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# THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL SUPPORT GIVEN TO AFRICAN MIGRANT WOMEN WHEN INTEGRATING IN AUSTRIA

### **ABSTRACT**

Mary Abena Okai: THE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONAL SUPPORT GIVEN TO AFRICAN MIGRANT WOMEN WHEN INTEGRATING IN AUSTRIA Master's thesis
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The thesis aims to describe the support available for the African migrant woman integrating in Austria. It investigates what integration challenges this social group faces in Austria. Secondly, the study identifies the interventions Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have for African migrant women and how this supports the integration of these women in Austria. In seeking answers to these questions, six expert interviews were conducted with two migrant NGOs in Austria as cases studies for this thesis.

Influenced by the intersectional theoretical discourse, the thesis identifies that the combined identities of the members in this group influence their integration experiences in Austria. The findings reveal that being marginalised and having a weak social support system challenges the social group. These are barriers that make African migrant women vulnerable as they face a problematic integration in Austria.

With Austrian integration purported as assimilative in its orientation, I studied what NGOs offer for alleviating the recognised challenges of the migrants. We also explore the reasons justifying support from the NGOs. I identify that NGOs focus on providing basic services, developing capacities and thirdly, giving voice to migrants. Also, the justification for the support given against the spectrum of migrant integration dimensions reveals that support offered concentrates on the structural and cultural integration of the social group. Emotional integration interventions of support are less in focus for NGOs, although this dimension of integration is a need for the social group considering its dominant marginalisation challenges. Based on the findings of the study, particular emphasis should be payed to African migrant women when structuring integration modalities in Austrian society.

Keywords: African migrant women, Integration, Non-Governmental Organisations, Intersectionality, Austria

The originality of this thesis has been checked using the Turnitin Originality Check service.

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#### **ABBREVIATIONS**

BCI 1: Black Community Interviewee One

BCI 2: Black Community Interviewee Two

BCI 3: Black Community Interviewee Three

EU: European Union

HIPPY: Home In Structural Programme for Parents of Pre-school Youngsters

KAMA: Kurse von Asylsuchenden, MigrantInnen und Asylberechtigten

MIPEX: Migration Integration Policy Index

MI 1: Migrare Interviewee One

MI 2: Migrare Interviewee Two

MI 3: Migrare Interviewee Three

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisations

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PROSA: Projekt Schule für Alle

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Depending on circumstances and decisions one is faced with, there are chances of migrating from one place to another. Migration could be for study purposes, employment circumstance and family reunification purposes. Migrants are unique in their orientation as they have different background compared to people in the host country (OECD, 2018) and it is the process of integration that aids in making the involvement of migrants easier in their host society. However, gender considerations in integration policymaking have low recognition in the European Union integration policy instruments and its programmes. Even though over time, the trend of female migration keeps increasing in Europe (Kofman, 2004), policies rarely consider the needs of women as a central focus. Non-Governmental Organisational activities often serve as a replacement for the gap in policy targeted at women in the integration process as they offer diverse support, especially in advocacies for migrant women (European Web Site on Integration, 2018). Austria, as a European Union member state in recent years, has become more diverse in its population structure, and this attribution is because of the growth of international migration (Austria, 2019). The state has made some room for the integration of migrant women as a social group through its national integration fund. This fund gives financial support to organisations that have projects helping to support migrants (Österreichischer Integrations fonds ÖIF, 2019). In the face of this institutional support perspective, the study concentrates on the role played by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the migrant integration process. It focuses on the justification and the reasons for the services and programmes these organisations initiate for the social integration of African female migrants in Austria. Further to this background, the study explores conditions that are a challenge for the regular African migrant women in their integration to Austrian society.

Several integration policies targeting migrants are not gendered (European Web Site on Integration, 2018) and neither have there been considerations of the migrant's national origin. A newspaper article published on October 31, 2019, for example, points out that integration interventions have relegated the needs of women as a social group to the background. Although the involvement of women in the labour market increases their social participation and their independence, more female migrants suffer the vulnerability of unemployment compared to migrant men (Thießl, 2019). Further, in an interview, migration researcher Judith Kohlenberger contributes that because the access to most social assistance in the country is dependent on the German language acquisition, this will lead migrant women into poverty (Kohlenberger, 2019). Most migrant women find it difficult to enter the labour market and even those who do, work mostly in jobs that are below their educational capabilities. The reason being that they often face

difficulties in having their foreign academic credentials transferred. The article adds that women in Austria, in general, face challenges when finding care places for their pre-schoolers (Thießl, 2019). Migrant women who have settled in Austria face similar challenges making work-life balance more difficult for them. The reason is that they do not have family members here who could be alternatives for rendering the care support needed. Kohlenberger (2019) recommends that forcing female migrants to accustom to Austrian values should be avoided to make their integration in the country easier.

In addition to the relegation of female migrants, Africans as a minority migrant population face other disadvantages as a result of their nationality of origin and black race (Mongaya Høgsholm, 2007). These have been overlooked in research but compound the vulnerability of this social group. Migrant procedures that foster integration such as taking on the host country's language courses, accessing the labour market, networking and the like are all hindered. (Dumont and Isoppo, 2005; Tandian and Bergh, 2014; OECD iLibrary | Home, 2020.) As will be explained in this thesis, the African migrant women have the challenge of often taking on childcare and family obligations due to patriarchal practices (Stichter and Parpart, 2019). These often impede the integration processes for the social group. In recent years, the real challenges faced by migrant women are coming into light (Agatiello and Humer, 2018). That notwithstanding, little is known on the struggles that confront African female migrants. Welfare entitlements for the third-country migrant are limited in several European Union member states. Particularly the non-availability of enough public care places causes constraints on social integration of women migrants from this region. It has come to light that NGOs are working through advocacy for better conditionalities for the integration of migrant women who originate from third countries into various member states of the European Union. They also have services of support targeted at facilitating the integration of migrant women (European Web Site on Integration, 2018). In this regard, this thesis investigates challenges in the process of integrating. Also, how the measures and services put in place by migrant NGOs are achieving the objective of helping regular African migrant women in their process of integrating into Austrian society. The study uses the Black Community and Migrare NGOs as case studies for the investigation.

#### The **research questions** for the study were:

- (1) What are the integration challenges faced by regular African migrant women in Austria?
- (2) What support is available for the African migrant woman, and how does this support the integration of the women in Austria?

It is of no doubt that the integration of all migrants in every country requires attention. That notwithstanding, Austria's integration policies are quite restrictive and not flexible, causing structural difficulties for third-country migrants (Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), 2015). The thesis explores the support provided by migrant NGOs for migrant women's easy and successful integration in Austria. The findings of this research could aid in effecting more realistic programmes and policies for female inclusion in society, considering their country of origin. Further, it reveals the disadvantaged positions and vulnerabilities one is faced with in Austria with an identity as an African migrant woman. Research and publications on migrant integration in the European Union overlook the disadvantages encountered by this social group. The vulnerabilities of African female migrants are brought to light through this study, making it vital. Also, with an undoubted need for focus on the integration of migrant women in Austria and the European Union at large, the findings of this thesis update information on the current challenges of regular African migrant women.

#### 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTUALISATION

When investigating the integration of African migrant women, **intersectionality** is the sphere in which this thesis assesses the topic. Hill and Bilge (2016) reveal that Kimberly Crenshaw introduced the term when theories of feminism were not giving real interpretations of discriminatory life experiences African Americans faced. An insight into the intersectional approach provides us with the understanding that life experiences are not subject to just one facet of an event. These experiences are somewhat influenced by other combined factors of living (Hill and Bilge, 2016; Guittar and Guittar, 2015). Individual identities bring differentiation into the experiences one has to endure and face in the life situation of inequality. The different categories of status a person has when linked together without focusing on just one of the identities when assessing vulnerability makes the intersectional practice of the research clearer. An intersectional viewpoint helps to comprehend what the individuals face without centring on only one category of their vulnerability. (Corus and Saatcioglu, 2015; Hill and Bilge, 2016; McCall, 2005.)

As described above, intersectionality is more than concentrating on one aspect of what identifies an individual and the social position one is in (Sauer 2018, Collins 2015). An intersectional perspective challenges the notion that all female migrants suffer the same problems in integrating. When a group has at least one identity category another group has in the social classification of female migrants, this does not predict that they suffer the same challenges in integration. In this study, I apply intersectionality because of compounded dimensions of citizenship, nationality and gender in integration. In the thesis, this theoretical framework becomes essential as I engage in the discussion of integration for women from Africa to Austria. I explore how these categorical identities (citizenship status as a migrant, gendered as a woman and African origination) come together in understanding the effects on their integration process.

Even though migrant women as a general group suffer disadvantages, the country these women originate from brings some difference to their experiences. As will be explained in this thesis, women from "less developed Asian and African countries" face further disadvantages. For this reason, neither all migrants nor all women get equally influenced by various integration policy interventions and programmes enacted. Intersectionality as a theoretical framework helps to bring attention to this unequal pattern of integration experience of women (Korpi, Ferrarini and Englund, 2013; Raijman and Semyonov 1997, pp. 108,109). Further, it helps to erase the falsehood that all women migrants suffer the same consequences as a result of migration regardless of other conditions (Guittar and Guittar 2015; Windsong, 2018). Consequently, the use of the theory leads

us to draw attention to how gender, the nationality of origin and citizenship status intersect into disadvantages for the African female migrant, thus causing a problematic process of integration in their host society.

With no knowledge of what is happening in reality, immigration policies and migrant support would overlook the needs of minority migrant social groups. Policymakers and integration programme development experts must consider the intersectional nature of one's identities. The reason being that identities influence one's interactions and access in the host society integration process and outcome. Regardless of the use of this theoretical approach, it is essential to emphasise that to know and explain all complex characteristics causing societal inequalities cannot be accomplished in the use of only this framework (Carbado et al. 2013). Nevertheless, to investigate the integration achievement of African migrant women in Austria, the study uses intersectionality theory.

Another part of the thesis focuses on what the challenges in the integration of the African migrant woman mean for NGO support to this social group. The interest here lies with how NGOs justify the support given in the migrant integration process. When the topic of migration and migrants come up, it suggests the situation of how well they fit and get accepted into their host society. The process of feeling and being part of a new society one finds him or herself in requires a process of integration. Also, the members of the host country need this integrational process as they have had people from different orientation and background coming into their space. (Esser, 2006.) Integration is meant to ensure members of society, regardless of their identity and background, are given an equal opportunity (Modood, 2015).

In seeking an understanding of the phenomenon of migrant integration, I came across a vast number of theories explaining what integration is. It is, therefore, not surprising that Wets (2006) mentions that there is no standard theory for integration. It has diverse interpretations (Ager and Strang, 2008) as and when used in the various country-oriented scientific literature. Despite controversy in theorising integration, the "position" of the immigrant and "interrelation" in the host society describe immigrant integration (Schunck, 2014). In this regard, integration, as used in this study, encompasses the "inclusion" and "acceptance" of immigrants in a host society (Pennix and Garces-Mascarenas, 2016; Remennick, 2003). The broad concept of integration is in various dimensions. However, for the thesis, I adapted to the work of Schunck (2014, 2011) in theorizing immigrant integration for regular African women migrants as a social group. Citing Esser (2006), he conceptualizes four dimensions of integration, such as "cultural, structural, social, and emotional integration" (2011, p. 264). These dimensions of integration are as below:

The cultural dimension refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, such as language, knowledge of norms, etc. Structural integration relates to immigrants' positioning and the participation of migrants in core spheres of the receiving society – such as the labour market. Social integration refers to the interaction and contact with the autochthonous population, i.e. friendships, intermarriage, etc., whereas emotional integration refers to aspects of identity and belonging. (Schunck 2011, p. 264)

The theory of migrant integration sheds light on how institutions of migrant support play a role in addressing some of the problems faced in integrating. NGOs are highly active when it comes to interventions for migrants and carrying out a large number of services for immigrants (Campomori and Caponio, 2016). The engagement of NGOs in the support given to migrants is evident in Austria as well. But the question is how these services meet the migrant needs and the challenges they face in the Austrian societal integration process?

