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ICT for the Social and Economic Integration of Migrants into Europe

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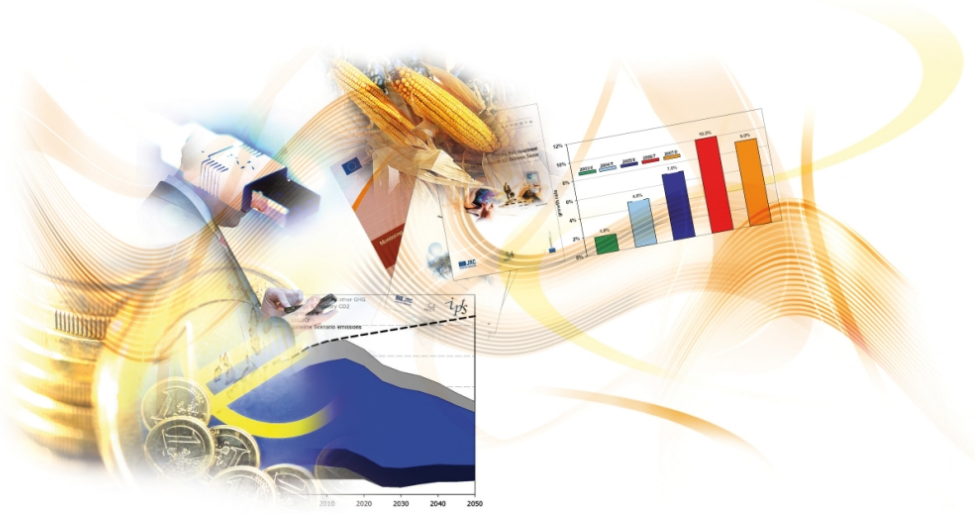

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Cristiano Codagnone acted as scientific coordinator of the consortium, from his position Aggregate Professor at Università degli Studi di Milano (Dipartimento di Studi Sociali e Politici). He is now a scientific officer in the IS Unit at IPTS.[1]

Stefano Kluzer launched and coordinated the project at IPTS. He has now returned his job as a freelance socio-economic researcher and consultant on information society development and policies.

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[1] IPTS (Institute for Prospective Technological Studies) is one of the seven research institutes that make up the European Commission's Joint Research Centre.

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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 a strategic policy goal in the EU. 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 indirectly from ICT usage by services providers, intermediaries and other agents addressing their needs. Building on this, the 2006 *Riga Declaration on eInclusion*[2] 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 (ICT for Inclusion) asked the Institute for Prospective Technological Studies (IPTS)[3] 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*' (henceforth simply the Study[4]), 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, and Sheffield Hallam University – Culture, Communication and Computing Research Institute.

The IPTS Study entailed both desk-based research, especially of online services and other resources, and fieldwork and entailed a number of steps. 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 of national policies, of supply and demand aspects of ICT and digital services was then conducted on selected IEM groups in four countries:[5] France, Germany, Spain and the UK. This was followed by eleven in-depth case studies of specific experiences of ICT and digital service adoption and use by some of the selected IEM groups in the earlier mentioned four countries. Finally, a foresight workshop involving experts and stakeholders in the relevant fields explored current trends, future challenges and scenarios, and policy options. The findings of the above steps are presented in the following five publications (all available online):

- An overview of digital support initiatives for/by IEM in the EU27 (Kluzer, Haché, and Codagnone 2008),[6]

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2 Available at http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/events/ict_riga_2006/doc/declaration_riga.pdf

3 IPTS is one of the seven research institutes of the European Commission's Joint Research Centre.

4 The notation the 'Study' in capital letter will be used throughout this document to refer to the project as a whole will all its different components and the corresponding publications.

5 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).

6 Available at: http://ftp.jrc.es/EURdoc/JRC48588.pdf

- The more detailed analysis of ICT supply and demand in IEM communities in France, Germany, Spain and the UK (Codagnone *et al*, eds. 2009),[7]
- The reports on the eleven in-depth case studies:[8]
    - France (Diminescu *et al* 2009),[9]
    - Germany (Hepp *et al* 2009),[10]
    - Spain (Maya-Jariego *et al* 2009).[11]

This final and overarching report is, therefore, the last publication from the IPTS Study and as such it selectively analyses its main findings, puts them in theoretical perspective and draws policy implications and recommendations. In this respect, the other five publications must be read as interim and empirical contributions to this final report, in which they are used and commented on throughout.

[7] Available at: http://ftp.jrc.es/EURdoc/JRC52233.TN.pdf

[8] 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 Codagnone, et al, eds. (2009).

[9] Available at: http://ftp.jrc.es/EURdoc/JRC51834_TN.pdf

[10] Available at: http://ftp.jrc.es/EURdoc/JRC53397_TN.pdf

[11] Available at: http://ftp.jrc.es/EURdoc/JRC51774_TN.pdf

Executive summary

The study on which this report is based is one of a kind for its combination of topic, approach and scope. It explores the relation of immigrants and ethnic minorities (henceforth referred to simply as IEM) with ICT and new digital media,[12] by addressing holistically the supply and demand sides. Supply is considered in terms of initiatives promoting the use of ICT for and by IEM by a variety of players in the public, private and third sector. Demand is looked at in terms of ICT take up by IEM and their usage processes (and results). Both aspects have been studied in a variety of countries and social contexts.

This publication is the final and overarching report of the research carried out on the request of DG Information Society and Media, Unit H3 (ICT for inclusion) by IPTS with a group of partners 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*. This report selectively analyses the main findings of the IPTS study - already published in five previous interim, empirical contributions[13] - and puts them into theoretical perspective and draws policy implications and recommendations.

Research questions and method

The study's aims can be broken down into two research questions. First, to understand the processes of digital inclusion/exclusion regarding IEM and how they relate to social inclusion and participation, also as a result of ICT's effects on social capital. Second, to identify the main challenges and barriers on the demand side and the shortcomings of current supply side initiatives, leading to policy recommendations for maximising IEM participation in the European information society and contributing to higher social inclusion goals. The study is thus placed at the crossroads of different strands of scientific research and literature, and of different policy domains.

The study entailed both desk-based research of online services, scientific literature and other resources, and fieldwork developed through a number of steps over 2008. The first step surveyed a wide range of about 120 ICT-based initiatives carried out for and/or by IEM in all EU27 Member States. A deeper investigation and analysis of national policies, of supply and demand aspects of ICT and digital services was then conducted on selected IEM groups in France, Germany, Spain and the UK. This was followed by eleven in-depth case studies from the same countries of specific experiences of ICT and digital service adoption and use. Finally, a foresight workshop involving experts and stakeholders in the relevant fields explored current trends, future challenges and scenarios, and policy options.

Key concepts

The key concept to address the digital in/exclusion issues of this study is that of ***ICT appropriation*** and its relation with the everyday capabilities or 'functionings' (Sen 2000) that determine social exclusion or inclusion at large. Appropriation marks a step beyond simple 'ICT access and use' and conveys the idea that individuals learn to do things through ICT that are meaningful to them in their daily working practices, dealing with government, learning, staying in contact with friends and so on. As our everyday life is increasingly entangled in activities and relations enabled by ICT, being digitally excluded is a new source of inequality

[12] Given the already wide scope of research on other dimensions, the study was focused almost exclusively on computer and Internet technologies and their applications, leaving aside other important technology areas for the lives of migrants such as mobile phones and traditional media, all of them increasingly converging around digital systems (e.g. web TV and radio).

[13] They are all available online at the URL: http://is.jrc.ec.europa.eu/pages/EAP/eInclusion.html

as it can result in exclusion from relevant networks and social relations, jobs and leisure opportunities, and from informed participation in public debate. Facing these risks and opportunities, IEM are seen to have two main characteristics that distinguish them from the mainstream host society. First, they tend to be relatively more mobile and transnational than the native population by definition and necessity. Studies of ***globalisation***, ***transnationalism,*** and ***diasporas*** have been examined for this. Second, IEM face the double challenge of adapting to the new society while maintaining ties with their homeland; of accepting and internalising new values while preserving their own; of making new acquaintances with members of the local population while cultivating relations with co-ethnics in the host society and at home. Studies looking at the ***bonding or bridging components of social capital***[14] and at the immigrants' ***mixed embeddedness***[15] have been examined on this second characteristic.

Empirical findings and discussion

Based on the (very limited) quantitative evidence on ICT access and use by IEM analysed for this study, it is clear that take up of ICT is not a function of ethnicity per se. Different surveys in different countries concur that immigrants and ethnic minorities basically have, on average, similar and in some cases higher take up levels than the local population as a whole. This high adoption rate seems to result largely from a user-driven, bottom-up process. We found no evidence of systematic policies and programmes explicitly targeting the digital inclusion of IEM, while many ICT-related initiatives (indeed often publicly-supported) are carried out by third sector entities and IEM associations. The important role played by Internet/phone shops - almost always set up by IEM entrepreneurs to provide low cost telephone and Internet access services - confirms this view.

Looking behind the aggregate statistics on ICT access and adoption, the picture for IEM people and for the European population at large becomes more nuanced and complex. The interaction of various factors -socio-economic status, gender, proficiency in the host country's language, lack of infrastructure (e.g. broadband networks and public Internet access points) in the deprived areas where many IEM people live, inadequate digital content and others- point to deeper sources of inequality in the capacity to reap the benefits of ICT, with effects on broader inclusion and participation processes in the society and economy. These aspects emerged from eleven case studies in the four countries (see the list in **Table 1**) and were analysed in more depth. This made it possible to identify and better understand six horizontal themes.

Motivations for ICT appropriation play a crucial role. A clear finding is that IEM have fully acknowledged that ICT are crucial to making a living and increasing their chances in the social and economic context in which they live (children's education being a focal domain) and to keeping in touch with family and social networks in the homeland and elsewhere. The motivation to learn and use ICT among IEM is therefore very strong. However, ICT skills and appropriation are not acquired at once in a single location, but are rather embedded into an interplay of different occasions related to various contexts and purposes. These in turn are strongly dependent on the socio-economic status, educational level, and place of residence of the people involved. Situations of multiple social disadvantages confirm this, by showing that under these conditions ICT appropriation is highly difficult and unlikely. In the case studies

[14] In a very simplistic way, these terms refer to the reinforcement of two types of social relations: at intra-community level (bonding) and at inter-community level, with respect both to other IEM groups and the host society (bridging).

[15] This refers to the situation whereby the immigrants' identities, resources and ambitions are embedded both in the conditions and demands of the host society and in the relations and affiliations (of both an instrumental and of a more symbolic and affective nature) with co-ethnics in the host society and in the homeland. These and other concepts are illustrated in section 1.2.

on two deprived neighbourhoods (in Leicester and Bremen), ICT initiatives appear as the classic 'drop in the ocean' with respect to community regeneration and social participation. They provide no 'magic bullet' solution to social exclusion, but constitute one of many possible and needed social actions. In more general terms, our analysis shows that social exclusion problems are not only affected by the condition of being part of an IEM group and missing digital media access, but they also tend to occur when digital exclusion feeds into other social gaps. In particular, lack of host society language skills and lack of education (or recognition of educational credentials obtained abroad) are the two conditions which interact most negatively with lack of ICT access and skills to produce a vicious circle of increasing exclusion and isolation.

The cases analysed by our study do not provide conclusive evidence on the contribution of ICT to immigrants' economic participation. The use of ICT and/or advanced ICT skills clearly play the positive role of a general purpose technology, by augmenting the productivity and reach of other factors (including social capital). Digital skills are widely perceived as crucial by IEM to integrate into the European labour market, even though the actual benefits they bring to employability are often constrained by gender and ethnic discrimination.[16] However, in the cases that we studied for this report we did not find enough evidence that ICT have had such a decisive role that the entrepreneurial activities we analysed would not have occurred without them.[17]

Most of the case studies, on the other hand, unequivocally refute a dichotomist view of the bonding or bridging effects of ICT use by immigrants and ethnic minorities, which highly depend on context-specific conditions of appropriation. Our findings tend to support the view that bonding effects enhance intra-ethnic stabilisation in terms of social relations and identity, and may be conducive to ICT usages for bridging purposes. Given the 'mixed embeddedness' of many immigrants, ICT and new digital media are also appropriated in a dual manner and may have simultaneous bonding and bridging effects. In addition, our findings do not rule out the possibility – especially in situations of high deprivation - that ICT use in a bonding perspective may result in processes of informational and cultural segregation, compounding other existing isolating effects (spatial-residential and occupational concentration).

Inclusive eGovernment services and the provision of public digital inclusion support measures were also addressed by the study. In general, few cases were found in the four countries (except the UK) and across the EU27 of online government information in multi-language format and transactional services dedicated to immigrants. Also, publicly-supported digital inclusion projects in deprived areas and more in general suffer from shortcomings regarding funding, focus and time scale, which limit their impact and sustainability. On the other hand, IEM people were found to be reluctant to use eGovernment services (where they exist) and other barriers undoubtedly affect the demand side as well. Examples were found, however, of measures which simplified access and use of public services for newly arrived immigrants and proved beneficial in general for anyone with literacy problems. Opportunities do exist, therefore, for virtuous demand/supply developments in publicly-supported ICT-based initiatives.

[16] See (Garrido, Rissola, Rastrelli, Diaz, & Ruiz, 2010).

[17] The contribution of the new social media to transforming migrants' social networks into professional and business opportunities is documented by (Diminescu, Jacomy, & Renault, 2010) in the case of Moroccan musicians living in France. A clear example of a migrant's enterprise fully dependent on ICT is provided in (Brinkerhoff, 2008).

Policy suggestions

In the light of the above findings, and of the evolution of immigrant incorporation policies towards an emerging European 'civic integration' approach –which is critically discussed in Chapter 3 and in the Annex - the report provides some key messages. Digital inclusion measures and integration measures using ICT should primarily aim to contribute to the structural dimensions of immigrant incorporation (employment, education, social interaction and participation), which is where many of them suffer from well-documented disadvantaged positions. This means continuing with basic access and digital literacy measures, but stepping up more integrated measures on ICT for learning and employability purposes, and on ICT for inter-cultural dialogue, and measures addressing situations of extreme social disadvantage. When ICT are used (and digital skills developed) in the context of host country language and knowledge-of-society courses (especially when they are made compulsory following the new 'civic integration' approach), the opportunities offered by technology for making such learning effectively meet immigrants' main integration needs should be fully exploited. ICT initiatives should also support the provision to immigrants of clear, understandable, and transparent information about their rights; about the processes and requirements to obtain and maintain residence rights; about how to interact with welfare service providers, how to enrol their children in schools, and how to access and use healthcare services. Multi-channel platforms and e-enabled intermediaries are crucial if this information is to be provided to the weakest immigrants. Finally, initiatives supporting the empowerment, visibility and 'voice' of immigrant individuals and collectives groups should pay attention to, and work to counterbalance, the often negative segregation effects correlated to their bonding-enhancement implications.

Additional policy-related conclusions and recommendations are then given on: further research needs, especially on ICT use and its effects among IEM and also on some strictly ICT-oriented topics; better coordination and mainstreaming of ICT initiatives for IEM across policy areas, to overcome current shortcomings and lost opportunities; the need to promote and support the evolution of public Internet access points, especially in deprived areas, in community centres capable of addressing more substantive needs of the local population (regardless of their migration background); and more integrated measures which are necessary to achieve ICT appropriation and broader integration goals.

1 Introduction

1.1 A ground breaking work at the cross-roads of research and policy domains

The literature on digital inclusion processes and eInclusion policies in general is relatively new but growing. The study of immigrants and ethnic minorities taken in its broadest sense[18] is a vast and established inter-disciplinary field. A specific but sizeable segment of media and communication studies focuses on immigrants and ethnic minorities. Research in Europe on the use by, and implications of, ICT for immigrants and ethnic minorities has grown substantially in recent years.[19]

Yet, to our knowledge the IPTS Study (the results of which we analyse in this report) is one of a kind as it focuses specifically on immigrants and ethnic minorities (henceforth IEM) in relation to ICT and new digital media, and in addressing holistically the following two dimensions:

- The supply side defined as regarding the ensemble of initiatives springing from a variety of players (public sector, third sector, private sector) focusing on, and promoting the use of, ICT for and by IEM;
- The demand side defined as pertaining the level of ICT take up and the processes of their usage (and their results) by IEM in a variety of contexts.

While country or issues specific contributions on ICT and IEM can be found,[20] given the novelty of the topic addressed we met with a dearth of over-arching and exhaustive (in terms of geographic coverage) studies and information.

First, the coverage of the supply side in a EU27 perspective produced by this Study (Kluzer, Hache and Codagnone 2008) is the first and only contribution of this sort.[21]

Second, the comparative focus on four opportunely selected countries provides an important contribution both from a research and policy perspective.

Third, the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data on both the supply and demand sides in a comparative perspective represents a state of the art methodology and research design in this specific field.

Last but not least, the overall objective of the Study ambitiously went beyond that of simply describing the situation of supply and demand, as the general aim was *to find evidence on both the availability of ICT driven or supported initiatives and services directly or indirectly*

[18] To include: a) the study of the migratory processes; b) the study of social processes and socio-economic and cultural conditions of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the countries where they migrated and possibly settled; c) the analysis of policies concerning both migration control and regulation and the management of cultural diversity. Defined in this broad fashion this literature includes also political philosophy and normative theory contributions on what liberal democracies should do in managing cultural diversity.

[19] This results clearly from a parallel study to the one presented here, that IPTS promoted on the "State of the Art of research in the EU on the uptake and use of ICT by immigrants and ethnic minorities", see (Borkert, Cingolani, and Premazzi, 2009). See (Hamel, 2009) for a recent literature review at international level on ICT and migration.

[20] In the UK, for instance, very interesting reports focussing only on the demand side were released already in 2003 (DfES 2003a, 2003b, 2003c).

[21] The EU funded e-Migra project (www.emigra.org) did in fact produce in 2005 a similar overview of ICT initiatives for migrants, but this was mostly limited to the partners' countries (Spain, Germany and France) and primarily focused on education aspects (digital literacy and the use of ICT in education activities). See also (Guiral and Le Corvec, 2006).

*targeting IEM (**supply side**) and on ICT usage by IEM (**demand side**) and understand whether and how this contributes to achieve desirable social outcomes*.

This overall goal, then, can be broken down into two specific research questions, the first of a scientific nature and the second of a policy nature:

1) Understand the processes of digital inclusion/exclusion regarding IEM and how they relate to social inclusion and participation also as a result of ICT effects on IEM's social capital;
2) Identify the main challenges and barriers on the demand side and the shortcomings of current supply side initiatives to provide recommendations for future policy action in this domain that can maximise participation of IEM to the Information Society and, thus, contribute to the higher goal of social inclusion and cohesion.

It is, thus, clear now how the IPTS Study is placed at the cross roads of different strands of literature and research, as well as of different policy domains. The more scientific research question touches upon issues spanning across the specific literature on digital inclusion and the more general literature on social inclusion; the literature on migration processes and on immigrants and ethnic minorities cultural and socio-economic incorporation; the more general debate on the bonding and bridging dimension of social capital and how they are affected by ICT with specific reference to their use and appropriation by IEM. The implications are more directly relevant for digital inclusion policies, but they are to be understood also in the wider context of immigrant integration policies.

When embarking in this adventurous trip into a green field it was quite natural for us to adopt the "grounded theory" approach, a research methodology in the social sciences emphasizing generation of theory from data in the process of conducting research (see Glaser and Strauss 1967). The novelty of the topic and the still not consolidated body of empirical evidence that we expected to gather would not lend themselves to a more rigid testing of a well formed theory and related hypotheses. We pragmatically designed a research architecture allowing a continuous feedback loop between conceptual and theoretical frames of references and the empirical findings gradually accumulated. In this respect, rather than a true discovery of theory in the process of doing research, we started from the theoretical frames of references described in the next paragraph and used empirical evidence to further specify and refine some of the interpretations and hypotheses that could be derived from such frames.

As the core of the Study is represented by the empirical work conducted, a substantial part of this report (the entire Chapter 2) is devoted to present and discuss the main findings. The next two sections, thus, present the conceptual, theoretical, and research design underpinning for the exposition contained in Chapter 2. The policy dimension of the findings is treated in Chapter 3, where the key concepts and frames for a discussion within the context of immigrant integration are presented.

1.2 Key concepts and theoretical framework

As theoretical frame of reference for the understanding of digital inclusion/exclusion in general and its relation to social inclusion/exclusion we use the heuristic models elaborated by Codagnone (2009a: pp. 12-19), which we briefly recall below.

