issues of economic and civic engagement, and to an extent relational integration. Issues of communicative mobility, acculturation and broader cultural integration are seen as second tier goals or longer-term effects of ICT use. We have not therefore explored the middle ground where BME community members have access to ICT and ICT skills due to having good education or a strong economic position – and where the role of ICT is likely to be subtler in relation to questions of acculturation.

We have also focused on national/public programmes and local/community/third sector activities. This not only reflects the UK government policy on ICT and social exclusion, but also reflects the on-the-ground impacts and realities of provision that these policies engender. A key finding from our case study interviews and from an assessment of the above examples is that funding places structural constraints upon the types of support and access services on offer.

In the analysis summarised in Table 41 we have focused on the two main Riga goals relevant to the study:

"Promote cultural diversity in relation to inclusion by:

23. Fostering pluralism, cultural identity and linguistic diversity in the digital space. Promoting digitisation, the creation of accessible digital content, and wide and crossnational access to digital information and cultural heritage in support of European integration. Fostering multilingual and local content throughout Europe, as well as European values of freedom, tolerance, equality, solidarity and democracy. ICT innovation and good practice exchanges at all levels are important means to achieve this.

24. 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. Particular efforts shall be made to improve the employability and productivity of minorities. Tailored ICT training and support actions can be important in this context."

In the UK case we can see that national policy embraces both of these goals in relation to ICT. Having said this, in terms of policy implementation, funding and actual on the ground delivery, the majority of work focuses on the economic and social participation and integration goal. This is seen at both a national policy level and at a local level as a pre-requisite to 'second tier' impacts on acculturation.

Table 41 Examples of local and community of providers and Riga goals

Experiences/ Initiatives	Name and URL	Relevance in terms of Riga goals
Commercial	Shebytes	24
	The Ethnic Jobsite	24
	LearnDirect	24
Public	Greenwich Online	24
	Black Country Libraries in Partnership BITS for all	24
	Online support for ethnic minority attainment	23 24
	Yorkshire eSafe	24
	iRespect	23 24
Third sector	Bangladeshi Youth Organisation	23 24
	CALTEC	
	The Ethnic Minority Business Service	23 24
	Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti	23 24
	Jamia Rehmania Educational and Cultural Trust	23 24
	Naari LETS	24
	First Step North East	24
	MEWN Cymru.	24
	Fatima Woman Network	23 24
	Black and ethnic minority experience www.be-me.org	23 24
	Multikulti	23 24
	The engine room UK online centre	23 24

6 Conclusions

In our view, the first important empirical finding, supported by data on three out of four countries (excluding France due to lack of data), is that with respect to ICT awareness, attitudes towards ICT (especially acknowledged importance), and ICT basic access and use, IEM are not too dissimilar from the host population. In fact, in some respects, they are ahead of it. Although in different ways and with different nuances, the German, Spanish and UK country reports converge in affirming that *at a basic level ICT awareness, attitudes, access and use are not a function of ethnicity at all*.

Differences and barriers emerge when considering the process of appropriation (how ICT are used and for what purpose) and its social context in more detail. In this respect, when considering context it emerges that digital exclusion is the result of more general multi-faceted processes of social exclusion. In the same way, access and use of ICT are not by themselves conducive to the end outcomes envisioned in the Riga goals but must be combined with other intervening factors and conditions. This is not surprising if seen from the perspective of economic theory where ICT is treated as a general purpose technology - that is to say, a technology that does not produce anything specific by itself, but can foster the productivity of other factors of production. Using this analogy, it is evident from the country reports that the most fruitful initiatives are those that link ICT to some substantive interest and need of IEM, rather than generically providing access and skills. In this respect, initiatives which simply provide digital skills or Public Internet Access Points, without links to other substantive issue, have been shown (especially in the German and Spanish reports) to be positive only inasmuch as they provide an opportunity for social interactions with co-ethnics and with members of the host society.

However, as far as appropriation is concerned, some differences in the purpose of using ICT emerge. IEM, for instance, use them intensively to stay in touch with co-ethnics, both in the host society and in the society of origin.

In this respect, while this can only be considered a preliminary conclusion, the findings seem to suggest a positive relationship between the bonding and bridging social capital effects of ICT use. The reports do not rule out segregation effects, but overall they seem to support the hypothesis that the possibility of strengthening group stability and identity (bonding social capital) offered by ICT is mostly positive and conducive to more reassured participation in the host society.

With the exception of the UK in the period 2000-2005, none of the countries show evidence of explicit reference to ICT and IEM in national level policy documents, or ad hoc ICT and IEM national strategies. When mentioned, such issues are bundled together with other broader issues of digital inclusion.

On the other hand, in all four countries (even in France) local delivery of publicly-supported initiatives addresses directly or indirectly the issue of IEM and ICT. Even in these cases, however, initiatives seldom explicitly target only IEM, although several of them are *de facto* addressing mostly, if not only, IEM.

In this respect, the supply-side overview confirms the main typology of initiatives/services and involved players presented in the *Overview of digital support initiatives for/by immigrants and ethnic minorities in the EU 27* (Kluzer et al. 2008). In particular, it is worth mentioning that: a) inclusive eGovernment initiatives are very rare (possibly with the exception of the UK); and b) third sector initiatives and user-generated content remain to a large extent at a basic level of static information and communication (less so in the UK). The

eReadiness of third sector players and IEM association still seems insufficient, especially in France, Germany and Spain.

Finally, the comparison of the findings of the report and the Riga goals on cultural diversity provides ambivalent results. On the one hand, all the country reports show in some way the relevance of supply-side initiatives to such goals, related demand-side aspects to them, and draw some policy considerations. On the other hand, this exercise comes across as somehow artificial for it is done conceptually ex post. Most of the considered initiatives, in fact, are inspired by objectives originally defined and conceptualised differently, but here re-defined with respect to the Riga goals by the research teams. In this light, the blunt statement in the UK section affirming that policy and initiatives in that country are not driven by the Riga goals can also be applied to the other three countries. The same applies to the other statement in the UK section regarding the fact that the focus of initiatives is strongly shaped by the source of funding and in many cases differs from that of the Riga goals.

The policy implications of these preliminary and high level conclusions will be further discussed and elaborated in the study's final report.