Migrants who are female gendered suffer a 'double disadvantage' due to their status as women and migrants (Liebig and Tronstad 2018, p. 8; Agatiello and Humer, 2018; Rubin et al., 2008; Raijman and Semyonov, 1997). For this reason, the study focuses on female migrants as the target social group. Regular female migrants migrate to Austria mainly for family-related purposes, with fewer numbers recorded for employment reasons (Bohaczek and Pimperl, 2010). The migration of women often bases on spousal grounds. In this case, they migrate after their partners have settled in the host country; thus, they are relegated to the background when programmes and policies of integration get planned and enacted. (Agatiello and Humer, 2018.) Liebig and Tronstad (2018) stipulate that relegation and alienation are evident in support for the women identified as "regular" migrants.

The legal residence status of women arriving for family reunification in Austria dominates the migration reason for women attached to the residence of their partners. In the early years of their stay (one to three years) in Austria, they have limited social rights, like access to the labour market, compared to what a regular migrant is entitled to. (Migration.gv.at, 2019.) These limitations often affect the integration outcome of these women. It has come to the fore that women have a challenge with picking up the host country language fast. The purported reasons are because the training and integration programmes hardly suit their schedules and routines. (European Integration, 2018.) Mainstream language course attendance must be paid for by regular migrants in Austria. Because of this, the women who fall in this category of residence status (family reunification reason) are sometimes not able to meet the financial obligations of attending and acquiring German language skills. Exemptions on the payment for mainstream German language courses are limited to migrant groups such as refugees (Wien.gv.at, 2019).

Nonetheless, there are some specialised German language courses targeted at women and mothers only, but this cannot match up with the mainstream language courses (ibid). Depending on the individual or group background and identity, the integration process and success is determined differently (Modood, 2015). The different groups of migrants have different needs that could determine either a smooth or delicate integration. As a result, knowing the needs of particular groups can help NGOs structure better services for their distinctive clients. But unfortunately, focus on the needs of migrant groups have not been the case with most third sector organisations which are migrant focused. (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann, 2017.) It is thus necessary that the study gives attention to studying women as a gender category in the broader regular immigrant integration discourse.

The paragraphs below give a conceptual explanation of the terms used in the thesis. Also, they explain the meanings underlying the use of the concepts. The study of migrants and their integration in a host society makes it relevant to get in the scope of work migrant centred NGOs do. The motivation to look in the NGO sphere of work for female migrants is because of purported subsidiarity role of support at the lower levels by the welfare state (Martinelli, Anttonen and Mätzke, 2017). In Austria, this has necessitated a fall back on these institutional migrant NGOs in supporting some significant aspects in fulfilling integration in the society for regular immigrants. NGOs as primarily non-state actors and in the domain as third sector organisations have had a chance in voicing out their views as a contribution in policy and taking some actions when it concerns the migration discourse. (Campomori and Caponio, 2016; Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann, 2017.) Civil societies including NGOs that are migration focused in their pursuits advocate for the protection of human rights and fair treatment of migrants as they educate migrants, advocate for policy initiatives and changes where need be and give material support as well to those who need it (Barbulescu and Gugel, 2016). In this study, I adopt the definition of NGOs used by Gray, Bebbington and Collison as "autonomous, non-profit-making, self-governing and campaigning organisations with a focus on the well-being of others" (2006, p. 324).

It is challenging to have a specific definition of who a migrant is since the migration literature comes up with different meanings on who is classified a migrant because there are many forms (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann, 2017). Nonetheless, to understand the group of migrants a researcher refers to, I ought to conceptualise who a migrant is in a study for the good of the scientific community (ibid). I thus emphasise that the categorisation of migrants in this study excludes refugees and asylum seekers. Instead, the focus is on migrants who migrated without force in deciding to move to their new society. In the conceptualization of **regular migrants**, the

term describes migrants who have a proper residence permit and have not overstayed their residency period. A migrant minority group in Austria are third-country nationals (Statistics Austria, 2019). They are persons who are not citizens of any European Union state, the European Economic Area countries and not Swiss (Austrian Government, 2019). The regular migrants who have African country origination consequently fall in this category classified.

#### 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

African migration to Europe has not been an extensive focus for migrant integration scholars with the phenomena being new in recent years for European states (Fleischer, 2011). There seem to be few studies conducted on this migrant group in the European region. As a result, a review of literature for this study was quite limited, as few works are in research related to African women migrants in Austria. The discussion below is, therefore broadened to capture related research in the topic area. The literature review looks at the situation in other countries and other marginalised migrant groups as well.

Kofman, Roosblad and Keuzenkamp (2009) raise the argument that migrant women should not all be seen as equal in their experiences as migrants. This argument is consequent of the reason that factors of the nationality of origin, legal status, employment and the other characteristics bring disparities in their living in host societies in many EU member states. They add that, although being female-gendered has been proven to come with several societal vulnerabilities, compared to migrant women, native women face fewer consequences. (Kofman, Roosblad and Keuzenkamp, 2009.) Tandian and Bergh (2014) highlight that migrants who hail from third world countries face discrimination because of their racial background compounded with one's gender of being female. Also, women migrants of ethnic minorities have more extensive differences in comparison with natives and likewise other migrants when it comes to paying gap (Kofman, Roosblad and Keuzenkamp, 2009). It is purported that even in an era where the employment rate is increasing for women in the labour market, for the migrant and ethnic minority women, this trend does not affect them. There is still a standing record low labour market participation for this group (Kofman, Roosblad and Keuzenkamp, 2009.) Consequently, the pay gap has been attributed to discrimination female African migrants face (Dumont and Isoppo, 2005).

Most third-country nationals are employed mostly in jobs that deskills them and are low paying in terms of the remuneration. The migrant workers of these nationalities are primarily in work situations that require a lot of manpower, not appealing in sight and risky for the health over a long time. Also, they are mostly in seasonal, industrial and service-oriented jobs. (Tandian and Bergh, 2014.) The argument raised is that a high number of these jobs do not give the women access to benefits and has no job security because they are mainly temporary and unregulated (Kofman, Roosblad and Keuzenkamp, 2009). Countries such as Spain, Finland, Greece, Germany and Ireland are said to have significant issues of deskilling of migrant women (Tandian and Bergh, 2014). Putting forth a situational example in the Spanish labour market, Tandian and Bergh (2014) mention that Senegalese and Moroccan women are concentrated in agricultural and service jobs in

Spain. They explain that it is in these areas that the women predominately get accepted. Thus, the exceptional representation and take-up of these jobs in the labour market by the women. Further, they emphasise that the service jobs are mainly limited to the care and cleaning sectors. (ibid.) Making advancement in career, migrants of the black race compared to whites spend a much longer time to reach high ranks in management positions. Also, from the part of sex differentiation, the pace is faster for men to get to more senior management levels than for women. (Kofman, Roosblad and Keuzenkamp 2009.)

Focusing on an example using Filipino migrant women, they have been migrant workers in Europe for quite a long time with a representation of about 80% of them being women. For this social group, coming from a developing country subjects them to less paying and low-level jobs irrespective of their qualifications. Domestic work seems to be the accepted job which gives easy access for migrant women who come from the Philippines, Africa and the like to Europe. In a conducted research in the Netherlands, it came forth that Filipina migrants face loneliness and feel isolated in their new society in their early stages of being there. With no networks created, the migrants miss the family support system experienced in the Philippines, making their Dutch societal integration challenging. To have a situation of fewer childcare options and the available ones being too expensive to afford, migrant women who have young children resort to staying home to take up care responsibilities. (Mongaya Høgsholm, 2007.)

Adding, Mongaya Høgsholm (2007) has mentioned that Dutch language acquisition and being able to find a suitable job has been the main challenge in integrating into society for these Filipina women. Describing the Dutch migration system in place as one that is too restrictive, it is stipulated that this as a way of deterring migrants who want to come in. After the expansion of the European Union in 2007 to bring in more countries, mainly eastern European countries, there have been more migrants from there to the United Kingdom. They are white in complexion, making them not very distinct outwardly compare with UK natives. The presence of these white migrants is claimed to be a cause of the struggle non-EU black migrants, Asians and South-East Asians have had to access the labour market. These groups face discrimination because of their origin and colour. (ibid.)

The conditions that confront African migrants are diverse, ranging from labour market restrictions, residence and reunification tight regulations (Fleischer, 2011). The German labour market, as an example, has a high number of Cameroonian migrants subjected to inequalities. The inequalities and differences stem from restrictions placed on what these migrants are entitled to as a result of their African origin even when registered as regular migrants. The nationality of the migrant thus becomes vital in determining one's access to job offers. Migrants in Germany who are non-EU only get job take-ups when citizens, and EU nationals, are not willing to take that job. Mostly these

neglected areas are in care and cleaning jobs. It is these legal restrictions that limit migrant women in finding employment in most EU countries. (ibid.)

Migrant women often have higher records of unemployment than migrant men (Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2011). That notwithstanding, regardless of being male or female, when one is a first comer to the receiving country, these groups were found to be higher in engaging in employment activity than those who later join. The gendered nature of family migration gets confirmed through this research because the status of family migration is higher for women than for men. Also, after spousal migration, it is the women who have more significant limitations in getting into the labour market in their countries of destination. (ibid.) Spousal reunification is one of the leading women channels of migrating to European countries with more of this recorded for Spain. The chances for an African migrant woman to get into the labour market in Spain are low compared to those from other regions such as Latin America and Eastern Europe. To add, men who have their spouses back home in Africa contemplate having their spouses join them in Spain. The contemplation results from an uncertain opportunity for labour market entry for their spouses. The men presume that life might be better having their spouses back home in Africa than to have a constraining experience in Spain due to family financial reasons. (Gonzalez-Ferrer 2011, pp. 193-218.)

In Denmark, Germany, Czech Republic and the UK, migrant women who have suitable qualifications for jobs and are skilled, still have records of high unemployment in the EU. High unemployment is evident when compared to the EU migrant women and migrant men in the EU. Also, non-EU women with young children who have no extended family members like grandparents, aunties and the like around, face restriction to access the labour market (even part-time jobs) due to demands of childcare they have to meet. Additionally, women generally struggle with caring responsibilities and being discriminated against because of their gender. Ethnic minority migrant women, in particular, irrespective of being well-integrated tend to suffer more marginalisation in their host society. As evident in the case of Germany, the migrant women have a challenge of lacking information on what they are entitled to in terms of welfare support, proper direction for labour market access and validating their professional/academic documents they have from their countries of origin. (Clayton, 2005.)

Investigating the situation in Denmark, what stood out was that refugees had access to guidance through the service of counsellors and suitable programmes for their integration into society. Comparatively, this is not the case for the regular migrant women because their residence titles which do not merit such support meant that they had to find ways of informing themselves. Like many migrants, women must learn the language of the host country amidst other responsibilities. Recognition of qualifications the women have becomes a problem as those obtained outside the

EU are hardly recognised. Even if they are officially recognised the migrants have the challenge of their employers having to accept these. (Clayton, 2005.)