The key concept we use is that of ***ICT appropriation***, meaning *the processes by which individuals incorporate ICT in their daily practices of working, dealing with government, learning, staying in contact with friends, entertaining themselves, buying goods and services,*

getting information and joining in the public sphere, etc.[22] Appropriation marks a step further than simple use and conveys the idea that individuals do things through ICT that are meaningful to them and do not simply and generically use ICT. The use of this concept presupposes a break away from the mere focus on access and the digital divide, which has characterised for some time the study of digital inclusion. The fundamental hypothesis derived from both theory and empirical work is that what matters for ICT to have concrete social outcomes is ***appropriation*** rather than mere access or simple use. This perspective is rooted in a new literature that, abandoning the simplistic concept of the digital divide, has brought to light the more complex world of 'digital inequalities' (see for instance Bonfadelli 2002; DiMaggio *et al* 2004; DiMaggio and Hargittai 2004; van Dijk 2005; Hargittai 2007; Kaplan 2005; Liff and Shepherd 2004; Loader and Keeble 2004; Norris 2001). The basic idea is that ICT and related new media possibilities are radically different from traditional mass media[23] and from other mainstream technologies (i.e. the telephone) and that their social and cultural impact can be better appreciated by making the analogy with 'cultural goods' such as education and information.[24] In these domains as access (to education, to culture, to information) increased, social differentiation emerged in the effectiveness of use that different social groups could make of such cultural goods. The same seems to happen with ICT and new digital media whose access and simple use is spreading within larger segments of society and yet inequalities are reproduced, also in light of the cognitive and skills requirements for an effective use of ICT (van Dijk 2005).[25] Evidently as we move from the operational to the strategic competences, inequalities are likely to become more relevant. So, besides obstacles to access/adoption, there are also obstacles to the development of stronger user capabilities. These capabilities depend on opportunities for continuous learning brought among other

[22] Use of this concept, though in different variations, can be found in a number of approaches that can be labelled as 'constructivist theories of technology' such as 'social shaping of technology', the 'appropriation of technology in everyday life', and the 'technology domestication processes' perspectives (see for instance Lie and Sørensen, eds., 1996; Silverstone et al 1990 and 1992; Silverstone and Hartman 1998; William and Edge 1995).

[23] Mass media and particularly television have had without doubt a great impact on society, and this is recognised both by those who see it positively and those who see it negatively (McQuail 2005). Television has had a broadly defined integrative effect and to some extent brought together social groups earlier embedded in separated 'information spheres'. For this to happen what mattered was simply the ever and fast increasing access to television. Modern ICT understood as digital media are not related to communication across the 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.). New digital media can create different and separate informational sphere and in this respect their potential impact is much more similar to that of the invention of the print than to that of television and radio.

[24] see for instance DiMaggio (2001) and DiMaggio et al (2004).

[25] The typology of digital competences elaborated by van Dijk includes the following forms: a) Operational competences. The skills needed to use a PC and basic software including the browser to navigate the Internet. These mostly coincide with the topics of basic training courses standardised following the inspiration of the European Computer Driving License (ECDL); b) Informational competences. Intended as the capability to retrieve and manage effectively the information and contents available, they can be further distinguished into: b1) Formal informational competences. These refer to the capability to move around the way information is organised in terms of navigation (i.e. mustering a single web site understanding its different structure and using the tools to move within it). These can be acquired and improved as a result of repeated use; and b2) Substantial informational competences. They concern the capacity to search, select, know and evaluate information. Substantial competences, for instance, are the ability to evaluate the credibility of a web site, or the capability to logically structure a search and then follow the right thread of hits. This sort of competence is harder to achieve only as a result of usage and is more related to individuals' pre-existing cognitive and cultural assets; c) Strategic competences. These are needed to define the purpose of use within the vast universe of available possibilities with the aim of improving one's position in terms of desirable benefits and outcomes.

factors by informal support from family members, friends, acquaintances and colleagues at work.

A successful or unsuccessful process of ICT appropriation is not without consequences from the broader perspective of social inclusion/exclusion. Indeed, digital exclusion is the quintessential and paradigmatic form of social exclusion in the new order of 'informational capitalism' (Castels 1996).[26] As our everyday work lives are increasingly entangled in activities and relations enabled by ICT, being digitally excluded is a new source of inequality as it can result into exclusion from relevant networks and social relations, jobs and leisure opportunities, and from informed participation to the public debate. Intensity and quality of use of ICT – in other words, successful appropriation – play a crucial role in helping individuals position themselves within this new order. This contention can be further appreciated if we fully grasp the fact that today digital means or lack thereof, are shaped and at the same type shape those relative capabilities and relative '**functionings'** determining social exclusion or inclusion at large (Sen 2000).[27] The inclusion or exclusion of individuals and groups within society is shaped by their relative 'functionings', namely their relative capability to function and achieve desirable outcomes such as for instance finding a job. These relative 'functionings', depending on individuals' possession of resources and on their social relations, at the same time shape and are shaped by the digital means possessed by them. If one is in a condition of poor functioning, this will reduce digital means, which in turn will result in missed opportunities compared to others. At a very basic level it can be stated that digital inclusion/exclusion in society is shaped by the interaction between, on the one hand individual and group level characteristics that we call 'functionings', and on the other by what we can group together as 'supply side factors' including market and industry (in general and with particular reference to the ICT sector) and the government as provider of ICT supported public services. The position and resources individuals and groups possess shape their means in general and their digital means in particular, thus, influencing their level of digital inclusion and their capacity to achieve benefits from the use of ICT. In other words they can be a source of either digital inequalities or digital opportunities. At the level of individuals and groups more transitory potential sources of digital inequalities are gender and age. They may be expected to reduce naturally as males and females have access to the same education and occupation opportunities and as younger cohorts of ICT users go through a natural ageing process. On the other hand, we have other factors that can be the source of digital inequalities in a more structural and permanent way. These are related to socio-economic gaps (education, occupation, income, compounded by ethnicity factors and/or access to citizenship rights for immigrants and ethnic minorities), to relational gaps (level of embeddedness in social networks and degree of social capital characterising the community of residence) and disabilities. We can relate these factors to the issue of digital inclusion/exclusion and more generally of social inclusion/exclusion by adopting the perspective of the authors who have studied multidimensional poverty, deprivation and social exclusion (i.e. Arjan de Haan 1997; D'Ambrosio et al. 2002; Tsakloglou and Papadopoulos, 2002a; 2002b; Sen 2000).

[26] It is a social order based on new network forms of social organisation. New technologies, thus, catalyse the processes of dis-embedding and re-embedding of individuals within the fabric of society that, already before the full advent of new ICT, was seen as a characteristic of late modernity (Giddens 1994). Such processes can lead to a new form of 'networked individualism', which can either result in further isolation and exclusion, or instead favours mobility and access to resources. Potential exclusion from relevant networks is the new source of inequalities as opposed to the concept of 'exploitation' typical of the industrial order.

[27] Sen's functioning-capability theoretical approach has been recently applied in an interesting empirical study of digital skills and employability of migrant women in Europe. See (Garrido et al., 2010).

In the light of the above discussion, the Study gathered quantitative data to provide a preliminary picture on IEM access to, and use of ICT, but then proceeded to further qualitative and in depth work to better understand the processes of ICT appropriation and their consequences.

The theoretical frame of reference for what concerns digital inclusion and social inclusion in general needs to be integrated with additional insights addressing IEM specificities. In other words, when considering the broader issue of digital inclusion the question arises as to which are the peculiarities of IEM with respect to ICT that either justify their separate treatment or are a source of alternative explanations and hypotheses. Leaving aside for the moment the fact that immigrants and ethnic minorities may have a different legal status from that of the native population,[28] the features that most distinguish them from other social groups are in our view two.

First, IEM tend to be relatively more mobile and transnational than the native population by definition and necessity. As regard to this element, theoretical and empirical reference points come from the literature focussing on immigration through the prisms of ***globalisation***, ***transnationalism,*** and ***diasporas***. Much before the digital revolution, long distance analogical communication (mail, telephone, ethnic press) has enabled migration and was spurred by it. New digital media and ICT can be seen as amplifying and re-shaping existing patterns of media usage by immigrants to manage transnational ties and mobility. The literature on transnationalism underscores how the reference frame for migrants' actions and decisions stretches beyond locality and that interconnection should be considered to be a radically new element of contemporary mobility (see for instance Levitt, De Wind and Vertovec 2003). A particularly salient aspect is the high mobility that characterizes the lifestyle especially of newly arrived immigrants and of those involved in temporary or circular migration (Castles, 2006). In the host country, "immigrant workers are also mobile workers who keep in constant contact with their managers … immigrants living with different levels of uncertainty, keep their mobile phone as the only certain way to be contacted" (Ros, 2008). The case of phone cards and their phenomenal growth is a clear example of this amplification and re-shaping effect.[29] Today new technologies allow immigrants to make decisions and transnationally arrange all the main events of life such as weddings and funerals (Mazzucato, Kabki and Smith 2006), but also to deal with everyday life concerns of close relatives at home (e.g. migrant mothers checking school achievements and homework of their children in the origin country). High transnational and local mobility are enabled by the use of ICT that, according to (Vertovec, 2007) make it easier for potential migrants or recurrent migrants to find useful information and maintain social contacts and encourage policy makers to promote (regulated) circular migration schemes. Studies of diasporas show the increasing importance of imagination and virtuality in the definition of collective memberships that is evidently amplified by the functionalities of digital media (Safran 1991; Brah 1996; Cohen 1997). The sense of ethnic belonging is a fundamental factor in diasporas because it generates empathy and solidarity with co-ethic members wherever they settle. The growth of online content/services in the homelands makes it easier to satisfy this desire and the existence of

[28] In most cases ethnic minorities are also citizens of the state where they reside, whereas an increasing proportion of immigrants have acquired consolidate and not easily revocable residence rights. Certainly, there is the situation of immigrants with still precarious residence rights or in condition of irregularity. This is certainly the source of dire social problems, but they can be considered as an amplifier of conditions of general social deprivation that can be found also among groups belonging to the host society national majority.

[29] In Germany, for instance, in only two years (from 2000 to 2002) Deutsche Telekom lost over 190,000 Turkish customers because of the proliferation of new private telephone companies, which offer highly competitive services and low fares to call their home countries (Caglar 2002).

customers from abroad further stimulates their provision.[30] The structural features of the migration phenomenon (transnationalism, mobility, diasporas dynamic) matched with the new functionalities offered by ICT has led some scholars to talk of a transformed nature of immigration centred on the new figure of the 'connected' (Diminescu, 2005, 2007, 2008) or 'interconnected' migrant (Ros 2008; Ros et al 2007). In sum, from this strand of literature we can derive the hypothesis that immigrants and ethnic minorities, precisely because of their peculiar social trajectories and position, may have a strong and specific drive for using ICT that can work as an additional motivation to offset potential barriers to access and use. In other words the insights from the cited authors belies the widely held assumption (prejudice) that immigrants and ethnic minorities are technology laggards and may confirm the intuition that, controlling for educational level and other factors, they often are more intensive ICT users than the local population (see Guiral and Le Corvec 2006).

Second, IEM face the double challenge of adapting to the new society while maintaining ties with their homeland, of accepting and internalising new values while preserving their own, of making new acquaintances with members of local population while cultivating relations with co-ethnics in the host society and at home. In brief they need to form and shape a new cultural and social identity. This second peculiarity points us in the direction of the question as to whether ICT appropriation by IEM contributes to the bonding or bridging type of social capital. In other words, to what extent does the use of ICT enable IEM to build ties with the local population and to participate in mainstream economic and socio-cultural life? Or conversely, are they used mostly to maintain contacts with co-ethnics locally and in the homeland and to consume ethnic information, thus further contributing to segregation and ghettoisation processes that may be already at work in other respects such as spatially or in terms of type of occupation (possibly going also to the detriment of proficiency in the host country's language)? This issue requires a brief consideration of the concept of social capital, which we first discuss in its micro-sociological dimension as "*the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks and other social structure"* (Portes 1998: 6).[31] In a certain sociological tradition there is a clear 'preference' for the bridging type of social capital comprising 'weak' and instrumental ties, as opposed to strong ties heavily loaded culturally and socially with reciprocity (of obligations). According to Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), for instance, it is not possible to see only the benefits of socially embedded behaviours, without considering its cost and risks. These are the potential negative facets of social capital such as in deviant organisations, in close-knit communities encroaching on individuals who do not conform. Portes and Sensenbrenner, bringing empirical evidence from research on Cuban immigrant communities in Miami, have underlined the importance of strong ties with co-ethnics as a source of social support favouring also economic action, but also documented the drawbacks and costs of what they define 'bounded solidarity' and 'enforceable trust'. These are mechanisms that, on the one hand isolate immigrants from the rest of society, while on the other exact high costs in terms of social commitment and constraints on free choice. Indeed, from the perspective of a better

[30] This dynamic has been documented, among other cases, for online religious practices (Helland, 2007), matrimonial web services for the Indian diaspora and online services for traditional Moroccan wedding ceremonies in France (Diminescu et al 2009).

[31] The concept of social capital was first introduced in the 1980s by American sociologist James Coleman (1998), and has subsequently acquired policy-making prominence (being adopted by the World Bank first and subsequently by other international organisations and national governments). The best analysis to date of its origins and applications remains that provided by Portes (1998). Much of the popularity of the concept, however, is due to the work of Robert Putnam (2000 see infra). At the micro level the concept has been integrated in the new institutionalist economic sociology within the theory of the social embeddedness of action (i.e. Granovetter 1985).

structural incorporation (especially in the domain of employment), bridging weaker ties have been shown to be very effective. After the seminal article by Granovetter on the strength of weak ties, a lot of evidence has shown how instrumental acquaintance and networks work effectively for finding a job. Bayer et al (2005), for instance, found that significant social interactions have an impact on a wide range of labour market outcomes, including employment and wages, while Borghans et al (2006) have estimated that in the U.S. between 70% and 80% of jobs are found through networking. In this respect ICT has been shown to have an important impact in better matching labour supply and demand (see Ziesemer 2002). More in general it has been shown that ICT can positively impact the bridging type of individuals' social capital (see for instance Zinnbauer 2007). In this strand of sociological and economic literature the favour goes to weak bridging ties for they better fit the narrative of modernisation (where instrumental and impersonal relations should prevail), whereas the bonding ties are often associated to backward and pre-modern social organisations. Yet, there is also another side of social capital beyond the micro-sociological dimension discussed so far and it is, in fact, the macro level understanding of the concept that has been investigated and popularised especially by Robert Putnam (i.e. 2000), who considers it as a general characteristic of a community or a society in terms of collaboration, trust, sense of identity, participation and in the most successful cases of civic culture. The weak instrumental bridging ties, while certainly contributing to improve social inclusion and participation, do not provide the stronger social support and sense of identity that individuals need, neither are they enough to build social capital at the macro level of communities. It follows that also for IEM bonding relations may not necessarily have an isolating impact, but could work as the preconditions to build bridging ties. A possible analogy here is with the well-known fact in social psychology that individuals must first build an internal sense of identity and self-esteem before fruitfully engaging in relationships with others. So, if ICT use by IEM has the effect of supporting bonding ties, this does not necessarily mean increased isolation from the host society. Therefore, a dichotomist view that expects ICT to either reinforce bridging with the host society or bonding with co-ethnics in the host country and/or with the home land is too rigid. This view is to some extent rooted in the classical sociological interpretation of the migrants in terms of 'twofold absence': absence from home, but also absence of proper integration in the destination country (Sayad 1999). This overlooks the fact that the modalities of connection allow for a continuous co-presence and the more so with the diffusion of new digital communications with low or diminishing costs. Indeed, a study on the relationships between integration and media use among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands seems to suggest, instead, that migrants use media for both bridging and bonding purposes (Peeters and d'Haenens 2005).[32] The two processes of bridging and bonding may turn out to be intertwined, as a person could be occupied with bridging and bonding at the same time. In other cases, bonding with the home country may be more important than bridging with the new country, with this possibly changing at different stages in the migrant's life. So in our view the ICT effects on bridging or bonding social capital remain an open empirical question that we addressed in the Study, but that will have to be further investigated in future research.

Finally, a middle ground position between the emphasis on either bridging or bonding can be found in the study of immigrant entrepreneurship with the model of ***mixed embeddedness*** elaborated by Kloosterman and Rath (2001). According to this model immigrants in their

[32] If we look at the history of migration it is evident how ethnic press played a dual role: first it helped keeping the migrants informed on the life back in their home countries and preserving a sense of belonging. At the same time, ethnic press played an integrating role in the new communities since it provided information to migrants about the new context. Ethnic press, while nourishing a sense of belonging and preserving visibility of co-nationals among members of the receiving society, also encouraged acceptance of the predominant society's characteristics.

economic activities face a structure of opportunity that is shaped by market and social conditions in the destination country, which they approach leveraging strategically their resources in terms of strong networks within their community of co-ethnics in the host country (as a supply of cheap labour or of trusted supply chain partners) or in their country of origin. In so doing, they juggle between the bridging ties with mainstream economic and social players and the bonding ties with their co-ethnics in the destination country, or in the country of origin. This dynamics can either result into the creation of larger mainstream economic activities or into businesses that remain confined into the ethnic niche markets. Evidently, bonding ties are a very important resource but equally important for a large economic success are bridging ties, as shown by the research on immigrant entrepreneurship conducted by Codagnone in Italy (2003a 2003b). Most successful entrepreneurs were those who, while using networks within their community of co-ethnics, bridged beyond them and entered mainstream markets. Very limited and niche ethnic entrepreneurship often within the informal economy provided very limited economic benefits and could be seen simply as a second best solution to the lack of access to the formal job market.

It is not difficult to envisage the application of the ***mixed embeddedness*** model beyond the specific realm of economic activity to the more general issue of incorporation in both its structural and cultural dimension and investigate how ICT play in supporting such mixed and intertwined processes of bridging and bonding.

We may expect to find that, with respect to the structural dimension of incorporation ICT's contribution to the bridging dimension of social capital is key from the perspective of social inclusion. On the other hand, ICT support to bonding social capital, by reinforcing the cohesion of immigrant communities is not necessarily harmful, as it can provide social support also for becoming digitally included and can be a channel to establishing bridging ties. Also, having virtual spaces to share with co-ethnics and cultivate cultural specificities is an instance of **equitable (equal dignity) incorporation into the host society** (see more on this in **Chapter 3**).

1.3 Research scope and design

The scope and research design of the Study have moved from width to depth, progressively zooming from a wide desk research on EU27 to in depth qualitative case studies. The three main pillars of the empirical work carried out are summarised below.

1) Overview of supply side initiatives in EU27 (Kluzer, Hache and Codagnone 2008).

   The broad label 'initiatives' includes a wide range of instances where ICT are used by different players (public authorities, NGOs, private sectors, as well as IEM associations or single individuals) to directly or indirectly target IEM in various ways: a) provision of information and services; b) support measures for access and skills and other needs; c) content generation. A more precise typology of these initiatives is provided later in Table 9. Beyond implementation and delivery oriented initiatives, the survey also paid attention to the policies and programmes from which they usually stem. A structured template was used to gather information in such a way that some summary statistics could be derived and a minimum level of comparability ensured.

2) Overview of both the policy context and supply side initiatives and of the demand side (ICT access, use, appropriation patterns and barriers related to IEM) focussing on France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom (Codagnone et al. eds., 2009).

   The four countries were selected as representative of four different ideal-types of migration history and policy approaches to the incorporation of migrants and ethnic

minorities:[33] an old immigration country with an '***integrationist***' tradition (**UK**); an old immigration country of with an '***assimilationist'*** tradition (**France**); a country where immigration despite its structural nature has been for a long time considered as transitory phenomenon (**Germany**); a new immigration country still lacking a consolidated national model of incorporation (**Spain**). The same template elaborated for the wider EU27 survey was used for the overview of the supply side in these four countries. For the general background and the take up analysis, data came mostly from secondary sources, whereas the analysis of use and appropriation patterns and the identification of barriers and enablers rested on interviews and other qualitative means such as the socio-metric analysis of website usage and other metrics related to online service usage. With respect to data on ICT take up by IEM, it must be stressed that statistics were found only for Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom, but not for France for the simple fact that no statistics are gathered in this country where the ethnicity of respondents is reported. We also need to stress that the statistical data that will be provided later are from surveys designed and carried out by others and not constructed ad hoc for this study. Accordingly we can only comment what was available and we must stress that these are preliminary and exploratory data that will have to be reinforced and improved by future research.

3) Field work in the four mentioned countries to produce eleven in depth case studies focussing on ICT and the economic and social participation of IEM (Diminescu et al 2009 for France; Hepp et al 2009 for Germany; Maya-Jariego et al 2009 for Spain; Codagnone et al, eds. 2009 Annex III for United Kingdom)

The 11 case studies are listed in Table 1 using a shortened version of the original title the reader can find in the respective reports and with a notation used throughout **Chapter 2.**

Table 1 - List of case studies by countries

France	The role of the public sector in improving ICT access and literacy (**Fr1**)
	The Education without Borders Network: ICT and bottom-up integration (**Fr2**)
	IEM and the Matrimonial Web: Economic Aspects (**Fr3**)
Germany	ICT in a low-income neighbourhood (Neue Vahr Nord, City of Bremen) (**De1**)
	Digital media/ICT and migrant groups' 'communicative mobility' (**De2**)
	Occupational careers in the IT industry – the case of Turks (**De3**)
Spain	Internet shops and Ecuadorians in Vera (**Es1**)
	Online Romanian and Bulgarian Communities (**Es2**)
	SMEs, ICT and innovation by immigrants in Andalucía (**Es3**)
UK	Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti: ICT in a deprived community (**UK1**)
	Multilingualism initiative Yorkshire Safe (**UK2**)

Case studies enable a rich and in-depth description of phenomena and, besides providing evidence, can enable theory building and/or refinement. A classical description of the case study is the following "*a descriptive report, analyzing a social unit as a whole (e.g. individual, family, organization, etc.) in qualitative terms*" (McCartney 1970: 30). A case study is a method to investigate a contemporary phenomenon in its real life context,

[33] On these country models, see more in Chapter 3.

particularly appropriate when "*the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*" (Yin 1994: 13). In the overall design and selection of case studies across the four countries we have followed state of the art methodological principles (see among many others Denzin 1978; Eisenhardt 1989; Hepp 2008b; Miles and Huberman 1996; Silverman 2000; Stake 1994, 1995; Yin 1994, 2003). According to Stake (1994: 437), there are three possible types of case study approaches:

- **Intrinsic case study**: it is undertaken only for the purpose of better understanding a particular case, with no theory building goal;
- **Instrumental case study**: it analyses a particular case to provide insight into a more general theoretical issue or to redraw a generalization;
- **Collective case study**: it focuses on several cases studies to investigate a general phenomenon; in this sense, it is an instrumental study extended to several cases.

