Gender Digital Divide in Migratory Contexts: The Case of Peruvian Migrant Women in Italy and Spain

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Abstract

Aim. This ethnographic study explores the impact of the digital divide within the collective of Peruvian migrant women employed in a highly precarious sector, such as domestic services.

Methods. This has become evident in this multisite and virtual ethnography, with the following objectives: to analyse the variables that affect digital exclusion, in addition to identifying and deepening the different digital competencies and uses of Information and communication technologies (ICT) in the migratory projects of Peruvian migrant women. In order to achieve these objectives, we undertook field-work during the COVID-19 pandemic in two contexts, Italy and Spain, using semi-structured interviews and virtual observation, during which we employed online social networks as research tools.

Results. Although digital inequality was a reality prior to COVID-19, it has been worsened by the pandemic, at which time we began our fieldwork. Inequalities between men and women in the different areas of society are reproduced within the context of new technologies. This is termed the gender digital divide and is considered a form of social exclusion, which intensifies and feeds back into itself. Gender inequality in terms of the use of ICT and digital skills intensifies in communities that are even more vulnerable, such as migrant women, whose plenary incorporation into information society is limited.

Conclusion. The use of ICT can aid in social inclusion of migrants in digitally advanced societies. However, Peruvian migrant women face new forms of social

exclusion due to limited digital access, economic difficulties, and individual digital skills, leading to a gender and generational digital gap.

Keywords: migrations, inequality, gender, digital divide, Information and communication technologies , digital competencies, Peruvian migrant women, domestic services

Introduction

The feminisation of migration flows is represented in certain branches of this activity in the labour market, giving rise to a clear sexual division of labour. This concentration occurs in the so-called domestic services which refer to paid activities aimed at satisfying the needs of individuals and families in daily life (Torns et al., 1996). The demand for female workers in this labour sector responds to a growing social need due to the aging of the population in all countries in the European Union and the increasing incorporation of autonomous women into the labour market. For this reason, the demand for domestic services arises from the difficulty of reconciling both work and family life, in addition to the need to respond to the daily demands of reproductive work (Parella Rubio, 2000).

According to Lorenzo Cachón Rodríguez (1995), the migratory policies adopted by European governments in terms of immigration shape the context of reception, conditioning the opportunities for insertion of this population into the labour market. Additionally, the sexual division of labour relegates migrant women to typically 'female' activities, more prone to both invisibility and exploitation, thus placing them at the bottom of the labour structure (Boyd, 1984; Morokvasic, 1984).

The COVID-19 pandemic has accentuated the difficulties encountered within the domestic and care work sector. Migrant women witness economic and social uncertainty and how their labour rights are violated. They are precarious and exposed to an authoritarian and patriarchal system, especially in the case of those who occupy roles as internal domestic workers.

It is common for migrant women in domestic services, especially those who belong to the "baby boomer" generation (born in a social context not yet digitalised), find themselves excluded from digital literacy, without access to learning environments that differ from the traditional ones. This is due to a number of factors: labour reconfiguration and vulnerability, among others. However, the same need to communicate with family and friends in their country of origin makes them dependent on the support of their own family nucleus (partners, children, etc.), acquiring primary digital competencies in Information Communication Technologies (ICT). They are able to maintain proximity to the country of origin and transnational family life (Winocur, 2010), despite not benefiting from all the advantages offered by the Information Society.

On the other hand, young migrants (digital natives) in domestic services (Millennials and Centennials), have a greater capacity for learning, adapt-

ing to the constant technological transformations. John Moravec (2013) states that they are nomadic generations of knowledge, who have a greater capacity to expand their work challenges. In fact, domestic services are configured for them as a transitory phase of working life, making it easier for them to train academically through virtuality, acquiring new operational and cultural knowledge, and thus, new ways of working.

Research within the context of migration, gender and ICT is an area that has been scarcely studied. Despite this, the situation of digital inequality experienced by migrant women has been evidenced (Farshbaf Shaker, 2017; Méndez García, 2011). In this regard, the work we present here is a contribution to the exploration of the incidence of digital exclusion in a segmented labour sector with patterns of injustice and inequality, such as domestic services within contexts of migration among Peruvian women.

Feminisation of Migratory Flows: From Peru to Southern Europe

Between the 1980s and 1990s, Peru experienced various social issues, including violence by terrorist groups, a permanent political crisis and an increase in extreme poverty. To alleviate the income deficit at times of economic crisis, Peruvian women were forced to migrate to Southern European countries – particularly Italy and Spain. The first waves of Peruvian migrant women encountered bureaucratic difficulties upon in terms of validating their degrees in the destination country. This excluded them from exercising their professions and placed them as a precarious labour force, with a strong presence in "domestic services" (Parella i Rubio, 2003).

The existence of a labour market structured on the basis of gender and ethnicity (Sassen, 1998) fosters the existence of occupational segregation among immigrant women, placing them in the lowest positions of the occupational structure, as a result of the confluence of a triple process of discrimination (class, gender and ethnicity), in addition to a social division within the female collective itself (particularly between autochthonous and immigrant women). This is a group of women who are destined for quasi-servile occupations with low social status, lower pay and poorer working conditions, thus constituting a "sub-segment" of the female labour market.

Additionally, as Ángeles Escrivá Chordá (2003) states, women in irregular employment situations are more exposed to both abuse and discrimination by employers. Chorda maintains that violence against them is exercised through the worsening of working conditions and wages, in addition to the authoritarianism of those who hire them.