Upon consideration of the problems discussed, attribution for the vast discrimination against migrant women in most European States is made to unequal migrant regulatory policies. Skewed regulations for immigrants, especially those from developing third world countries, causes an exacerbation of racial discrimination. (Mongaya Høgsholm, 2007.) More often, the tendency of presenting female migrant challenges are on the grounds of either gender or their ethnic orientation. For this reason, African women compounded difficulties are not represented as it is in reality. (Kofman, Roosblad and Keuzenkamp, 2009.) The compounded problems of the social group give meaning to the use of intersectionality in the thesis which studies the challenges that pertain to the African migrant woman in integration.

In an era where there is a subsidiarity role being played by most European member state governments in the migrant integration process, NGOs have through services made efforts to fill this gap (Martinelli, Anttonen and Mätzke, 2017). Researchers investigating how third sector organisations contribute to improving the conditions of migrants stipulate that these organisations render service help in various areas of need. To ensure the more comfortable and better societal livelihood of their migrant clients. (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann 2017.)

In efforts to meet the needs of refugees and asylum seekers in Austria, migrant organisations establish. Four projects highlighted in this regard are "Flucht nach Vorn, KAMA, PROSA, and Queer Base". Each of these project initiatives emphasises service offered because the institutional NGOs in Austria lacked the arena of support in areas of gaps for the refugees and asylum seekers. KAMA which stands for Kurse von Asylsuchenden, MigrantInnen und Asylberechtigten works in a way such that it gives these individuals the chance to share their knowledge, skills, talents, and culture with the larger society. KAMA aims at giving them a sense of worth as integration in Austria for this group is one that demands the total embodiment of aligning with Austrian values and culture. As a result, this initiative allows them also to share what they value with the larger society in which they have found themselves. Engaging and involving all parties here being the natives and those settling is what describes the integration and not the assimilative trend of programmes for immigrants in Austria. (De Jong and Ataç 2017.)

There is also Projekt Schule für Alle!" abbreviated as PROSA. It aims at giving individuals in the asylum and refugee group who do not qualify to be in formal education in Austria (due to exceeded age limit for schooling) the chance to still obtain academic knowledge. The project entails tutoring the asylum seekers and refugees in courses of interest structured to meet the needs of participants. Also, there is Flucht nach Vorn which offers younger aged refugees and asylum seekers an opportunity to mingle with others of their age group. By so doing, they get to engage in taking

leisure activities together. Additionally, the Queer Base programme renders social and legal help to gender minority groups. (De Jong and Ataç, 2017.)

In a conducted survey of 48 migrant respondents, Mongaya Høgsholm (2007) reveals that 58% of them were women migrants who had moved into Belgium for work purposes. These surveyed women fall on informal channels in acquiring information in Belgian society. The informal channels include institutions such as NGOs and migrant churches. In the abundance of these institutions, the Filipino women still place value on associating in migrant groups to keep themselves updated. Filipino migrant organisations in Belgium through the provision of information to migrants from the Philippines were meeting the needs of these migrants. Primarily identified as information providers, the migrant organisations gave free consultancy to migrants who came in for help. (Mongaya Høgsholm, 2007.)

In the city of Philadelphia, English language proficiency is one of the main drawbacks to migrant integration. In a study seeking to find where and how non-profit organisations for migrants were meeting this language need, Wilson (2012) focuses on the female trafficked migrants who had migrated to the state. The study findings mention that the organizations had their personnel accompanying their clients to places they needed their help. The staff acted as the escort for the immigrants, and all are in the process of aiding their integration. Sometimes the personnel of the non-profit organisations were translators who rendered this service when the immigrant went to places needing language interpretation assistance. They not only granted language help but gave livelihood guidance and friendship to these clients. (Wilson, 2012.)

When third-country female migrant workers have problems with their employment and labour contracts, it is at this point that NGOs are of help to them. For instance, Senegalese migrant women who are in the residential area of work in Spain are frequent users of NGO services. They turn to migrant NGOs as well as community associations for legal support in getting their rights deemed them when faced with abuse and want to seek legal advice and take some actions against their perpetrators. (Tandian and Bergh, 2014.) Babaylan-Austria is an NGO located in Austria that supports migrant women from the Philippines. They empower, educate and advise these women in their new society. The NGO also gives information to the Filipino female migrants so they can know what is due them, to help them easily cope with living and working in Austria. (Mongaya Høgsholm, 2007.)

Migrant workers hailing from developing countries are one of the primary sources of the labour force for the Japanese Labour market workforce (Ball and Piper, 2002). Opting for migrant workers is a matter of concern. Ball and Piper (2002) argue that the exploitation of these migrant workers who are often offered meagre remuneration for their hard work, is a cheaper alternative for high profits, more productivity and boosting the economy. For Filipino migrants who are

working in Japan, but for the support they receive from NGOs, their integration into the society would not have been successful. In making their integration into Japanese society less straining and easier, NGOs help these migrants by providing the vital information they need on their rights as workers and a migrant worker for that matter. Also, the NGOs guide how to go about things in their new society. Most of these migrants from the Philippines come with little or no knowledge of what they are deemed rightfully as regular migrants to the Japanese state. As a result, with the help of migrant NGOs, they meet these needs that suffice as they dwell in the receiving society. (Ball and Piper, 2002.) The migrants from the Philippines had a challenge of not having relevant information and could only meet this need through migrant NGOs help. Clayton (2005) argues that despite efforts being made by NGOs, who work in supporting these ethnic minority migrants, they struggle with securing funds. Often, because their source of finance is inadequate, they are constrained and have not much liberty to do more for the migrants (ibid).

In the review of the literature and what it brings onboard the migrant integration discourse, I deduce that research work on female migrants from Africa is quite limited. Also, the few that focus on the social group had more concentration in the economic aspects of integration. Precisely, on labour market integration challenges and how NGOs are helping to support them in their problem are what makes highlight in publicized discussions. As seen in the work of Tandian and Bergh, (2014) they give us a revelation of Senegalese migrant women struggles in the labour market of which NGOs come in handy for them in Spain. In a similar regard, this thesis investigates what pertains in Austria. But not centring on only Senegalese women, instead, generally female African migrants in Austria. Also, the argument in this thesis is not limited to labour market integration as seen in most of the literature that centres on migrant women. Instead, I conduct an enquiry on the broader domain of integration in its entirety. Regular African migrants who are a target in this study presumably have some specific integration needs in Austria of which this work explores. Also, how migrant NGOs supporting these migrants are meeting these needs is valuable to know. This work thus investigates the challenges of this migrant group in Austria and how the NGO support they receive meets these integration needs. In this regard, the research questions posed were as below:

- 1. What are the integration challenges faced by regular African migrant women in Austria?
- 2. What support is available for the African migrant woman, and how does this support the integration of the women in Austria?

#### 4. RESEARCH DESIGN

#### 4.1 Methodology

As earlier indicated in the introduction of the thesis, case study approach is used as the thesis methodology. Using case studies is in consideration of the empirical form of work needed to address the research questions. According to Yin (2009, p. 18), a "case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident". The initial plan for the research design of this thesis was to conduct a single case study of one migrant NGO. This being the Migrare NGO located in Upper Austria. In the course of collecting data, it was getting difficult to get the participation of the planned women migrant interviewees. After having bureaucratic challenges with gaining access to more women clients of Migrare for this work, I decided to make changes to the interviewee target group. Then, having interviewed two Migrare female clients, I transcribed the interview I conducted. I then realised from the data that responses given describing the African migrant women experiences were not different from the account given by the experts interviewed. For this reason, I decided to focus only on the institutional perspective of the study from the account of experts working in the organization.

Given this new development, I added a second migrant organisation which was the black community to broaden the expert arena of information received for the study. With the addition of the Black Community, it led this study from an initial single case study of Migrare to conducting a **multiple case study**. I collected data on the integration experiences of the African women migrants and how the non-Governmental organizations have supported these migrants in their integration. The organisations looked at in this thesis were Migrare and Black Community. Regardless of the new development, it is still a case study approach that has is used in this thesis. Yin (2009, p. 19) brings to our understanding that case studies help to explain the "causal link in real-life interventions". For this reason, it could give validation of the appropriateness of the methodology used.

This study contributes to knowledge as information is made available with the focus on migrant integration interventions that meet the challenges these women from Africa face. I explore the institutional support rendered to these migrants in question. By so doing, the study captures details of the conditional situations of African women who seek help from the two migrant organisations. I bring to the fore challenges that currently persists as far as integration is concerned for these women and how they are supported. To add, the explorative nature of this study makes it feasible to conduct **a multiple case study**. Yin (2009 p. 53) highlights that a multiple case study makes

evidence or the findings more convincing and adds credibility to the study. Given this, there is the relevance of having studied the two migrant Non-Governmental Organisations.

#### 4.2 Familiarising with Organisations selected as cases

On the matter of **choice in selecting Migrare and Black Community** as cases of study, they are officially registered non-governmental migrant organisations located in the federal state of Upper Austria. It is important to note that the two NGOs vary in terms of their institutional size. The Black Community is a smaller NGO compared to Migrare, which has more staff and a higher number of a client base. With the theoretical basis for this thesis being intersectionality, as earlier discussed in the theoretical framework section, being a migrant gives high vulnerability to having integration challenges in the society. For this reason, the study justifies the choice of focusing on migrant NGOs.

Migrare is one of the well-known organisations working with migrants in Upper Austria. Information gathered from the institution of Migrare is that its' social services that have been running for the past 34 years complement the mainstream services of the public service towards immigrants in the region (Migrare informant, personal communication, 14th March 2019). The versatile nature of the migrant clients of Migrare will help me have an unbiased outlook into the intent of programmes and services of these women. I am of the notion that as they are in contact with migrants from all backgrounds and handle both men and women, they have a good knowledge of the differences in service need for men and women. Again, with their institutional clientele, it makes them privy to what is specific of the challenges of women and also of the African origin in particular compared to those of other identities such as men and non-African migrants. As an institution, their mission is to advise and assist people with a migration background concerning their general life concerns on living in Austria (Migrare informant, personal communication, 14th March 2019). Migrare's services are recognized and supported by the federal government of Upper Austria, Arbeitsmarketservice (AMS) or labour market service and city of Linz and some of Migrare's services for migrants, in general, are in collaboration with these institutions when need be (ibid).

The **Black Community** is familiar amongst African migrants, state government and state institutions as well as sister migrant organisations. This organisation initially formed in 2005 as a movement in the Upper Austrian capital of Linz is now an NGO. Since 2008, it transitioned to an established migrant NGO and is registered as such (Black community informant, personal communication, December 2019). To give a more accurate description of their identity and what

they stand for, the organization bears the name black community. Upon consultation in the course of an enquiry, it was made clear that the name of the NGO as Black Community is to give their clients representation in the Austrian society (Black community informant, personal communication, December 2019). Despite its initial focus and background, it has since established itself as an NGO opened to other migrants, but still have more patronage from the African population. About 90% of clients using their services are Africans (Black community informant, personal communication, December 2019). These interventions given are recognized and supported as well by the federal government of Upper Austria. I perceived that this gives them proper knowledge and information about African migrants. They also deal with both men and women migrants with the mission to be at the forefront and make life in Austria easier for the black Africans. This study expects that the information gathered from the black community gives us more knowledge and views when it comes to the African woman migrant experiences in integration.

Comparatively, Migrare as an organization is open with the group of migrants it has as its client base whilst the Black Community is more centred on the migrants with African origination. Also, in terms of institutional size difference, the services of the Black Community are few compared to what Migrare offers. I wish to emphasize that choice of the NGOs was to investigate what they provided for supporting the integration of their women clients but not to bring a competitive outlook into their interventions of support offered. That notwithstanding, the chosen cases exhibited similar focus and objectives for the integration of migrant women in Austria. Use of the two NGOs gave us coherence in helping to describe, have an explanation and make meaning of the phenomenon explored. Also, I gained a broader spectrum of information by knowing how these organisations support the social group. Further, it helped to examine the legitimacy of intersectional identity vulnerability in integration.