Our case studies are both instrumental and collective (in a double sense): a) they are instrumental as far as they focus on certain delimited instances of the general phenomenon investigated to get a more detailed but nevertheless theoretically oriented insight; b) when taken in total with respect to each country they are collective at a first level; c) when taken in total across the four countries they are collective at a second level. At both levels, the collective and comparative analysis aims at a better, more general understanding of the broadly defined processes of appropriation of digital media within IEM groups/diasporas in the four countries. This double collective level of analysis, in a way, can also be seen as an instance of what Yin (2003) defines a '**multiple-cases embedded'** approach, that is different group of cases each embedded in its broader macro context (country), whose findings are triangulated[34] to strengthen the robustness of the evidence gathered and its potentiality for generalisation and theory building.

Indeed, in the comparative reading of the eleven case studies we applied the principle of methods and data **triangulation** typical of case studies research.[35] Qualitative and quantitative data within a single case, as well findings from different cases coming from different countries, have been triangulated to confirm findings. We also extend this principle by triangulating case level evidence with the more quantitative evidence.

Finally, we briefly show how our cases fully match the methodological principle of ensuring representation of different and possibly contrasting situations.[36] The macro context (i.e. the four countries) is representative of four different ideal-types of migration history and policy approaches. In each country context IEM groups have been selected as to include different situations in terms of relative cultural and social distance from the host society majority and of socio-economic status. There is clear space for a polarised situation if we consider the high deprivation conditions in **De1** and **UK1** as compared to the other cases. Different age, professional, and digital skills profiles are covered both within countries and across them.

[34] The expression 'triangulation' refers to the practice of using different sources of data and collection methods to reinforce the robustness and solidity of the analysis.

[35] On this methodological principle see, among others, Denzin (1978), Eisenhardt (1989) Yin (1994, 2003).

[36] In order to maximise the extraction of theory and generalisation, cases should be chosen as to represent diverging and in some cases polarised situations (Eisenhardt, 1989). Having positive and negative cases with respect to a given phenomenon is the equivalent to using a control group in experimental research design.

2 Empirical findings and discussion

2.1 Take up of ICT: evidence from quantitative surveys

Although quantitative data about the uptake and use of ICT by immigrants and ethnic minority groups in Europe is still limited and not systematically and comparatively gathered,[37] it was possible during the Study to collect some interesting data that we illustrate below.

Four surveys (DfES 2003a; DfES 2003b; Ofcom 2007, 2008) have been carried out in the UK in the past years, all of which concur in showing that take up of mobile phones and the Internet is similar (earlier surveys) or higher (most recent survey) among the main ethnic minority groups (EMGs[38]) as compared to the UK population as a whole.[39]

Table 2 - Digital media access by ethnic minority groups in the UK (2007)

	All UK Adults	Indian	Pakistani	Black Caribbean	Black African
Multiple platform ownership[40]	53%	62%	65%	55%	62%
Digital TV ownership	82%	83%	89%	81%	82%
Mobile phone take-up	85%	90%	91%	88%	95%
Internet take-up (all)	62%	75%	72%	64%	69%
Internet take-up (under 45 years old)	74%	78%	82%	73%	71%
Willingness to get Internet[41]	15%	25%	35%	30%	30%

Source: Ofcom (2008).

Table 2 provides the latest UK figures and shows that Internet uptake may probably further increase among EMGs, given their higher adoption propensity compared to the national average. When only younger people are considered (shaded row), Internet uptake rates become higher and more similar across groups, showing that the younger age profile[42] is a key factor to explain the difference in ICT uptake with the UK population and across EMGs groups (Pakistanis in the UK are on average much younger than the other groups).

Income and socio-economic position, household structure (presence/number of children) and education also contribute to variations in uptake of PC and Internet by different groups, but they have been found to be rather more important in shaping usage patterns (breadth of media

[37] The households panel survey harmonized under Eurostat and carried out by statistical offices in all member states annually is the main EU wide source of data on the uptake and use of ICT by individuals and households, but it did not identify at the time of our Study the nationality or the country of origin of the respondents (with partial exceptions as in the Spanish case). This possibility has been introduced as an option for the first time in the 2010 survey. A few ad hoc surveys have nevertheless been carried out in the past in Germany, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK, whose findings are discussed here.

[38] We use here the acronym found in the UK reports referenced in this section. Alternatively, the acronym BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) is also used in the UK.

[39] Already in 2003, using the data of the DfES surveys, it was stressed that BME (see previous footnote) populations showed a higher uptake of the Internet compared to the expected rate based on wealth, which was thought to be because the motivation is higher, since relatives overseas can be communicated with cheaply (Bradbrock and Fisher, 2004: 42).

[40] Home ownership of digital television, Internet, and mobile phone.

[41] Base: all adults who do not have the Internet at home.

[42] People under 45 years old account for 62% to 83% of all adults in each of these EMGs compared to 52% of the general UK adult population. By contrast, 19% of all UK adults is aged 65 and over, compared to 2% to 5% in each EMG.

use, length of time spent online, simultaneous consumption etc.) than access per se. Beyond age and socio-economic factors, 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 (Muslim) women (DfES, 2003 p. xvii). Lack of computer literacy combined with language and/or literacy difficulties are important barriers to PC use for some EMGs.

The *Migranten und Medien* survey on ICT adoption and use by six immigrant groups in Germany provides partly similar results to those seen above for the UK. Take up of mobile phones and computers is higher among IEM groups, while daily usage of the Internet is higher among the German population (except for Polish immigrants), including when the younger segments are considered.[43] A significant age-related gap is visible from the last two rows both within native and immigrant groups.

Table 3 - Availability and usage of digital media by IEM groups and German population (2006)

	German Population	All Migrants	Late Ethnic German Repatriates	Turkish	Polish
Availability of cell phone	86%	91%	89%	93%	91%
Availability of computer/laptop	69%	76%	79%	76%	78%
Daily internet usage (all)	28%	22%	23%	20%	29%
Daily internet usage (age 14–29)	46%	38%	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.

Source: Simon (2007).

The domestic space (mainly represented by the private home) is very important for appropriation of ICT, and the availability of ICT at home is a key precondition. In this respect the data of the *Migranten und Medien* survey shows high availability at home for IEM groups: 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; 76% of the IEM households possessed a computer or laptop, 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).[44] Moving to the share of people making a daily use of the Internet, we can see a percentage of 22% for IEM compared to 28% for Germans for the population at large. Among the younger IEM (aged 14 to 29) the daily use of the Internet lies behind their German counterparts (38% compared to 46%). Looking at differences across IEM groups, people with Polish migration background had the highest daily Internet use (29%), followed by ethnic German repatriates (23%) and people with Turkish migration background (20%).

Table 4 - Regular Internet use by Turks in Germany (2006)

	All	Age			Sex		Place of Birth		German language knowledge		
		14-29	30-49	> 50	male	female	Germany	abroad	good	medium	little
Basis	500	198	236	66	202	298	163	334	229	106	165
Regular internet users	36%	62%	25%	9%	46%	25%	67%	23%	57%	36%	12%

Source: Simon (2007)

[43] It must be stressed that, compared with the German control group 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).

[44] Already in 2004 five analogue and 17 digital Turkish television programmes could be watched via satellite in Germany. With the subscription of the DigiTurk package another 60 international programmes in Turkish language could be watched (Schneider and Arnold, 2004: 493).

Age and other factors affecting Internet usage show up in Table 4, focused on Turkish immigrants. The number of regular Internet users decreases significantly with age; being born in Germany and mastering the language also make a big difference; and a strong gender gap is clearly visible (albeit smaller, gender gaps in ICT adoption and use are still present also in the native population of many EU member states). So within the migrant groups, socio-demographic aspects to a certain extent shape media appropriation. Whether they mainly use media in their native language or in German language depends to a large extent on age, gender, place of birth and proficiency with the German language (Simon, 2007: 433). According to this survey, the appropriation of media in German language is highest among IEM who are younger and born in Germany. The survey 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 backgrounds who were born in Germany belong to the regular users group, only 23% of those born in another country fall into this category. Eventually, the likelihood to be a regular user also increases with the ability to control the German language. Thus 12% of the IEM with low German language competences were regular users, compared to 36% of those with average skills and 57% of those with very good language skills (Simon, 2007: 434, Table 8).

In Spain, the National Statistics Institute (INE) started registering a few years ago the nationality (Spanish or foreign) of the respondents to the annual *ICT in households* survey. Foreigners comprise people of all origins, including from the EU itself.[45] The results are nevertheless consistent with those seen previously for the UK and Germany and can be further integrated with data from a regional survey.[46]

Table 5 - ICT users in Spain as % of nationals and foreigners populations (2004-2008)

PC users last 3 months						
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Δ% 2004-08
Spanish	49,3	52,1	54,2	57,3	60,9	+23.5
Foreigners	40,5	51,0	51,3	55,4	61,9	+52.8
Internet users last 3 months						
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Δ% 2004-08
Spanish	40,6	44,3	47,9	52,0	56,7	+39.6
Foreigners	34,5	46,5	46,7	52,1	56,8	+64.6

Source: Our elaboration on data from INE.[47]

[45] In 2006, out of about 4 million foreigners living in Spain, 20% were from the EU25 member states and over 3 million had other nationalities (including Bulgarian and Romanian). We do not know however how this composition is reflected in the panel of the *ICT in households* survey.

[46] A survey on new technology use carried out in 2006 in Catalonia confirms the overall higher adoption levels and the existence of differences across ethnic groups (see Ros *et al* 2008): the 'EU and rest of Europe' collective and the Latin American collective used the internet (respectively 78% and 77%) and e-mail (respectively 72% and 68%) more than the native population (respectively 56.6% and 43.4%). The 'rest of the world' collective, which includes immigrants from Asia and Africa, uses this technology less (respectively 45% and 30%).

[47] The *ICT in households* survey data can be found by querying for different years and variables INE's website at the URL: http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft25%2Fp450&file=inebase&N=&L=0

Table 6 - Internet use for communication purposes: nationals vs. foreigners in % (2008)

	Nationals	Foreigners
Have used internet in the last 3 months for:		
Telephone	8,3	25,2
Video/Webcam	16,7	42,6
Chats, online forums	24,7	38,8
Instant messaging	52,9	66,0
Read blogs	31,5	24,4
Manage own blog	9,4	9,3
Other	8,0	9,8

Source: Our elaboration on data from INE.[48]

Compared to a lower starting point in 2004, given much higher growth rates, foreigners had reached by 2008 similar penetration levels of PC and Internet use to those of national respondents. As shown in Table 6, foreigners are much more intense users than nationals of Internet-based communication functions, except those related to blogs. Among foreigners, including migrants, communication stems out clearly as the main driver also of Internet use, besides of course of mobile phones.

Internet usage patterns for leisure and entertainment are broadly similar for the two groups (foreigners and Spaniards), except for greater use of internet-based TV/radio and lesser use of video downloads and peer-to-peer services by foreigners compared to Spaniards. On the other hand, similarly to the results of the latest UK survey (Ofcom, 2008), breadth of Internet use for personal reasons[49] is lower among foreigners (with the exception of 'job searches', mentioned by 31% of foreigners and only 21% of Spanish nationals). While the reasons for a less varied Internet usage by foreigners in Spain (and ethnic minorities in the UK) would need further empirical research, given that many of the options listed under this question relate to aspects of social and economic participation in the host society, this result might be interpreted to reflect shortcomings in the integration process (e.g. with the ownership of a bank account and credit cards which are needed for online banking and purchases).

[48] See footnote above.

[49] Motivations for personal internet use envisaged in the survey are: read e-mail; information search; look for travel information; download software; read news; search for jobs; look for health information; online banking; e-commerce; look for information on education/training opportunities; doing online courses; learning purposes.

Table 7 - Internet use (at least weekly) by ethnic minorities in the Netherlands in % (2004/5)

	Dutch natives	Antilles	Surinam	Morocco	Turkey
All	78	70	65	47	47
1st generation		65	56	37	36
2nd generation		90	88	83	81
Men	82	74	68	52	55
Women	75	66	62	42	38
Age					
15-24	91	85	89	86	83
25-45	88	73	67	41	43
45-65	62	45	42	11	34
Education					
Primary	45	34	30	15	18
Junior secondary	61	61	51	57	58
Higher secondary	84	77	78	76	71
Tertiary	92	95	91	87	84
Good knowledge of Dutch		75	66	69	67
Poor knowledge of Dutch		18	31	13	22

Source: van den Broek and Keuzenkamp (2008: p. 140).

The last figures we provide as an integration (for they concern a country that was not the object of our study) come from a report of the Netherlands Institute for Social Research/SCP on the daily life of ethnic minorities, including the use of media (van den Broek & Keuzenkamp, 2008). They confirm the differences in ICT/Internet use across different ethnic groups, but this time they show an overall lower level of use by ethnic minorities compared to the native population (possibly due to the earlier date of this survey). They also show very clear gaps within each group related to personal factors such as age (which broadly correspond to differences between first and second generations), education and the knowledge of Dutch language. Interestingly, these authors conclude that while on other aspects (social contacts, participation in sports and others) ethnicity plays a role, as regards media consumption, the differences across ethnic groups disappear or become very small after statistical control for compositional differences is applied.

We can safely conclude from the evidence illustrated above that, at least for what concerns a general and generic level of analysis, ***take up of ICT is not a function of ethnicity per se***. Different surveys in different countries concur to show that immigrants and ethnic minorities basically have on average similar and in some cases higher take up levels than the local population as a whole.

The higher than expected (by some) ICT take up by IEM can certainly be seen as a user driven, bottom up process if we consider that we found no evidence of systematic policies and programmes explicitly targeting the digital inclusion of IEM.[50] The only exception limited to the period 2000-2004 is that of the UK.[51] The supply-side initiatives analysed in the next

[50] The domain of immigration and integration policies was also briefly explored, but the few checks made mostly at national and regional level show that ICT are usually ignored, except for their use in back-office management of migration-related administrative and control applications in the public sector.

[51] In the UK the Social Exclusion Unit's 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 recommendations were produced in 2000 (PAT 18 2000). The separate PAT 15 was asked to produce a report on information technology, which was also delivered in 2000 (PAT 15 2000). The overall policy frame derived from these reports had a strong local community focus, with policies, delivery and solutions expected and supported at a local level and touching also ethnic minorities. In particular, these reports identified as a role of the Department for Education and Employment (DfES) that of designing UK Online Centres' content specifically for minority ethnic groups; and promoting research and development activities to identify ways of supporting access to ICT for minority ethnic groups in deprived areas. So as early as 2000, ethnic minority groups (in particular Black and Minority Ethnic, or

section, thus, stem in a very unsystematic and fragmented way from a variety of stakeholders and local level policy domains, under conditions which often create new problems limiting their effectiveness.[52] We can talk of a bottom up process of ICT diffusion also in view of the role played within a non-regulated market dynamics by Internet/phone shops or cafés (their names change in each country). These small businesses are almost always set up by IEM entrepreneurs to provide low cost telephone and Internet access services, and a number of other useful products and services often to the benefit of specific ethnic communities.[53] They compensate for the lack of home PC and Internet access suffered by the more disadvantaged segments of the IEM population, but they also respond to specific needs for greater privacy and autonomy (from relatives) and peer socialization opportunities felt especially by younger IEM people, even when they have ICT at home. Table 8 shows the importance of these companies (called here cyber centres) for foreigners living in Spain.

Table 8 - Internet use in Spain in the last 3 months: from where (% of users: 2008)

	Home	Work	School	Friends	Public centre	NGOs	Cyber Centre
Spanish	78,6	45,6	12,8	25,7	3,1	2,1	7,0
Foreigners	62,3	19,9	5,9	18,4	4,2	3,1	35,2

Source: Our elaboration on data from INE.[54]

Looking behind the aggregate statistics on ICT access and adoption, the situation for IEM people like for the European population at large becomes more nuanced and complex with the interaction of various factors -socio-economic status, gender, proficiency in the host country's language, lack of infrastructure (e.g. broadband networks and public internet access points) in the deprived areas where many IEM people live, inadequate digital content for IEM users and others- pointing out to deeper sources of digital inequalities in the capacity to reap the benefits of ICT, possibly also with divergent effects in terms of bridging and bonding.

2.2 The supply side

Different types of initiatives focusing on and promoting the use of ICT for and by IEM have been implemented around Europe in recent years. A survey of these initiatives has been performed as a first step of this Study, whose main findings are reported below (Table 9

BME) were recognised as a target of ICT policies alongside other disadvantaged groups, as long as they lived in deprived communities. 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). After 2003, however, no other material has been published on the topic by the DfES or by its successor. 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 was released in October 2008, which did not contain specific reference to BME.

[52] General e-inclusion policies tend to lack focus on users' specific needs and to promote generic access measures. Despite an important role for e-Inclusion highlighted in our Study and other surveys, the vast majority of third sector organisations actually lack adequate digital tools and capabilities. E-Inclusion; projects often suffer from limited visibility, few occasions to exchange and network with similar actions and from lack of adequate scale and sustainability. These problems have been clearly identified in our case studies; in an overview of about 150 e-Inclusion initiatives presented to the call for contributions of the *e-Inclusion: Be part of it!* campaign launched in late 2007 by DG Information Society and Media (European Commission, 2007); and in a comparative study of public internet centers in four EU countries (Rissola, 2007).

[53] See Maya Jariego et al (2009) for a rich description of Internet/phone shops and Ecuadorian users in the town of Vera in Spain.

[54] http://www.ine.es/jaxi/menu.do?type=pcaxis&path=%2Ft25%2Fp450&file=inebase&N=&L=0

provides an idea of the range of initiatives by their goals).[55] The survey, and the country case studies presented later on, also investigated the policies and programmes behind the initiatives observed, especially information society and e-Inclusion policies, but also immigrants integration policies and occasionally education, labour market participation and other sector policies (always at the national level). The main finding of this endeavour on the policy context is worth giving now: with the partial exception of the UK and only until 2004, (see footnote 51) this Study found neither *ad hoc* national strategies on ICT for IEM nor any explicit references to this topic in national policy documents. In the few cases where it was briefly mentioned, this issue was bundled together with broader digital inclusion concerns and goals.[56] The initiatives presented below are thus mostly the result of bottom up efforts undertaken by various actors working with/for IEM, including local authorities in areas with a high percentage IEM population, to exploit opportunities opened up by new policy measures in different fields, rather than the result of any purposeful strategy to exploit the opportunities brought by ICT for IEM integration and the other goals listed in the Riga Declaration for the promotion of cultural diversity. Many of the findings we illustrate now reflect this situation.

Out of the 119 initiatives included in the survey as generally relevant for our focus, only 40% were exclusively targeted at IEM; 20% were general e-inclusion measures which also involved to some extent IEM (an explicit reference to this group was a requirement for including an initiative in the survey); another 20% were e-inclusion measures which *de facto* involved primarily IEM people (usually as they targeted cities or neighbourhoods with a high concentration of IEM population), along with other disadvantaged groups; the remaining 20% addressed both IEM and host society actors with an explicit integration and dialogue perspective. About 80% of the initiatives were carried out, often jointly, by third sector organisations (associations, charities, voluntary and local community groups etc.) and public entities. The majority of initiatives got most funding from the public sector, while private (profit-oriented) sector's involvement was overall limited.[57] In terms of scope, 45% of the initiatives had a local or regional focus, another 40% were national initiatives and the rest had a pan-European or international character. Table 9 shows the main focus of the surveyed initiatives and their recurrence in the whole set of 119 initiatives (most initiatives were classified has having two or more goals).

[55] The survey looked at the 27 EU Member States plus Norway and found initiatives in all of them except Cyprus, Estonia, Poland and Slovenia. The survey did not aim to discover the universe of such initiatives, but rather to identify the most important ones (based on duration and/or notoriety) and characterize them in terms of main content and objectives. An overview of the 119 initiatives and a brief description of each one of them is provided in (Kluzer, Haché, & Codagnone, 2008).

[56] This is the case, for instance, of the ASCI (*Access Skills and Content Initiative*) strategic programme launched by the Department of the Taoiseach in Ireland or of the *National Digital Inclusion Initiative* (NDII) launched in Portugal within the *ConnectPortugal* Programme.

[57] An exception is represented by the numerous ICT training and community development projects funded by Microsoft's *Unlimited Potential Initiative*.