Gender Digital Divide in Migratory Contexts
The digitalisation and use of ICT in the female diaspora are key to maintaining proximity with their country of origin, granting a sense of "omni-

presence" in social and family life, both "here" and "there" (Vermot, 2015). Information and Communication Technologies help to cope with distance, generating new dynamics to transnational families by way of virtual interaction and establishment of "realtime" conversations that favour feelings of connection and attachment with the country of origin (King-O'Riain, 2014). In this "double connection", in migratory contexts, temporal and spatial codes are transformed and thus give way to new narratives, and to the transformation of the concept of family.

However, as demonstrated by various studies, the gender digital divide affects migrant women even more acutely (Farshbaf Shaker, 2017; Méndez García, 2011). Digital inequality thus deprives women of that virtual copresence, feeling increasingly uprooted and preventing the circulation of various resources; cultural, emotional, economic and social (Baldassar, 2016). Additionally, the gender digital divide specifically causes multiple disadvantages in the exercise of the maternal role, especially in terms of parenting from a distance (Leinaweaver, 2010).

The unequal digital distribution with a particular impact on migrant women, is considered a form of social exclusion, which in turn exacerbates and feeds back on it. In this sense, studies such as those by Jordi Busquet Duran and Ana Cinthya Uribe Sandoval (2011) and José Luis Travieso and Jordi Planella (2008), indicate that the digital divide is a social divide, as it is evidence of inequality as a result of economic factors and labour precariousness, which is especially pressing in the population of migrant women, specifically within the group that concerns us; those who work in "domestic services".

First and Second-level and Age Digital Inequality

In addition to inequality in material access to technologies, the so-called first digital divide, a second digital divide has been identified that further accentuates these differences in digitised societies. This time not from the perspective of the lack of infrastructure, knowledge or resources of part of the population, but of skills and use of technologies by the population that has access to them. Thus, Cecilia Castaño Collado (2008) highlights that as the gender gap in internet access narrows, the second digital divide becomes increasingly important. The latter reflects the differences between women and men in terms of internet use and skills, and represents a barrier to the full incorporation of women into the information society.

Thus, although the concept of the gender digital divide arose in relation to the differences in access to ICT that can be observed between men and women, it has now been shown that access is not the sole cause of the gap between the two sexes, but that the capacities for use, appropriation and the possibilities for participation in their design and development are factors that condition the position of women in the gender digital divide.

Sylvia Korupp and Marc Szydlik (2005) also point out that there is an "age digital divide" in which there is inequality in digital skills, access and the use of ICTs according to age. Broadly speaking, a distinction is made between "digital natives" and "digital immigrants", i.e., between those who have grown up in the digital age and those who have become familiar with digital systems as adults. "Digital immigrants" are conditioned by the digital divide, exclusion from digital literacy spaces, ergonomic impediments and low technological self-efficacy. On the other hand, "digital natives" (Millenials and Centennials), acquire vast computer knowledge and greater access to the online network, thus differentiating themselves from other generations as a result of their rapid e-inclusion, as they were born under the prism of "the digital" (Prensky, 2001). Alternatively, according to the division of the population into generations (or age cohorts) by their coexistence with technologies, "digital natives" are considered to be those belonging to the Millennials-Generation "Y" (between 27 and 41 in 2021) and Centennials-Generation "Z" (between 11 and 26 in 2021) and "digital immigrants" to the Baby Boomer generation (between 57 and 75 in 2021) and Generation X (between 42 and 56 in 2021). We will refer to these generations later in the results section.

At this point it is necessary to highlight that the unequal distribution of access, use, competencies and appropriation of ICT among social groups involves multiple variables that mark the digital divide, such as gender, age and immigrant status. In this paper we have explored its impact on Peruvian women working in "domestic services".

Methodology

The theoretical object of this paper is the incidence of the digital divide in the exclusion processes of migrant women residing in the host country, in this case Italy and Spain. As specific research objectives, we propose:

- The analysis of the impact of exclusion on access to material and online on the collective of Peruvian women working in "domestic services";
- The identification and study of the possible inequalities that arise from the different digital competences according to age generation;
- The analysis of the uses of ICT in migration processes, as a tool for transnational participation and social inclusion in the host country.

In order to undertake this study, it is necessary to employ a flexible methodology, such as ethnography, in which the study techniques used are adapted to the heterogeneous nature of the work situations and the data (Velasco Maíllo & Díaz de Rada, 2006). These techniques are "at the service of interpretation", resulting from the contact between the subjects in relation to the object of study (Ortí, 1986). Ethnography, as a qualitative methodology, makes it possible to describe and analyse ideas, beliefs, meaning

and knowledge (Salgado Lévano, 2007), thus enabling a more profound understanding of the digital divide as an element of social exclusion in the collective of migrant women.

Our fieldwork is undertaken in virtual environments, so we draw on virtual ethnography, which shares both the interdisciplinary and multi-technical character of classic ethnography and innovates observation in its digital facet (Hine, 2000; Vigna, 2018). An exhaustive virtual exploration of the online social networks of Peruvian migrant women engaged in "domestic services". This virtual observation was undertaken in different sessions over a period between May 2020 (when we were still confined by the pandemic in study contexts, in Spain and Italy) and August 2021, facilitating the identification of the different uses and functions of the social networks, Instagram and Facebook.