List of Acronyms

ADAE	Agence pour le Développement de l'Administration Electronique (Agency for the Development of Electronic Administration)
ASOCROM	Associació Romanesa de Catalunya (Association of Romanians in Catalonia)
BAMF	The Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Germany)
BBC	British Broadcast Company
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic Communities
BYCS	The Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti
BYO	The Bangladeshi Youth Organisation
CAI	Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration (Contract of reception and integration)
CALTEC	Computer Assisted Learning and Training Centre
CCAS	Centre Communal d'Action Sociale (Town Council Centre for Social Action)
CISI	Comité Interministeriel pour la Societé de l'Information (Interministerial Committee for Information Society)
COCITRE	Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Turismo Rumano-Española (Romanian-Spanish Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Tourism)
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DGME	Direction Générale de la Modernisation de l'Etat (General Direction for the Modernisation of the State)
DP NOBI	Entwicklungspartnerschaft/Norddeutsches Netzwerk zur beruflichen Integration von Immigranten (Development Partnership / North German Network for the Professional Integration of Immigrants)
DUI	Délégation aux Usages d'Internet (Delegation on Internet Use)
ECDL	European Computer Driving License
EPN	Espaces Publics Numériques (Public Internet Access Points)
ESOL	English for Speakers of Other Languages
FEDROM	Federación de Asociaciones de Emigrantes Rumanos en España (Federation of Romanian Associations in Spain)
GLADT	Organisation for gays and lesbians with a Turkish background
HUDEA	Asociación de Ecuatorianos Huancavilca del Amazonas (Association of Ecuadorians Huancavilca del Amazonas)
MEWN	Minority Ethnic Women's Network Wales
MTAS	Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales (Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEMBS	The Oxford Ethnic Minority Business Service
OFCOM	Office of Communications
RESF	Réseau Education sans Frontières (Education without Borders Network)
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
SHU	Sheffield Hallam University
SMS	Short Message Service
TD-IHK	Turkish-German Chamber of Commerce
TGD	Türkische Gemeinde (Turkish Community in Germany)
VoIP	Voice-over IP services

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Annex I: Country report template

Introduction

Overview and policy context:

- ☒ Migration situation: General migration situation in the selected countries
- ☒ Selected groups of IEM: reasons for the group selection
- ☒ Status of migration in the selected groups: Basic statistical data about the current socio-demographic situation of the selected groups of IEM
- ☒ Highlights of the digital inclusion policies with respect to immigrants and ethnic minorities
- ☒ Overview: Brief overview of the country report (anticipation of what the report contains)

Supply side analysis

The overview of the supply side, besides basic information on the initiatives and cases considered will consider the following:

- ☒ Description of the supplier of identified cases/initiatives
 - ☐ in case of publicly supported service, please highlight sources of funding
 - ☐ important to understand/highlight the main activity of the supplier (is the specific service a marginal activity in a broader portfolio? etc.)
 - ☐ What specific groups are targeted
- ☒ Stages of development (starting date (more or less precise does not matter) of the service operation would be useful)
- ☒ Usage (try to get from the entity/person responsible for the identified initiative any quantitative/qualitative figures on number of users, types of users, growth trends)

From the empirical material gathered, besides a general interpretation and analysis (which is expected to be peculiar to each country), at least the following will be derived:

- ☒ Key actors: Summary of the key actors in the three fields (commercial, public, third sector) and their strategies.
- ☒ Stage of development: Summary of the stage of development of the introduced media and services with regard to (1) duration and sustainability and (2) acceptance (both based on the evidence provided by suppliers and by the users).
- ☒ Riga Goals: Discussion of the identified services and media with regard to their contribution to the Riga goals. The column in the above scheme/table and the discussion of Riga goals should, besides logical arguments, try to provide examples and evidence which allow the reader to understand how, in what sense the given service is related to the Riga goals.

Demand side analysis

The following aspects will be addressed:

- ☒ Status of IEM access to digital media based on available basic statistical data for the selected country. Note that: in case statistical data for the specific IEM group is missing (which is likely), it is advised to report general statistical data on ICT and other/broader IEM categories or even a general 'foreigners' or similar category, if these are available. Besides hard statistical data (from proper surveys), also any kind of meaningful quantitative/qualitative evidence (e.g. from ad hoc studies), if available, should be reported.
- ☒ Challenges of digital exclusion: Brief summary of the main digital exclusion issues concerning the chosen groups of IEM in the selected country. It would be very useful to come up with a reference list (not necessarily an exhaustive one) of known causes/dimensions of digital exclusion.
- ☒ Possibilities of digital inclusion: the main drivers of ICT usage within the selected IEM group; specific experiences/initiatives which have proved successful in fighting digital exclusion.
- ☒ Practices of ICT/digital media appropriation: Overview of the typical everyday practices of ICT/digital media use in the selected country.
- ☒ Relevance of contexts for ICT/digital media appropriation: Overview of the contexts in which ICT/digital media use takes place typically in the selected country (for example: private life, educational contexts, work) and their relevance of the respective practices for digital media appropriation.
- ☒ Groups of ICT/digital media appropriation: Overview of the groups in which ICT/digital media use takes place typically in the selected country (for example: family, peer-groups, friends) and their relevance of the respective practices of digital media appropriation.
- ☒ Network patterns of ICT/digital media appropriation: Overview of the everyday chances and patterns for social networking based on ICT/digital media.

Conclusion

This section will focus on specific demands of particular digital media and services. It will also discuss the relation between the findings and the respective Riga goals:

- ☒ Patterns of demand: Overview of the different demands based on a synthesis of the existing literature on the topic and the empirical findings of the research;
- ☒ Discussion: Discussion of the overall findings from the country report with regard to the relation between economic and social participation and integration of IEM under consideration of the Riga goals;
- ☒ Policy implications: Sketch of implication for policy recommendations on the basis of the findings from the country reports results;
- ☒ Highlight the cases/services/experiences which you have found most interesting and, if you came across some of them, the negative examples as well.

Annex II: Material on Romanians and Bulgarians in Spain

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- Spania romaneasca: <http://www.spaniaromaneasca.com/s/> <http://www.spaniaromaneasca.com>
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- Forum Romania Spania <http://www.romaniaspania.3x.ro/>
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- Integrate XX 'La caixa' <http://www.integratexxi.es/>

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- Taran in Spainia <http://mx.youtube.com/watch?v=1QZq7vtIDP4>
- Romanians and Bulgarians in Spain
http://mx.youtube.com/watch?v=4grw_LIBsvk
- Gypsies in Spain http://mx.youtube.com/watch?v=4grw_LIBsvk
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- Centro Hispano Búlgaro: <http://www.centrohispanobulgaro.com/>
- Iber BG: <http://www.iberbg.com/index.php>
- Radio Bulgaria: http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Spanish/
- Embajada de Bulgaria en Madrid: <http://www.embespbg.com/bg/indexBG.htm>

Proceedings of websites analysis

- Forum example

My name is L.T., I am Romanian and I live in Spain with my family since three and a half years ago. In 2004 I sold my house in Romania and I came here with two of my children because my husband was here almost 6 years ago (...) The last year I got a loan to pass a bar, there was the only possibility to be independent (for the 2 year moratorium) because I am a woman. Before, I tried to be independent doing massages and reflex therapy, but the pay was too poor to cover the expenses of social security, moreover the 90% of costumers were Spanish men who wanted another kind of massage like sexual services. I think they wanted that because I am Romanian and it means that I am poor and they can take advantage of me. I worked in the bar with all my soul. It was clean, with Spanish food, Spanish music, and football games, but no Spaniards came to my bar (...) I am very angry because I think that the fault of xenophobia are the television programs, the newspapers, and the mass media. They only talk about bad things that Romanians do, they talk about 'Romanians gangs' without knowing what they really are gypsies in Romania. I do not want to talk bad things about gypsies, but the fault lies in everyone. They are good people, civilized and educated... Nobody talk about that. I do not watch in television anything about that. So, Spaniards believe that we are for the third world and we are savages and evils(...) I do not know how much more I can resist with this problems, but I am worried because there are several people who suffer like me. We can be educated, qualified workers, responsible, serious (Christian, although Spaniards do not know), but... we are ROMANIANS.