Table 9 - Focus of ICT initiatives for/by immigrants and ethnic minorities in EU27[58]

Cat.		No. of cases	% of cases
a	Digital literacy / access	37	31,1
b	Fostering IEM interaction and dialogue with host society	32	26,9
c	Empowerment, visibility and 'voice' of IEM groups	23	19,3
d	Training competences for employability	18	15,1
e	ICT-enabled learning, education	16	13,4
f	Delivery of introduction measures and information	16	13,4
g	Fostering intercultural competence in service delivery	14	11,8
h	Inclusive, anti-discrimination support and services	12	10,1
i	Better access to/delivery of public services	11	9,2
j	Local community regeneration or development	10	8,4
k	Support of, used by ethnic entrepreneurs	6	5,0
l	Job finding and recruitment	5	4,2

Source: Kluzer, Hache, and Codagnone (2008).

Some of the categories listed in the table can be grouped at a higher level of abstraction as e-Inclusion measures aiming to 'help IEM using ICT', in other words as measures aimed at removing barriers and defined as enabling (see European Commission 2007a; Codagnone 2009a: chapter 2). These include, above all, the actions to provide ICT access and basic level of digital skills that are present in over 30% of cases (cat. a in Table 9). Other initiatives address more advanced ICT skills with explicit employability aims (cat. d). The initiatives of category (a) are very often multi-target (that is not targeting only IEM), with a generic technical content, i.e. learning to use standard office productivity and Internet applications. It is worth noting that our own research[59] and other reports (see for instance (Rissola, 2007)) confirm that in order to enhance the impact of such initiatives, especially with the most disadvantaged customers, it is important to link ICT training to general literacy and second language education and to the solution of specific everyday life needs.

Other initiatives (under cat. e, f, g, h, i, k and l) can be grouped as e-Inclusion measures aiming to 'use ICT to help IEM', for in such instances ICT are used directly and indirectly for helping IEM individuals in different life situations. This is done by developing or adapting online content and services that cater for different types of IEM needs and/or by supporting intermediaries (40 cases addressing associations, NGOs, local community groups etc.) and service delivery actors (22 cases addressing civil servants, social care workers, doctors, teachers, TV professionals and others) working with/for them.

The last group is made of initiatives (cat. b, c and j) which promote and/or reflect the appropriation of ICT by IEM users beyond private needs for purposes such as enhancing the visibility and 'voice' of specific ethnic groups, their associations and other collective organisations; facilitating the exchange of information and dialogue with the host society; creating and documenting the collective memory and identity and/or the daily life and problems faced by IEM people and other groups in specific local communities, through the use of digital media (mobile phones, digital cameras and video recorders, videogames etc.). More than 50% of all initiatives actually witness the leadership or the active involvement of IEM people in the implementation and delivery process. The drive towards user content creation prompted by web 2.0 services and applications (social networking sites, YouTube,

[58] The sum total of columns in the table is higher than 119 and 100% because most initiatives have two or more focuses.

[59] Especially the case studies from France (Diminescu et al 2009) and the UK (Codagnone et al, eds. 2009: Annex III).

photo sharing services, wiki and blog sites) is clearly visible in many of these initiatives, which have literally boomed in the last few years (the survey only selected a small sample of them).

While the survey results cannot be considered statistically representative, it is worth noting that overall (and with the partial exception of the UK[60]) there are few ***inclusive e-Government***[61] initiatives (cat. i) addressing IEM people. We only found some online introduction information services for newly arrived immigrants (cat. f), often set up jointly with third sector organisations and IEM associations. There are also very few initiatives for economic participation (cat. k and l) supporting IEM entrepreneurship, job search and so on. It should be noted, however, that commercial ventures addressing IEM customers with ICT-based services which meet their specific needs have started emerging, for instance for the transfer and management of remittances and in the domain of mobile-based communications.[62]

2.3 Case studies overview: focus and background information

The richness, depth, and width of this ground breaking qualitative research can be appreciated in full only by reading the published case studies reports.[63] In this chapter, for obvious reasons of space, we can only provide a very limited and selective account of the hundreds of pages of which these reports consist.

The research design and methodological considerations inspiring the selection of the case studies have already been illustrated in section 1.3 and will not be repeated here. Below we provide a brief description and, where needed for the characterisation of the specific research site, some background information (in footnotes) on each of the eleven cases.

France. The role of the public sector in improving ICT access and literacy (Fr1). In depth analysis of governmental activities in terms of online public services and of Public Internet Access Points (PIAPs) and, through interviews and participatory observation, of immigrants' ICT adoption and appropriation patterns. It combines a supply and demand side focus using and triangulating different data sources (administrative documents and the actual online provision of services by the government, in depth qualitative evidence for the users). e-Government services are analysed in terms of user orientation and multi-lingual content. A comparative analysis of PIAPs run by public and third sector organisations is also presented and PIAPs are discussed as a site of potential bridging or bonding effects. The interviews with users explore their motivation for using ICT and appropriation patterns. The main theme is inclusive e-Government.

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60 See *infra* footnote 75.

61 Inclusive eGovernment is a target cutting across the European Commission eGovernment and eInclusion policies. Inclusive eGovernment is about using digital technologies to provide public services in the broadest understanding of this expression (from general administrative services, to welfare benefits services and to healthcare services) that improve people's lives, encourage participation in the local community, strengthen democracy and help those at risk of exclusion from society, such as disabled people, the elderly, those who live in economically deprived and remote areas and other vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. The European Commission has funded several studies to assess the development of inclusive eGovernment across Europe (see for instance Millard 2007; Blakemore and Wilson 2009).

62 The Bridge-IT thematic network on ICT for social integration and cultural diversity, funded by the EU under the CIP/PSP programme (see http://www.lmi.ub.es/bridgeit/), has subsequently identified additional good practices of ICT use for labour market integration and economic participation of IEM. They can bee seen in (Haché, 2009).

63 See Diminescu et al (2009) for the three case studies from France; Hepp et al (2009) for the three case studies from Germany; Maya-Jariego et al (2009) for the three case studies from Spain; Codagnone et al, eds. (2009: Annex III) for the two case studies from the UK.

France. The Education without Borders Network: ICT and bottom-up integration (Fr2). It reconstructs the activities of Réseau Éducation Sans Frontières (RESF), a solidarity network comprising both French nationals and immigrants addressing the rights of children and adolescents '*sans-papier*' (undocumented) and the role played by ICT in this experience of bottom up integration and participation. The main theme is integration within a 'voice' and advocacy initiative. It additionally sheds light on the issue of ICT use and appropriation considering a very deprived group within the broad category of IEM, namely undocumented migrants.

France. IEM and the Matrimonial Web: Economic Aspects (Fr3). It studied, using socio-metric techniques for web and web-related networks mapping and also in-depth interviews, the web based entrepreneurial activity of arranging marriages, dating and matrimonial services, and organising ethnic wedding ceremonies involving the Hindu Diaspora, French men and Russian women, and Moroccans living in France. The main focus is ICT as a channel of economic participation, but in doing so it also touches upon the bonding and bridging effects of ICT.

Germany. ICT in a low-income neighbourhood (Neue Vahr Nord, City of Bremen) (De1). In depth analysis of ICT measures as part of a community regeneration initiative within one of the poorest neighbourhoods[64] of the city of Bremen, where ethnic German repatriates (from the former USSR) are concentrated. This is a strategic research site for the analysis of ICT contribution to regeneration within a community with multiple social disadvantages. The main theme is digital inclusion support measures within a multifaceted process of social exclusion. It also touches upon: a) effectiveness of public support measures; b) motivations for use and appropriation; c) bonding and bridging effects (with focus on risks of double segregation processes).

Germany. Digital media/ICT and migrant groups' 'communicative mobility' (De2). In depth interviews were conducted with a stratified sample of individuals of migration background all of which had a more or less average level of socio-economic status and educational achievements and to a large extent successfully appropriated ICT.[65] The main goal was to explore how ICT are used by migrants to manage their 'communicative mobility', a theoretical concept elaborated by Hepp (2007 and 2008a).[66] The main themes of interest from this case study are the motivation, purpose and appropriation of ICT.

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[64] Neue Vahr is a densely populated district where immigrant population has steadily increased and in 2007 represented 54% of the total. The immigrant population is comparatively younger than the German counterpart and presents high levels of unemployment (27.3%) and low levels of educational attainment. Considering only the adult immigrant population, 27.8% received welfare subsidies, but this goes up to 47% if we consider only the working-age population (18 to 65 years old).

[65] While not statistically representative, the sample was stratified to reflect key parameters: a) it comprised Poles, Russians, and Turks; b) it included both individuals born in Germany and individuals born abroad; c) it covered both individuals with secondary /vocational education and individuals who obtained a university degree; d) it spanned several age groups.

[66] This concept, elaborated for the study of Diaspora communities, uses the term 'mobility' both physically and metaphorically. According to Hepp communicative mobility is the result of: a) media and ICT devices becoming mobile (phones, PDAs, access to email and the Internet on the move); and b) stationary media catering for mobile individuals (satellite TV with Turkish programs for Turks in Germany). Communicative mobility, which applies to our modern societies as a whole, must be seen in relation to the actual mobility characterising migrants in particular including: a) situational mobility in everyday life (over the course of a day, a week, a month for going to work or for visiting co-ethnics in other countries, or for holiday in the home country) and b) biographical mobility over a lifespan (i.e. migrating from the homeland to the host country). So communicative mobility applied to IEM and their use of digital media and ICT is both concrete and metaphoric. It is the concrete day-to-day need to be in constant contact with relatives and friends and with more instrumental acquaintances (so in both bonding and bridging type of relations) while moving. It is

Germany. Occupational careers in the IT industry – the case of Turks (De3). In depth interviews were conducted and rich biographic accounts constructed for a sample of individuals of Turkish background working in the IT industry to explore their occupational career and the factors fostering or hampering it. The main theme is IT skills and economic participation, but the case also touches upon issues of bonding and bridging effects (though from a peculiar angle related to social and cultural capital and to subliminal discrimination).

Spain. Internet shops and Ecuadorians in Vera (Es1). In depth interviews and participant observation of attendance and activities of Ecuadorians in several *locutorios* (Internet Shops) in the small town of Vera (Eastern Andalusia).[67] The main theme addressed is that of *locutorios* as a site community building and identity stabilisation. It touches upon also: a) bonding and bridging effects; and b) patterns of appropriation.

Spain. Online Romanian and Bulgarian Communities (Es2). Online web portals of the Romanian (two) and Bulgarian (one) immigrant groups in Catalonia have been analysed using content analysis and socio-metric techniques complemented by in-depth interviews with users and individuals active in managing the portal. The main topic addressed is the extent to which such web portals provide information and are used for fostering the incorporation into the local economy and society or for diasporic contacts and other bonding activities. Language (with the complexity brought by the official Castellan and Catalan bilingualism) and regulatory issues were also addressed.

Spain. SMEs, ICT and innovation by immigrants in Andalucía (Es3). In depth interviews were conducted and rich biographic accounts constructed for several immigrant entrepreneurs in the town of Tarifa (Andalucía), whose activities entail a key role for ICT in different ways. The main focus is the contribution of ICT to the economic participation of immigrants, though it also touches upon issues of bridging and bonding and of socio-cultural mediation.

United Kingdom. Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti: ICT in a deprived community (UK1). Through in depth interviews and participant observation the activities of the NGO Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti (BYCS) in a deprived neighbourhood in Leicester have been studied.[68] The BYCS provides ICT access and relevant training programmes to assist people in gaining qualifications for employment. As in the **De1**case, the main focus is digital inclusion support measures within a multifaceted process of social

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the more metaphoric 'communicative mobility' that ICT enable to maintain with the homeland, not only calling relatives and friends there, but also by maintaining a symbolic and imagined bond and identity mediated by the information available at any time from a range of different media.

[67] The community of Ecuadorians immigrants in Vera is mostly comprised of individuals with low level of education employed in the agricultural sector (in many cases under informal arrangements). Despite being Spanish-speaking, Ecuadorians present a high level of cultural distance from Spanish mainstream. A survey conducted in Vera in 2003 found that only 3.1% of Ecuadorians used the Internet to communicate with their relatives in Ecuador. A digital gap was identified at both ends of the communication process: Ecuadorians in Spain because of barriers to ICT access, but also low Internet use characterising Ecuador. At the time of our field research (2008), the spread of *locutorios* had increased Internet usage among Ecuadorians up to 15% of those living in the city. From 20 computers connected to the Internet available in 2003-2006 in 3 *locutorios* the number went up to 62 computers connected to the Internet in 2008 in 10 *locutorios.* Ecuadorians using the *locutorios* are mostly concentrated in the age group 18-34 and in 80% of the cases are males.

[68] About 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. Bangladeshis are one of the most socially and economically excluded ethnic minority groups in the UK Bangladeshis are twice as likely to be unemployed as compared to the overall population according to the Office for National Statistics. 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.

exclusion. It also touches upon: a) effectiveness of public support measures; b) motivations for use and appropriation; c) bonding and bridging effects.

United Kingdom. Multilingual initiative Yorkshire Safe (UK2). Through website content analysis and interviews, the case analysed the public Yorkshire-Safe programmes aimed at supporting small entrepreneurs of migration background take advantage of e-Business potentialities in the Yorkshire region. It touches upon ICT contribution to economic participation, as well as issues of multilingualism.

The illustration of the various cases and of the themes they touch upon and the above methodological considerations justify the selection of six horizontal themes treated in the next paragraph, for which very synthetically we report the conclusions and considerations extracted from a comparative reading of the cases. As anticipated, the interested reader can download the full reports on the case studies and possibly interpret them differently.

2.4 Case studies: evidence on six horizontal themes

The comparative reading of the case studies enabled to identify six horizontal themes:

1. Motivation and ICT appropriation,
2. Situations of multiple social disadvantage,
3. ICT and economic participation,
4. Purpose of use: bridging or bonding?
5. Inclusive eGovernment services,
6. Shortcomings in the provision of public support measures.

The first four themes pertain to social, cultural and economic processes, whereas the last two have more to do with policy interventions.

2.4.1 Motivations and ICT appropriation

A clear finding, cutting across different situations and individual histories, is that migrants and ethnic minorities have fully internalised the idea that ICT are absolutely needed to make a living and increase their chances within the social and economic context where they live. This awareness goes as far as recognising that lack of digital skills is a main cause for poor living conditions. So, regardless of whether it is then put in practice, the **motivation** to learn and use ICT among IEM is strong because it is perceived as an absolute must. Among the individuals of ethnic minority background targeted by BYCS in Leicester (case **UK1**) 86 out of the 160 interviewed affirmed that poor IT skills were one of the main personal barriers to learning. The majority (76%) of the interviewees said that they would like to develop IT skills in the future along with 77% also wanting to develop language skills though IT training. The individuals of Polish, Turkish and Russian migration background interviewed in Germany (case **De2**), though making different examples, clearly explained that the main motivation for learning to use ICT was that they are needed to function effectively in everyday life and for specific substantive and purposeful activities. Natalia, for instance, an immigrant from Latvia affirmed she realised this when during a job interview they asked for her e-mail and instructed her to fill in an online form: soon after she decided and became digitally literate. Always from case De2, verbalisations are telling: in different ways all interviewees talk about the need and external pressures (from relatives and friends, from educational assignments, or from the work environment) to be constantly connected. The Ecuadorians in Spain (case **Es1**) are increasingly learning and using the Internet as they see it needed to support children in studies, to gain access to other jobs, to find information on, and gain access to welfare benefits. They perceive their low ICT skills as a main social gap, which they want to fill in. This evidence from the case studies is reinforced by and reinforces a result from a quantitative

surveys cited in the previous section: the desire to support children's education has been found as an important and distinctive motivation for the adoption of computers and Internet at home by IEM people compared to all adults in the UK.[69] Being able to understand and help with children's homework is mentioned by immigrant women as an important reason also for attending digital literacy courses even in a very difficult context such as the one depicted for the underprivileged neighbourhood in Bremen (case **De1**).

How **appropriation** of ICT occurs and differs from simple access and sporadic use is best captured in the German case **De2**, but insights are present also in most of the other ten cases. Triangulating the rich account of interviews with available statistics, this case shows clearly how access to, or the ownership of, digital media does not necessarily result into corresponding appropriation patterns. Additional reasons and motivations are necessary to enact appropriation. Most interviewees perceive the use of the computer and the Internet as indispensable, irrespective of their ethnic and migration background. On the other hand, those who successfully appropriated ICT, by incorporating this instrument into their daily routines and practices, are those who realised that digital media were an essential prerequisite for purposeful and substantive activities such as learning, finding a jobs and progressing in the career, keeping up with peers' pressures by becoming good at computer games and social networking websites. Another important activity leading to appropriation of the Internet is staying in touch with friends in the host countries and in the homeland and also keeping abreast with political, social and cultural development in the homeland. This tends to be a more or less natural process for youngsters and for young adults whose social trajectory is still unfolding, although proficiency in German language plays as an enabler/barrier also for them. Adults above a certain age, and especially women staying at home, do not face a direct purposeful activity that can trigger appropriation, which in many cases is obviated by social support from younger relatives and friends who help them learn and discover the many purposeful activities they can perform. When this support is lacking, digital literacy courses and PIAPs can be an viable alternative for adults, as long as they trigger the association of ICT to substantive interests and/or provide a new source of social support (in turn leading to appropriation). The mere access and basic literacy skills acquired in such courses and at PIAPs are not conducive by themselves to persistent use and eventual appropriation. This is confirmed, though from a different angle, by interviews with users of public PIAPs in France (case **Fr1**). After been acquainted with a PC and with the basic training provided at these sites, users would like to progress to learn something more relevant for their personal interests. However, these facilities tend not to provide such help and in most cases this results in dis-adoption or rudimentary and sporadic use on the side of the users. In the *locutorios* of Vera (Spain, case: **Es 1**) appropriation occurs only for those Ecuadorians (not many) who discover and eventually put in practice the potentialities of the digital media as a way to build social support networks (also providing information on job opportunities) and as a self-learning opportunity. In these appropriation processes an important purpose of use emerging from many case studies (**Fr1**, **De2**, **Es1**, **Es2**, **UK1**) and peculiar to IEM is, following Hepp's view (2007, 2008a), the possibility to have both the metaphoric and physical communicative mobility with, respectively, the homeland and co-ethnics in the host countries. Many young individuals of Polish and Turkish migration background in Germany use social software in their native language to stay in touch with friends and relatives both in Germany and in the home country. The online portals and networking facilities of Romanian and Bulgarian in Catalonia (**Es2**), while providing also information and support related to the local economic

[69] Children's education is the second reason (after email/messaging) for having an Internet connection at home for 74% of EMG respondents compared to only 47% of UK adults. EMG's younger age and larger families play a role here. (Ofcom, 2007) p. 23.

and social context, are to a large extent used for information and social connectivity with the home countries.

Going back to the more general theme, the evidence from our cases strongly supports the claim that ICT skills and appropriation, and the ensuing benefits of effective and purposeful use, are not acquired at single locations, but are rather embedded into an interplay of different occasions related to various group contexts and purposes. Occasions, group contexts and purposes are strongly dependent on the socio-economic status, educational level, place of residence of immigrants and ethnic minorities, and as we show next under conditions of multiple social disadvantages and deprivation ICT appropriation is highly difficult and unlikely to occur.

2.4.2 Situations of multiple social disadvantage

As previously illustrated (case **UK1**), BYCS is a charity catering mostly for Bangladeshi in a very deprived neighbourhood in Leicester. BYCS provides members of the local community with lifelong learning and specifically ICT courses to support them in gaining skills applicable across the spectrum of employment opportunities. Interviews with BYCS staff and the organisation's evaluation reports made clear that ICT access and training alone are not sufficient to address and impact the root causes and structural aspects of social exclusion in such deprived conditions. Such conditions include lack of qualifications, lack of appropriate skills (including lack of basic numeracy and literacy skills) and poor English language skills. 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. The case shows that ICT skills are important in the development of learning, but there are many other non-ICT factors (including cultural factors) that prevent ethnic minorities from entering the labour market in the UK. Particularly the relation between ICT and language appears as a 'catch 22' situation. All ICT training is done in English, as nearly all the ICT systems likely to be encountered by BYCS customers if they find a job will use UK or US English settings by default, but many of these users have poor English language proficiency. Learning English often requires ICT skills and so the vicious circle is difficult to break. The same applies to learning in general: 69% of 26-40 year olds and 60% of 41-55 year olds in the community rated poor ICT skills as a significant barrier to involvement in learning. If they do not have IT skills they are unlikely to participate in learning. But without participating in learning they cannot develop IT skills. To put it in the words of one of BYCS member "ICT is no 'magic bullet' solution to social exclusion, but one among the many possible social actions".