Additionally, this study undertakes a multisite ethnology, contextualised in multiple interrelated everyday spaces, without limiting or focusing the analysis in a certain geographical area or in a specific context (Marcus, 1998). This type of ethnography provided us with a greater understanding of how the digital divide limits women who work in "domestic services" in both Italy and Spain, especially during the pandemic.

The tool employed in this ethnography was that of the semi-structured interview (Pujadas i Muñoz et al., 2010). The interviews were conducted between May 2020 and August 2021, and facilitated the participant observation phase in which information that was difficult to access was obtained (Ardèvol et al., 2003).

In terms of the sample, we had thirty-five participants, all of which are Peruvian women resident in Italy and Spain. At present, the Peruvian population is part of the most represented Latin American community in Italy. According to statistical data by Istituto Nazionale di Statistiche (2021), there are 96,546 Peruvians living in Italy, of which 55. 386 are Peruvian women. In Spain, the Peruvian population is the fifth largest Latin American community. The data provided by Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas de España (2021) show that 106,712 Peruvians live in Spain, of which 59,424 are Peruvian women.

The sample selection followed a purposive, non-probabilistic sampling process. In order to identify key and difficult to access actors, we used the snowball technique (Domínguez-Mujica et al., 2016). The external domestic worker participants identified and provided us with the contact of participants with inaccessible work profiles, as is the case of internal domestic workers. In general, live-in domestic workers have significant limitations with regards to their free time, as a result of the fact that they live in the employer's home, granting them only one day off from their work. This ultimately restricts their contact with their diasporic community.

Table 1

Profile of informants: Peruvian migrant women working in "domestic services"

Informants	Host city	Genera-tion	Job in home country	Previous and current job (in host country)	Residency (years)
Informant 1	Genoa - Italy	X	Unemployed	Cleaning services (regular)	15
Informant 2	Madrid - Spain	Y (millennial)	Journalist	Domestic worker (internal - regular) and online journalist.	4
Informant 3	Genoa - Italy	X	University student	Former domestic worker (external) - Logistics in a parcel delivery company (regular)	17
Informant 4	Genoa - Italy	X	*	Domestic worker (external - regular)	25
Informant 5	Genoa - Italy	X	*	Domestic worker (external - regular)	28
Informant 6	Genoa - Italy	X	*	Domestic worker (external - regular)	28
Informant 7	Genoa - Italy	X	Hairdresser	Former domestic worker (external) - Hairdresser (regular)	34
Informant 8	Genoa - Italy	X	Housewife	Domestic worker (external - regular)	20
Informant 9	Genoa -Italy	X	Teacher	Domestic worker (external-regular) - University student	20
Informant 10	Madrid - Spain	Baby boomer	Housewife	Carer for an elderly person (Internal - regular)	19
Informant 11	Genoa - Italy	Baby boomer	Salesperson (hardware shop)	Domestic worker (Seasonal - irregular)	13
Informant 12	Madrid - Spain	Baby boomer	Secretary	Cleaning services (regular)	14
Informant 13	Madrid and Genoa	Baby boomer	*	Cleaning services (regular)	20 (Genoa) 3 (Madrid)
Informant 14	Livorno - Italy	Baby boomer	Nursing assistant	Former domestic worker (external-regular) – Unemployed	27
Informant 15	Fano – Italy	Baby boomer	Accountant	Former domestic worker (part time) - Nursing assistant (regular)	23
Informant 16	Genoa – Italy	Baby boomer	Teacher	Domestic worker (external - regular)	29

Informants	Host city	Genera-tion	Job in home country	Previous and current job (in host country)	Residency (years)
Informant 17	Milan – Italy	Baby boomer	Secretary	Domestic worker (internal - irregular)	One year and a half
Informant 18	Genoa – Italy	Baby boomer	Textile shop worker	Domestic worker (external - regular)	28
Informant 19	Genoa – Italy	Baby boomer	Seller	Carer for an elderly person (Internal - regular)	28
Informant 20	Genoa – Italy	Baby boomer	Food packer	Domestic worker (external - regular)	28
Informant 21	Genoa – Italy	Baby boomer	Seamstress	Former domestic worker (external) - Seamstress (regular)	34
Informant 22	Genoa – Italy	Baby boomer	Secretary Accountant	Former domestic worker (external-regular) – Retired	26
Informant 23	Genoa – Italy	Baby boomer	Nursing assistant	Domestic worker (external - regular)	18
Informant 24	Genoa - Italy	Baby boomer	Admin-istrative secretary	Domestic worker (external - regular)	34
Informant 25	Genoa - Italy	Baby boomer	Sales assis-tant	Domestic worker (internal - regular)	19
Informant 26	Genoa - Italy	Baby boomer	Food pack-ing	Domestic worker (internal - regular)	15
Informant 27	Genoa - Italy	Z (Cen-tennial)	*	Former domestic worker (part time) – Makeup artist (regular)	3
Informant 28	Cáceres - Spain	Z (Cen-tennial)	*	Former domestic worker (part time) – English teacher (regular)	9
Informant 29	Cáceres - Spain	Z (Cen-tennial)	*	Former domestic worker (part time-irregular) - University student	9
Informant 30	Genoa - Italy	Z (Cen-tennial)	*	Childminder (part time - irregular) - University student	13
Informant 31	Cáceres - Spain	Y (mil-lennial)	Admin-istrative secretary	University student - Housewife - Domestic worker (Seasonal-irregular)	8
Informant 32	Cáceres - Spain	Y (mil-lennial)	University administra-tor	University student – Cleaning services (Seasonal-irregular)	2