#### 4.3 Data Collection

Purposive sampling technique was used to select the interview participants. This choice was because of the explorative and informative focus of this research. The interviewee target group for this study were experts of Migrare and the Black Community. In selecting the experts, their specific departmental fields of work were taken into consideration. I believe this influences the information they are privy to and can pass on to me in terms of their knowledge of the living situations of migrants they interact within their practice. From each migrant organisation, I had an

expert each from the consultation department, programme development department and womenfocused department. The priority placed on these factors helped to get information on the living experiences of the women. Also, more details on the support interventions and how these are of support in the integration of African migrant women.

Interviews were used as a **qualitative data collection** method to enhance the gathering of in-depth information needed for this study (Alshenqeeti, 2014) from the migrant NGO experts. Qualitative research "focuses on meanings present in people's activity, paying attention to how they interpret their activity" (Juhila, n.d). The reason behind the support interventions is what I seek to know in this study for the NGO services. I interviewed six experts, but the initial plan was to conduct two expert interviews and six migrant women interviews. In the course of the work, this changed because I could only have access to two migrant women which was below the expected average of women migrant interviewees for this thesis work. I would like to indicate that I did not use the data from the two women migrants in any part of this work. Instead, having more expert interviews was the other option I took. In this regard, all results of the study are only from an institutional experts' perspective. Four more experts were included as participant interviewees. All expert interview requests were honoured and granted successfully. These expert viewpoints helped to have a broader scope of the support the social group receive. They further fetch us with living experiences of their migrant clients.

The expert interviews were unstructured. The unstructured nature of the interviews was to allow the interviewees to express themselves more fully and make probing further possible during the interview (Alshenqeeti, 2014). Also, the unstructured interview approach helped to get for detailed responses. I conducted a one-on-one, face-to-face interview with all interviewees. That notwithstanding, to stay on course, the interview was guided by a checklist. This drafted checklist of questions was also to inculcate what underlines intersectional theoretical approach of the study. Guided by Windsong (2018), I incorporated this theoretical perspective in drafting the guide used in the interviews. Questions posed were intersectionally framed, and questions to probe further also done in the same vein. How these three identities, *African* ethnicity, status as a *migrant* and gendered as *a woman* of the social group when connected, influences their integration experiences in Austria was what I sought to find in the study. I also enquired of their reasons and motives for the interventions given and how it supports the integration process of the social group. Appendix 1 of the thesis has an attachment to the checklist used in the expert interview communication. I recorded the interview sessions using my smartphone. I also took notes as I wrote alongside the recording to give me some lead as I followed up with other questions during the interview.

#### 4.4 Ethics

I took ethical principles seriously by going with the principles of voluntary participation, confidentiality and anonymity (Ethical principles of research in the humanities and social and behavioural sciences and proposals for ethical review, 2009). A formal consent form giving details of these ethical values the study follows was put together and printed for each research participant to read. After acceptance of the conditionalities, both interviewee and researcher signed to this effect to show agreement. The consent form captured the purpose of the research and information generally expected of these respondents to aid in the work. I gave an idea of what to expect in the interview. They also opened up in their responses after they knew the academic intention of the study. Before the audio recording of interview sessions, I communicated to interviewees to seek permission and consent before recording. Meticulously ensuring the anonymity of the interviewees, I described them with precaution. Also, I ensured careful usage of interviewees quotes. Some quotes and phrases that could be very salient in supporting some themes raised in the study discussion were thus consciously omitted to provide anonymity. The complete consent form adhered to is attached in Appendix 2 of the thesis.

#### 4.5 Data Analysis

I conducted analysis of interview data in four different parts. First, I went through all the transcribed data of experts to know what interventions they give as migrant organisations to their clients. I did this for all support, not only the interventions specifically for the social group targeted for the study. I then selected data that gave information on the support interventions given to clients. This part only describes the general forms of support the NGOs had, reported by interviewees. I segmented the description given under three broad categories which were data-driven, to provide an idea of what goes into the various types made. The support interventions were in the form of rendering service, communication and advocacy and periodic activities.

Secondly, I follow this with analysing the challenges of the African migrant women as a social group. It is relevant to know that the choice of having African Migrant women to be target group in this study was influenced by the intersectional theoretical discourse as mentioned earlier. Nonetheless, it is relevant to say that for analysing, there is no specified analytical method in conducting intersectional research of which this study falls in (Hillsburg, 2013; Christensen and Jensen, 2012). The lack of analytical approach then creates the need to structure questions in the

way of seeking as much as possible information for only the identified group in their combined identities to solve this problem (Windsong, 2018). McCall attributes this lack to the complication of the group under study because the "analysis expands to include multiple dimensions of social life and categories of analysis" (2005, p. 1773). The group here in the study is the "African migrant women".

The analytical question posed to my data was

"what experiences in the living situation of African migrant women are a challenge to their integration?"

I was able to deduce answers from conducting data (intersectional influenced) driven content analysis to analyse their challenges from respondent data. Here, from my unit of analysis which was clues or phrases that poses a problem to integration for the women, I selected as codes. I sorted the codes into themes structured under two broader categories I formed. The data-driven approach used resulted in creating the categories, *repercussions of marginalisation* and a *weak support system*.

Thirdly, for analysis of the support given to African migrant women, I conducted a theory-driven analysis. An analytical framework adopted from the findings in an article by Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann (2017), was used to get the analysis done. In their study of third sector organizations and migration, they created categories used in describing the reason for various contributions from third sector organisations for migrants. Structured into three main categories, they are *Providing Basic services*, *Developing Capacities* and *Giving Voice* (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann 2017, p1854). I adopted all three categories for the data analysis.

Also used were sub-categories describing the actual contributions of the third sector organisations that go into these three broader categories. In *Providing Basic Services* category, I have the support of *wellbeing, health* and *welfare services*. For *Developing Capacities* category, they are *Human Development, Economic Development & Employment, Acculturation*, and *Social Capital*. Lastly for *Giving Voice* category, I have *Public Advocacy, Political Advocacy* and *Legal Advocacy* (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann 2017, p. 1855-1859). The original classification made in the article's framework included the sub-categories of *Safety* and *Humanitarian Aid* under "Providing Basic Services" category, but these two were exempted. The reason for the exemption was because our selected migrant NGOs for the study are not in the funding and logistic capacity to provide this described support. The analytical framework adopted is thus illustrated in Figure 1:

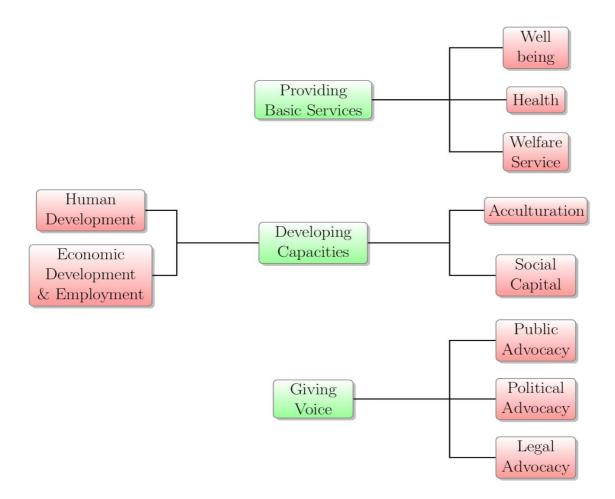


Figure 1: Analysing Support Analytical framework

Source: Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann (2017, p. 1855-1859)

To derive my codes, I posed the analytical questions below to my data.

"What are the interventions for African women migrants? How is the intervention executed, and for what reasons are these done to support their integration?"

The identified codes were in the form of phrases, words and sentences interviewees made in the interviews conducted. I then segmented the codes into the adopted categories.

Fourthly, to know how specific support rendered and reason of support is of relevance to classified sectors in integration. I conducted a theory-driven analysis adapting the four dimensions of migrant integration by Schunck (2011) in His work on the theory of migrant integration (2014). These dimensions were *emotional*, *social*, *structural* and cultural integration.

To realise **support relevance to integration dimensions**, I created an analytical framework to help make this visual. Here, the results from analysed support of NGOs being specific support (for instance, project or the service) offered, was correlated against each of these dimensions. See illustration framework to be used in Table 1.

	Integration Dimensions				
	Cultural	Structural	Social	<b>Emotional</b>	
NGO Support	Integration	Integration	Integration	Integration	

Table 1: NGO support classified with relevance to the integration dimension analytical framework illustration

Support of NGO is checked (with a tick) if the intervention in review fits into the dimension of integration displayed. The decision to check or not is assessed from examining interviewees description of the support and what they aim to achieve after executing this support to the social group. From the information given by Schunck (2011) of what each dimension requires for an immigrant to be successful in that dimension, I classified each support into where each support is relevant for contributing to achieving the integration dimensions.

Again, in the analysis of integration dimensions covered by NGOs in their support, the study uses findings from **the reasons given as justification** (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann 2017) categories for the help rendered to the social group. With an example, **a reason category**, for instance, human development's **relevance in achieving what the dimensions of integration** requirements for its fulfilment. I apportion the reasons in correspondence with each dimension of integration it is of relevance. See the sample illustration of the diagram to be used in figure 2 below:



Figure 2: Reasons for NGO support classification in dimensions of integration sample illustration.

I assessed the support motive in correspondence to the description of what a dimension characterises. Also, I determine what the intervention project seeks to fulfil. After this, I decide by apportioning the categorised reason for support in an integration dimension the category is relevant for, to attain its achievement. For example, for *wellbeing*, I investigate what ensures that this reason category gets accomplished. I then come to each of the dimensions of integration and figure out if this category is relevant there. If it is, then it is classified in that dimension. In this regard, one category of the reason for support, e.g. *social capital*, could be represented in more than one dimension of integration. The decision rests on what the reason for social capital covers.

#### 4.6 Limitation

During the data collection process, in conducting the interviews, fluent communication in English was a bit of problem for two out of the six interviewees. The two experts are native German speakers. As a result, they could not express themselves in some of the responses they gave as best as they wanted to. But this does not affect the accuracy in their views presented in this study. Because I gave them enough time to find the words they wanted to communicate in English. It only caused an extended time for the interviews than initially planned.

#### GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE NGO SUPPORT

Findings in this account address the kind of institutional support rendered to the social group of African migrant women. The Black Community and Migrare had support offered in the form of services, communication & advocacies and periodic activities. It is vital to mention that these offers of assistance were not only limited to the African migrant women but open to all clients of the NGOs. Later in subsequent sections, I present results from the analysis made on how the support measures help to meet specific challenges encountered by the social group in integration. But in this section, I give an overview of the kind of support the NGOs offer as assistance in the process of integration for clients. I explain all the NGO interventions in detail in the subsequent sections of the chapter.

#### 5.1 Services

The services were consultancies, counselling, administrative support, labour market service and housing search support. These services were rendered regularly to clients of the NGOs. The service languages of communication used by the NGOs to interact with their clients varied depending on the language comfortable for the client who came in. Both NGOs operated in different languages. For the Black Community, they had the options of English, Igbo, Yoruba, French and Portuguese. Migrare also had English, Turkish, Chechenia, Arabic and the Igbo as languages they used in communicating with clients who wanted any of these languages used in a communication exchange with staff. Both NGOs in as much communicated in foreign languages used the German language if comfortable with their visiting client.