The Neue Vahr (case **De1**) is a neighbourhood of Bremen largely populated by immigrants from the former USSR[70] and characterised by very dire conditions of deprivation (see earlier, footnote 64). The main challenge in the community is the low level of formal educational attainment considered by local authorities and NGO activists of the district as one of the main root causes for the high level of unemployment and the high number of individuals receiving welfare support. Poverty affects also those who work, as they often have low paid part-time jobs. An additional challenge is the short occupancy in the neighbourhood: in 2007 33% of the population lived there for less than three years, which among people younger than 30 goes up to 51%. It is a proxy indicator of the low level of community social capital in terms of

[70] The majority are 'resettlers', namely Soviet citizens of German descent who acquired German citizenship automatically upon return, but came back to the land of their ancestors (migrated to Russia in 18th century) with absolutely no German language skills and with a mostly Soviet cultural and social mentality.

consolidated structures and social relations. Several programmes[71] and related publicly funded projects have attempted to tackle this situation with a wide range of community regeneration and social inclusion initiatives. These include German language training; vocational training and various ICT related activities such as job application training in combination with ICT skill building; online community portal and centre (***bremen.ru***) run by an intercultural not-for-profit association that supports IEM with Russian migration background in all kinds of everyday life situations. The self-declared goal of ***bremen.ru*** is to provide information and support for the quickest possible social and economic integration of migrants from the former Soviet Union. From the programme evaluation report and from interviews with local social workers the most evident and striking result is that, no matter what the content of the initiatives, it has been extremely difficult and in most cases impossible to reach out the target beneficiaries and convince them to participate:

- The local branch of the adult education centre (VHS) offers German language courses, which male immigrants never attend unless forced by local authorities on the basis of the immigration law and/or to become eligible for welfare benefits;
- According to the local VHS manager, the male immigrants rarely take part in any other courses or projects no matter what topics they address;
- ***Bremen.ru*** has made various attempts to use the Internet as a tool to improve the provision of information for and by the people living in the Neue Vahr as well as to support communication between inhabitants. However, all attempts to motivate inhabitants to use the digital media for local communication and for the improvement of the local public sphere apparently failed;
- The social apathy and insecurity of many inhabitants led them to drop computer courses when, due to lack of large enough facilities and adequate infrastructures, classes were moved to a location in another neighbourhood in Bremen.

The only noteworthy and successful exceptions have concerned women, especially single-mothers, who often suffer from isolation due to lack of family and other networks (which would provide the basis for sharing the burden of childcare). They started with German language courses, during which the participating women articulated their interest in learning how to use a computer. The language course, thus, provided a rationale to embed the appropriation of ICT in a context of sufficiently purposeful and substantive utility.

Finally, we can anticipate that this case underscores a dangerous process of double segregation, which we discuss in the paragraph on the bonding and bridging sides of ICT use. In sum, it is evident that under such circumstances ICT focussed initiatives are the classical 'drop in the ocean' with respect to community regeneration and social participation. It is also worth stressing that such circumstances cannot be captured by quantitative data from random sample surveys and, thus, in-depth qualitative evidence such as this helps to substantially qualify the hypothesis of a smooth bottom up process of ICT adoption by IEM.

Although in a totally different context and not representing its main focus, also the case of Réseau Éducation Sans Frontières (case **Fr2**) shows that appropriation of ICT is very unlikely among a socially fragile and insecure group such as the undocumented migrants. While the ICT based network was set up to link and connect French activists and undocumented migrants, the latter interacted mostly face to face, or at best through mobile phones, with their French advocates.

[71] Their names are very telling and include: "Living in Neighbourhoods", "The Social City", and "Local Social Capital".

Finally, the cases mentioned in this paragraph (but also most of the other cases) have underscored as a barrier the problem of language, of educational attainment, and also of the difficulty immigrants face to get their educational and professional degrees accredited by the public authorities in the host countries. A clear example from case **De1** is the tutor of the computer classes offered to immigrants: Ms. Almankowa is a computer scientist with several years of work experience, whose Ukrainian university degree in informatics was belatedly accredited, forcing her to still work as a tutor at the time the case study evidence was collected (2008). Together with the language problems, this is a huge double burden for many migrants, which hampers their employability and cannot be offset merely by providing digital skills.[72] It appears in a clear way that ICT, host country language, learning and employability measures should be provided in an integrated fashion. On the other hand, there is also the case of Turkish immigrants who completed university education in Turkey and were then able to secure permanent employment in the IT industry in Germany (case **De3**). Patience, endurance and individual ability enabled them to succeed. Nevertheless, such examples cannot be generalized and further research is needed on the conditions of successful economic participation between different immigrants groups in different contexts. With respect to the language issue, it is also worth briefly reporting the experience of the measures adopted in the Yorkshire region to initiate immigrants to the potential of eBusiness (case **UK2**). Regardless of the content of such measures, what explains the moderate successes achieved is above all the provision of training and of online content and services in several languages (Urdu, Bengali and Polish).

2.4.3 ICT and economic participation

We can start this paragraph exactly where we finished the previous one and state that the cases focussing on ICT and economic participation (**Fr3** matrimonial web based businesses, **De3** on the occupational trajectories of Turkish immigrants in the IT industry; **Es3** on the biographies of immigrants entrepreneurs in Tarifa), despite being very rich do not provide conclusive evidence on the contribution of ICT to IEM's economic participation. On the other themes discussed here we can analyse eight different case studies and within them several dimensions of the relevant phenomenon (ICT use and appropriation in relation to broadly defined social participation). Additionally, those case studies can be triangulated with the quantitative data and wider analysis discussed earlier. On economic participation, we only have three cases whose crosscutting elements do not provide enough scope for any robust generalisation. At a very broad level, we can conclude that the use of ICT and/or advanced ICT skills has clearly played positively the role of a general purpose technology: they have augmented the productivity and reach of other factors. In particular, ICT and especially the new social networking services seem to be powerful tools in the hands of entrepreneurial migrants enabling them to commercially exploit the links with material, informational and symbolic resources from the homeland (see some of the **Es3** cases) and the social networks they establish in the host country, both within the community of newcomers and already settled immigrants (e.g. the bloggers marketing traditional Moroccan wedding services in **Fr3**) and with the native population. In fact, these two cases (**Fr3** and **Es3**) provide interesting insights as to the bonding and bridging effects of ICT use, which we discuss in the next sub-section.

Yet, there is not enough evidence that ICT have had a decisive role and that entrepreneurial activities would not have occurred without ICT. After all, the matrimonial web-based businesses presented in **Fr3** can be seen as an evolution of the pre-Internet 'mail-order brides'

[72] This point is one of the main findings of a recent study on digital skills and employability of migrant women in Europe, see (Garrido et al. 2010).

business (the case of the Franco-Russian wedding sites) or of the paper-based 'brides magazines' and related matrimonial agencies' services in the case of traditional Hindu weddings. The only exception among our cases is that of the Turkish immigrants, whose IT skills were decisive to enable a relatively successful career as professionals in the German IT industry. Similarly, even though it was not addressed as a specific case study, we could add to this consideration the myriads of Internet-phone shops opened up and run mostly by IEM entrepreneurs throughout Europe.

2.4.4 Purpose of use: bridging or bonding?

Most of the case studies unequivocally refute a dichotomic view that the use of ICT by migrants and ethnic minorities produces either bonding or bridging effects. They rather tend to support the view that bonding effects support intra-ethnic stabilisation both in terms of social relations and identity and may, under certain circumstances, be conducive to ICT usages for bridging purposes. Nevertheless, they do not rule out the possibility that ICT use in a bonding perspective may result in active or passive processes of informational and cultural segregation compounding other existing isolating effects (spatial-residential and occupational concentration).

The *locutorios* in Vera (case **Es1**) have been shown to have a positive effect in stabilising and articulating the Ecuadorian community, fostering a gradual process of ICT appropriation and use also for bridging purposes such as finding a job and information about public services and welfare entitlements. On the other hand, the authors of the report (Maya-Jariego et al 2009) signal with some surprise the fact that some segments of Ecuadorian youth, despite the common language, tend to prefer the Latino web and associate themselves more to this culture rather than to the Spanish culture. This seems to increase the social distance with Spanish youth and may lead to an early process of cultural self-segregation especially among second and third generations.

The analysis of NGO run PIAPs and of tele-cyber boutiques in France (case: **Fr1**) reaches a similar two-fold conclusion. On the one hand, it is confirmed that they have a positive effect in creating social networks of support also enabling appropriation of ICT. On the other hand, besides risks of internal processes of separation if bonding purposes prevail, the participant observation spotted what we can call a risk of passive segregation as a result of perceptions on the side of the host society population. Such sites elicit negative judgement on the side of the French majority. Some interviews show people's negative perception that migrants are recreating their own familiar and culturally distinct spaces in the French neighbourhoods around PIAPs and tele-cyber boutiques.

The interviews with the stratified sample of immigrants of Polish, Turkish and Russian background in Germany (case: **De2**) show very forcefully this duality of use and the continuous switching back and forth between uses of digital media for communicative mobility within and outside the community of co-ethnics, as it appears in the language of the digital media used. For instance younger migrants of Polish origin use social software web page in Polish language to stay in contact with other members of the Polish diaspora, but resort to German language social software web pages to stay in contact with other Germans. Turkish migrants, both young and adult, use websites in Turkish and German languages for different informational purposes: the former to keep abreast with political and socio-cultural developments in their home country and the latter more often to find information relevant to their German locality (city and neighbourhood). So, among these groups comprising (it is worth recalling) individuals of a fairly good socio-economic status and educational level, we can see a positive and active double networking in which the appropriation of digital media takes place. On the one hand an important purpose of use is to maintain the diasporic network

(family, friends, and acquaintances of same cultural origin), while on the other is to try and gain affiliation within the German society. There is also a more symbolic and identity-related aspect to this, that can be appreciated from the expressions used by the interviewees. Their understanding and perception of their own cultural identity is phrased as 'hybrid' and 'in between', as mediation between the (perceived) 'culture of origin' and the (perceived) 'national German culture'. Digital media play an important role in this process as they are a source of the perception these individuals form about culture of origin and German national culture. So the different patterns of ICT appropriation – for example, the use of the Internet for information access – take place within this mediation process and can in many cases produce a positive relation between bonding and bridging effects.

The possible integration of the two uses of ICT has been put in practice by the social workers of BYCS in the deprived community in Leicester for the Bangladeshi ethnic minority group (case **UK1**). When interviewed, they stressed that the overwhelming focus of their initiatives in helping migrants use ICT was for learning and job finding purposes and also for getting information about public services; so from our perspective here for bridging purposes. On the other hand, they also reported that following the slogan of 'celebrating diversity' promoted since 1997 by New Labour they have launched activities focussed on keeping their target beneficiaries in touch with their own culture, which included cultural events and festivals and also the *Confluence Poetry Site* (http://www.confluence.uk.net/), focused on Bangladeshi literature and culture.

However, there is also less positive evidence coming from a situation of high deprivation such as that of the Neue Vahr neighbourhood in the city of Bremen (case **De1**). Here all the negative conditions emerge for a process of **double segregation**, by which we mean isolation both in spatial terms (concentration in one neighbourhood and reluctance to move) and in terms of use of traditional and digital media. As illustrated earlier, the immigrants (with the exception of single-mothers) hardly participated to any of the ICT courses offered by local institutions and in the attempt of community wide uses of the Internet through the development of a community online portal. On the other hand, key informants from the same ethnic background reported that at home they mostly communicate by phone with co-ethnics, watch Russian language television and a few also use Russian language only Internet sites and social software tools. Traditional and digital media practices orientated only toward co-ethnics and the homeland thus reinforce and worsen the spatial isolation. Such strong inward looking orientation may also be among the causes explaining the failure of most public measures aimed at community regeneration in that context.

Finally, we can look at the bridging and bonding side of ICT enabled entrepreneurial activities as they emerge from the French case studies on matrimonial web businesses (**Fr3**) and from the biographies of immigrant entrepreneurs in Tarifa (**Es3**). Within the first case a clear distinction must be made between the entrepreneurial activities of Hindus and Moroccans and those of the Russians. The former is a quintessential example of a niche ethnic business with little overspill in term of mainstreaming economic activities into the wider economic system. The web is used, in combination with other means, to arrange marriages among co-ethnics only. The activity of the Russians immigrants, on the other hand, focuses around mixed marriages (Franco-Russian), which are a paradigmatic bridging process for primary social relations. Marriage is also a source of institutional integration, allowing formal incorporation into the host country. Besides, the initial bridging with the partner/spouse can also branch out into a multiplicity of bridging relations in the new social context. So they have a bridging outcome for the customers, but it is less clear whether ICT enable the business to be more integrated within the mainstream of economic activities.

Potentially ICT could be a tool to better integrate the business into a supply chain populated by local mainstream businesses, but this aspect is not considered in the case study.

The biographies of immigrant entrepreneurs in Tarifa show elements of bridging, although the activities are strongly linked to the ethnic background of the entrepreneurs. In general we tend to see ICT as having a minor impact and these activities remain as traditional niche ethnic businesses with little bridging in the economic dimension of the concept.

2.4.5 Inclusive eGovernment services[73]

The analysis of eGovernment services in France shows that the (very few) electronic documents or application forms available online for immigrants can only be viewed, but cannot (with a few exceptions) be downloaded and sent back. There are also very few guidelines or leaflets to help the user/applicant handle the formalities and understand French administrative language. Moreover, as linguistic diversity is not a standard or a priority,[74] most of the sites that might be visited by immigrants do not offer translations. These supply side limitations are matched by the finding that migrants occasionally search for information on sites like the ANPE (National Employment Agency), the CAF (Family Allowance Funds/Welfare Funds), or sites on social security and taxes, but they seldom carry out online administrative tasks, since when it comes to sensitive issues or complicated procedures they want someone to talk to. "*On the Internet, the migrant is afraid of not understanding and … that the request will not be taken into account. This is even more so when there is a language barrier*." (Diminescu 2009: p.35). It is reasonable to assume that if services were in their own language, immigrants may be more trustful in using them. At any rate, apart from transactional services, simple information and guidelines in different languages could be of great help. Moreover, simpler applications for obtaining or renewing residence permits could be easily completed online directly by the immigrants, or even if not in their language this could be done on their behalf by professional and informal intermediaries, as it has occurred in Italy at national level in December of 2007. In general, however, we have found very rare cases across the EU27 of government information in multi-language format and/or of transactional services dedicated to immigrants.

The UK is a partial exception as guidelines promoting language diversity in the provision of public information were released as early as 2002[75] and examples of public websites with some level of multi-lingualism can be found.[76] An alternative approach adopted by local

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[73] See footnote 61 for a definition of this area of policy intervention.

[74] Official websites follow the official line in France about integration which stipulates that a foreigner allowed to stay and establish him/herself in France must master the language.

[75] In 2002 the e-Government Unit of the UK Cabinet office (closed in May 2007) provided guidance for the government's web sites development. Within these guidelines two issues with regard to language and cultural diversity were raised. First, under section *2.4.2.1 Key audiences to remember* the following point was 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 was 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".

[76] The website of the NHS is an example (see http://www.nhs24.com/content/, bottom of the page on the left) of providing at least some basic information in different languages. Moreover, if one sends 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 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 service provision: http://www.bradford.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/B1933B4F-B34C-440A-A566-AA9A6A36977D/0/InterpretationTranslationPolicy.pdf

municipalities in the Netherlands is to produce content using simplified language(s) and using iconic elements in the user interface. This has been found useful for newly arrived immigrants and in general for anyone having literacy problems even in their own language.[77]

It has been shown that inclusive eGovernment services facilitating access to information and services (directly or by way of multi-channel delivery and/or intermediation) in the domain of health and welfare entitlements can greatly benefit the less socially included individuals and result into societal positive outcomes (Codagnone 2009a: pp. 27-28). This would naturally apply to immigrants as well (Ecuadorians in Vera showed interest in learning to use Internet to get information on welfare and health), but this gap in the supply side foregoes such opportunities.

2.4.6 Shortcomings in the provision of public support measures

Three of our case studies pointed out directly (through the voice of the involved practitioners) or indirectly (through the reflections of the authors) to some shortcomings in the delivery of public support measures particularly as regarding funding, focus and time scale in conditions of high deprivation (cases **UK1** and **De1**), but also more in general about the content of the initiatives (case **Fr1**).

BYCS is heavily dependent on regional, national and EU funding streams (**case UK1**). This funding has provided facilities, infrastructure and training, but the centre's staff also articulated a range of limitations such funding places upon them. In each case the funding comes with specific delivery requirements and outputs. 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: they must be over 19, they must not have been learning for three years, they must be a UK resident. Yet, most of the Bangladeshi community they serve 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 just on basic ICT access and training rather than on broader substantive issues through ICT. In brief, structural constraints placed upon the actions of the BYCS by funding programmes limit the ability of the Centre to provide a more developmental training support system leading to higher-level skills.

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 (depending on the location) at least on: a) health; b) safety; c) general public information and services.

[77] GovWork's Virtual Counter, adopted by over 160 Municipalities in the Netherlands, was developed through much testing with final users and makes intensive use of self-explanatory icons (see Kluzer et al. 2008 p: 114). The Everyday English Editor is a software tool which enables people who produce government information to adapt their English to reflect the vocabulary of people with low levels of literacy or other language barriers The software is available through a web browser from a centralised service offered by Optimum Communications Development Ltd, see http://www.optimum-uk.com/Homepage.html. Yet another ICT application in this area is to support and make easier the physical interaction between a civil servant or a professional and a foreign-speaking customer; an example of this is the DSF service in Italy (DSF - Demografici Senza Frontiere (Demographic Services without Borders) offered to Municipalities on a commercial basis by ANUSCA the Italian national association of demographic services officers. See http://www.anusca.it/flex/cm/pages/ServeBLOB.php/L/IT/IDPagina/1059). Another example is the Catalan MultiMetgeKit, a multimedia language mediator tool for health professionals (http://www.puntintercanvi.org/castella/multimetgekit_cas.htm).

In the harsh conditions present in the Neue Vahr in Bremen (case **De1**) several shortcomings emerge in the way ICT measure have been designed and delivered. First, there is a clear lack of local ICT infrastructure, which is a shortcoming given the reluctance that immigrants showed to move to other districts to attend computer classes. Under such circumstances, the only possible solution would be to link community re-generation initiatives with the creation of ICT enabled community centres. Second, it is evident that given the high levels of language and educational gaps and the lack of recognised skills, project-based initiatives with short term funding are inadequate. The job orientation and qualification courses in relation with ICT are potentially very beneficial, but should be mainstreamed and not project based, whereas current funding does not allow for providing such courses on a regular basis. This is a clear shortcoming in the face of the demand existing even within a troubled group such as the one analysed in this case. Project-based courses can only serve a limited number of people for a very limited time. Under the given circumstances the findings show that the contribution of ICT to community regeneration has been limited. The particular high level of social apathy in the target groups was not fully overcome through ICT to foster civic engagement.

The experience of launching a network of publicly funded PIAPs in France has been deemed positive, but also reaching its limits (case **Fr1**). They cannot meet the increasing demands that immigrants who use such centres place on them. The basic training they provide no longer meets their customers' increasing demands, once they have acquired basic skills. They demand more training to more substantive and purposeful activities addressing their peculiar needs and interests. Field work documented that originally people simply used PIAPs in order to learn how to use tools, whereas now they are seeking more specialized support services (job searches, school support, etc). This reflects two things: first, there is an **increasing number of online services** and support is sought to use them; second, having mastered the tools, people want to carry out more **personal projects** (i.e. build a personal site, create a blog, edit digital photos etc.). This evolution in user demands suggest the need that PIAPs develop into what have been defined as Public eServices Centres or PESCE (see Groeneweld et al. 2008).

2.5 Discussion of findings

2.5.1 Drivers of ICT adoption: communication, mobility and living in a digital society

Both the evidence from the quantitative survey (on level of take up and awareness/ motivation) and that from the case studies (on awareness /motivation) lead us to conclude that immigrants and ethnic minorities: on average use ICT as much as the local population; show a stronger awareness of how needed are these instruments to function well in our economy and society; and have a marked motivation to learn how to use them. From several interviews it emerged quite starkly how some individuals consider lack of ICT skills as a main reason of their educational and occupational gaps.

Contrary to stereotypical expectations, migrants and ethnic minority when taken in aggregate score in ICT adoption more or less at the same or a higher level as the 'local' population. Our findings belies the widely held assumption that immigrants and ethnic minorities are technology laggards and confirms the intuition anticipated earlier (see section 1.2) that, controlling for education and other factors, they may be more or equally intensive ICT users as the local population (see also Guiral and Le Corvec 2006).

One explanation concerns the younger age profile of IEM compared to the host society population, which may contribute to increase their aggregate average level of take up. Strong motivations amongst all youngsters irrespective of their background often offset potential

barriers (cost, access, skills etc.).[78] In this respect it is worth recalling that by 2020, while Europeans aged 16-29 will decrease by 10% (9 million), the share of second and third generations youngsters of immigrant background is expected to increase (King et al. 2004; Crul and Vermeulen 2003). This will have important socio-economic and cultural effects, and underscores also the importance of understanding how these groups within the IEM population use and appropriate ICT.

More in general this finding could be expected from the insights drawn from the literature on globalisation, transnationalism and diaspora we discussed earlier (see section 1.2). Our study confirms indeed that the very peculiar social trajectories and positioning of immigrants and ethnic minorities work as strong drivers for take up of ICT. High transnational and local mobility are enabled by the use of ICT,[79] and in turn generate further needs to use ICT to better cope with their consequences. Elderly migrants also participate to these processes.[80] Media and communication possibilities have always gone hand by hand with migratory movements. Starting in the 1990s the new possibilities of ICT and new digital media have amplified and partially re-shaped this 'elective affinity' between immigration and mediated communication. The change and re-shaping effect brought by new digital communication functionality with no or low costs (online content and information, VoIP, mobile phone calls and text messaging) is their steady incorporation in daily life, as compared to earlier means that were used more sporadically and mainly for special events.