*Me llamo L. T., soy rumana y vivo en España con mi familia de 3 años y medio. En 2004, vendió mi casa de Rumania y con dos de mis hijos venio aqui , porque mi marido era aqui de casi 6 años antes(...) En año pasado hacio un prestamo y traspaso un bar, porque era sola posibilidad para hacerme autonomo(por el moratorio de 2 años) como soy mujer.(Antes intento hacerme autonomo en masaje y reflexoterapia, pero con que se gana no se puede acubrir los gastos de seguridad social y despues los 90% de llamadas que lo recibí ,no era de masaje, era de hombres españoles que queria otro tipo de masaje ,sexual o algo asi, creo porque soy rumana y eso segnifica que soy pobre y se puede aprovechar)En el bar trabajo con toda mi alma. Era limpio, con tapas españolas, con musica española, con partidos de futbol, pero en mi bar entrava poca gente española (...)*Soy muy indignada, porque yo creo que la culpa de la xenofobia lo tienen las programas de tele, los periodicos y otros medios de publicidad malas. Se habla solo de cosas malas que lo hacen los rumanos, se habla de 'bandas rumanas' sin saver nada que la verdad son gitanos de Rumania. No quiero decir cosas malas de los gitanos, pero es una nacion que se acostumbra mas dificil a la civilisacion, no solo en Rumania y aqui en España y la culpa lo tenemos todos no solo ellos. Pero son y rumanos buenos, civilisados, educados...De estos no se habla casi nada. No veo en la tele nada de eso. Entonces, la gente españolas crean que venimos del tercer mundo, que somos salvages y malos todos (...)Yo no se quanto tiempo puedo resistir con mis problemas, pero es un signal de alarma porque son muchas personas que sufren como yo. Podemos ser educados, trabajadores, calificados, responsables, serios, (cristianos, porque los españoles no saven), pero....somos RUMANOS.

Even though the IEM web pages seem as an opportunity to share ideas among residents for the same country, it is very common to find opposite answers and discussions between nationals and foreigners. The following are fragments of comments to the previous post:

Anonymous user (Spaniard):

(...)You are the scum of Europe, because in Italia expelled you because you are criminals, in Germany, where you say you come from, you are the biggest thieves in the European history... nobody leaves a luxury car there... In France you are worse than the smelly; the same in Belgium and Ireland, Irish say that their country took aid from the EU to make Ireland the best country in the world to live according to the UN... until Romanians arrived there. I only tell you. You watched the digital newspaper for 20 minutes and now you have to

realize what they say about you... even they are a Romanian girl who says that she feels shame and the only thing that she can do is to change her last name.

(...)Sois la escoria de Europa, porque en Italia os expulsan por delincuentes, en Alemania, de donde dices que vienes, os tienen por los mayores ladrones de la historia de Europa.. no dejáis allí un coche de lujo..en Francia sois peor que los apestados, igual que en Bélgica, y en Irlanda, los propios Irlandeses, dicen que su país aprovecho las ayudas de la UE para hacer de Irlanda el mejor país del mundo para vivir según la ONU..hasta que llegaron los Rumanos..tu me tiras de la lengua?yo te respondo..Pasate por los foros del periódico digital 20minutos y mira lo que dicen de vosotros..incluso hay una chica Rumana que dice sentir vergüenza y que lo único que la queda es cambiarse el apellido.

Cerelitul (Spaniard):

I thought that in Spain there was racism, but really it is fear and distrust. The one who comes for another country is going to do something to us, be careful because there come from I do not know where, where do you come from? uff.. Thus is most people think. It is really sad because the Spaniards have been also emigrants. In Switzerland they set us apart in the train stations to wash us with water and soap, in France guides were published for the ones that worked cleaning in the houses "reason not with the Spanish woman", they said, "because they mentality and they hot blood prevents them to think with clarity".

Yo pensaba que en España había racismo, pero realmente es miedo y desconfianza. El que viene de fuera nos va a hacer algo, ten cuidado que ese de ahí viene de no sé dónde, ¿de donde viene usted? uff... Así es como piensa la mayoría de la gente. Es muy triste, la verdad, porque los españoles hemos sido también emigrantes. En Suiza nos apartaban en las estaciones de trenes para lavarnos con agua y jabón, en Francia se publicaban guías para las que trabajaban limpiando en las casas "no razone con la mujer española", decían, "pues su mentalidad y su sangre caliente les impiden pensar con claridad".

Bisarh (Romanian):

(...) you teach me when you are not capable to live and to work in your own country despite everything has given by the EU?! I always hear the same "I have no money to reach the end of the month". You are wrong if you think that for 100 or 5000 criminal Romanians everybody who has come here are the same. Here have been humble people with economic problems and they work here to solve their problems and to support their families. This people pays a rent (the same as you), pay food (the same as you), pay light, water, gas, transportation (the same as you) BUT to them remains a little bit one of money to send it their relatives (children, parents) in their origin countries!!! Then I ask, why the Spaniards complain that they do not reach at the end of month?! - The answer you can give it yourself, because I will not think (as you do it to the Romanians) that all the Spaniards are some fairies, drunks, addicts or pedophiles.

(...)tu me das lecciones a mi cuando vosotros no sois capaces de vivir y trabajar siquiera en vuestro propio país con todo lo que os ha regalado la UE?! Siempre escucho lo mismo "no me queda dinero para llegar al fin de mes". Pues si tu piensas que por 100 o 5000 rumanos delincuentes todos los que hemos venido aquí somos iguales, te equivocas. Aquí ha venido gente umilde, con un problema economico bastante grave y para sacar adelante a sus familias han trabajado aquí lo que sea. Esta gente paga un alquiler(igual que vosotros), paga comida(igual que vosotros), paga luz, agua, gas, transporte(igual que vosotros)PERO a ellos le queda un poquito de dinero para mandarlo a sus familiares(hijos, padres)en su país de origen!!! entonces me pregunto, porque los españoles se quejan de que no llegan al fin de mes?! - la respuesta te la puedes dar tu mismo, porque yo no pensaré (como lo haces tu sobre los rumanos) que todos los españoles sois unos maricones, borachos, drogaditos o pedofiles.