NGOs give consultancy service to help clients acquaint themselves with the rights and legalities they wished and ought to know as a resident in Austria. The consultants who are well versed in particular areas of expertise had sessions with migrants during working hours. In consultancy sessions with clients, migration legalities get explained to them. Also, clients get educated on their rights, and entitlements deemed them.

NGOs offered counselling services to visiting clients. Migrant families having relationship challenges were given counselling. Married couples who sought advice and counselling on divorce processes also came in for help. Experts indicated that psychosocial counselling dominated the areas of counselling. Migrare gave its women clients apart from health and family-related counselling, competence counselling as well. The black community went a step further to render management and organisational counselling service to African migrant union leaders and various African women association group leadership as well. Migrants who wished to venture into

entrepreneurial businesses came in to seek guidance on how to go ahead with their plans. Those already in the industry got advice for the sustainability of their businesses.

I use the term "administrative support" to classify the assistance given for translation, filling of forms and responding to letters of administration. NGOs provided document translation assistance when these documents were originally in German, and there was a need for help to understand. They also assisted in filling forms clients had to submit to authorities as part of bureaucratic procedures in the formal institutions in Austria.

I classify all services related to being in the labour market under the labour market support service. These services included helping with the transfer of professional and academic documents, client profiling, making a kaleidoscope, help in searching for jobs and completing job applications. Both organisations offered labour market services, and I would like to emphasise that they provided most of these services in coordination with the labour market service of Austria. Jobs availability data was available to Migrare from the Labour market office of Upper Austria federal state. Nostrification services helped to recognise in Austria legally, the certificates of migrants acquired from overseas. Profiling and kaleidoscope services ensured the identification of competence and professional capabilities of migrants who did not have documents to show as such.

NGOs gave housing search support by aiding clients to find suitable living space for themselves and their families in Austrian society. In doing this, the NGOs liaised with cooperative housing agencies. Administratively, they supported their clients through the assistance given in working on the bureaucracies and explaining the legalities of acquiring a home in Austria. Both NGOs offered this service. The Black Community prioritized housing search support. In explaining the prioritisation in housing support, respondents told that more of their clients had a demand for help in searching for residential space.

#### 5.2 Communication and Advocacy

Support listed under the more significant spectrum of communication and advocacy included actions taken to help in information dissemination. Also, support to advocate for the fair treatment of their clients in all segments of society. Migrare and the Black Community supported their female clients by giving a collective voice in representing what comes as matters of concern from the women to the government and the broader community. Likewise, they delivered what needs to be heard and known from the bigger majority society to their clients for better understanding and living a more comfortable life in Austria.

#### 5.3 Periodic Activities

NGOs carried out activities within a particular stipulated period. The time frame planned for these activities to last was mostly influenced by the nature of the activity initiated. Also, the funds available for financing. The institutions executed periodic activities in the forms of workshops, seminars, events and projects.

The NGOs organised these activities when there was a need to do so. Mostly after several consultations and counselling for their clients. When there was a general realisation of a common persisting need, these were used for the clients, for instance, in entrepreneurial ventures, when clients needed resource persons. Also, NGOs regulated some activities by quarterly and yearly schedules in their planning and execution. Activities of the Black Community included symposiums, African literature days, information evening, sporting events with locals and the African women's day celebration. Additionally, Migrare organised workshops for their clients who needed specific training. They had seminars with and for some state establishments like the administrative office of the governmental bodies and academic institutions.

Projects were one of the main channels for the support, which was female centred. In these projects, the NGOs focused on helping the women who needed special attention after offering counselling and consultations to them. Migrare and the Black Community have had projects existing for periods as long as between one and five years. When I delve deeper into the NGO projects for women presented in subsequent sections of the study, results reveal several things are going on for women clients. For instance, the women power project of the Black Community formerly called "Wanawake" has been in existence for five years. There were specialised womenfocused consultancies too. Apart from these, projects included "let's talk business", "meine neu heimat (my new home)" and the "komm rein" (come in) projects for the Black Community. Migrare had five women projects, and they were the "zeit für dich" (Time for you), "Tandem", "Nachbarinnen (Neighbours)", "Home In Structural Programme for Parents of Pre-school Youngsters (HIPPY)" and "Let's go digital" project. The projects mentioned above is not to say that NGOs only have projects for women. But then I looked more into these because the focus of this thesis was female support centred. It is important to remember that NGOs gave consultancies, counselling and administrative services as support. Experts mentioned that it was from these services that women were sometimes designated to the needed project running to provide further assistance. The above is summarized in a figurative illustration in Figure 3:

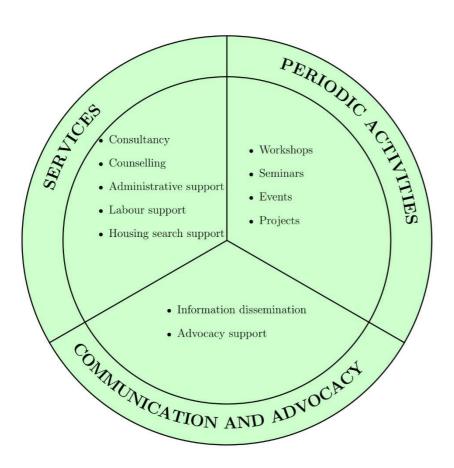


Figure 3: Forms of NGO Support for Clients

Respondents in both NGOs indicated that all support offered was made possible through State funds. Thus, they had total reliance on the state to keep rendering aid to the migrants. Organisations had very few projects which were not solely women oriented because acquiring money for other projects that were not for women was difficult to come by (MI 1). I sought to know what the challenges for the women were, which called for these offers of support. In the next section, I explore challenges experienced by African migrant women clients of the Black Community and Migrare in integrating in Austria.

#### 6. THE INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN AUSTRIA

This chapter presents the results on the challenges faced by the African migrant women in the process of integrating in Austria. Also, in this same chapter, the study explores what it takes to integrate in Austria. A brief explanation into the dimensions of integration suggested as helpful in fulfilment of migrant integration is also given.

Experts acknowledge that gender-wise, between the women and the men, the problems faced by women compared to Men are unique. Also, having similar needs as migrants do not do away with the different challenges men and women from Africa have to face irrespective of them having the same origination. For this reason, it is meaningful for the separation of experiences African female migrant have in integrating into Austria from the African male. The dichotomy brings into relevance the study of the intersectional notice of vector points for the African migrant woman. Among the six expert interviewees of the two NGOs, only one of them was not able to engage in a discussion on the topic of the experiences faced by the African migrant women. It was as a result of the capacity of office designated for our interviewee's work. For this reason, our interviewee had less contact with clients. Expert interviewees acknowledged that other women clients did not have to face what African women face as challenges to their integration. Of the five interviewees, there acknowledged disparity between the treatment given to African migrant women and those who were not. This chapter presents the challenges faced when one identifies with being an African migrant woman when integrating in Austria. Additionally, a description is made of what characterises Austrian integration and precisely, who is labelled as integrated in Austria.

#### 6.1 Challenges faced by African Migrant women in the integration process

In this section, I present the intersectional experiences of African migrant women which causes a struggle for them as they try to integrate into the Austrian community. The first dimension of the findings reveals the repercussions that resulted from being marginalised as a social group in Austria. These experiences challenged their process of integration in Austria. Secondly, I discuss the consequences they face due to the weak system of support they have as a social group. Interviewees gave varied experiences negatively affecting the women's integration. These living situations made them vulnerable to a problematic integration process.

#### 6.1.1 Repercussions of Marginalization

A predominant experience of the social group was the racial discrimination these African migrant women faced in Austria. They were classified as lesser beings and thus lowly stratified in society. They faced discrimination in many structures of society as an ethnic minority social group of women. Experts pointed out that discrimination was prevalent as a hindrance to the possible integration of African migrant women. Migrare experts described that indeed migrant women were discriminated against but were highest and frequent amongst the Africans. African women had filed more complaints about discrimination which was ethnically or racially affiliate. In describing the seemingly notable multiple cases of discrimination experienced by these women, interviewees attributed this to the fact that anti-discrimination laws had somewhat failed these African female clients. Five experts emphasized that the consequences faced for being discriminatory were not punitive enough in Austria. Also, for a follow up on the racism cases, the investigative bureaucracies and cost of legalities caused their clients to disregard proceeding to lodge complaints.

The unequal treatment the social group faced was shown to not only be a mindful perception but got in the opportunities they had to enter the labour market in Austria. Nevertheless, there seemed to be employment discrimination towards the social group. Experts recorded that African women had some typical discriminatory experiences in job offers. The nationality of origination they had, their names they bore, and their physical features (mostly dark in complexion) subjected them to rejection when applying for job offers. Repeatedly, other women were chosen over them even in job search opportunities regardless of the African woman also having excellent German language skills sometimes. From experiences of clients, experts mentioned that most employers in both the public and private sector preferred to go with a less capacitated white woman than employ a qualified "black African women" in their workplaces.

Experts bring to the fore that when these women who have diverse levels of educational and professional qualifications are getting into the labour market, they face formalities obstacles. These hindrances include having their former academic credentials recognised. Women who are successful in transferring their documents of professionalism end up in jobs that do not

need their nostrified documents. They work in areas which have no connection with neither their academic nor professional background. The reason for this being that they rarely find jobs they are qualified for. It leaves them with having to get placement for employment in the low skilled sector. To fit into working in such fields, experts claimed that these highly qualified women sometimes had to resort to reducing and deleting some professional and academic qualification from their curriculum vitae when making job applications. So apparently, there seemed to be the constant connection of the social group to low skilled jobs and the jobs Austrians and other migrants would not take up. All interviewees mentioned that it is common to see these women in jobs that do not match up with their qualifications. An interviewee said:

"90% of the African women who have family reunification visas and are qualified to work in higher places of the labour market are in cleaning jobs. The cleaning job is a supposed entry point into the Austrian labour market, but from our experience, it is very difficult to get out again." (Black Community Interviewee 1(BC1))

The women who still declined to work in the cleaning jobs after months of searching and with no success, registered with the labour market service as unemployed. For that matter, they were seeking to find work to do. As part of the Austrian labour market activation modalities, the labour market service finds ways of getting them into some position of employment. The women were sometimes allowed to enrol in vocational and care professional training so they could get access to work in those areas when they complete the training. Experts indicated that even after this training their clients have in Austrian institutions, they faced marginalisation when they entered the labour market with their Austrian acquired vocational or professional certificates. The women were not given a chance to prove themselves for what they can do. Interviewees report that their clients were outwardly belittled because they are African women. Their identity had deprived them of being in certain positions or had become a barrier to rising on the stratified ladder in the labour market. Since employers don't need to hire them, they are only at the mercy of an employer who will be open enough to accept them for what they can do and not just the physical identity or so to speak, their outward appearance.

Findings again revealed that even after they have been able to enter the labour market, they had to deal with workplace discrimination. Some of the acts of discrimination included verbal abuse

like name-calling, unlawful dismissal from work and unfair treatment with the unequal wage gap. Workplace discrimination was apparent in the following quote:

"For example, African women in formal residential care of the elderly get verbally assaulted on a daily basis. Not only by the care receiver but even their colleague staff do "name-calling". They are rarely addressed by their names but rather their colour of being black. They are not referred to by their names, but rather the word "black" is used." (BCI 3)

Respondent interviewees attributed these actions towards the social group to their race. The dark complexion of the African migrant is for lack of a better word, detested. For this reason, the distinct features compared to the Austrian whiteness has not been tolerated in the integration of the social group. Unfortunately, accepting them as members of society is somewhat a difficult one for the Majority Austrian population.