Informants	Host city	Genera-tion	Job in home country	Previous and current job (in host country)	Residency (years)
Informant 33	Gijón - Spain	Y (mil-lennial)	Marketing profes-sional	University student – Cleaning services (Seasonal-irregular)	2
Informant 34	Madrid - Spain	Y (mil-lennial)	Journalist	Carer for an elderly person (Internal - regular)	4
Informant 35	Genoa - Italy	Y (mil-lennial)	Secretary	Former domestic worker (external) - Nursing assistant (regular)	14

Note. *Women who were not at working age during residency in their home country.
Source. Own research.

As demonstrated in Table 1, we have included participants belonging to different generations that live with technology (baby boomers, generation X, millennials or generation Y, centennials or generation Z). Of the contributions made by this study regarding the research tradition in the field of ICT and migration, we wish to highlight the attention paid to these age generations.

RESULTS

Access to Technology: First Level Gap in a Pandemic Migration Context
Digital access is introduced as an element of social inclusion. In today's society, a society of both information and knowledge, a lack of materials in order to access and use technology is indicative of digital inequality and lack of opportunity for participation and social inclusion. This has become more acute during times of COVID-19, in which mobility, physical interaction and an increasing telematisation of services have been reduced. The most socially vulnerable collectives have suffered as a result of this digital and therefore social inequality, the migrant population being one of these (Murgaš et al., 2022).

Precarious Employment as a Constraint on Digital Access
In order to overcome this digital divide, it is not enough to solve the constraints of mere access to material; it requires overcoming technological, cultural, psychological and social barriers. Socioeconomic and labour conditioning factors are the main barriers that reinforce and feed back into the digital divide.

Women who work in the domestic services sector are a particularly vulnerable and unprotected group, which is further accentuated in the case of migrant women, and, in an extreme way, those who are in an irregular

situation.

Low salaries, financial difficulties accentuated by the pandemic and high digital costs place migrant women in the proximity service in a context of digital exclusion. The minimal resources are used to cover their basic needs in the destination society and to support family members in the country by sending remittances.

Beyond the financial conditions derived from precarious employment, their irregular status makes it difficult to access something as basic as being able to purchase a SIM card. This is what informant 17, who has been living in Milan (Italy) for a year and a half says:

> I brought my mobile phone from my country, but a friend purchased the Italian SIM card as I was unable to do so due to being illegal. They asked me for several personal documents that I don't have yet.

54.2% of our informants have access to only their mobile phone as a tool for digital access to information and communication. It therefore becomes the only transnational connection and communication device to maintain links with family and friends "back home", to receive news from their home country and to communicate with their local support network. This leads them to be especially careful with their technological device, as any faults could potentially lead to them being unable to cover the expenses and lose all communication with their network, both "here" and "there", as expressed by informant 12, who has been settled in Madrid (Spain) for 14 years:

> Recently, my mobile phone stopped working. It made me feel angry to see it out of use, as I broke the screen by stepping on it. I almost always call my 3 children (they live in Spain and one is pregnant) and I speak to my mother who lives in the United States daily, my family in Peru and my old classmates. The financial difficulty I have now is because I don't have as much work as before due to COVID-19 (cleaner). My mobile phone is important because I can't afford to spend money on repairing it. I take good care of it, but that day I stepped on it and it broke completely. I had someone look at it and the quote they gave me for repair was excessive. I thought it best to buy another mobile phone.

In addition to access to ICT as an indicator of inequality, the quality of access to ICT is no less important. In this sense, we have demonstrated that the precariousness and labour uncertainty of women working in "domestic services" limits them in terms of the type of access to technology, forcing them to use mobile data connects to surf the internet, without the possibility of contracting a fixed connection. In this sense, Gloria Domínguez Alegría (2018) indicates that the excessive use of mobile data as the main resource for Internet access is emerging as an access gap, given that it restricts the use of other digital devices and limits the ability to interact online.

Patriarchy in Domestic Services as a Constraint on Access

Another variable that affects people's relationship with ICT is gender. Inequalities between men and women in different areas of society are reproduced in the context of new technologies. Numerous studies show the percentage differences between both sexes in terms of the use of ICT (Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas de España, 2018).

In the labour context of women working in "domestic services", the hegemony of a patriarchal system prevails in which the position of submission and servitude of women in their role as caregivers in the home is assumed. On the other hand, these women are configured as a socially undervalued labour force, classified as less productive and, consequently, less remunerated and precarious.

This is further accentuated among internal workers. For these women, access to and use of technology is difficult, in some cases as a result of prohibition by the employers themselves, further accentuating the first and second level digital divide. This reality prevents, delays and/or hinders the figure of the co-present migrant or connected to the "here" and "there". There is no doubt that confinement during the pandemic has further increased the obstacles in terms of access and use of technology, motivated by isolation and difficulties in terms of seeking alternative contexts of access. Here, the experience of informant 34, a journalist in her home country, resident in Madrid (Spain) for the last 4 years, serves as an example:

> I worked at the home of an elderly man. His children hired me. One is a lawyer and the other is a councillor for a political party. They always paid me 600 euros, and when the pandemic began, they told me not to leave their father and not to leave the house. They always denied me internet access in the house. When they visited their father, they'd turn on the Wi-Fi and work from home.