Web sites analysed

FEDROM
URL: http://www.fedrom.org
(Third sector) FEDROM is a coalition of the Romanians organizations in Spain. FEDROM is a non-profit federation independently from any political, social or religious organization. The website is orientated to the diffusion of activities and news for the Romanians in Spain and does not answer to the aims of Web 2.0 except for the presence of an rss syndication. It has different informative sections and several links of others associations and diverse utilities. Address and telephones: C/Bravo Murillo 211 bis, 1ºE, Madrid Tel: +34 913 982 336 Fax: +34 916 747 618 The Riga goals and application areas are: ICT fostering acculturation and adaptation processes and integration and social inclusion. Comment: This is basically a website that provides useful information on their events and labor and social formalities. It is updated on a regular basis and ad section is quite successful. The information provided on the federation is fairly complete.
Asociata HispanoRomana Dialog European
URL: http://dialog-european.blogspot.com/ http://dialogo-europeo.blogspot.com
(Third Sector) Located in Madrid, this association promotes Romania and the Romanians' values in other countries across cultural interchanges, conferences, festivals, congresses and other cultural activities. This project has two addresses. One is for the Spanish version and the other one is for the Romanian version. Both are traditional blogs with a simple template, with posts (particularly events and news) and comments. The participation in the blogs is low and the feedback is scanty. The Riga's goal for cultural diversity is integration and social inclusion and ICT fostering acculturation and adaption processes. Comment: The idea of bilingual publication is very wise to spread. It has applications beyond the blog of a basic template. Basically this is a blog of FEDROM.
Amigos de Rumanía para la iniciativa y promoción de intercambios culturales. ARIPI
URL: http://www.aripi.es
(Third Sector) ARIPI is a non-profit association located in Alicante with headquarters in the Orthodox Church 'S. Andrés y S. Nicolás'. ARIPI ('wings' in Rumanian language) tries to disseminate the dialog between cultures, foment the cultural diversity and offer a cultural frame for the recognition of the Rumanian identity in Alicante. The website does not answer to the aims of Web 2.0. The webpage has links with entities that offers courses of training (care giving and e-inclusion), and employment. Comment: As website is limited to publicize the actions of the association. However, it offers links that allow access to different courses based on the improvement of employment or in the acquisition of knowledge devoted to employment (care giving, for computer users, among others). It also has the registration forms for prospective members. It does not allows by Internet the interaction among members or with a space for comment, which makes it static and a website only for information.

Roman in lume
URL: http://www.romaninlume.ro
<p>(Private sector)</p> <p>Roman in lume (Rumanian in the world) is born as response to the need of the Romanians to communicate in their own language of all the corners of the world. Was founded in 2001, Madrid.</p> <p>The website answer to the aims of Web 2.0 because has a forum and a blog and has sections about labour exchange, newspaper archive, on line radio, attorneys' free services and offers services for publicity, marketing and web design. The website is financed with advertisers.</p> <p>The main contribution to Riga's goals is the integration and the support of ethnic entrepreneurship and secondary, the inclusion and the employment in creative and innovative professions.</p> <p>Comment: Roman in lume originally was a free distribution newspaper that covers the entire Spanish territory, the newspaper continues on a regular basis but have taken advantage of ICT to have a pdf edition of the publication but also supplemented with radio online forums, classifieds and an offer varied service creation and publishing websites and advertising in the media that handle both print and on the website. The forum has a mean and the page is updated constantly.</p>
Spania Romaneasca
URL: http://www.spaniaromaneasca.com/s/ http://www.spaniaromaneasca.com
<p>(Private Sector)</p> <p>It is an individual project that aims to strengthen ties between the Romanian communities in Spain. It has a Romanian version and another in Spanish (the second one with the basic template and does not contain all information). It has chat, forums, interesting videos, links, and blogs.</p> <p>You can comment and participate provided they are registered on the page. It receives an average of 1500 visits per week (understanding visit as one that delayed more than half an hour on the site). Not displays the name of the webmaster of the site nor mention the existence of any physical address.</p> <p>The website answer to the aims of Web 2.0</p> <p>The main contribution to Riga goal's is the integration and social inclusion and fostering acculturation and adaptation processes, fostering within IEM relational integration and fostering relational integration with host society.</p> <p>Comment: It maintains by selling advertising whose specifications and costs are at the same site. Here's a very dynamic similar to that of the other website www.romaniadinspania.com (discussed below). One element that most influences the number of visits according to their traffic meters, is seeking employment, since you have not offered directly but in the forum can be found some allusions about it.</p>
Rumanos en España
URL: http://http://www.rumanos.com.es/
<p>(Private Sector)</p> <p>This website aims to bring together the Romanians in Spain and use the Web 2.0 tools such as blogs, forums, rss. The participation is lower than websites in Romanian as it is developed entirely in Spanish which facilitates the participation of other groups.</p> <p>It is a project developed in 2007 by a company called Cmedia, with physical address in Castelldefels.</p>

The Riga's goal for cultural diversity is integration and social inclusion and ICT fostering acculturation and adaption processes.

Comment: The Cmedia company, has a number of websites for the different IEM groups in Spain, however the success of each site is fairly relative.

According to what was observed, I suppose that the sites be similar in design and Spanish language, leaving aside the particularities of each group. Perhaps the bet for a multiethnic portal was very risky, the truth is that there is enough information that crosses all websites, for example, a post on the birth of children in Spain but little information portal designed for each particular. Participation is both natives seeking an answer have concerns of any particular item of the same group as referred to in each site, but in any form is not a very high participation. Many of the services require a prior registration for access.

In Spania

URL: <http://www.inspania.com>

(Private Sector)

This website promotes Romania and the Romanians' values. The interface is very simple and it is principally a forum. The Riga's goal for cultural diversity is integration and social inclusion and ICT fostering acculturation and adaption processes.

Comment: Basically, questions and answers about immigration situation. Low participation.

Romania din Spania

URL: <http://www.romaniadinspania.com>

(Private Sector)

Website for Romanians in Spain. It has forums, blogs, chats, classifieds, jobs (in Spain, Romania and elsewhere in Europe) and general information. It works as a virtual community where is necessary the registration to join the services. The website is maintained by advertising companies like Internet providers, insurers and automobiles. Also, it has on the Google bar ads and voluntary contributions from users through the payment system PayPal. It has three versions (only for the template): Spanish, Romanian, and English.

Comment: It is one of the most successful portals on Romanians in Spain. All sections are visited and chat is quite crowded by Romanians of all sites in Spain. It does not offer visible information on the webmaster of the site or publication. It pays mainly thanks to advertisers and the addition of Google ads but also has a link called 'donations' where it is explained that a draft of a personal nature and are encouraged to make a contribution to the maintenance of the site via PayPal.

PROmania

URL: <http://www.webpromania.es>

(Private Sector)

Ethnic entrepreneurship. Shop of Rumanian and Bulgarian products (Sausages, sweets, conserves, magazines). Services of web pages and Rumanian music for parties and celebrations. The website is financed with advertisers too.

Comment: An incipient project of e-commerce with national distribution. A very remarkable initiative.

Riga Goals: ICT in support of ethnic entrepreneurship

Contact: Calle Zubeldia, 12, Altea, 03590, Alicante, Spania.