"The intensity and percentage of people who do not feel accepted are higher with the Africans. You know as a black person you are a foreigner by sight in Austria. When people see you from anywhere, they know you are a foreigner, and they treat you as such. Just because they see you black, but it doesn't happen to someone from Ukraine because they know she is white. You won't know she is a foreigner until she opens her mouth to speak. For the black person and here man or woman alike, it is difficult to be fully integrated into the society" (Migrare Interviewee 2(MI 2))

All except for one interviewee expressed displeasure in the ill-treatment meted out to the social group in the labour market. Interviewees purported that the African women had acclimatised themselves to being disfavoured and disrespected in their Austrian host society. When enquiring what NGOs did to help their clients facing these challenges, experts claimed that it had reached a point where these clients of the social group refuse to be supported. The African migrant women had become reluctant and not interested in lodging complaints to neither their supervisors nor the organisation about these racial discriminations. The reason for avoiding help was because nothing was done against the committers of the discriminative abuse when they reported. For clarification, to say "nothing was done" means that the consequences committers faced as punishment was not punitive enough even when the case was recognised. For this reason, a cause to repeat these actions. Discriminative actions created difficulties for some of their clients in sustaining themselves in the labour market.

Amidst these labour market challenges, there was a resultant situation of financial constraints the members of the social group encountered. Interview participants revealed that there was a hindrance to having a sustainable and enough income to meet the economic livelihood standards in Austria. They had identified that majority of the African women engaged in low skilled jobs, and for that reason, menial jobs brought less money to their pockets. Interviewees mentioned that the number of hours the women worked was so much, but unfortunately, the wage earned for the jobs they were engaged is little. Also, those who had spouses had to rely on them for their sustainable upkeep. Additionally, the nature of the jobs and the discriminatory uncertainties were predominately the reasons for no job security. Experts reported that this led to records of irregular income for their clients in the social group.

Moreover, marginalisation consequences did not end there. Unfortunately, most of the women get deprived of a home for their physical livelihood. Finding suitable housing emerged as a massive challenge for African migrant women. African migrant women, when acquiring a place of abode, struggle to find apartments to rent. According to our respondents, their female African migrant clients were disfavoured in attempts to rent private accommodation properties from natives. Owners of private housing, leasing their property rarely gave it out to the women with reasons that could only be accounted for as being discriminatory. These women have been revered as not being in the capacity to pay the monthly rent. Respondents also claimed that the owners who were natives were of the notion that their female African clients were not worthy of their property and neither could they be trusted with keeping it well over their period of stay in the apartment.

Despite these, to acquire cooperative and state-owned housing could have been another possible option because the cost was affordable than private housing. Unfortunately, renting these accommodation forms also had some hindrances for the eligibility of the women. Interviewees bring to our understanding that the administrative conditionalities enabling registration for cheaper housing options, excluded most of these women in Austria. First, it is for the reason of the length of stay of the migrant in the host society. In Austria, the migrant needs to be on a particular permanent residence visa for third-country nationals. These visas are the red-white-red, red-white-red plus and EU permanent residence visa (Permanent immigration, 2020) to be able to register. The registration does not assure them of getting an apartment because this also takes the earliest time of one year for a registered person to have an offer. There was also the requirement to have at least an intermediary German language

competence. This competence needs to be rectified with proof of language certificate by an accredited Austrian institution.

Additionally, there needs to be proof of consistent income. An interviewee respondent also explained that there were statutory standard accommodation quadrat meters suitable for each registered family size. Unfortunately, by the time an accommodation offer is made to these clients considering their earlier preferences, more of them would have had family size changes. For this reason, there is a need for a bigger space than initially requested during the client's early registration. As a consequence of needing a larger area to suit the current family size, the African migrant women lose the cheaper accommodation offer made to them. The opportunity to have a less expensive housing thus becomes scarce for most of the women.

Another option to alleviate the burden of expensive accommodation is the Austrian state subsidy for housing cost. Unfortunately, as third-country nationals, there was a needed criterion for the eligibility of these women to benefit from this offer. Interviewees point out that one of the requirements that mostly eliminates the female African migrants from qualifying for the subsidy was proof of intermediary German language. There is also a requirement to have been continuously and legally resident in Austria for more than five years. This requirement is needed to be valid by the time of making the application. Further, there has to be the contribution to the payment of statutory social security system or income tax payment in Austria for not less than fifty-four months in these five years (Land Oberösterreich - Wohnbeihilfe, 2020). NGO experts interviewed, emphasized that there was a huge struggle to find the affordable cost and keeping a decent living space for the social group.

Further to these challenges was the repercussion of marginalisation in the social interaction and engagement of the African migrant women in Austrian society. Interviewees believed that the more extensive populace of inhabitants in Austria had a dislike for the racial identity of this social group. Not revering members who identify with this group as possible equal beings, affected the extensive populace social relationships with them in society. Experts highlighted that the media also add to the complication of a problematic integration for this social group. Majority of the people resident in Austria have a low graded mentality of where the migrant group originate. Interviewees attributed this to the issue of local and international media depiction of only the negatives with rarely anything positive from Africa was misleading. To add to this, one interviewee mentioned that the geographical location of Africa was too far off

from Austria and thus Austrians rarely knew anything about them. This claim was being used as a justification for the native Austrian closed reception towards members of the social group.

As part of the challenges, the larger Austrian society has a high level of distrust for the African migrants. The skepticism could be related to the dissimilarity of racial background and physical identity. Interviewees point out that there is the association of the social group with radical, violent and primitive behaviours. Interviewees also felt that with the disrespect shown these women in their living in Austria, it harms their clients. Four of the respondents purported that, to a large extent, the feeling of inferiority was due to the non-acceptance the women in this social group face in Austria. As a reflection of this, the female African migrants were described as always having low participation in community activity engagement.

Experts of Migrare mentioned that even in their running projects for women, they had had few of them actively participating over the years. Also, when they did get involved, they associated less with migrant women from other countries, come to talk of natives. On the topic of isolation from the general public and even other migrant groups, one interviewee had a different perspective. The expert argues that for most of the African women to have experienced being side-lined frequently in society, non-involvement should be expected. Regardless of being African, any human being would do likewise. The expert respondent also made attribution to the fact that to have a social life needed free time. Unfortunately, these female African migrants rarely have that extra time at hand. Interviewee says:

".....they need to work more jobs if they are only engaged in the menial ones which do not pay much, to meet the high cost of living in Austria. Where is the time for other engagements? For example, if she wakes up very early in the morning, she must go and clean offices, get home to prepare kids for school and see to it that all is well at home. She then moves out again to private homes of people to do some more cleaning. The more homes she has to clean, the more she gains, so they take on more offers in a day. She gets back and must fetch her kids from school and also put the things together at home. Let us not forget that cleaning is an energy-draining work and so she needs time to rest for the next day's work. She ends up with no extra time on her hand for extracurricular activities". (BCI 1)

Desisting from engaging in social relations reduces the women's level of getting networked in society. Experts interviewed highlight that lack of networking exacerbates the vulnerability of the social group, causing a problematic integration. Respondent experts acknowledged the

legitimacy of reasons for African female migrants' disassociation. But regardless, experts expressed disregard for actions such as isolation because of being disapproved of in the society.

#### 6.1.2 Weak Support system

Most African homes have existing situations of strong patriarchal socially constructed culture (Stichter and Parpart, 2019). It is essential not to misinterpret patriarchy with the gendered division of labour. Unlike the gendered division of labour, patriarchy is a state of relegating women to a marginal position by oppression from dominant men. Interviewees mentioned that patriarchy is a struggle to cope with for these women. Most African families, especially couples holding on to this culture, are in a state of unrest upon more extended stay in Austria. Patriarchal oppression weaves into everyday life as a submission of the African women. The practice of this culture dictates the realms of running the affairs of the living situation in homes of these African families. Participant interviewees mentioned that the spouses of these women who held on to the African patriarchal norms challenged the ungendered western norms in the Austrian society. Patriarchy has implications for these women in Austria as the women have to deal with being "African women" and what Austrian society expects. They must manage fitting into the Austrian non-patriarchal system as well as play their roles as wives and mothers in the "African patriarchal oriented homes" in Austria. In such situations, when the women challenge the patriarchal domination of their spousal African men, it caused problems in their marital relationships.

Respondents mentioned that most African migrant women had their marital relationship getting worse and unstable in their pursuit of integrating. Interviewees brought to our understanding that dwelling in Austria as migrants, they barely had extended family relations whom they could confide in to help mitigate their problems. But from their country of origin, marital misunderstandings were usually settled this way. Unfortunately, coming to Austria deprives more African migrant women of this way of resolving issues. When their problems in marriage get worse, abuse is what followed. Respondents highlighted that it was a common problem their African women clients face. In the female African migrant's course of wanting to integrate into the structural parts of the Austrian community, especially the labour market, the women ought to break some of these normative rules of patriarchy. When there is a constant tension in the family, the women often became victims of being domestically violated by their spouses. These were some internal situations that prevented them from integrating as needed.

Furthermore, the continuous patriarchal normative practices do not only result in these women suffering domestic violations, but also, they must deal with resultant health problems. Both organisations record that most of these women suffer from various health challenges. The expert interviewees felt to a more considerable extent that many cases of mental and psychological health challenges were consequences of these domineering patriarchy in familial relationships of their clients. The women were often to maintain and represent a harmonious relationship which in real life was not happening. Unfortunately, more African female migrants end up suffering the psychological negativity over time. The victims of domestic violence usually would have kept this abuse to themselves for quite a long time, all in the name of staying private with marital issues. Experts mentioned that when they open for help and were breaking out of such relationships affecting their health, it was also a difficult decision to take for these African women. Experts reveal that residence permit visas held by the women was mostly conditional to their staying together with their spouse. For this reason, they stand to lose their right to reside in Austria when they decide to end the marriage they have with the abusive men.

Also, on the matter of health, before the women arrive in Austria, they hardly get the right information on what to expect in their to-be Host society from their spouse who lives in Austria. As a result, when they stay for a time and realise that life expectations they had are not being met, they get frustrated. Experts brought to our notice that visa rules which come with the women's family reunification titles mostly restricted them from having free access to the labour market of Austria. As a result, they were dependent on these abusive men for their survival if they wanted to stay in Austria. Until this visa title is changed, which takes about two to three years, they remain in their marital relationships, whatever be the situation. Unfortunately, when they have reached the point of being eligible to enter the labour market from the change of residence title, they do not find jobs. Even if they do find, the kind of jobs they are employed in depresses them over time.

Most of these African female migrants forecasted better economic life in Austria, but unfortunately, this became unrealistic. Their expectancy of having a better experience by making financial gains if they work in Austria becomes shattered. Those women who are not able to manage the emotional and psychological consequences, amidst racial discrimination suffer the consequences of mental health problems.

African migrant women were belittled and as a result not treated with any equality in their social interactions with the more significant migrant population, not to even talk of the natives in Austria. The disregard for the identity of the women was raised by expert interviewees to be a cause of emotional and mental drain. More of NGO clients in this social group struggle with psychosocial problems. Experts put forward that such situations were very stressful for African migrant women. An interview describes it this way:

"Africans are treated differently just because of their colour, and that is just a simple truth" (MI 2)

This attitude of being looked down on could be the factor demotivating the women. Unfortunately, they are insulted for what identifies them and not really who they were. The dominant residents are not violent in their way of hurting these women but being unnoticed, is affecting the migrants emotionally. Most migrant women deal with health as a result.