On the other hand, there are other additional types of access difficulties that increase the silent barriers to the maintenance of transnational family ties, such as those derived from technology itself. This is what the same informant says:

> I only used my mobile data to contact my mother and often, the connection was bad. It's exasperating because I need to know if my family is OK or if they tested positive. Sometimes I escaped and went to the call shop.

In migratory contexts, call shops continue to be technological spaces for communication, that create relationships facilitated by technology, with places and/or other migratory destinations. In addition to being hubs of technologies that facilitate transnational communication, they are spaces of "national identities" that act as binding elements of those who share a migratory experience, enabling them to become aware of the strategies they use to manage their presence in destination societies (Peñaranda Cólera, 2005, 2008). In this case, the access to the "technology hub" serves not only

as a resource to compensate the first-level digital divide, but also in the processes of social inclusion of migrants in the host country.

Digital Generations in Migratory Contexts

With the evolution of technology come new meanings regarding the use of ICT, such as virtual social networks, web 2.0 and the internet in general, that configure the way of thinking, living and interrelating between individuals, making them feel closer in different areas of their life. These ways of "being" in new virtual times and spaces have been made clear by the participants of this study; Peruvian women working in "domestic services".

Digital Skills Among Migrant Women Working in "Domestic Services"

Studying our sample as a whole, some generations can be distinguished in terms of preferences and use of ICT, as explored below:

- *"Baby Boomer" Generation*

    These are women that form part of the first wave of migrants that arrived in Italy and Spain at the beginning of the 90s and are currently close to retirement in their host country. Initially, they used the following resources for transnational communication: letters, audio cassettes (to record their voice and they sent them to their families and/or friends in their home country by post, or with a friend or relative who was able to travel to that country), international call cards or call shops. They have since adapted to the technological changes and have learned to use ICT independently, with the aim of not losing contact with their friends or relatives that use virtual social networks in their home country. In this sense, informant 12, who belongs to the "Baby Boomer" generation and has been resident in Madrid (Spain) for the last 14 years, discusses their experience with technology once in the host country:

> When I divorced, I realised that technology had advanced and once, my ex-brother-in-law told me that it would be cheaper to use the call shops to talk to my 3 children who lived in Peru, and they told me to create an email account so that they could send me photos. I'm talking about 2008/2010 […]. I encountered problems at first, but they help you in the call shops and then you get the hang of it yourself. That way it was cheaper for me to talk to my children than having to buy international call cards. […] Today, it's much easier and also free. I use WhatsApp, not just to call my mother who lives in the United States or to communicate with my college friends.

In agreement with Marc Prensky (2001), this generation is the fruit of a process of digital migration and outreach towards a highly technical environment. Therefore, adaptation to the digital era is complex, given that – metaphorically speaking– they speak a language on the verge of extinction; of the pre-digital era. A characteristic of this group of migrant women is finding oneself conditioned to ask for help from the family in order to

employ the use of ICT, reluctant to acquire digital competencies but, at the same time, often feeling excluded from digital spaces.

- *Generation "X"*

They are migrant women who arrived with their families between the 90s and the start of the new millennium. This is a generation that was able to migrate by way of family reunification. Their means of communication have been (re)adapted to the technological changes, given that they were born in an analogue world (pre-digital). They are major drivers of technology, as they were born during the "boom", when electrical devices gave way to electronic devices. In general, they stay connected with their home country through the use of two online social networks (Facebook and WhatsApp). Both social networks are used to communicate and reinforce those family ties in their society of origin and with other migrant relatives. The following statement serves as an example; informant 5, Generation "X", resident in Genoa (Italy), external domestic worker.

> I came to Italy when I was young and I've seen how everything has changed. I never thought that I'd be able to call or videocall my family via social media. I use Facebook, Facebook Messenger and more recently Instagram frequently […] I posted a photo not long ago from when we were in the Vatican. We went to visit it with my niece who lives in the United States, and my mother who had come to visit. We had been planning this trip for a while. My family in the United States and Peru commented on the photo. They were all so happy they could see us at last.

On the other hand, their digital competences enable them to use online social networks often, enabling them to access their virtual communities and continue to reconstruct their ethnic-cultural identities, virtually, by way of discussions or posts with cultural content. Similarly, their digital competencies facilitate greater virtual interaction with their diasporic community, making them feel like part of their community in their host society. Lastly, other, more long-lived informants, do not have the option to form part of this community due to the working conditions that limit their free and leisure time. This can be observed in the testimony of informant 1, generation "X", resident in Genoa (Italy) for 15 years:

> I had never heard of these communities until my sister told me that she was in a group called "Peruvians in Liguria-Italy". Because of how difficult my job is and its long working hours, as well as my extra side job, I don't have time to look at their posts.