AIBE BALCAN
URL: http://www.aibebalcan.com/
(Third Sector) <p>The web page of the most important Bulgarian Association. This association promotes Bulgaria and the Bulgarians' values in Spain. Promote across cultural interchanges, conferences, festivals, congresses and other cultural activities. This project has two languages: Bulgarian and Spanish, are a traditional HTML webpage with a simple template.</p> <p>The Riga goals and application areas are: ICT fostering acculturation and adaptation processes and integration and social inclusion.</p> <p>Contact: Valmojado, 117, posterior Madrid C.P.28047 Tel: 917198886 / Fax: 917198911</p> <p>E-Mail: info@aibebalcan.com</p>
Hoba Dyma
URL: http://www.novaduma.com/
(Private Sector) <p>Weekly with headquarters in Fuenlabrada. <i>Nova дума</i> means new word and it is the first written media in Bulgarian for Spain residents. They have a free newspaper and the website. It operates under the legal form of Limited company and is financed through advertising. The website language is Bulgarian. Not aims of web 2.0</p> <p>Comment: It is a company created by Bulgarians to disseminate information regarding this IEM group. It means that it reinforces the sense of community and national destiny and it is an initiative in support of ethnic entrepreneurship.</p>
Simions
URL: http://www.simions.es/
(Private Sector) <p>Company created by a Rumanian businessman. Sales online only for wholesale. Contact: Ionel Simion Cibeles 71 2 -4. Playa de Gandia, Valencia. Riga Goals: ICT in support of ethnic entrepreneurship</p> <p>Comment: A project of e-commerce with national distribution.</p>
Búlgaros en España
URL: http://www.bulgaros.com.es
(Private Sector) <p>This website aims to bring together the Bulgarians in Spain and exploits the Web 2.0 tools such as blogs, forums, rss.</p> <p>Participation is very limited by the Bulgarian group since it was developed entirely in Spanish which facilitates the participation of other groups. It is part of a number of other websites as rumanos.com.es, ecuatorianos.com.es, argentinos.com.es, developed since 2007 by the same company, Cmedia, based in Castelldefels.</p> <p>The Riga's goal for cultural diversity is integration and social inclusion and ICT fostering acculturation and adaption processes.</p> <p>Comment: Even less participation than in the Romanians section.</p>

Radio Bulgaria
URL: http://www.bnr.bg/RadioBulgaria/Emission_Spanish/
<p>The Bulgarian National Radio. Information about economy, politics, history and religion, sport, folklore, science and nature.</p> <p>Broadcast system in different languages.</p> <p>Communication with the listeners by e-mail.</p> <p>Contact: 4, Dragan Tsankov Blvd. 1040 Sofia, Bulgaria, tel. +359 2 93361</p> <p>Comment: It is the most important radio of Bulgaria</p>
Myjob
URL: http://www.myjob.ro/locuri-munca/spania.html
<p>(Private Sector)</p> <p>Website dedicated to the search of work in Spain from Romania. Began in January 2001. Has RSS syndication, and SMS service for locate.</p> <p>Comment: It is just a sample of the engines of search of employment in other countries from Romania.</p>
ASOCROM Vallès
URL: http://www.asocromvalles.org
<p>(Third Sector)</p> <p>Basically this is an informative site on the activities and services provided by the ASOCROM Vallès. It also contains information of general interest on procedures and documentation to work in Spain or to access various services and some data on Cerdanyola del Vallès and Romania. The site is developed in Catalan and does not offer 2.0 tools. The only way to contact is by e-mails that are shown in the association directory. It does not show the financing source for a web nor the partnership.</p> <p>Riga Goals: Integration and social inclusion Economic participation</p>

Case Study 1: Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti

Background and data collection

The Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti (BYCS) particularly targets ethnic minority groups in Leicester, in the area surrounding the organisation's two centres based in a mostly residential area of Victorian terrace housing – these are predominantly, but not solely, occupied by the Bangladeshi community. Bangladeshis are one of the most socially and economically excluded BME groups in the UK. 50% of the people using the BYCS facilities are from the local Bangladeshi community and 50% are from other ethnic minority groups including Pakistanis, Chinese, and Polish. This spread reflects both the mix of the local area and the changing nature of local populations as migration and residential patterns alter.

Unemployment rates for the Bangladeshi community are high both in this location and nationally. Bangladeshis are twice as likely to be unemployed as compared to the overall population according to the Office for National Statistics. The BYCS provides ICT access and relevant training programmes to assist people in gaining qualifications for employment. Many of the local Bangladeshi community do not have access to the Internet and PC facilities at home and the BYCS centre offers free use of the computers and free internet access at the heart of the community. The BYCS objective statement is: "The Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti is a charitable organisation providing lifelong learning and community development activities for people, mainly but not exclusively of Bangladeshi descent, living in Leicester helping them to take advantage of the opportunities of society today." (BYCS, 2007.)

The BYCS was established as a cultural organisation in the 1990s. In the late 1990's it developed into an educational organisation and then from 2002 it established its ICT training courses. The organisation gained EU funding in 2002 and then was granted lottery funding in 2004. It has also been given funds from the European Social Fund, European Regional Development Funding, Learning and Skills Council and Leicester City Council Co-funding.

Background data on BYCS user community

Leicester hosts a relatively large BME population consisting of both first, second, and third generation community members. The community also hosts a growing population of migrants, such as Polish migrants, from within the EU (see Table 42 and Table 43).

Table 42: Count for Ethnic Minorities in Leicester (

	Leicester	East Midlands	England
All People	279,921	4,172,174	49,138,831
White: British	169,456	3,807,731	42,747,136
Mixed: White and Asian	1,908	11,176	184,014
Asian or Asian British: Indian	72,033	122,346	1,028,546
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	4,276	27,829	706,539
Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	1,926	6,923	275,394
Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	5,516	11,815	237,810

Table 43: Count for Country of Birth in Leicester (persons)

	Leicester	East Midlands	England
All People	279,921	4,172,174	49,138,831
Born in Europe	223,102	4,003,121	46,045,077
Born in Europe: United Kingdom	215,455	3,920,300	44,594,817
Born in Europe: Eastern Europe: Poland	531	4,881	56,679
Born in Asia: South Asia: Bangladesh	1,051	3,800	150,057
Born in Asia: South Asia: India	24,677	45,167	450,493
Born in Asia: South Asia: Pakistan	1,854	11,951	304,706

Leicester has the highest Indian population of any UK town. In this context the Bangladeshi community represents one of the main, but much smaller BME populations in Leicester. As noted in the UK chapter of this report, Bangladeshis experience some of the highest levels of social exclusion in the UK. The BYCS is located in one of the most socio-economically deprived areas in Leicester, where unemployment rates are far higher (at 15.8% to 19.3%) than the national average of 5%. This fits with national trends where unemployment rates in the spectrum of Muslim communities stands at around 20%. Also income levels in the area around the BYCS are far below the national average

Data collection

As the BYCS is located within its target community, data were collected from a range of sources: First, publicly available information about the BYCS (such as web sites and UK Online documentation) and about the local community was collected. Second, the project team visited the BYCS centres in Leicester and were provided access to view and observe the faculties provided. Third, interviews with centre leader and staff personnel were used to explore project issues and review the publicly available information on the BYCS. Fourth,

centre staff provided internal documentation and copies of yearly reports, research study reports – for projects in which the centre has been involved and the centre leader provided data about the centres' achievements against funding targets.

Findings

In this section we address the work of the BYCS in the light of the two Riga goals of interest here: the support for social and economic inclusion (in particular the support for skills development around ICT and the challenges faced by the local community) and the support on acculturation issues.