It turns out that most of the Austrian welfare benefits administered to residents as a form of social support do not reach many members of this social group. Experts bring to our understanding that conditions, legalities and requirement that are to be fulfilled to be eligible eliminates them from accessing these. Although the women seek jobs and have registered as unemployed, they do not benefit from the unemployment allowance given by the state when they need support. When factoring eligibility to access the unemployment allowance, the immigrant gets assessed on the basis that one should have been fully engaged in the labour market. Labour market participation should have been for a certain period with a contribution to unemployment insurance made at least fifty-two weeks in the past two years prior to the unemployment allowance application. (Austria - Employment, Social Affairs & Inclusion - European Commission, 2019)

Support for caring for younger children from offers of care places did not exist for most African migrants. Due to this, transitioning into the labour market and having the chance to be engaged in other integration activities became difficult for them. The patriarchal cultural system that is not done away with as earlier highlighted, adversely affects the support spouses render to these women in the area of caring roles at home. There is a necessity placed on the African migrant women to take the role of care as a priority whilst caring is secondary and sometimes even avoided by the African men. An interviewee argues that with patriarchy, the practice is such

that, women act as carers and homemakers. The men, on the other hand, are the financial contributors to the home with no effort of helping in the domestic area of home management.

Interviewees put forward that when the women come into Austria on family reunification purpose with young kids, they struggle to cope with taking on care roles and combining that with integration procedures. Sometimes when these migrant women attempt to take up integration activities, they are limited as to how far they can go in contributing to their integration in Austria. Family life makes it challenging to get into the system of labour, languages courses, etc. Experts indicated that migrant families who were with children of preschool age struggled to combine care and work (BCI 2; MI 2).

An ascription of men to be financiers in the home had made the women entirely dependent on their husbands. African migrant women having fewer opportunities for jobs to go with their care responsibilities leads to their male spouses as financiers. Also, with no access to welfare subsidies due to the requirements of the insurance system, this dependence is expected. In effect, having young kids was one of the difficult challenges for African women clients.

The women place every concentration on the children since they have no care support. When enquired about how other residents were managing, expert interviewees responded that the native women usually rely on their extended families, especially the grandparents for help. Also, other migrants after they come in, get a family member in from their home countries to assist with caring. Two respondents brought to light that this option of bringing in the family to help was a difficult one for the African women because application procedures for Africans to Austria were costly and bureaucratically cumbersome. The possibility of having to be granted the residence visa had a slim chance of positivity for their African family members. When payment for private childcare came as an alternative, it was too expensive for the women to take as an option. On the issue of eligibility of public childcare place in Austria, interviewees pointed out that it came with conditions of submitting employment engagement of both parents to qualify for registration. The reason was that care places were limited and insufficient for every child under the age of three years who was resident in Austria. Explaining how this denies African women from accessing, an interviewee illustrates the complication this way:

"Having care place for a child below three years is dependent on this, but then one is dependent on the other. You must have a place for your child and then start a job or further your studies, or legally to qualify for a caring place you need to have to show

that you are engaged for those hours. Your community is also not that big for you to say that my, friend, my sister or parents will take care of them to get you through this transition thing." (BC1)

Acquiring the German language, which is the formal and communicative language in Austria, was challenging for most African migrant women. In the earlier discussion, patriarchy and having limited time due to childcare engagements were some reasons for difficulty in German language acquisition. Interviewees put forward another reason preventing the women from participating in language classes. They accentuate that financial obligations as payment for taking language courses were expensive. This high cost prevents women from registering for language classes. Regular migrants in Austria rarely have free or subsidized language courses. Price of paying to take part in language courses was not affordable for them. Interviewees mention that care reasons were taken into consideration in some language programmes to support the integration of mothers with young children. In this initiative by the state, mothers could come to the two hours weekly class with childcare support given as the mothers learn. Respondents cast doubt on the effectiveness of the initiative. They argue that although the courses are good for the women, unfortunately, there were not many options of available times to meet the women's needs. Also, the courses offered in the two hours only served as an introductory and starting point for knowing the German language. Experts pinpoint that to speak, read and understand the German language in due time, an offer of two hours was insufficient. They argue that to be proficient in the German language, it was necessary to instead, attend mainstream language classes. The mainstream classes have more sessions, but the women can only enrol after making payments. An interviewee contended that the paid courses also had a limited variety of schedule options and minimal places even when some of the women had the means to pay.

Additionally, for the language situation, interviewees put forward the problem this social group had with speaking the German language fluently. Challenge of speaking is regardless of gaining good reading and writing skills. Respondents attributed this to lack of practising of speaking German. As earlier elaborated in the section of marginalisation, the African female migrants scarcely make contact with natives. Unfortunately, less association deprives them of practising more speaking using the German language. Expert interviewees argued that without frequently speaking german learnt, the women forget and lose what they have learnt over time. Contrastingly, one interviewee was of a view that most African migrants who come to Austria

are English speaking. With quite many Austrians having English as a second language, the Africans communicate more using the English language when communicating with the educated natives. When the Austrians also realise that they can communicate in English with these clients, they respond likewise.

"Portuguese and French-speaking Africans turn to speak and communicate in the German language faster and more frequently compared to the English-speaking African women when they come to Austria." (BCI 1)

The African migrant women not having german communication does not help them to breakthrough when in pursuit of integration. The German language creates difficulty for them, especially in entering the labour market. Getting into the Austrian labour market requires that generally, all persons be fluent when speaking the language.

In addition to these challenges faced by African migrant women, it is expressed by interviewees that female African migrants are often not privy to a lot of information. Respondents indicated that those who sometimes have news of some sort even have it wrong and sometimes not valid in its content. Experts pointed out that most African women's sources of information were limited. For the authenticity of sources, it depended on who, where and how women receive the communication in question. Experts argued that the women relied on hearsays which were mostly not true. Unfortunately, with misinformation and not having the information at all, gave reason to the non-take up of support. African migrant women are sometimes also unwilling to secure public support services accorded them. Negative hearsays bring fearmongering on issues that cause them to hold back, especially in areas of seeking social support from the state. An interviewee describes a situational example:

"In the *Nachbarinnen* project, we encountered African women who need social welfare support from the government. They mostly reject to take help from the government social workers. The women feel going to the magistrate (this is the administrative office of the city) is a danger, so we help them to take out the fear. They are also afraid thinking that when they take help from the state, the state will take away their children, but we try to tell them that the state help is to keep them together with the children in the family." (MI 3, emphasis by Mary Okai)

Again, experts explain that considering the barrier the female African migrants have due to poor or no German language understanding, women were prone to be misinformed. Information communication was mainly done in Austria using the German language in all outlets. Be it social media, radio and television, as well as the print media. It is unfortunately not surprising for the women to fall on hearsays as their primary source of information.

Lastly, expert interviewees form both Migrare, and the black community highlighted that support in matters of administration, especially official things for the social group was very weak. Interviewees acknowledged that although most migrants struggle with the bureaucratic formalities, it is more difficult for the African migrant women. The bureaucratic formalities include periodic visa extensions, applying for welfare support, subsidies, and social security processes. Experts attribute the difficulty faced to the negative mentality and demeaning perception majority Austrian population hold of African migrants. Interviewees asserted that customer service towards their African women clients in institutional offices of administration was poor.

Experts of both NGOs describe that the magnitude of difficulty in the women's living situation was dependent on the client's propensity and willingness to adapt to the conditions of the host society. All except one expert (who did not talk about the challenges) argued that female African migrants faced a challenging integration process because of the combined identity of race, migrant status and gender. The diversity of client experiences was noticed and distinguished by experts. NGO expert interviewees as a result of their constant interaction and encounter with different migrants saw dominant struggles of the social group of female African migrants. These women were vulnerable to social inequality in the process of integrating in Austria. Thus, findings on the challenges faced, concede to the study's claim that intersectionality of vector points in their identity as a social group confronts them in having an easy integration in Austria.

Besides knowing that being an African migrant woman has led to a challenging integration, for the social group, the thesis in the next section, reveals what describes being successful when integrating into the Austrian society. Also, I look at how the majority of Austrian inhabitants characterise integration.

#### 6.2 What is integration in Austria?

Being identified with the social group requires the condition of being determined and preserving to achieve integration in Austria. Experts highlight that to a larger extent, successful integration in Austria would always be difficult for African migrant women. The situation, unfortunately, proposes that African migrant women ought to live a life devoid of natives as a supportive aid to integrating in Austria. Discourse literature in migrant integration describes integration as the "inclusion" and "acceptance" of immigrants in a host society (Pennix & Garces-Mascarenas 2016, p. 14; Remennick, 2003). I thus ask if the proposal of integrating without natives support is what integration is or should be? Expert interviewees are of the view considering what it takes to be able to integrate in Austria; they all conclude that integration in Austria was not "integration". Experts expressed worry with the perception of what it means to integrate in Austria. They explain that migration and integration policy measures required of African immigrants who want to settle in Austria to follow were assimilative.

Assimilation entails the acquisition of only aspects that defines the ways of the host or receiving society (Esser, 1980). Interviewees purport that the so-called integration in Austria was one-sided. This inference is from the observation that in every policy initiative and action taken by the government of Austria regarding migrant integration, only expected of the migrant take responsibility. There is a scarce contribution of the majority and the native population. It then falls on the African migrant women to play their part as well as that of the natives. For the social group, it means to take on everything Austrian, including cultural preferences. Preferences referred to are, eating and enjoying Austrian foods, having a love for ski, enjoying outdoor hikes into mountainous places and living a "quiet" life. When attributed with these, the African migrant woman is said to have integrated. Interviewees remarked that even when German was spoken, and understood by natives, it must be an Austrian dialect of the German and Austrian accented to be considered acceptable.

Apart from the Austrian cultural adaptation required of the social group, getting into the labour market is also factored. This integration requisite was regardless of what job the migrant was engaged in. Generally, what mattered was to be involved in the labour market and not depend on social welfare support. Interviewees mentioned that by common experience until clients fit into these, they are not deemed as having been integrated into Austrian society. Despite all these, the attitude of the majority Austrian population has been a closed one when it comes to opening up. Interviewees remark that even when their institutions initiate projects to foster

migrant native encounters, they hardly get natives who are willing to participate. Unfortunately, an unwelcoming and closed attitude only makes it difficult for the social group to make contact not to mention, mingle with the natives.

This revelation came as a surprise as one would expect that in the wake of globalisation, migrant and native relationship should instead have gotten better with time. Experts bring to our understanding that even on the political front, the policies and programmes initiated raise eyebrows considering the expected goals. Social cohesion has gotten weaker as politicians over time, have tightened and made immigrant-related systems a difficult one for the social group. NGO experts stressed that funds allotted them for financing and running of things in the organizations had seen a consistent reduction over the past few years. As a result, NGOs were limited with what they can offer as support to their clients. An interviewee states,

"Austria has gone downhill in integration for the last six years or so. But who knows, with different and new legislation things will change, but there can be so much more done to integrate these migrants if you really want to integrate them." (BCI 1)

Inclusion and acceptance are needed by the social group from the natives to integrate successfully. Nevertheless, the African migrant women face exclusion of which they have no power over when they want to partake in the society amidst their efforts. Integration is what could help embrace the difference between natives and the social group. By so doing, immigrants are brought to an equal pedestal of dwelling in the host society (Esser, 2001). It is salient to mention that the dynamics of assimilation and integration no matter how minute it looks would result in a notable and consequential difference for the immigrant group in question. Four of our experts highlighted that majority of their African women clients who had lived in Austria for long still felt that they did not belong here. What does this mean? Reflecting on what being integrated requires, interviewees emphasized that the female African migrants could be speaking and doing everything Austrian, but for their skin colour, they do not get cordial reception. As a result, interviews felt the women were in a more vulnerable situation to experiencing a difficult process in Austrian integration.