Finally, immigrants' strong perception that ICT are a must to function within the new society where they happen to live can be explained by the fact that Internet and related services are understood and used as an additional mean to move within the social fabric of such new social context. The issue of children education is a case in point that we already mentioned. Some of the Ecuadorians interviewed in Spain (case **Sp1**) affirmed that they started or wanted to learn to use the Internet in order to support children in their homework. Immigrant women living in a very difficult context such as the one depicted for the underprivileged neighbourhood in Bremen (case **De1**) affirmed that being able to understand and help with children's homework is an important reason for attending digital literacy courses. The adoption of computers and Internet at home to support children's education has been found as an important and distinctive motivation of IEM people compared to all adults in the UK. So the Internet and related services are often required and used to explore and 'bridge' into the ever more digital social context where immigrants live.

The question is, however, whether we can expect in light of this evidence that the issue of IEM and ICT will evolve naturally towards full digital inclusion and desirable incorporation outcomes, thus making it not relevant from the perspective of policies. The answer to this question is clearly negative: first because digital exclusion exists and is reproduced by a number of factors also among IEM people; second, because what matters to achieve desirable outcomes from the use of ICT is not mere access and use, but processes of appropriation. The

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[78] Access and usage of Internet and mobile phones is common for almost all youth in Europe. They use communication media, chat services, online forums, internet phones, blogs, online communities etc. to establish and keep contacts with friends both locally and internationally, but also to gain information and to learn (Castells 1996; Eurydice European Unit 2004; Feilitzen and Bucht 2001; UN World Youth Report 2003).

[79] According to (Vertovec, 2007) ICT make it easier for potential migrants or recurrent migrants to find useful information and maintain social contacts and encourage policy makers to promote (regulated) circular migration schemes as they "believe they now have the technical know-how … to keep track of numerous eligible migrants as they come and go between homelands and foreign places of work". p. 7.

[80] Almost 50% of the Turkish tenants older than 60 of the THS housing company in Germany (catering for over 150,000 customers) stated that they would like to spend part of the year in Germany and the other part in Turkey. (Mense, 2008).

more qualitative and in depth findings from the case studies clearly showed that when it comes to appropriation and its outcomes the picture is more complex and nuanced.

2.5.2 Beyond take-up: digital inequalities and appropriation shortcomings

As a matter of fact, some hints at deeper underlying sources of differentiation and inequalities could already be spotted in some of the data from the quantitative surveys commented earlier (see section 2.1). The German survey underscores that there are differences both among the different IEM groups (reflecting different levels of cultural distance from the host society) and within them. Being born in Germany or abroad (so also inter-generational differences) influences intensity and type of Internet use. In the UK, the BYCS case study (**UK1**) and more granular evidence on specific deprived communities predominantly inhabited by ethnic minorities show a less positive situation than that depicted by the Ofcom reports (Codagnone et al, eds., 2009: chapter 5; Annex II). In such deprived contexts social exclusion is a multi factored problem that intertwines ethnicity, education, housing, wealth, language, and employment prospects, as well as ICT access and skills. Access to ICT and digital skills are very low within deprived neighbourhood where ethnic minorities live in the UK and such situation interacts with other cultural and socio-economic factors increasing the impediments to social and economic integration. In Spain marked differences in intensity and focus of usage have been observed comparing Argentineans (the group closer to the Spanish mainstream both culturally and from a socio-economic perspective) to Romanians, Bulgarians and, particularly Ecuadorians, for whom the less developed situation in the country of origin influences their lag in adoption and use of ICT compared to the Spaniards and also to the other IEM groups considered in Spain (Codagnone et al, eds. 2009: 123). The Spanish case studies focussed on Ecuadorians in Vera (**Es1**), while capturing positive progress, overall depicted a situation far from ideal for what concerns their purposeful and effective usage and appropriation of ICT. The two cases focussed on situations of multiple social disadvantages (**De1**, the Bremian neighbourhood and **UK1** the Bangladeshi community targeted by BYCS) clearly support our view of the relation between digital inclusion and broader social inclusion issues. When communities are characterised by very low levels of social capital and individuals' 'functionings' are weak a vicious circle can be detected between processes of digital and social exclusion, where the two feed and compound each other. In such disadvantaged neighbourhoods that are part of 'informational cities' digital exclusion deepens existing patterns of socio-spatial segregation (Castells, 1999: p. 27).

With regard to this risk it is worth adding some theoretical considerations to those contained in section 1.2 on the relation between digital and social inclusion/exclusion. Neighbourhoods such as those described in the two mentioned case studies exemplify what information studies call a situation of 'information poverty' (see for instance Chatman, 1996). Information poverty, defined as inadequate access to resources or lacking the literacies needed to make sense of information, affects immigrants and ethnic minorities residing in socio-spatially segregated settings as they may not possess the social networks or necessary skills to find the information they need in a new economic, organisational, and bureaucratic system. Immigrants who are information poor face difficulties in obtaining useful information for solving everyday life problems. They experience difficulty or inability to obtain useful information from people they know (insiders), from outsiders to their group or even from the mainstream sources of information such as the media. In Canada and the US scholars within information studies have began to investigate the information processes of new immigrants (Caidi and Allard, 2005a, 2005b; Caidi, Luk, and Allard 2005) and how libraries should respond to new immigrants' information needs (Fisher et al 2004). In this respect it is interesting to note that a newly published US report shows that millions of Americans access the Internet at public libraries for various purposes (education, jobs, government services,

social contacts) and this is particularly marked among socially disadvantaged groups including many immigrants and ethnic minority people (Becker et al 2010). This is an interesting line of research still little developed in the European context.

Going back to the overall topic of this paragraph, in synthesis our findings confirm that deeper digital inequalities surface when we look more carefully at the multifaceted conditions under which access to, and use of, ICT occur and at the appropriation patterns that such conditions produce. Having access to, or using, ICT *per se* do not produce any positive or negative outcomes. Triangulating the quantitative data of the surveys with the qualitative evidence from the case studies we can conclude that immigrants and ethnic minorities, when compared with the local population, are not 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 for the local population. More conclusive than such a binary correlation seems to be a more complex perspective. Social exclusion problems are not just affected by the condition of being part of an immigrant or ethnic minority group and of missing access to digital media, rather they occur when digital exclusion feeds into other social gaps. In particular our findings show lack of host society ***language skills*** and of ***education*** (or of recognition of educational credentials obtained abroad) to be the two most dire conditions negatively interacting with lack of ICT access and skills to produce a vicious circle of increasing exclusion and isolation.

2.5.3 Bonding and bridging

In the same way as they confuted a binary correlation between ethnicity and ICT take up and hinted at a more complex matrix of possibilities, our findings also strongly rule out the dichotomist view of ICT contributing to either bonding or bridging effects. We can safely state that ICT can contribute both to bonding and bridging effects and that which effect prevails highly depends on context specific conditions of appropriation.

If we look at language choice as a proxy of bonding and bridging usage of ICT (use of ICT and new digital media in the language of the host country taken as an indirect measure of bridging purpose), the picture that comes from the data is mixed, thus, supporting the hypothesis that both bridging and bonding effects are supported by new digital media. Our findings show that there are intra-ethnic differences in the use of new digital media in the language of the host country explained by underlying demographic and socio-economic factors (place of birth, age, educational level). Within a group of immigrants with a relatively good level of education and employment status (case **De2**) we found a balanced use of ICT and digital media for both bonding and bridging purposes, although even in this case the issue of identity (with home or host country) remains ambivalent and open. Ecuadorians in Vera (case **Es1**) and immigrants in PIAPs in France (case **Fr1**) show clear signs of increasing bridging through ICT, but also present elements of usage for bonding purposes with risk of isolation and segregation. In conditions of dire and multiple social disadvantages such as in the Bremian district (case **De1**) we witness the clearest possible example of a process of double segregation where use of ICT and digital media only in the home language and for the purpose of being in touch with co-ethnics or of keeping abreast with developments in the home country compound already existing segregation patterns in other domains (spatial concentration, high unemployment). Findings from the country reports also support the view that there are variations in bonding and bridging uses and effects depending on the peculiar context. For instance, we found almost exclusive orientation towards own language/origin content, news, music and online social networking among Tamils using Internet shops in Paris. A partly similar, but less extreme situation was found among Ecuadorian immigrants in the rural area of Vera in Spain. A more mixed orientation showed up among other groups like Bulgarians in Spain, young people from Maghreb in France and Polish people in

Germany. Equally mixed is the situation when looking at ICT as a factor in the economic and entrepreneurial activity of immigrants and ethnic minorities. In general ICT does not seem to play a decisive role in shaping the entrepreneurial activities considered in the case studies. Whether ICT has a bonding or bridging effects in the organisation and implementation of immigrant entrepreneurship to a large extent depends on the nature of the activities more than on the fact that they are run by individuals of immigrant descent. The marriage business is ethnically coloured in the case of Indians but not in that of Russians and this depends on the customer target, so ICT does not significantly influence bridging or bonding in this context. Career in IT seem to be unrelated to bonding among co-ethnics and this is also due more to the requirements of the job than to the ICT effects per se. It is worth adding here that a study of immigrants ICT businesses in Sweden has concluded that the requirements of this industry have limited the usage of ethnic resources and ties (Feldman 2006). Again, thus, ICT seem to be less relevant than the nature of the economic activities in producing bridging or bonding effects.

In conclusion, we would argue that the case of IEM usage of ICT and its bonding and bridging effects justify the adaptation of the mixed embeddedness model earlier applied to the study of immigrant entrepreneurship (see discussion in section 1.2). The duality of their positioning and of their economic and social strategies inevitably place immigrants and ethnic minorities in an ambivalent situation where their identities, resources, and ambitions are embedded both in the conditions and demands of the host society and in the relations and affiliations (of both an instrumental and of a more symbolic and affective nature) with co-ethnics in the host society and in the homeland. In this context, also ICT and new digital media come to be appropriated in a dual manner and may have simultaneous bonding and bridging effects. A priori it is not possible to state whether the end result of these processes will be a more solid incorporation within the structures and values of the host society or conversely greater isolation and segregation. Much depends on very peculiar individual level traits and on the broader social context. Negative cases of ICT reinforcing isolation and self-segregation cannot be ruled out at all and we have provided evidence of their occurrence. Noteworthy to stress is the possibility especially for second and third generations to use the web to build or feed existing sub-cultural orientations increasing the cultural and social distance from the mainstream of the host country (i.e. Ecuadorians youngsters in Spain using the web to follow the US imported model of Latino sub-culture and isolating themselves from Spanish culture). While not conclusive, however, our findings tend to support more the hypothesis that ICT can first help immigrants to stabilise their identity and consolidate community relations through bonding usages and this will eventually better enable them to explore bridging opportunities and interactions.

2.5.4 Need for a comprehensive mix of policy support measures

As anticipated, in the next chapter we discuss policy implications more in depth, by placing the topic of this report within the broader context of integration policy. Here, we anticipate some considerations strictly from the perspective of digital inclusion policies also in relation to what has been discussed elsewhere (Codagnone 2009: Chapter 2). We do so by briefly cross-analysing the findings on the demand side (access, use, and appropriation by immigrants and ethnic minorities) and those on the supply side (Section 2.2) focussing only on those initiatives originating from public sector players.

Bottom up, local level efforts. We found that there are no national level policies explicitly addressing the issue of the digital inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities. The only exception has been the UK between 2000 and 2004, but subsequently the topic disappeared from national level public debate and policies. Nonetheless, especially in the UK but also in many other countries, a wide range of local public support measures could be found that

would legitimately fall into a *de facto* digital inclusion policy for IEM. This is a very important finding that we discuss again in the next chapter. Here we can add that this bottom up approach, while positive and certainly in line with subsidiarity principles, suffers from a lack of coordination, fragmentation, a limited financial sustainability.

Basic access and skills measures are still needed. The fact that on average access and use among IEM is not lower than among the host society population does not mean that basic forms of digital inclusion are no longer an issue for immigrants and ethnic minorities. The percentages of individuals fully excluded from the Information Society are still sizeable among all ethnic groups (as they are for the population at large). Therefore, access measures such as PIAPs and introductory digital literacy courses are still needed. Findings on the demand side are mixed (see below) but in general show that PIAPs and basic digital literacy, while not solving all the digital exclusion issues, have been used and to a large extent well received. Indeed, the striking new findings coming from the US about the large use of the Internet in public libraries especially by less socially advantaged groups (Becker et al, 2010) calls for new research in Europe to have an equally comprehensive quantitative assessment of the use of PIAPs and other public centres of access. Basic access and digital literacy are the first step leading individuals in the process toward appropriation of ICT and the eventual achievement of outcomes, and so they should be continued. Yet they are only a first step and cannot be thought as the only solution, as we argue next.

Integrated and purposeful measures. The evidence from the analysis of the demand side shows that more integrated measures are needed to make access and use sustainable and to achieve appropriation and the desirable socio-economic outcomes. First, we showed how ICT skills and appropriation are not acquired at single locations and are rather embedded into the interplay of different occasions related to various contexts and purposes. Accordingly generic one-off measures to support access and use do not ensure the sustainability and continuation of usage if not linked to purposeful interests and needs. Support measures should be clearly tied to purposeful and substantive activities, needs and interests. They should also possibly be embedded into a meaningful social context of repeated occasions and interactions. Second, we have shown how host society language skills and education (illiteracy or low education) are among the highest and most constraining gaps faced by the weakest segments of the IEM population and that such gaps negatively interact with lack of ICT access and skills. Hence, language skills and basic education (literacy and numeracy) can provide purpose and substance to those support initiatives currently provided in often generic and sporadic fashion. In other words we underscored the need for integrated measures targeting at the same time ICT, language skills, skills for employability, very often basic literacy (regardless of the language) and other learning opportunities.[81] Third, and related to all of the above points, such integrated measures not only should span across different policy domains and entail a longer time horizon than is usually the case, but they would work best if they were made part of the activities of ICT driven and enabled community centres (or PESCE as we earlier discussed). These could be part of comprehensive urban policies of neighbourhoods' renewal and revitalisation.

Use ICT to help 'them'. We have documented through the words and views of practitioners that under conditions of multiple social disadvantage measures merely supporting ICT access and use are the classical 'drop in the ocean' if not supported by other interventions. This is

[81] IPTS has been developing since 2009 a new line of research specifically on the contribution of ICT to second language education of adult migrants. The need for the integrated-holistic approach discussed in the text and examples of practices which are developing along that perspective are presented in (Kluzer, Ferrari, & Centeno, 2010). Other publications and materials on this topic are available at http://is.jrc.ec.europa.eu/pages/EAP/ICT-IEML2.html.

the quintessential example of situations where policy and support measures should abandon the approach of 'helping individuals use ICT' to switch toward the approach of 'using ICT to help them'.

A challenging, but promising target group. Finally, our findings suggest the importance of support measures targeting one specific group within the IEM population. Housewives and especially single-mothers suffer the highest degree of isolation and have shown a clear interest in learning to use ICT. Under traditional conditions it is not uncommon for immigrants women who do not work and do not speak the host country language to remain the most isolated component of the family and, willingly or unwillingly, to contribute to a problematic socialisation for their offspring. While their husbands are at work and their children at school (where both have exposure to the host country culture and language) they stay at home most likely in an ethnic neighbourhood and watch television programmes from their home country from satellite dishes. This maintains them starkly separated from the host society, and may often influence the socialisation of the second generation in an unbalanced and conflictive way. Organising ICT courses matched with language learning and basic literacy education may break this isolation and may help these women develop new social relations and also better cope with their increasingly 'foreign' children.

3 ICT contribution: to what kind of integration?

3.1 Incorporation of immigrants: from national models to a European-wide 'civic integration' approach

The expression 'incorporation of immigrants' is used here as a more neutral choice compared to the politically loaded concepts of 'integration' or 'assimilation' (for a discussion of these notions, their distinctive features and building factors, and their evolution over time see the Annex). In general incorporation can be seen as entailing two dimensions, one structural concerning the degree of immigrants embeddedness into the social and economic life of the host society, including their formal status (residence rights, citizenship, etc), and the other cultural/normative and symbolic. The *structural* dimension points at the social participation of individuals and groups in the wider society. The *cultural* dimension points at processes of value orientation and identification of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Until recently, the literature on immigrant incorporation in Europe has underlined the presence and importance of so called 'national models' to understand the differences of incorporation across countries (see the Annex). Although one can find some variation in terminology and in the matching of countries to models, three key models have been identified:

- The model named by Castles (1995) as **differential exclusion** (sometimes referred to also as the separation or exclusionist model). Castles' expression meant to convey the contrast between the recruitment and inclusion of immigrants into the labour market and their exclusion from the polity (second and third generation remaining aliens due to *jus sanguinis,*[82] while naturalisation is considered a discretionary prerogative of governments). This model is characterised by the application of *jus sanguinis*; a restrictive naturalisation regime; rigid requirements to enter and reside in the territory. Under this model no public recognition of cultural diversity exists and immigration is mostly viewed as a temporary phenomenon. Indeed, policies following such model artificially attempt to maintain the temporary character of an immigrant's settlement. Germany, Austria and Belgium (Flanders) have been traditionally associated with this model (but at least in Germany the situation has changed substantially in recent years);[83]
- The **assimilationist** model in Europe has been always associated with France and its discourse of universal republicanism. All children of immigrants are born French citizens; immigrants with secure rights can be naturalised fairly easily, and so they are all part of the French political community, where cultural and religious specificities have no place in the public sphere and must be cultivated in private. Immigrants can benefit from general integration and social policies, but policies specifically targeting immigrant and ethnic communities are not contemplated.
- **Multicultural-leaning integration**. We use this expression since no European model clearly meets the characteristics of full-blown multiculturalism as practiced especially in Canada and Australia. As in the assimilationist case, the application of *jus soli*

[82] *Jus sanguinis* (Latin: law of blood) refers to the legal rule that a person's citizenship is determined by that of his or her parents (by 'blood'). *Jus soli* (Latin: law of ground) or birthright citizenship, is a right by which nationality or citizenship can be recognized to any individual born in the territory of the related state. (source: Wikipedia).

[83] A new Immigration Act (Zuwanderungsgesetz) regulating the entry and stay of immigrants came into force on 1 January 2005. It introduces changes to the citizenship acquisition regime and it started a process of public recognition that migration is a structural characteristic of the country.

guarantees citizenship at birth to all offspring of immigrants and naturalisation is considered more as an entitlement than a discretionary prerogative of the government. The model departs from assimilationism in that is based on the respect and protection of cultural diversity and aims at explicitly guaranteeing the identity of the immigrant community. It recognises the cultural distinctiveness of immigrants in the public discourse and provides targeted policies, including support to the preservation of their identity and to their community organisations. Countries that have traditionally followed this model more openly in Europe are the Netherlands and Sweden. The United Kingdom can also be included under this model.

Such national models have been gradually reappraised and criticised as policy changes at national and EU level have reduced their validity in contrasting the situation of different countries. In particular, it became clear that changes in the orientation of integration policies have been toward the convergence of many Member States on some common principles that no longer respond to the original features of the above national models. This convergent approach emerging across Europe has been named 'civic integration'[84] (Joopke 2007a and 2007b), referring to the Dutch law[85] which crystallized some of its distinctive features (e.g. the mandatory language and introductory courses for newcomers). Critics of this convergent development see it as a "backlash against diversity" (Grillo 2005) and some, as noted by Penninx et al (2005), have actually qualified it as 'neo-assimilationist'.

Integration programmes have by now been adopted in many countries and in a majority of EU15 Member States (Austria, Belgium-Flanders, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, United Kingdom) they share general elements such as host country language classes; 'civic' courses familiarising immigrants with the receiving country's norms, history, values and cultural traditions; and labour market orientation/vocational training. Such integration courses must be successfully completed in order to be granted certain rights in the receiving society (permanent residency, access to social and welfare benefits and so on). Newcomers must enrol in civic and language courses immediately after entry (in the Netherlands since 2006 even before entry) or else they are penalized in various ways. Such new developments have been fully analysed elsewhere (Carrera 2006; ICMPD 2005; Michalowski 2004a) and are briefly recalled for some countries in the Annex.

The real novelty of the past few years is the obligatory nature of civic integration and its ever wider enforcement. In this context it no longer makes much sense to talk about national models. As stated simply but forcefully by Carrera "*these traditional models of integration no longer exist. Societies and their public philosophies towards immigrants and their integration are continuously changing. National models and integration programmes have often been rendered moot by evolving contemporary realities, political and economic priorities, and dramatic events* (emphasis added)."[86] (2006: 4).

The demise of the national models and the growing influence of the convergent 'civic integration' European approach is also showing up at the level of EU immigration and integration policies.

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[84] *Civis* in Latin means citizen, someone who is part and enjoys the rights of the state or city, often contrasted with the *peregrinus*, who is the foreigner or stranger.

[85] We refer here to the 2006 Civic Integration Law which gave a restrictive twist to the measures first introduced in 1998 by the Newcomer Integration Law (better known with the Dutch acronym WIN) obliging non-EU newcomers to participate in a 12-month integration course.

[86] Indeed, it is safe to state that the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001 in the US and 7/7/2005 in the UK; various violent events in the Netherlands, Germany and France have at least played a catalysing role in bringing about the observed turn in integration policy in key European countries.