Activities in relation to social inclusion and economic participation

Within the BYCS, 1600 people have gained 2200 externally accredited qualifications between 1997 and 2007. There are two main areas of training support on offer – ICT and Catering. ICT reflects the need to support the local community in gaining skills applicable across the spectrum of employment opportunities. Support for Catering related training reflects the heavy involvement of the local community in the restaurant trade offering Asian cuisine. This reflects national profiles for the UK where in 2002/03, three fifths of Bangladeshi men in employment worked in the distribution, hotel and restaurant industry, compared with one sixth of their White British counterparts. Pakistani men were the group most likely to work in the transport and communication industry - 25 per cent of them worked in this sector compared with 10 per cent of employed men overall. The full set of training offered by the BYCS includes:

Table 44: Skills training on offer

Area	Qualifications
Language Skills	E.S.O.L. for Beginners
	Entry Level Certificate in Adult Literacy - OCR Accredited
	Basic Skills: Literacy - OCR Accredited
	Basic Skills: Numeracy - OCR Accredited
	GCSE Bengali - AQA Accredited
	English: A Passport to New Opportunities
	Interpretation Skills
	Bilingual Skills Certificate - Institute of Linguists Accredited
Computer Skills	Hands on Experience Computing
	Entry Level Certificate in Using ICT - OCR Accredited
	New CLAIT - OCR Accredited
	CLAIT Plus - OCR Accredited
	Electronic Communication & Web Design - OCR Accredited
	CLAIT Advanced - OCR Accredited
	Bengali Word Processing
	Certificate in Bookkeeping (Computerised)- OCR Accredited
	Certificate in Accounting (Computerised)- OCR Accredited
Key Skills	GCSE Mathematics- AQA Accredited
	Building Self -Confidence
	Parenting Course
	Financial Literacy
	Certificate in Book Keeping - OCR Accredited
	Certificate in Accounting - OCR Accredited
	Customer Relations
	Time Management
	Communication Skills
	Marketing Skills
	Foundation: Food Hygiene - CIEH Accredited
	Intermediate: Food Hygiene - CIEH Accredited
	Essentials of Food Law
	HACCP Awareness for Beginners
	Foundation: Health & Safety - CIEH Accredited
	Principles of Manual Handling - CIEH Accredited
	Principles of COSHH - CIEH Accredited
	Risk Assessment Principles & Practice - CIEH Accredited
	Stress Awareness - CIEH Accredited
	Environmental Awareness - CIEH Accredited

The BYCS actively engages in its own research for self-evaluation as well as working with other agencies (e.g. Leicester University). The results of these studies help inform BYCS activity. For instance, a recent research project was designed to identify support for ethnic minority women learners enabling them to progress towards labour market participation. It also sought to identify barriers and constraints that are preventative factors for ethnic minority

women participating in learning. One of the key factors for women in securing employment is obtaining recognised qualifications and vocational qualifications. One of the recommendations from the study was that a range of IT 'taster' courses needed to be developed for the 'IT afraid' - especially for those in older age groups.

The project was based on in-depth interviews with 162 members of the local community. The main barriers to employment identified in the study were: a lack of qualifications; a lack of appropriate skills and poor language skills. The respondents were asked about the courses they had undertaken and only one of the 162 participants had undertaken an ICT course, with five having participated in a basic skills computer course. Of the 162 interviewed, 62 Bangladeshis, 20 Indians, and 4 Pakistanis believed that poor IT skills were a personal barrier to learning. The majority (76%) of the participants said that they would like to develop IT skills in the future along with 77% also wanting to develop language skills.

Other barriers identified were the cost of training and general numeracy and literacy skills. One of the main findings was that poor IT skills represent a 'catch 22' situation. If women do not have IT skills they are unlikely to participate in learning. But without participating in learning they cannot develop IT skills. Age and poor IT skills becomes a major factor - 69% of 26-40 year olds and 60% of 41-55 year olds rate this as a significant barrier to involvement in learning. According to the interviews with the centre staff, many of the above factors hold for all members of the local community to a greater or lesser degree. For the Centre staff this study demonstrates that though ICT skills are important in the development of learning, there are many other non-ICT factors (including cultural factors) that prevent ethnic minorities from entering the labour market in the UK. For example all ICT training is done in English, as nearly all the ICT systems likely to be encountered by centre users will use UK or US English settings as a default. This immediately places a requirement for English language support prior to accessing ICT training. As such ICT training is a major offer from the BYCS but the Centre leader articulated clearly the complexity of social and economic exclusion issues. Neither he nor the centre staff viewed ICT as a 'magic bullet' solution to social exclusion, but rather as one of a set of domains in which practical social action was possible.

Activities in relation to acculturation issues

The BYCS also offers a range of other services to the local community. Some, such as Day-care, Respite care, and Advice, act to support access to the full range of support on offer from the centre. The other services and activities, such as Bengali language lessons, Youth Scheme, Summer Play Scheme, Cultural events and Festival events support the cultural life of the community. An example project supported by the centre that works towards the general goal of linking national and community culture is the Confluence poetry site (<http://www.confluence.uk.net/>), which represents one of the few community built sites that the report authors could find in the UK focused on Bangladeshi literature and culture. The site is in English and therefore provides access to these resources for members of all communities in the UK. Such activities fit with the key theme in the current UK government's discourse prior to and since their election in 1997 has been that of 'celebrating diversity'. It also reflects a means by which ICT can be employed by BME communities to make their cultural and historical heritage available to the wider population. Having said this, it is important to note that within the BYCS the majority of activity remains focused on issues of social and economic exclusion. This is in part driven by the key socio-economic challenges facing the local community, but also by the availability of support funding.

Structural issues

The BYCS is heavily dependent on regional, national and EU funding streams. This funding has provided facilities, infrastructure and training, but the centre staff also articulated a range

of limitations such funding places upon them. In each case the funding comes with specific delivery requirements and outputs. These can range from numbers of training courses run, through to numbers of specific types of trainees. Very often these outputs focus on initial training interventions and on specific skill sets. For example the Learning and Skills Council funding restrictions for people on the ICT courses are the following:

- The person must be over 19
- They must have no GCSEs at C or above
- They must not have been learning for three years
- They must be a UK resident

These restrictions had an impact on the local community. Most of the Bangladeshi community had already participated on one of the courses available through the BYCS, so they were unable to develop their skills further after their initial ICT or other skills qualification. This means that the centre could be perceived as a starting place for the development of an education rather than core of the communities' education development.

Such restrictions force the BYCS to focus on issues of ICT access and training rather than broader cultural issues. These restrictions also prevent the BYCS staff from offering a developed and incremental training offer as funds are available to support new trainees with no experience, but not to support follow on development and more specialised training. This is not to say that incremental training/skills development does not occur. Many users of the BYCS return for further courses and the current ICT trainers represent 'graduates' from the first set of people to be trained in ICT by BYCS.

Long term funding is also a key concern to the Centre. Though individual grants can provide for facilities over the term of the grant (for example ERDF and local authority funding, tied to the development of facilities paid for the setting up and refurbishment of a second centre in the community), at the close of the grant the BYCS faces the full running costs of the new facilities, thus reducing funds available for other engagement activity. The key point made by the BYCS staff is that support funds are absolutely central to keeping the Centre viable, but these funds place structural constraints on the ability of the Centre to address the range of skills development needed by the local community, and on its ability to offer long term offers.