- *"Millennials (Generation Y) and Centennials (Generation Z)"*

They are classified as being digital natives as they were born under the prism of the digital, which makes them permanent users of technologies, with the necessary skills and attraction to everything related to new ICT (Tkácová et al., 2023). They also satisfy their entertainment, fun and train-

ing needs through digital-virtual media. They also use multiple online virtual platforms (Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, TikTok) in order to reconstruct their identity in their virtual communities of origin and are constantly informed about events in their country of origin. These young women use virtuality to relate to and maintain transnational links to their family and friends back home. Additionally, they participate in virtual communities of the Peruvian diaspora, enabling them to continue be present "there". In this regard, there are cases, such as those of those of informants 28, 29 and 31, who participate and disseminate Peruvian culture by way of cultural associations of Peruvian migrants, such as APREX -Association of Peruvian Residents in Extremadura-, using the networks and YouTube as a tool for this purpose. We therefore recorded the story of informant 31, resident in Cáceres (Spain) for 8 years: "We shared our events of folkloric dance, gastronomy, sports tournaments and Independence Day celebrations in the Facebook groups for Peruvians in Spain, as well as on YouTube."

The differences that have been identified between these generations were in the (re)construction of their identity (especially cultural) by way of social networks. In this sense, the "millennials" consume more cultural content than the "centennials", as they have greater knowledge and links with their home country. Regarding the latter, millennials arrived in the destination country as young adults, while centennials did so in their childhood and adolescence. Therefore, the millennials' links with "there" are somewhat more recent and demonstrate a greater need to maintain their identity by virtuality.

Migratory Project in the Digital Generations
The digital natives constitute a collective characterised by its technophilia. They are women who naturally develop in a techno-digitalised world and whose digital skills enable them to develop useful strategies in their migratory journeys and in their processes of inclusion in the host society. The impact of the use of ICT on digitalised young people accentuates these distances with the generations that were part of this transition from an analogue (or pre-digital) society, to a society connected globally via the internet network. For this reason, in the following section we will focus on the use of ICT in migration projects and processes of inclusion-exclusion of Peruvian migrant women who are digital natives in the two contexts of our study, Spain and Italy.

Use of ICT in Planning and Migratory Journeys
The group of digital natives in our sample form part of that groups of migrants who arrived in the host country through family reunifications. Some of them migrated at a very young age and did not use ICT during their migratory journeys, in any case their parents. However, other informants were older at the time they began the migration process, which enabled them to access and use different digital tools, predominantly mobile phones

and computers. For example, these are the cases of informants 31 and 35 who belong to the "millennial" generations, who migrated at the age of 27 to Spain and 26 to Italy, respectively. Both obtained information virtually, in which their members provided guidelines regarding the procedures for family reunification, obtaining a tourist visa, the process of validation of diplomas, as well as recommendations on possible employment in the destination country. Informant 35, resident in Genoa (Italy) for 14 years, who arrived in the destination country prior to 2016 when the short-stay visa between Peru and the European Union was still required, states:

> It was difficult to process the visa. I researched every time I had time on my work computer or in internet cafes. I read in a forum that I had to get up early in order to get an interview at the Italian embassy. […]. I didn't believe the comments, and then I realised that I had to get up early to get a visa due to the queues. In the forums, people commented that foreigners get jobs as caregivers, maids or cleaners, even if you're trained in another profession. This was true. Being in Italy made me realise that your Peruvian degree is worthless.

Thus, multimedia content enables them to learn of the experiences of other migrants, which enables them to anticipate each of the moments of the migration process, with everything related to the documentation process being one of the main reasons for resorting to digital media. The experience of informant 32 (millennial generation) who migrated to Spain at the age of 36 after 2016, the year of the reciprocal abolition of the short stay visa between Peru and the European Union, serves as an example:

> […] When I was looking for information on the internet, I was surprised that many Peruvians are returned when they arrive at Madrid airport. There were stories of people being deported because they lacked some documents. Fortunately, I had no problems when I arrived at the airport. But I can tell you that I did prepare for the interview I had to have with immigration when I arrived in Barajas. There's information on Google and YouTube about how to behave before the immigration authorities when you arrive at the airport. I had my savings account statements and credit card with me, but they checked where I was going to be staying and my international health insurance policy.

Social networks have also served as a means of communication during the migratory journey to report what is going on, receive support and affection, involving the network in an important family moment (Ortiz Cobo & Bianco, 2018). This is what we can verify in the account of informant 27 ("centennial" generation), resident in Genoa (Italy) as of 3 years ago:

> […] When I arrived in Italy, I thanked all my friends and family who cared about me via a Facebook post, as I received lots of messages from them on my journey to Italy […]. I knew I would stop in Madrid and then go onto Milan. That's the most common and cheapest route according to the Facebook groups for Peruvians abroad. When I was in Peru, I googled where I would study, where I would live and what my neighbourhood would be like in Genoa. I also inquired about how to validate my secondary education.

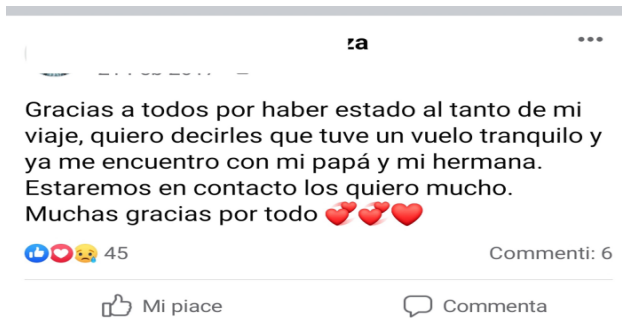In this regard, we have included the image from informant 27's Facebook page:

Figure 1
Thanks to friends and family.

Note. Extracted from Facebook.
Source. Own research.