Soon after the Amsterdam Treaty entered into force (1 May 1999), the Presidency Conclusions of the Tampere European Council (15–16 October 1999) presented a roadmap for EU policy priorities and approach to integration. This starting point was quite promising from the perspective of a balanced and inclusive approach to integration policy (Carrera 2008: 8-9). Since then and until the latest communication on the common immigration policy (European Commission 2008a), the European Union's integration policy framework has grown significantly in depth and extension and a self-standing report - which is beyond the scope of our effort here – would be needed to provide a full account of such developments.[87] From this vast regulatory and policy framework, we just now briefly discuss two directives and the Common Basic Principles (CBPs) on Integration (Council of Europe 2004).

The Council Directive 2003/109[88] on the status of long-term residents who are third country nationals of 25 November 2003 and Council Directive 2003/86[89] on the right to family reunification of 22 September 2003 are the most important legal acts adopted so far in the area of legal immigration. Compared with the inspiration of the Tampere Program and their own preliminary versions, the Directives approved after Council negotiations contain a more restrictive understanding of integration. Member States pushed to make integration into an instrument to manage a foreign national's access to a residence permit and to protection against expulsion (Carrera 2008: 9). This is a first sign of a leaning towards a less inclusive approach to integration (compared to the promises of the Tampere roadmap) that is in practice crystallising within EU policy the developments occurring in many Member States.

This trend is confirmed also by looking at the eleven CBPs on Integration, where two main groups can be identified: the general principle CBP1 ("*Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States*") and other three principles pertaining to the normative and symbolic dimensions of incorporation; and the CBPs concerning the structural dimensions of incorporation. A critical reading of the CBPs following this distinction (see the Annex for supporting arguments), shows that the 'structural' CBPs on employment, education, access to public services, social interaction and participation base their rationale on the current weak socio-economic position of many immigrants in Europe and on the rather uncontroversial desire to improve it, and call for joint efforts to achieve this. On the other hand, the CBPs which address the normative and symbolic dimensions, despite the reference to the "two-way process of mutual accommodation" given in CBP1, *de facto* envisage integration as primarily a one-way process of adaptation, where duties and responsibilities fall mostly on the immigrants' side. Besides, while some elements in these CBPs, such as learning the host society's language, do indeed have a practical and instrumental importance and are crucial to successful incorporation,

[87] Detailed summaries can be found in the third annual migration report issued by the Commission (European Commission 2007c), in the report by Carrera for the Bertelsman Foundation (2008), as well as in the following webpage of Directorate General Justice, Liberty and Security of the EC: http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/fsj/immigration/integration/fsj_immigration_integration_en.htm. It may suffice to say that a table extending over eight pages was needed to map the normative framing of integration in EU law and policy (1999–2008), which identified 25 different relevant items between Commission communications, Council conclusions and pronouncements, and other developments (Carrera 2008: 73-81). Such framework includes also two handbooks on integration for policy makers and practitioners; three annual reports on integration; a new set of benchmarking indicators; and several supporting financial instruments. An overall guide to locating migration and integration policies and funding schemes within the whole European Commission is also available (Kate & Niessen, 2008).

[88] Council of the European Union, Council Directive concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents, 2003/109, OJ L 16/44, 23.1.2004.

[89] Council of the European Union, Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family re- unification, OJ L 251/12, 3.10.2003.

others are much less well defined and more divisive (e.g. European values) or their usefulness is debatable (e.g. knowing the basics about a country's institutions).

In conclusion, beyond clearer and more pragmatic elements related to the structural dimensions, at the normative and symbolic level the new integration policy context has seen a shift away from different national incorporation models (some of which leaning toward multiculturalism) towards a common European-wide 'civic integration' approach which seems currently dominated by an assimiliationist outlook and discourse. It must be stressed, however, that when moving from political statements to policy implementation, integration measures are mostly deployed at the local level, and here one finds a wide range of solutions which in practice often follow more open and soft multicultural approaches and aims (see for instance Penninx 2005, Caponio 2010).

3.2 Digital inclusion of IEM in the new integration policy context

In this section, we put our findings with respect to ICT and IEM in the context of the new integration policy just discussed in the previous section.

We showed in section 2.2 that, while no national level actions are visible in the domain of digital inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities, a large set of support measures concerning ICT and IEM can be found at the local level. We can now interpret this as reflecting the more 'restrictive' integration approach that has come to dominate at the national level, whereas more inclusive and possibly multicultural-leaning measures are implemented at the local level, where they are less visible and have less political resonance. In the light of the widespread concern that blogs and self-organised communities on the Internet could be a channel of co-ethnic bonding, of information self-segregation and even of aggressive separation from the host society,[90] a national level *ad hoc* policy to support immigrants in accessing and using ICT would likely meet with more or less strong opposition.[91] In many regions, cities and neighbourhoods, on the contrary, local authorities are under strong pressure to find practical solutions to better cope with the growing cultural diversity of their service users in education, health, employment and other sectors. Besides, third sector organisations also play an active role at this level and ICT support initiatives for IEM have thus found a more fertile ground.

The discussion of the previous section makes also more intelligible the ambivalence contained in the part of the e-Inclusion Riga declaration concerning cultural diversity which sets two aims: a) fostering pluralism, cultural identity and linguistic diversity in the digital space (multilingual, local, cultural heritage, European values); and b) improving economic and social participation and integration, creativity and entrepreneurship of immigrants and minorities through their greater participation in the information society. In these two components the declaration mirrors to a large extent the orientation of the CBPs: with an explicit emphasis on the structural dimensions of incorporation in part b), and a more generic statement on the cultural dimension, with a clear reference to European values.

The first implication we can draw is that in the current context any new initiative at the European level in the field of digital inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities should be mainly framed in terms of contribution to their structural incorporation and address with caution issues pertaining to the cultural, symbolic, and normative dimensions of values, identity and traditions. We say this, despite the fact that in Chapter 2, we showed with plenty

[90] The often unspoken but clearly implicit worry is that of Islamic fundamentalist websites and blogs spreading anti-Western sentiments and values.

[91] This is also one of the possible interpretations of the fact that in the United Kingdom national level initiatives were undertaken in the early part to this decade and were then abandoned in 2005.

of empirical evidence that ICT can have both bonding and bridging effects and that in many cases the reinforcement of the sense of identity and dignity among the immigrants enabled by bonding processes is conducive to more successful bridging relations with members and institutions of the host society. Yet, this empirically grounded and reasonable argument is unlikely to be understood and accepted given the strong ideological character of the immigration debate at the level of Member States.

The second implication is that the use of ICT in the context of the compulsory language and knowledge-of-society courses springing from the new 'civic integration' approach should be addressed as an opportunity to make such courses more useful from the point of view of the immigrants. ICT are increasingly looked at as a tool for a more efficient delivery/attendance of these courses and for this reason providing basic digital skills to inexperienced users is becoming part of the 'package'. However, as we have seen in the case of the Bremen district, immigrants often passively followed ICT and other courses simply because they were a requirement to receive welfare benefits, but they did not develop any significant skills. Supporting the digital inclusion of the immigrants should rather aim at providing them with an extra asset to function well in the host society and this is too frequently missed when ICT initiatives are subordinated to meet mandatory requirements to learn notions of little direct applicability and utility. In order to achieve the above functional, substantive objectives, ICT use especially in support of second language education must be framed in an adequate pedagogical approach and accompanied by the necessary resources (including well-trained and paid teachers).[92] If these conditions are met, digitally excluded immigrants have the opportunity to appropriate ICT in a meaningful way, by using these tools to learn the language, and possibly to acquire the literacy skills and other basic 'functionings' that many of them are missing. For digitally literate learners, the opportunity is to appropriate the new language more efficiently (e.g. by-passing barriers to regular course attendance) and effectively, i.e. learning what they really need to function well. As showed by the Bremen case (and many others), the setting of such functional, substantive objectives to ICT-based learning processes is often disregarded, in favour of more formal aims (full attendance-accomplishment of courses, passing a test etc.). The risk is high that this may occur also with the compulsory courses for immigrants under the 'civic integration' approach.

The third implication, in line with what we just said, is that ICT initiatives should support the provision to immigrants of clear, understandable, and transparent information about their rights, about the processes and requirements to obtain and maintain residence rights, about how to interact with welfare service providers, how to enrol their children in schools, and how to access and use healthcare services. Even more useful would be to offer multi-channel platforms and the support of e-enabled intermediaries to accomplish their interactions with public authorities and eventually obtain their rights or access and use public services. This could also be realised by exploiting web 2.0 opportunities[93] to involve trusted intermediaries such as immigrant associations and immigrants themselves in digital content production, selection and validation and in the provision of information and services. There is no mandatory introductory course or text book that can give immigrants a better appreciation of the benefits and importance of the rule of law and of the functioning of our democratic welfare states than the possibility of directly experiencing such benefits and of transparently requesting and being granted rights, entitlements and welfare provisions. This possibility depends, of course, in the first place by non-technical factors and decisions, but ICT can be an important enabler to achieve those results. A digital inclusion policy moving in this direction

[92] For a deeper discussion of these points see (Kluzer, Ferrari, & Centeno, 2010).

[93] We refer here mostly to web-based services (blogs, wikis, social media) which enable users to easily publish written and audiovisual content, and to produce comments on and tag that content.

would meet CBP6 (access to institutions and public services) and could be called "open government for integration", as an evolution of the 'inclusive e-Government' notion reflecting a rising emphasis on open dissemination and access to public sector information and services.

The fourth implication is that digital inclusion policy should support all those initiatives promoting the structural incorporation of immigrants and matching those CBPs focussing on them (CBP3 employment; CBP5 education; CBP7 interaction; CBP9 participation). This means continue with basic access and digital literacy measures, but step up those more integrated measures on ICT for learning and employability purposes, ICT in support of inter-cultural dialogue, as well as measures addressing situations of extreme social disadvantage.

Finally, while not to be heralded at the level of general policy documents, nonetheless those initiatives most likely to enhance primarily bonding effects should still be supported at the local level, though probably in a selective way and/or jointly with bridging-oriented measures, so as to minimize the often correlated negative segregation effects. We refer here to those initiatives categorised earlier in section 2.2 as supporting empowerment, visibility and 'voice' of IEM groups.

3.3 Conclusions and recommendations

We finally provide a set of recommendations that to some extent propose in a different format the content of section **2.5 (**discussion of empirical findings) and of section 3.2 (implications of integration policy context). In addition, input for the recommendations was also gathered during the IPTS Study Foresight Workshop that was held in Milan in October 2008 with the participation of key experts and stakeholders in the field from several European countries. This input is reported in Table 10 at the end of this chapter and are selectively used in the recommendations below.

General principles and approach for a renewed focus on digital inclusion of IEM

Starting from the first implication of section 3.2 we recommend that the goal of digital inclusion of immigrants and ethnic minorities at the EC level should be framed mainly as contributing to structural incorporation (skills, jobs, information and access to legal rights and public provisions and services). Moreover, we would argue that immigrants and ethnic minorities should not even be singled out as a special group and addressed by separate measures, but should be acknowledged along with other target groups of digital inclusion initiatives as needing more problem-oriented and user-driven support. On the one hand, this avoids reinforcing the stereotype that immigrants and ethnic minorities are an homogeneous and necessarily 'weak' social group. On the other hand, it is also more reassuring from the host society perspective and in the current social and political climate surrounding ethnic diversity in Europe. In practice, depending on specific contextual conditions support policy measures, while open to all, may indeed benefit mostly immigrants and ethnic minorities or in other cases benefit all those facing a given challenge (e.g. poor literacy, persistent unemployment, social isolation etc.) regardless of having a migration background or not.

More research is needed

As we stated at the beginning of this report, the IPTS Study broke new grounds and produced interesting but still exploratory findings. More robust and granular empirical evidence especially of a quantitative nature (from well-designed cross-national surveys) is needed to further investigate and understand important issues.

We saw that IEM are intense users of ICT and have strong motivations for that. Yet, we still need to better understand the evolution of IEM communication patterns[94] and the related use of the new technologies and services (with whom, how frequently, about what, through which services), as well as differences in those patterns, which may reflect, among others, country of origin, socio-demographic and socio-economic parameters, educational level, stages in the migratory trajectories (newcomers, recent legal residents, long-established settlers, individuals of immigrant descent who are now Member State's citizens, circular migrants etc). The purpose of ICT use and its effects among IEM people and groups in terms of bonding and bridging are a still largely unexplored field. This can be explored by asking questions about different ways of maintaining social relations and searching of information, to pinpoint the exact and specific role and impact of ICT. Patterns of information consumption also constitute a crucial topic for investigation. Information consumption and provision is a key component of social inclusion and broader incorporation processes. Yet, relatively little is known about the ways in which newcomers and longer established immigrant communities locate and access content in forms that are understandable and usable to them. Little is known also about their attitudes, values, awareness of, and skills in utilizing various information institutions and related technologies. Finally, we need to better understand the effects of ICT use in social interactions, information consumption and other areas on the 'functionings' of IEM people in our society (see section 1.2). We found and commented surveys on some of the above topics, but we could do this only descriptively for true analytical work with sophisticated statistical analysis requires having access to the micro data and that such data is comparable across countries, i.e. two conditions which are not yet available in Europe (the survey results we commented for Germany, Netherlands, Spain, and the UK were not comparable).

Better coordination and mainstreaming across policy areas

At the very beginning of this document we stated clearly also how our research topic lays at the cross-roads of different policy domains. This is true at all policy levels, including Member States and lower tiers of government, but we focused and focus now mostly at the EU level. As mentioned before, within the European Commission the topics we studied are of relevance for information society policies, immigration integration policies, social inclusion policies, education and training policies, and regional and local development policies. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the participants to the mentioned Foresight Workshop that concluded this Study came up with a fairly extensive list of topics for cross-area policy dialogue, coordination, and mainstreaming (see block 4 in Table 10, but also block 3).

One possible joint action should precisely aim to find a common mechanism to fund the type of new research discussed above, which cannot be funded under the current ICT theme of European Seventh Research Framework Programme (FP7) and would be difficult to place also in the SSH (Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities) theme of FP7. Additionally, since we noted in section 2.4.6 that current funding mechanisms for ICT-based initiatives for/by IEM, including those supported by EU programs, often show low sustainability and constrain, rather than stimulate bottom up inventiveness, better coordination and collaboration across DGs could address these problems. Joint activities toward a common, integrated measurement framework also look very promising and strategic. A set of benchmarking indicators has been recently introduced for integration policies in the EU (Swedish Presidency of the European Union, 2009) and additional indicators focussing on the digital inclusion component of immigrants incorporation could enrich them. Finally, joint policy action could also support meta-measures aimed at improving policy design and delivery such as for instance: a) online

[94] A discussion of this topic and of relevant research questions can be found in (Ros, 2008).

communities of practice across policy fields; b) joined-up (evidence base) data collection and sharing and analysis across policy fields; d) improved policy monitoring and evaluation. On these aspects, for instance, one could envisage to introduce a specific attention to digital inclusion issues in the future 'integration modules' for practitioners and policy makers promoted by DG JLS (an evolution of the three *Handbooks on Integration* released in recent years[95]).

Access to ICT and basic digital skills and the upgrading of PIAPs

Measure supporting access to ICT and basic digital literacy are to be continued and we strongly recommend the transformation of PIAPs into real community centres, along the PESCE model discussed in Groeneveld et al. (2008). These centres should rely on local eChampions and eMentors to run bottom up awareness campaigns and provide continuous user support and should enable neighbours, both IEM and host society population, to access and use ICT for substantive needs, and for culture, leisure and entertainment. In order to become good examples of ICT supported community re-generation and social capital measures, these centres should be embedded deeply and broadly into local level contexts and related policies challenges. Such ICT supported measures should target the most deprived communities and be integrated with other local level measures. They could promote inter-cultural dialogue by linking the 'territory' to the different cultures living in it.[96]

Support to more integrated inclusion measures

While access and digital literacy remain important, we also showed that for proper ICT appropriation and the achievement of desirable outcomes more integrated and purposeful initiatives should also be funded. These may include, among others, the following:

1. Purposeful digital literacy and training. By this we mean measures where learning to use ICT is offered as an occasion to achieve other more substantive objectives, for instance: a) game-oriented learning packages, particularly for marginal youth as a way to learn substantive educational topics; b) simulation environments to support language acquisition; b) training for ICT-skills intensive job profiles.
2. ICT supported job-finding measures. For instance an integrated set of measures including: online job search and careers matching portals; online jobs marketplaces; online CV repositories for employers; slivers of time to enable short term volunteering; online tools to support and enhance CV building, self-assessment capabilities and job interview skills.
3. Online information and services together with eHealth mentors to improve access by IEM to health information and services.
4. Multi-channel delivery, including ICT-enabled front-liners across all relevant policy domains. This is a cross-cutting measure that would improve the access and use of all

[95] The *Handbooks on Integration* can be downloaded from the European Commission's website at http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/doc_centre/immigration/integration/doc_immigration_integration_en.htm

[96] This kind of measures, as those proposed below, could be supported within the ICT Policy Support Programme (see http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/activities/ict_psp/index_en.htm) coordinated by DG Information Society and Media under the Competitiveness and Innovation Framework Program (CIP). The development of PESCE-style community centres, for instance, would fit well with the architecture of Type B pilots, which requires the involvement of actors along the whole value chain in at least six Member States. It could serve at the same time the purpose of supporting NGOs and IEM associations and also local government policy makers and public servants. Moreover, given the request to involve different Member States, it would also match the proposed transnational, but locally embedded perspective. Such a perspective, for instance, could be the core aspect of a pilot focussing on the deployment of job-finding platforms and services at the local level across several Member States (see below).

kinds of public services and respond to the principle of 'using ICT to help them' needed to address situations of extreme social disadvantage.

5. Open government for integration to provide better information on legal rights and procedures and access to public services such as welfare entitlements and healthcare.

ICT Research and Development proposed themes

Finally, ICT R&D themes are proposed in a self-explanatory way in the first block of Table 10 below. They include themes related to multi-language platforms and innovative, culturally informed iconic solutions (of particular relevance in the health domain). Also of some relevance and innovative is the proposal of developing game frame learning tools that can foster ICT skills and through them substantive learning in other areas.

Table 10 – Input for recommendations from the Foresight Workshop

1. THEMES FOR ICT FP7 /FP8
ICT tools for policy modelling and data mining (visualisation/mash-up)
Game oriented ICT packages for learning and for employability skills
New health related multi-language ICT solutions
New ICT solutions digitally enabling care-givers and cultural brokers
ICT for easier multi-language information production and management
ICT for simple cultural informed iconic based platforms
2. THEMES FOR TYPE B PILOTS UNDER CIP (Competitiveness and Innovation Program
ICT platform for exchange of local and context specific good practices across policy fields
ICT supported integrated job matching platforms (see text for the illustration of options) ICT support to face-to-face interaction between intermediaries and/or community centres and IEM customers
ICT supported networks of health care structures with exchange of good practices
Test of multi-language mash-up based service provision
ICT supported community centres: o Recruitment and participation of informal experts as mentors and trainers o Teenagers as digital mediators o Links with other PIAPs and internet shops o Various forms of basic and finalised training o Support to use ICT enabled job finding platforms and tools
3. THEMES FOR RESEARCH IN OTHER FP7/FP8 AREAS
Transnational comparative quail-quantitative research to improve existing empirical evidence
Research about trans-cultural attitudes and use of public services (e.g. healthcare)
Comparative qualitative and quantitative research on digital media and discrimination
4. THEMES FOR EC ACTION ACROSS DGs AND FOR MEMBER STATES
ICT support to policy coordination and integration across domains and tiers of government through: o Dialogue and exchange in policy definition o Information sharing and joined-up evidence o Awareness raising, training and capacity building for policy makers and civil servants especially at the local level and across policy areas
Design better policy targets and a measurement framework with respect to ICT contribution to cultural diversity in Europe
New/adapted funding mechanisms to ensure sustainability and flexibility for bottom up initiatives
Increase consultation and engagement of IEM in the design phase of policies and initiatives
Support schools with high share of IEM pupils to invest in ICT for enhanced education in a culturally diverse environment

Source: IPTS Study Foresight Workshop (Milan, 6 October 2008).

Acronyms

BME = Black and Minority Ethnic (UK)

BYCS = Bangladeshi Youth and Cultural Shomiti (UK)

CBP = Common Basic Principles on integration (EU)

CIP = Competitiveness and Innovation framework Program (EU)

DG = Directorate General (EU)

EMGs = Ethnic Minority Groups (UK)

FP7/FP8 = Seventh/Eighth Research Framework Programme (EU)

IEM = Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities

NGO = Non Governmental Organisation

PDA = Personal Digital Assistant

PESCE = Public E-Service Centres in Europe

PIAP = Public Internet Access Point

RESF = Réseau Éducation Sans Frontières (France)

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Annex

Incorporation of immigrants: potential claims and rights

The expression 'incorporation of immigrants' is widely used in the relevant literature (see for instance Castles 1985, 1995; Joppke 1999, 2007a, 2007b; Brubaker 2001; Soysal 1994; and more recently Martiniello and Rath, eds. 2010) as a more neutral choice compared to the politically loaded concepts of 'integration' or 'assimilation'. The word 'integration', for instance, had a clear scientific meaning, but it then came to be used to describe a way in which nation-states deal with cultural diversity opposed to the discredited 'assimilationist' model.[97] Assimilation came to assume a negative connotation especially for its potential transitive use, i.e. to assimilate someone conveys the idea of obliteration and absorption of an entity by another. Incorporation, thus, does not entail any ex-ante connotation as to whether institutional models are 'assimilationist', 'integrationist', or 'multiculturalist'. The meaning and distinguishing features of these approaches are discussed throughout this chapter.