Discussion: skill building and acculturation

The BYCS has a long history of successfully addressing a range of issues facing the local Bangladeshi community, and other groups facing social exclusion (including members of the Pakistani, Chinese and Polish communities). Part of the success of BYCS comes from the individualised teaching. For example on ICT courses the BYCS trainers ensure that each person is given one to one tutoring to tailor the course to suit the individual's needs. Many of the people on the courses have either been excluded from school or have been away from education for many years. The aim of the organisation is to transfer ICT skills and to provide people with qualifications that are applicable to the local industry. The trainers were themselves educated in ICT at BYCS and are members of the local community.

In reviewing the data collected for this case study a number of key points can be made:

1. The BYCS represents a clear case of a strong community based delivery unit working to overcome aspects of social exclusion through training and community engagement.

2. The BYCS's own research demonstrates, and the centre staff made clear, that ICT access and training alone will not address the root causes and structural aspects of social exclusion.
3. ICT skills training is mainly seen as a route to recognised qualifications that may lead to better employment prospects.
4. Barriers to accessing training and also to making use of ICT include limited physical access (no PC at home), language issues, and limited experience of formal and informal education.
5. The BYCS engages in projects to promote and provide access to Bangladeshi culture for the rest of the UK population.
6. Structural constraints placed upon the actions of the BYCS by funding programmes, upon which the Centre is reliant for a great deal of its funding, limit the ability of the Centre to provide a more developmental training support system leading to higher level skills. This makes the Centre a starting point for individuals' development.
7. The BYCS operates as a local resource embedded physically and operationally in the local community.

ICT skills clearly act in this case as an acquirable human capital with regard to future employment. Engaging with ICT, either through courses or through the use of the ICT suite (possibly supported by a Centre worker), does provide a means of supporting the community in its engagement with the wider society, economy and culture. What is notable though is the high level of personal commitment, time, resources and effort required to both deliver the BYCS's goals and to gain and maintain the material resources needed to support these.

Case Study 2: Yorkshire-Safe

Background and data collection

The Yorkshire-Safe programme started as a website for economic inclusion and targeted small and medium enterprises (SME). The organisation realised that the only information available online regarding Internet security was from websites using difficult jargon. People learning English would find it particularly difficult and people without ICT knowledge would also have problems understanding it. The website started as an information source and became a self-diagnosis tool. A range of local and national agencies supported the project including: Department for Business, Enterprise and Regulatory Reform; Mid Yorkshire Chamber of Commerce and Industry, MYCCI; Sheffield Hallam University; Serious Organised Crime Agency; North Yorkshire Police Humberside Police, South Yorkshire Police, West Yorkshire Police.

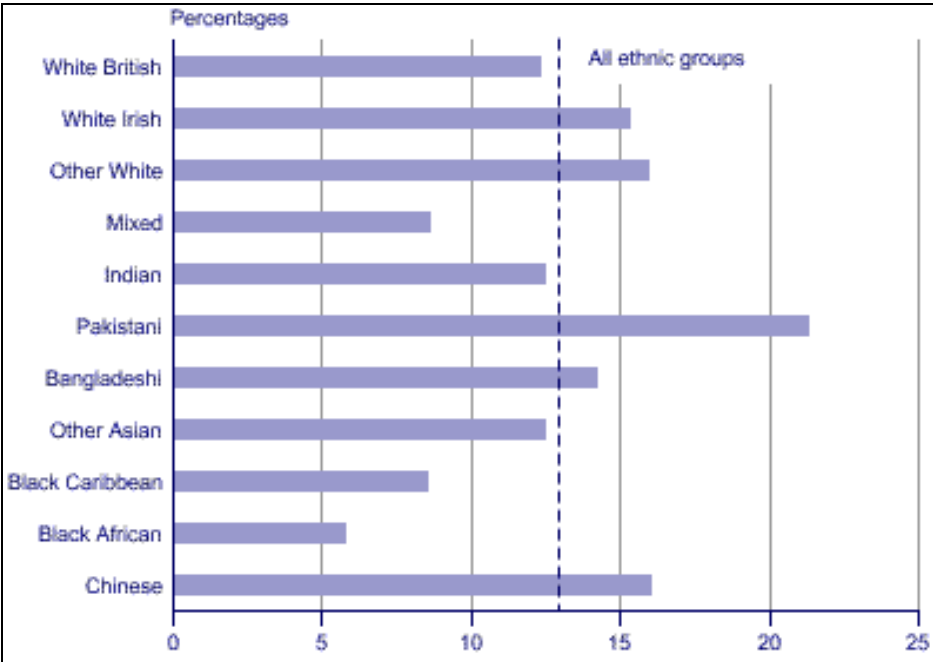
The project led on to the development of the Business Crime Reduction Centre (BCRC <http://www.bcrc-uk.org>) supported by the regional police forces and Yorkshire Forward the Regional Development agency. The goal of the project and of the BCRC is to support regional SMEs in preventing business related crime. The intention of both projects being to reduce such crime and thus boost the regional economy and its economic development. Within the region, members of BME communities own a large number of SMEs. Key

barriers to the development of these SMEs, and threat to their viability, are limited access to ICT and ICT training, as well as potential exposure to 'e-crime' through poorly set up equipment or lack of knowledge about threats. The website developed by the project provided access to information on preventing e-crime and making ICT systems secure. It provided a basis for undertaking a self-completion evaluation of an SME's ICT system security. This is a first step towards supporting the economic development of regional SMEs through good ICT use.

The Yorkshire-Safe project targeted SMEs in the Yorkshire region including minority ethnic groups with documented limited access to ICT and ICT training. The resources were expected to be provided in four languages so as to target four groups: English language speakers; Polish community; Indian community (Urdu and Bengali speakers); Pakistani community (Urdu speakers); Bangladeshi community (Bengali speakers).

Though, as noted above in the review of the BYCS case, unemployment rates in these communities are higher than the national average, it is also the case that self-employment rates are higher than the national average in these communities (see Figure 15). This made these communities key potential users of the Yorkshire-Safe project.

Figure 15 Self-employment by ethnic group



The Yorkshire-Safe web site was hosted in Sheffield, by Sheffield Hallam University one of the project developers. Yorkshire has a large BME population concentrated mainly in key urban areas such as Bradford, Leeds and Sheffield. The community also hosts a growing population of migrants, such as Polish migrants, from within the EU (see Table 45 and Table 46).

Table 45 Count for Ethnic Minorities in Sheffield

	Sheffield	Yorkshire and The Humber	England
All People	513,234	4,964,833	49,138,831
White: British	457,728	4,551,394	42,747,136
Mixed: White and Asian	2,085	14,218	184,014
Asian or Asian British: Indian	3,030	51,493	1,028,546
Asian or Asian British: Pakistani	15,844	146,330	706,539
Asian or Asian British: Bangladeshi	1,910	12,330	275,394
Asian or Asian British: Other Asian	2,598	12,333	237,810

Table 46: Count of Country of Birth in Sheffield

	Sheffield	Yorkshire and The Humber	England
All People	513,234	4,964,833	49,138,831
Born in Europe	488,361	4,786,008	46,045,077
Born in Europe: United Kingdom	480,630	4,704,476	44,594,817
Born in Europe: Eastern Europe: Poland	449	4,395	56,679
Born in Asia: South Asia: Bangladesh	1,018	6,388	150,057
Born in Asia: South Asia: India	1,744	25,569	450,493
Born in Asia: South Asia: Pakistan	6,762	60,026	304,706

Data for this case study was collected from the Yorkshire-Safe project team within both Yorkshire-Forward and Sheffield Hallam University. Interviews were held with project leaders and a variety of project documentation was collected.