On the other hand, ICT are a means of inclusion in migratory contexts (Ortiz Cobo & Bianco, 2018) fundamental for digital natives given that they add new ICT to all areas of their daily lives. Family ties maintained through ICT (Wilding, 2006) are essential to successfully initiate inclusion in the destination society, enabling the emotional balance necessary for the individual development of the subject. On the other hand, the interaction with the native in virtual spaces, is a mechanism of socialisation and approach to a new culture and greater knowledge of their environment. This is what informant 27 (centennial generation), who has been living in Genoa (Italy) for 3 years, says:

> I follow in my network's Italian media of information, culture and entertainment, in the beginning they helped me to understand Italian, so they advised me at the beginning in the Italian school. Now they are part of my daily life. My sister is very surprised.

Finally, ICT allow them in the inclusion process to interact virtually with public institutions (e-government), as well as to innovate in the search for job offers on web portals and to rework work strategies and translate them into digital spaces.

Use of ICT in Training Processes and Employment Pathways
Our study has shown that the generation of young Peruvian women, digital natives, of the "proximity services", continue with their university education or professional training with the technological support of cell phones and/or computers. On the one hand, both the economic resources from their employment in the sector and family support, as well as their digi-

tal skills provide them with greater material access and greater benefits in their educational training and professional projects. An example of this is the testimony of informant 28, "centennial" generation, resident in Cáceres (Spain) for 9 years:

> I am a philologist and I am currently studying for a Master's degree. The computer is indispensable not only for my university studies, but also for my work since I am an English teacher in a language school and with COVID-19, I adapted my room as a study room and used my computer for virtual classes.

We found a profile of young entrepreneurial migrants, who develop strategies with technological support, key in managing the success of their projects, aimed at personal and professional growth and innovation. Thus, in order to access new employment alternatives, there are women who opt for a strategy of definitive disengagement from "proximity services" to start a new entrepreneurial project in the country of destination. This involves managing economic and technological resources. This is the case of informant 27 of the "centennial" generation and resident in Genoa (Italy) for 3 years. This former domestic employee in an external regime and currently a professional make-up artist, had to invest in technological equipment and use her digital skills to start her new professional project, as she says in narrating her experience:

> I was not going to be employed in Italy all my life. That same year of my arrival, I validated my high school studies. Afterwards, I trained professionally as a make-up artist. We give make-up classes in our shop and in the pandemic the classes take place via Zoom. I promote my business on social networks in both Italian and Spanish, so we do not focus on being an ethnic business.

A second strategy involves a labour dualism in which digital media has also served as a tool for job placement. In these cases, employment in "proximity services" is maintained while at the same time another with better conditions is maintained and hopefully consolidated. A particularly striking example is the case of informant 2, from the millennial generation and resident in Madrid for 4 years. She is a journalist by profession, which she practiced in her country of origin and currently continues in the "proximity services" partially until she can consolidate her entrepreneurial alternative as a professional journalist, taking advantage of the opportunity offered by the pandemic as a source of information. Thus, she reconfigured herself professionally in the pandemic as a digital journalist of the Peruvian and Latin American diaspora, as she expresses it in her speech:

> Everything began when I left that house where they exploited me. Before the first confinement was over, I went out into the street and saw the streets of Madrid without people and I was afraid because there was a lot of police control. At the Plaza Castilla interchange, I finally saw some people and I saw a lady cleaning some drink machines, I took my mobile phone and made an interview with her. It was a new beginning for me, since that video interview

gave me ideas to become a social media journalist. Now I have two contracts as a correspondent in Madrid, in a virtual newscast in Peru and another is a digital channel in Japan for Latinos because I lived in Japan in the '90s. Now I broadcast and do interviews, but I am also domestic because I need to support myself and buy more technology.

The following images are a testimony of her journalistic work as a Peruvian migrant in two digital media. Figure 2 shows the photograph of the moment in which our informant acts as a correspondent of the digital channel Jpp TV in Japan for the Peruvian domestic. In this image she appears interviewing a girl born in Japan whose parents are Peruvian, in which she deals with a multicultural experience:
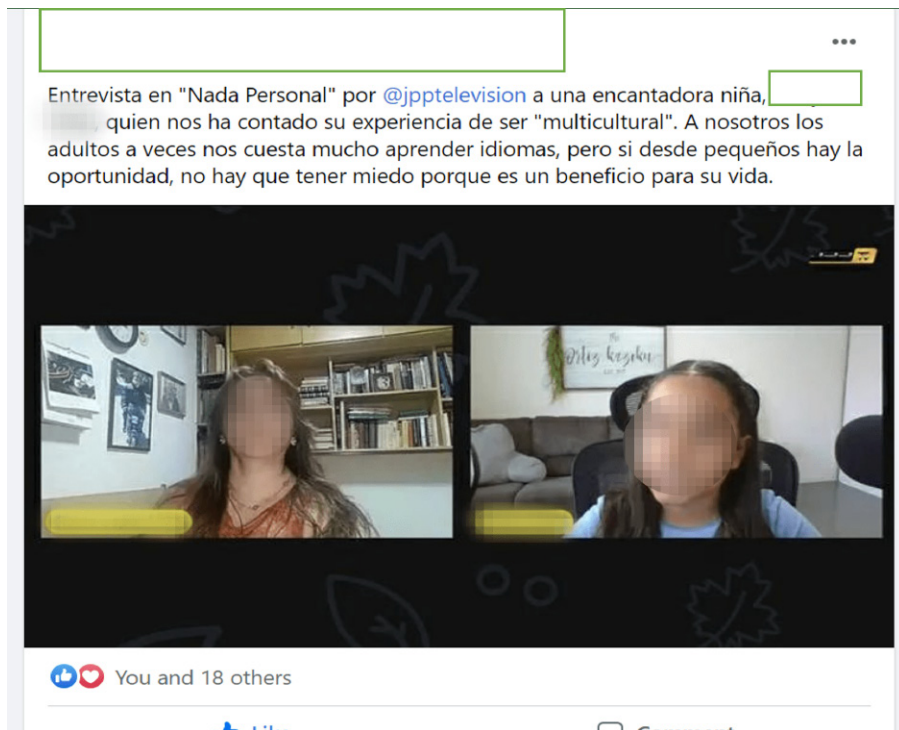