In general incorporation can be seen as entailing two dimensions, one structural concerning the degree of immigrants embeddedness into the social and economic life of the host society and also their formal status (residence rights, citizenship, etc), and the other cultural/normative and symbolic. The *structural* dimension points at the social participation of individuals and groups in a larger society. The *cultural* dimension points at processes of value orientation and identification of immigrants and ethnic minorities.[98]

In Europe starting from the 1990s, as migration issues raised in the priority of governments' policy agendas, a lively debate heated up on the political principles that democratic European countries should adopt in managing ethnic diversity (see among others Baubök 1994a, 1994b; Codagnone 1997, 1998; Entzinger 2000; Hammar 1990; Martiniello 1994; Soysal 1994). Such European debate has been heavily influenced by the rising (at the time) discourse of multiculturalism in the USA, Canada, and Australia, best summarised in the work of the

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[97] As well documented by Brubaker (2001: 531-533), in the early 1960s in the USA the dominant assumption about the natural process of assimilation, the so-called melting pot, was forcefully questioned empirically and became politically discredited. When Glazer and Moynihan (1963) wrote that the melting pot simply did not happen they were the vanguard to a new analytical approach and political perspective on the management of ethnic diversity. Their view was so influential in the USA and Europe that the concept of assimilation acquired a negative connotation and was substituted by that of 'integration' (in the 1980s) and later (in the second half of the 1990s) even by 'multiculturalism'. As put it by Brubaker "When Glazer published *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* in 1997, he was writing as *éminence grise*, not as iconoclastic intellectual" (Brubaker 2001: 531).

[98] This distinction is inspired by one of the classical sociological treatment of the issue as described by Granovetter (1973). Whereas Granovetter referred to the pristine sociological concept of integration (unrelated to the political coloration acquired with respect to ethnic diversity), we apply his approach to the concept of incorporation. Granovetter distinguishes two dimensions. The first is ***Incidence*** comprising: a) *Frequency*. This relates to the number of ties with their surroundings that an individual or a group maintains, as well as to the number of actual contacts with others; and b) *Intensity*. This relates to the nature of these contacts, and therefore to feelings of belonging and familiarity. Frequency does not necessarily correlate with intensity. For example, many people actually see their colleagues at work during more hours per day than their family at home, and yet their ties with their family can be a lot stronger. The second dimension is ***Identification*** referring to the degree to which an individual or a group accepts and shares with others more symbolic elements. The more one identifies with others, the closer ties tend to be. However, a strong identification does not necessarily presuppose frequent or intense contacts and can be maintained symbolically. In other words incidence refers to the degree of individuals' and groups' participation in the major social and economic institutions of a society (e.g. labour market, education, and health care system). Identification, on the contrary, concerns their orientation and identification. In other words incidence is the structural dimension of incorporation and identification the normative and cultural one.

Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka (1995, 2000). In a way such debate tries to establish prescriptive and normative principles for how democratic states should deal with the result of incorporation processes and with potentially contested claims to rights that may emerge from immigrants communities. This contested arena can be characterised using the framework elaborated by Codagnone (2000) in terms of **Entry**, **Equity** and **Exit**. The three terms are used in a metaphorical and extended sense.

Entry. This domain includes legal admittance to a country, legally and constitutionally secure rights as residents and eventually citizens (civil, political, social rights), as well as less formal and more substantial access to the job market, housing, education, healthcare, welfare, and more generally to public services. As the term 'entry' suggests, this domain concerns primarily outsider individuals that have to start their process of structural incorporation or those already formally 'inside' the host society, but who still need to progress in terms of more substantive participation. Accordingly, entry issues are more likely to affect in a pressing way precarious immigrants and undocumented migrants, but can also concern individuals with secure residence rights (i.e. so called 'denizens'), and even individuals of immigrant descent who are already citizens, but might still find themselves in marginal positions. A case in point being second and third generation marginalised youth.

Equity. Issues of equitable incorporation in principle arise when entry rights are more or less secured (in some cases, in fact, entry and equity can overlap). They include a wide range of at times very disputed demands, pertaining both to the structural and to the more symbolic and normative dimensions of incorporation. On the structural side, equity concerns the quest for a fair and substantive incorporation calling for equal opportunities and anti-discrimination in various areas (on the job, in access to housing, in education etc). On the more symbolic side, equity refers to the desire for public recognition of cultural distinctiveness, the quest for equal dignity and for opportunities of cultural diversity and inter-cultural initiatives, political participation and representation.

Exit. The metaphorical use of this term must be stressed even more than with the previous ones, for this domain can include both deliberate and *de facto* (not fully deliberate possibly forced or induced) situations leading to the separation or isolation of immigrant and ethnic minority communities from the host society. Exit can be the result of geo-spatial and relational-cultural segregation processes put into action by some segments of the host society (when equity concerns are weak or lacking) and/or by self-segregation processes. Such processes can at the same time follow the deliberate decision of the members of a community to evolve into a separate sub-culture and sub-society and can also be a reaction to the lack of initiatives and policies supporting equity. Exit can also occur as the unintended consequence of policy measures and rights granted by the host society institutions to ensure equity. For instance, multicultural provisions aimed at recognizing and supporting cultural diversity may lead to the institutionalisation of ethnic belonging and ethnic separation and to the *de facto* separation from the host society.

While an account of the prescriptive discussion mentioned earlier would require a separate treatment, we can oversimplify the picture for our purpose here and refer to two opposing views: the classical liberal approach and the multicultural approach.

The classical liberal approach can be summarised as supporting the gradual concession of **entry** rights through a progression within a hierarchy of legal statutes (legal temporary residents = some rights; permanent legal residents = most rights; naturalised or born citizens = full rights). This gradual process presupposes that rights are granted to individuals and not to groups. Each single immigrant must individually assume responsibility towards the host society by demanding a new legal status (permanent residence, citizenship). As for the **equity**

claims, in the liberal approach there is space for moderate anti-discrimination and equal opportunity provisions, but cultural diversity is accepted as a private individual right and should not be publicly recognised and supported. *A fortiori* institutionalisation of ethnic identity and belonging, with support to ethnically based institutions and programmes, is ruled out.

Multiculturalism has been proposed in various forms (i.e. weak, soft and strong or radical) and cannot be easily characterised in general. Yet, we may say that multiculturalism tends to be more favourable to the recognition and institutional support of cultural distinctiveness in the public domain and in some cases also to the granting of collectively based rights. Moreover, multicultural leaning theorists call for the generalised and automatic application of *jus soli* for the conferral of citizenship at birth (as opposed to *jus sanguinis* or to the application of *jus soli* with the requirement of an explicit naturalization request when individuals of immigrant descent turn 18 years old). They also argue that at each level of the hierarchy of legal statutes more formal rights should be granted, for instance passive and active political rights to permanent legal residents at least at local level. Strong or radical multiculturalism promotes the acknowledgement and institutionalised recognition of cultural difference. The category of soft multiculturalism refers to provisions and policies that somehow take into account the relevance of cultural difference in access to social services and social resources in general, without an explicit acknowledgment or strong institutionalisation of group differences (on this difference exemplified empirically see Caponio 2010).

From national models to a European-wide 'civic integration' approach

The above prescriptive debate sets a frame of reference against which the practice of managing ethnic diversity in Europe has been analysed in the last two decades.

For quite some time the literature on immigrant incorporation has been characterised by the use of so called 'national models' as a key conceptual and interpretative tool (i.e. Brubaker 1992; Bryant 1997; Castles 1995; Codagnone 2000, 1998, 1997; Entzinger 2000; Entzinger andBiezeveld 2003; Hammar 1985; Joppke 1999; Schnapper 1992; Todd 1994). Basically such national incorporation models were identified and distinguished by combining the following three dimensions:

1) **Granting of formal rights**. This refers basically to: a) granting of citizenship at birth (*jus soli* versus *jus sanguinis*); b) access to formal rights, citizenship and naturalisation provisions; c) rights connected to legal residence when individuals are not formal citizens (such as access to welfare and to local level passive and active political rights);
2) **Recognition of cultural diversity as a basis of targeted support policies**. Whether or not migrants and ethnic minorities are recognised as a target of support policies in their own right and the scope of such policies in various areas (socio-economic support, anti-discrimination legislation and action, support to the preservation of cultural identity etc.);
3) **Idea of the 'nation' and immigration discourse**. The nation can be conceived either as a community of ethnic descent (evident usually in the application of *jus sanguinis* for the acquisition of citizenship at birth) or as a political community regardless of ethnic descent (evident usually in the application of *jus soli* for the acquisition of citizenship at birth). In the former there is less space for recognition of cultural diversity in the discourse about immigration. On the other hand, the view of the nation as a political community provides space for recognition of cultural diversity in immigration discourse, but also for its obliteration (e.g. French republicanism and assimilationist model).

Based on different combinations of these dimensions, three key national incorporation models can be identified (see main text for a description): the model named by Castles (1995) as **differential exclusion** (sometimes referred to also as the separation or exclusionist model); the **assimilationist** model, which in Europe has always been associated with France and its discourse of universal republicanism; the **multicultural-leaning integration** model, a European variant which does not meet the characteristics of full-blown multiculturalism as practiced especially in Canada and Australia.

As discussed in the text, such national models are seen to be gradually replaced by converging changes in integration policies at national and EU level towards some common principles that no longer respond to the original features of the above national models.

Such policy changes were anticipated in a far-sighted article by Brubaker titled "The Return of Assimilation" (2001), where he pointed out commonalities in this direction among countries traditionally associated to very different national models such as France (assimilationist), Germany (exclusionary), and the United States (increasingly multicultural). Subsequently the national models were widely discussed in critical reappraisals considering such changes in the policy context (see for instance, Carrera 2006; Entzinger 2003; Joppke 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Martiniello and Rath, eds. 2010; Penninx 2005). Joppke, for instance, started by discussing the 'retreat of multiculturalism' (2004) and later interpreted the changes of the current decade as a move from various national models towards a common, Europe-wide 'civic integration' approach (2007a and 2007b). 'Civic integration' recalls the name of the Dutch law which first crystallized this approach (see later). More radical critics have described this reversal as a "backlash against diversity" (Grillo 2005) and some, as noted by Penninx et al (2005), have termed policy developments such as those pioneered in the Netherlands and Denmark, which stress mandatory language and introductory courses for newcomers, as "Neo-Assimilationist".

Indeed, the move away from multicultural leanings and towards what some call 'Neo-assimilationism' is seen especially in the widening adoption by several European countries of compulsory host society language and introductory courses on core host society values and institutions for immigrants. Such new developments have been fully analysed elsewhere (Carrera 2006; ICMPD 2005; Michalowski 2004a) and we very briefly recall them here for some countries.

The Netherlands pioneered such approach in 1998 with the Newcomer Integration Law (better known with the Dutch acronym WIN), which obliged most non-EU newcomers to participate in a 12-month integration course, which consists of 600 hours of Dutch language instruction, civic education, and preparation for the labour market. In this early version, the service aspect (government paying to help newcomers) was still preponderant over the coercive one. Yet, tragic events and their political implications (the killing of Pim Fortuyn and the ensuing rightist turn in the political climate) have led this approach to take a more coercive nature with the emphasis on instilling dominant Dutch values and norms taking the upper hand on the respect for diversity. In 2006, a new Civic Integration Law made the measures of the 1998 WIN more restrictive.[99] In Germany the new Immigration Act of 2005 provides a compulsory integration programme consisting of language training aimed at giving participants a good command of German, together with an orientation course in which immigrants learn about the German legal system, history and culture. Moreover, in May 2006, after intense debates on so-called 'honour killings' in the Turkish immigrant milieu and shocking separatism and ethnic violence in a Berlin public school, the German interior ministers agreed on making the attendance of civic integration courses and the passing of standard language tests a

[99] On the Dutch case see Entzinger (2003) and Joopke (2007b)-

prerequisite for naturalisation (Joppke 2007: 14). In the Flanders (Belgium) the 2003 Civic Integration Decree sets two different routes for the integration of newcomers to take place. The first one is a 'training/educational programme' composed of a Dutch language course, along with social orientation and career guidance, which should ease the way towards the educational system and employment. The second route consists of linking the immigrant with the different institutions and actors of common law (or one-on-one study-path guidance). In Austria, the new Settlement and Residence Act foresees now two mandatory integration modules: one on literacy and the second on language training and social, economic and cultural aspects. In Denmark, the content and scope of the integration programme are outlined by an integration contract concluded between the immigrant and the municipality where s/he resides. The contract approach also characterises France where the new law on immigration and integration of 24 July 2006 introduced the contract of reception and integration (*Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration*, CAI), whose signature became compulsory since January 2007.

Developments in this direction in the four countries investigated by the IPTS Study have been summarised in a previous publication (Codagnone et al, eds. 2009) and here we just focus briefly on the UK case, since it is not mentioned in the sources used above. While a main theme of Labour in 1997 and subsequent years was 'celebrating diversity', various factors catalysed by the terrorist attacks of 7/7/2005 have led to the crisis of the UK model. These tragic events came as a shock to the British multicultural-leaning model of incorporation and have sparked a debate over British citizenship and integration policies, whereby a polarisation emerged between those holding Britain's multicultural tendencies responsible for the London bombs of July 2005 and those arguing instead that such models need to be extended to a 'politics of equal respect' that includes Britain's Muslims in a new, shared sense of national belonging (see for instance MacCabe et al 2006; Moodod 2005a and 2005b[100]). In concrete terms, a test became compulsory from 2 April 2007 for all applicants for indefinite residence. Such applicants will have to show evidence that they have passed either a *Life in the UK* test that includes materials on citizenship rights and duties, core British values and institutions or an English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) exam. While such developments cannot be deemed as a move toward an assimilationist 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 in the UK.

So we have today a majority of EU15 countries applying obligatory integration courses, which must be successfully completed before the immigrant has the (permanent) right to residency and has full access to social and welfare benefits (i.e. secure juridical status in the receiving society). Wherever a national integration framework exists, we can see the convergent trend of conceiving integration as an obligation by the immigrant in order to be included and to have access to the different societal dimensions of the receiving state. Newcomers must enrol in civic and language courses immediately after entry (in the Netherlands since 2006 even before entry) or else they are either given a penalty or denied permanent legal residence (and in some cases access to welfare provisions). The real novelty is the obligatory nature of civic integration and its ever wider enforcement in the past several years. In a sense, what is termed integration policy seems to be turning into an instrument of migration control.

So, the return to assimilation envisaged by Brubaker (2001) has occurred in the most dramatic way in a traditionally multicultural-leaning country such as the Netherlands (Michalowski

[100] In this book, published in published in the spring of 2005 and so before 7/7/2005, Moodod actually anticipated the themes that emerged more clearly after such event.

2004b), which is by now difficult to distinguish from the traditionally assimilationist France (Joppke 2007b). In this context it no longer makes much sense to talk about national models.

The 'civic integration' approach and the Common Basic Principles on Integration

As discussed in the text, the demise of the national models is paralleled by the rise of a convergent European approach to integration that Member States have managed to crystallise within EU level policies. A critical reading of the Common Basic Principles (CBPs) on Integration (Council of Europe 2004) supports this statement.

The CBPs in compacted (where possible) and slightly re-phrased explanatory form are the following:

1. Integration is a "*dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation*" by all immigrants and residents of the member states.
2. Integration implies respect for "*the basic values of the EU*". This principle involves the obligation that "*every resident in the EU*" needs to adapt and adhere closely to the basic values of the Union and the laws of the member states. Also the member states have to ensure that all residents "*understand, respect, benefit from, and are protected on an equal basis by the full scope of values, rights, responsibilities, and privileges established by the EU and Member State laws*".
3. Employment is a key part of the integration process and participation of immigrants.
4. Two components are crucial:
    a. basic knowledge of the host society's language, history and institutions is indispensable for integration;
    b. enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential for successful integration.
5. Efforts in education are crucial for preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society;
6. Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is critical;
7. Frequent interaction between immigrants and EU citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared fora, intercultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrants' culture, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and member state citizens.
8. The practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless such practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or national law (emphasis added)
9. The participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration.
10. Integration is to be mainstreamed in all relevant portfolios and levels of government and public services.
11. Clear goals, indicators and evaluation mechanisms are to be developed to adjust policy, evaluate progress on integration and make the exchange of information more effective.

We leave aside those principles having a 'meta' character (CBP10 and CPB11) and we come back later to those principles concerning the structural dimension of immigrant incorporation (CBP3 employment; CBP5 education; CBP6 access to institutions and public services; CBP7 interaction; CBP9 participation).

We start instead by cross-analysing the general CBP1 and those principles pertaining more to the normative and symbolic dimensions of incorporation, namely CBP2, CBP4 (particularly part 4a), and CBP8. CBP2 (respect of the basic values of the EU) and CBP4a (basic knowledge of the host society's language, history and institutions is indispensable for integration) are clearly "*difficult to reconcile with the two-way process principle established in CBP1*" (Carrera 2008: p. 17). Moreover, the second part of CBP8, by tying the safeguard of the practice of diverse cultures and religions to a poorly defined 'non-conflictual relation' with European rights and national laws, appears as a clear concession to the rising security and cultural clash concerns about easy to identify groups of immigrants. According to Joppke, the CBPs contain a reduced emphasis on cultural diversity recognition in the EU and point to an important reorientation of European states' immigrant integration policies. Previous programmatic statements by European states were much louder in affirming the integrity of migrant cultures and ways of life, and some states – most notably Sweden and the Netherlands – went even further in protecting and supporting them (Joppke 2007b: 4). Moreover, Joppke argues (*Ibid.*), the emphasis of CBP3 on employment as key to integration shifts the burden of adaptation mostly on individual migrants (especially newcomers), a consequence of which is CBP4a which epitomises the EU legitimisation of the civic integration policy pioneered by the Netherlands in the late 1990s, and which as shown earlier is now adopted by a majority of EU15 Member States.

So, even at the EU level, despite the reference to the "two-way process of mutual accommodation" given in CBP1, integration is *de facto* envisaged as a one-way process of adaptation where duties and responsibilities fall mainly on the immigrants' side, especially with respect to its normative and symbolic dimensions. The need to learn the host society's language does indeed have a practical and instrumental importance and is a crucial asset to successful incorporation. The other components, however, are less practical. Immigrants have to integrate into a mainstream set of values that most likely are not even entirely clear to, or shared by, the totality of the host society residents. The emphasis on core values is based on the unproven assumption that receiving societies are themselves highly integrated. Knowing the basics about a country's institutions most often does not help even nationals to move within the intricate maze of the public administration and welfare provisions and will be of little use to newcomers. Much more important, as it has been rightly put in a recent EC communication, is to provide immigrants in the most transparent way with all the information on legal provisions and their rights, so as to facilitate their acquisition of statutes securing as much as possible their rights (European Commission 2008a: 5).

On the other hand, the CBPs which address the structural dimensions of incorporation (employment, education, access to public services etc) look less controversial and coherently base their rationale on the current socio-economic position of immigrants and ethnic minorities in European countries. Very rich evidence about this position is contained in the Impact Assessment report (European Union 2008b) accompanying the mentioned communication (European Commission 2008a). In particular, two key elements of that analysis are worth recalling here. First, in many EU countries the unemployment rate among immigrants (17%) is almost twice the level found for EU nationals (9%); and young people with a migrant background are disproportionately affected by unemployment. (25% compared to 12% for young EU nationals).[101] Second, the average educational attainment of immigrants is generally substantially lower than that of nationals: in EU-15 in 2005, around 28% of men of working age with an EU nationality had a basic level of education, while the figure for

[101] These were the figures before the financial crisis of 2008 and the ensuing economic downturn and increased unemployment. People with migration background are known to have been hit worse than the average by these negative developments throughout Europe.

non-nationals was 42%; at the same time, 28% of men with EU nationality had tertiary education, and only 19% of non-nationals. Figures for women show lower rates, but a similar pattern.

In conclusion, beyond the clearer and more pragmatic elements related to the structural dimensions, at the normative and symbolic level the new integration policy context has seen a shift away from different national incorporation models (some of which leaning toward multiculturalism) towards a European-wide 'Civic Integration' which currently seems dominated, albeit with contradictions, by an assimiliationist outlook and discourse.

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Abstract

This is the final report on a study carried out by IPTS 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*'. The study explores ICT supply and demand aspects for and by immigrants and ethnic minorities in Europe and the related policy implications in their integration context.

This report selectively analyses the main findings from 5 previous publications from the study: an overview of digital support initiatives for/by IEM in the EU27 (Kluzer, Haché, and Codagnone 2008); a more detailed analysis of ICT supply and demand in IEM communities in France, Germany, Spain and the UK (Codagnone *et al*, eds. 2009) and three reports on case studies in France, Germany and Spain. It puts these findings into theoretical perspective, indicates the policy implications and makes recommendations.

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