Findings

Unlike the BYCS case, the project had no physical location, staffed by community members. Though the web site was globally available over the Internet, the name 'Yorkshire-Safe' and the marketing of the project through flyers to regional SMEs ensured a regional (Yorkshire) or sub-regional (South Yorkshire/Sheffield City Region) focus. Importantly, though limited, the funding came with 'few strings attached', which allowed the project to evolve. The goal of the project was to support regional SMEs to improve their ICT security – and in so doing improve their ability to make use of ICT, the Internet and e-commerce in developing their businesses. The Yorkshire-Safe has met and exceeded its original targets with the self-assessment tool having been employed 1,172 times by target users. The Business Crime Reduction Centre, again supported by the Regional Development Agency has taken on the mantle of developing the themes initiated in the Yorkshire-safe project.

Activities in relation to social inclusion and economic participation

The Yorkshire-Safe project developed in response to Yorkshire Forward's ICT Regional Benchmarking Study 2005, which found that SMEs saw e-safety / security concerns as a barrier to e-business. The report found that:

- 34% of non-adopters listed security concerns as a barrier to e-business
- 42% of non-adopters listed lack of knowledge as a barrier to e-business, and
- 24% of those adopters that had anti-virus software had not updated it in recent months.

The developers of the Yorkshire-Safe project did not initially view the project as one directed towards BME groups. In developing the project and recognising the need to address the SME community in Yorkshire – where many SMEs are owned and run by BME community members – the project provided the data in languages specific to these communities. In doing so the site provides access to information on e-security/crime to a wider audience than the UK Home Office e-crime information site (<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime-victims/reducing-crime/internet-crime/>), which is solely in English (not even in Welsh, the only other officially recognised language in the UK). Of these languages, Polish was the first to be deployed on the Yorkshire-Safe site, as one of the site developers was Polish. Urdu and Bengali were deployed next as the project recognised the need to engage with these communities which have a large number of members who are self-employed and where the combination of technical jargon in a second language (English) provides an insurmountable barrier to accessing information. The project developer argued that many BME community members run SMEs trade mainly within their local area or community. Uptake of ICT is therefore seen as means of supporting, developing and expanding these businesses outside their current markets. Lack of knowledge about ICT, and e-security were identified as important limiting factors on this uptake.

Unlike the BYCS case the team did not directly engage with local communities. Community leaders were considered as interlocutors, as they often act as the gatekeepers to specific parts of the community. Though this ensures quality of access to key elements of the community, control over the management and delivery of the services can pass out of the hands of the project managers. Also community leaders often represent the older, likely first generation of a migrant population. First and second generation BME groups have very different experiences in the UK and meeting the needs of everyone can be difficult, especially since the language and cultural barriers differ for each group. The project therefore opted for a passive 'pull' model for the project with supporting marketing, rather than a directed intervention.

The project is effectively 'complete' and further developments both on-line and in on-the-ground activity have moved elsewhere. The BCRC, like the initial Yorkshire-Safe project, has a broad remit to work with all SMEs in the South Yorkshire/Sheffield City region. All of the information, advice and downloadable content on the BCRC site are in English. Having said this, the BCRC has a stronger focus on community engagement and in explicit training in ICT security as part of the services on offer. Much of this is offered through seminars and meetings for SMEs across the region. In discussing how to engage members of the regions BME communities in this, a number of ongoing plans and actions were presented. These included delivering this support through a 'mobile internet café' (in the north of Sheffield) and engagement with local voluntary networks and facilities was seen to be key to further work. This would see the BCRC engaging with the regional equivalents of BYCS in the South Yorkshire region. Overall though, the remit of the BCRC remained that of the overall set of SMEs in the region and not just, or especially those, run by BME community members.

Structural issues

Once again it was clear from interviews and the mixed history of support for the Yorkshire-Safe project that funding remained a key issue. Funding for the project has essentially now ceased and the website is not anymore available. The ending of the funding, and lack of community involvement have also prevented the development of additional materials in Polish, Urdu or Bengali. As with the BYCS case the tension between short term resources under specific projects and longer-term engagements (within or for local communities) remains a key issue. Overall UK ICT policy with regard to BME groups has been to ensure access through local community organisations such as BYCS. Such projects can only go so far in starting the process of supporting BME communities' social, economic and cultural inclusion, as well as bi-directional processes of acculturation. In this case the lack of a major involvement with the BME community and/or funding to support such engagement has prevented the project from making use of the skills and knowledge within those communities. As a result the project has stopped at a limited level of intervention.

Discussion: build it and they will come

The project does not provide formal accredited qualifications; rather skills were gained from interaction with the website. Yorkshire-Safe acted as a source of information and a starting point for developing skills in ICT. Further skills training was signposted by links to other websites. Yorkshire-Safe's main priority was to educate people in the security of the ICT and Internet use in order to promote the opportunities for e-commerce. More generally this support for economic participation and knowledge of ICT security is hoped to provide a basis for more relational integration within the local economy. In the interview the project developer noted that many BME run SMEs trade predominantly inside BME communities. It was a hope of both Yorkshire-Safe and BCRC that improving knowledge of ICT security, and from this opening up new markets (e.g. through e-commerce), will provide a basis for both relational integration and economic development.

Overall the case for improved ICT access, use, knowledge and training leading directly to the development of social capital within the target communities is made by the project managers rather than by the community members themselves. This is a long-term model for the development of such social capital, and as the development of the wider BCRC project has noted will require a more proactive engagement with local communities than that provided by Yorkshire-Safe.

European Commission

JRC 52233 – Joint Research Centre – Institute for Prospective Technological Studies

Title: ICT supply and demand in immigrant and ethnic minority communities in France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom

Authors: Dana Diminescu, Andreas Hepp, Stefan Welling, Isidro Maya-Jariego, and Simeon Yates

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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. It provides, for each of the above four countries, a snapshot of recent immigration trends and policies and an overview of ICT supply and demand developments concerning specific immigrants and ethnic minority groups: Indians, Moroccans and Russians in France; Poles, Russians and Turks in Germany; Argentinians, Ecuadorians, Bulgarians and Romanians in Spain; Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and Poles in the UK. The motivations for these choices are provided in the report.

The analysis of supply-side developments addresses digital initiatives and services of specific interest to immigrants and ethnic minorities provided by the public, commercial, and non-profit/third sectors. The report identifies key actors and their activities and looks at promising services for the economic and social participation and integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

The demand-side investigation looked at the (very limited) quantitative evidence available on the take up and use of ICT by immigrants and ethnic minorities, and explored in qualitative terms access and usage drivers and barriers and potential enablers to overcome them. The main findings helped to contextualize and inform the subsequent field work which developed three in-depth case studies of ICT usage experiences within the above immigrant and ethnic minority groups, in each of the selected countries.

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