Figure 2
Interview for the digital channel "Jpp Television" in Japan.

Note. Extracted from Facebook.
Source. Own research.

Next, in Figure 3, a live intervention of informant 2 as correspondent in Madrid of the digital channel PuentepiedraTV in Peru is presented. In this image she appears reporting on the alarming situation of COVID-19 in Spain.
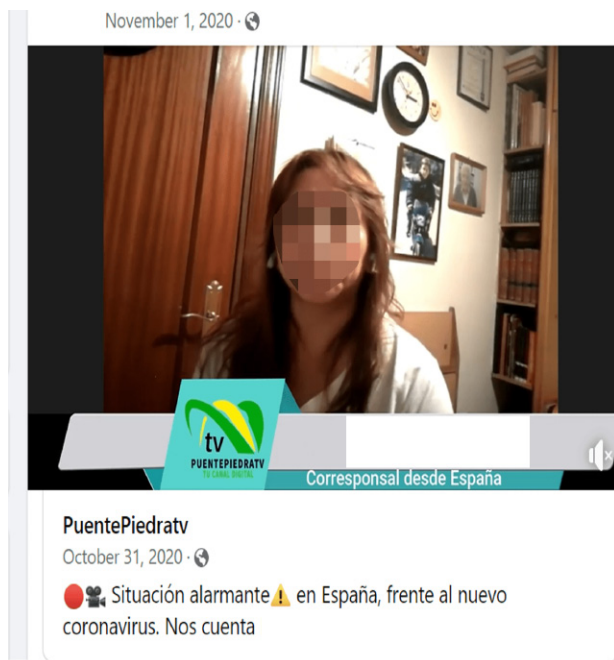
Figure 3
Live intervention for the digital channel PuentepiedraTV in Peru.

Note. Extracted from Facebook.

Source. Own research.

Conclusions

In migratory contexts, access, digital skills and the use of technological tools are an instrument in the processes of social inclusion of migrants in more digitally advanced societies. However, it has become evident that new forms of social exclusion, in this case digital, are becoming more acute among Peruvian migrant women. Both feedback on each other and are determined by labour and economic conditions and individual digital skills. Low wages and economic difficulties limit their digital access, with mobile devices being the main means of access to digital content and transnational communication. This hegemony of mobile data is in itself a digital divide of the first level, as it limits the ability to interact on the network (Domínguez Alegría, 2018). On the other hand, the poor quality of digital access and the difficulty of having a fixed internet network dilutes the possibility of a "connected migrant" (Diminescu, 2008), especially in the case of female interns.

In terms of age generations, particularities have been identified in the skills and uses of ICT. Women belonging to the generation of Baby Boomers

were part of the first wave of migrants in the late 1980s. We can differentiate between the first stage of the migration process and the present day. Initially, in their transnational practices, they used communication devices that did not enable multimedia interaction or real time (excluding the telephone). At that time, the high cost of communication with "back home" considerably limited family ties. Nowadays, it is easier for them to communicate with their home country through the new ICT, using their basic digital skills. However, as this is a pre-digital generation, they have difficulties in expanding their digital skills. Their limited ICT skills make them dependent on family support to perform tasks with digital devices. On the other hand, the women of the "X" generation, despite living the "analogue connection", have adapted to technological advances. In transnational communication, at first the call shops were very present spaces to shorten the geographical distances with the country of origin. With the popularisation of mobile phones and virtual social networking applications, they did not have those limitations in the use of ICT that the "baby boomer" generation had. Generation X women form part of the transition era between pre-digital (analogue) and digital, which explains a better degree of digital competence than the previous generation. Additionally, their constant use of online social networks and participation in their online virtual communities (e.g., Peruvian diaspora Facebook groups), enables them to continue building their ethnic-cultural identities from virtuality through discourse or publication of cultural content. On the other hand, digital natives (millennials and centennials), those who develop naturally in digital contexts, use ICT not only to establish transnational communication but also to access online cultural content from their country of origin, participating in diasporic groups of their community, in addition to consuming multimedia content of all kinds from the country of destination. In this generation, information and communication technologies, despite the difficulties of access, are present as a tool for their academic training and entrepreneurship and, therefore, to seek new employment horizons and dissociate themselves from precarious work in "domestic services". We identified minimal differences between the two generations. In this sense, we can highlight that when ICT are used as a means by which to maintain and reinforce their cultural identity, the "millennials" consume more content from their culture of origin than the "centennials", given that the former arrived in the country of destination as young adults and the "centennials" as children and/or adolescents, the latter being more distanced from their origins due to the time that has elapsed.

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