In the theory of immigrant integration postulated by Schunck (2014), he refers to immigrant integration as the "position" of the immigrant as well as "interrelation" in the host society. He describes what it takes for an immigrant to be "well-integrated" using four categorical

dimensions. They are "cultural, structural, social, and emotional integration" (2011, p. 264). In his further clarification of what characterizes each dimension, he explains below,

"The **cultural dimension** refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, such as language, knowledge of norms, etc. **Structural integration** relates to immigrants' positioning and the participation of migrants in core spheres of the receiving society – such as the labour market. **Social integration** refers to the interaction and contact with the autochthonous population, i.e. friendships, intermarriage, etc., whereas **emotional integration** refers to aspects of identity and belonging" (ibid).

These dimensions of integration of which this thesis accustoms itself to will be used in chapter eight. The chapter presents results after the integration dimensions were used to investigate how NGOs support the social group in Austria to fulfil these dimensions. Although the main aim of this thesis is not to discuss or argue what integration is, it became essential to know what it takes and means to be integrated in Austria as the host society of the African migrant woman in this study. Knowledge of what integration is helped to account for the reason why the social group had to face the earlier discussed challenges. Understanding Austrian integration also gives cause for what the underlying factors could be for the NGOs support to their clients in Chapters eight and nine.

# 7. ALLEVIATING THE CHALLENGING NEEDS OF AFRICAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN AUSTRIAN INTEGRATION

For chapter seven, I present finding on how the support NGOs provide helps to ease some if not all the challenging experiences the social group has to face to be integrated in Austria. The black community and Migrare had the support to aide in the integration of migrants. Regarding the challenges of the African migrant women discussed, I further explore how the support helps to ease some if not all the challenging experiences they have to endure. In this section, I take a detailed look the offers from NGOs for members of the social group. Additionally, I delve into what is justifying the given support. I assess the justification using the empirical framework of Garkisch, Heidingsfelder & Beckmann, which describes the motives of migrant NGO support. A detailed explanation of how this was done is found in the analysis section of the methodology. The assessment categories are Providing Basic services, Developing Capacities and Giving Voice (2017, p1854). Interviewees highlighted that most of the offers were solely given by the NGOs whilst others were executed in collaboration with other partner NGOs and state institutions. Also, experts emphasised that some projects they had were not initially initiated by their NGOs but imitated from the success of similar interventions given by migrant organisations in Europe. After expert evaluation, the NGOs adopt good ones that suit the conditions of migrants in the Austrian community.

#### 7.1 Providing basic services

Respondents stressed that one of the reasons for migrant support was to give them what they struggle to live without in their host society. The absence of these could make their client's existence in Austria unbearable. NGOs, as a result, render support to meet the women's *health* needs, their *wellbeing* and *providing the social welfare* of the women.

The Black community and Migrare offered **health** assistance to the women by directing those with physical health problems to medical institutions that were purposely specialised for their ailment treatment. NGO consultants gave clients information on who and places to contact for help. Consultants in the NGOs gave this support when their institutions were not in the capacity to help. Women clients got psychosocial help from Migrare's counsellors in the psychological

field of work. Unfortunately, their women clients had become tired of being marginalised, resulting in high forms of discrimination they suffer.

Moreover, female African migrants' weak system of support they have jeopardises their health from frustration, depression and being bitter with all the struggle within the society. For African women, their intersectional vulnerabilities gave cause for emotional and physical support. Interviewees mentioned that mental and psychological problems mostly came up as problems of ill health for most African women. For this reason, the need for health assistance, to put them in healthier and better mental conditions. In the *Nachbarinnen* (neighbours) project, Migrare NGO gave the personnel in the project training to render advice support. Personnel received training to advise on healthy living and channels to seek help. *Zeit für Dich* (time for you) and *Tandems* project allows women to share their problems. Experts were of the view that these projects help to ease the psychological pressures of the women.

Interviewees put forward that in a community sense, most African women did not feel a part of society. To give them some comfort and happiness in their livelihood, NGOs prioritized the women's **wellbeing** through some interventions. The Nachbarinnen project was imitated from a similar project in Berlin. Experts from Migrare brought to our understanding that women were trained to go into the community and visit migrant families with the primary contacts mostly women. They acted as "buddies" to these women as they allow women to build some friendship even in their professionalism as project personnel. The structure of operation in this project where women in this social group can be visited in their home gives them a sense of belonging. Also, realizing that migrant women with young kids have challenges of taking part in language courses, the Black Community, through the women power project offered childcare to women who needed it.

Similarly, HIPPY (Home in structural program for parents of preschool youngsters) project, was put in place by Migrare for families with children in the ages between three and seven years. Experts indicated that trained women employees of Migrare visited the migrant mothers at home. I realise that a need of belonging could be met in the execution of these two women projects (HIPPY and Nachbarinnen). The Tandems project was a two-part project which was the networking tandem and intercultural tandem. Experts describe that in an intercultural tandem, a migrant woman is paired with a woman who is a native Austrian or woman born and raised in Austria. This project was such that, it gave the two different women one-on-one

contact as freely as they want, excluding the officially scheduled tandem meetings. For this reason, I deduce that connection made with the natives builds the immigrant's sense of belonging. Female African migrants rarely have close contact with natives, so in the tandem project, it goes a long way to link women from both sides up.

If I look into the *Zeit für dich* (Time for you) project periodic meetings where someone is willing to give the migrant a listening ear could as well be purported as providing a sense of belonging to the women. It does not only end with hearing problems but help in seeing solutions together. The *women power project*, *zeit für dich* and *tandems* were all projects that involved the gathering and coming together of women. Excluding the *tandems* project, all other meetings were open for every woman interested with no appointment nor registration needed. The liberty of this removes limitations and excuses as to why a woman interested cannot join in. As part of the female clients' wellbeing, both NGOs initiated leisure activities. For instance, in the women power project, women were sponsored to take part in swimming beginner classes. This sponsorship was for women to broaden their leisure activity options. Again, giving the women a reason to step out of home and mingle with other women participants. Women migrants engaging in these activities could help to reduce the isolation of the social group. Respondents mentioned that all the projects had scheduled recreational times out for participating members. NGOs planned excursions and some outings for entertainment purposes for these female migrants occupied mostly with informal caring.

When looking into basic services offered, NGOs took several measures to ensure **the provision of social welfare** in their support given. Project development experts of the two NGOs indicated that to make life much more comfortable, they instituted social works to provide migrant families with the possibility of finding their feet in Austria with time. Projects of the Black Community were *meine nue heimat* (my new home) and *women power* projects. Migrare also had *Nachbarinnen*, *HIPPY* and Tandems to serve the purpose of welfare provision. The description of experts as to what assisting in settlement of migrant clients entails, it was revealed that migrant women were helped with orienting themselves in Austria. In tandems project, knowing other migrants who have made it assisted with the settlement of the new immigrants. HIPPY and nachbarinnen projects had their social workers frequently visiting the migrant families. HIPPY centred on families with young kids, it gives them a sense of priority in meeting their needs. As the discussion in the challenges revealed, the vulnerability of these women to a difficult integration was high. Also, non-integration of the migrant mothers has adverse consequences for their children. To avoid negative effects on the migrant children

could presumably be the reason for extended help given the mothers. *Nachbarinnen* project offers interpretation; language and early childhood intervention training to mothers and young kids in the family. *Meine nue heimat* project focuses on the settlement of these women in the area of housing search support. Experts are of the view that this helps to address the many housing problems of their clients.

Migrare did not have a project for housing search but managed housing search support by giving clients in need information. They emphasised places that had openings and channels through which the female migrants could get help. NGO consultants passed on information during general consultancy and through the *nachbarinnen* and *HIPPY* projects when the "buddies" visited migrant families.

NGO clients received help to know the right office to go and having the correct documents to present. NGOs also gave clients administrative, translation, interpretation, writing and language support. HIPPY, nachbarinnen and women power projects were beneficial. Experts of Migrare account that in nachbarinnen and HIPPY, women go to the extent of moving out and acting as an escort for the female migrant clients. Personnel of the projects escorted women who had parent-teacher meeting appointments, hospital visits, labour market office appointment and all other formal institutional appointments they needed them for. The black community officials, likewise, mentioned that filling forms, making applications for welfare assistance and calls for booking appointments were regularly done for their clients.

This study finds that what emerges from the HIPPY and neighbours was interesting. Even when the migrant women are uncomfortable and reluctant to go out to seek support, the offers were brought to their doorsteps as support takes place in the homes of the migrant families. Experts stressed that project personnel mostly had the same mother tongue because the family to be visited was considered in the selection of personnel visitor for that family. Also, all home visitors were women with a migrant background, and this presumably could help them to be empathetic with the situations of the visiting migrant families.

# 7.2 Developing capacities

All respondents expressed concerns about the help migrant clients needed to be incorporated into society. As a result, NGOs helping to develop the women's capacities to fit into their Host

society of Austria was necessary. The study looks at the aspects of support for client's *human* development, economic development and employment, acculturation and building their social capital.

The caption **human development** was used as the broader theme of reasons that were given for support aspiring to result in the personal development of their clients. For both NGOs, all experts claimed that acquiring German language skills were ambivalent. This ambivalence of language got obvious from the repetitive comment of interviewees stating, "Learn the language and speak German". For this reason, the necessity connected to acquiring the host country language is a hurdle to be achieved for these migrants. Regardless of the support of language being critical to integrating, experts contend that there was more to integration in Austria than to centre it on the German language.

The support given in German language learning by NGOs took both formal and informal avenues. The black community sponsored language courses of clients who needed financial help. Payment for participating in classes was either fully paid or subsidized by the NGO. Experts emphasized that the NGOs in themselves do not offer courses. Migrare was not sponsoring language courses but assisted clients with registering with formal language institutions. Informally (and with this I mean not sitting in a language class to learn), women projects of Migrare supported in advancing the German language of clients. HIPPY trained mothers (sometimes includes the kids) so that the migrant mothers learn the German language and give appropriate training to their kids when needed. In tandems project, the one-on-one connection of migrant women with natives and the women who have lived in Austria for a long-time aide in improving the female migrants' German language skills.

The ability to speak german is often a challenge for African migrant women. Experts bring to the fore that speaking the German language is a vital aspect of being able to integrate in Austria. For this reason, giving the women avenues to practice is essential for their german-speaking fluency. Whatever be the limitation an individual faces as a migrant, some good can be exerted from those misplaced and shattered positive expectancies migrants had upon their migration to Austria. Experts of NGOs indicated that they help women build skills that could make life easier. In a highly technological era, experts expressed worry about how most migrant women with smartphones barely put it to its maximum use. The *women power* project gives computer training skills and likewise the *let's go digital* project of Migrare. The initiation of these

projects was to help migrant women who had limited knowledge in technology and smart device operations get up to date with having and checking their emails.

Women migrants were empowered as one of the ways to ensure their human development. In HIPPY, families with children are empowered to take charge of the upbringing of their children in a non-familiar environment of Austria. Experts bring to our understanding that the constant advice, information and counselling during visits equips the mothers to nurture the children in these families. These were done to be able to exude migrant families from suffering from social exclusion as a result of ignorance. Again, migrant mothers could prepare their kids for the Austrian schooling system. In Zeit für dich project, meeting moderators who are the staff of Migrare also motivate the migrant women. They are encouraged not to give up in fighting the problematic situations they face as migrants. In tandems project, migrants who have settled in well in Austria by finding their places share their experiences to equip the new female migrants. Also, migrant women struggling to settle in Austria receive help through counselling and consultation appointments of the NGOs. Interviewees explained NGOs use gatherings such as tandems meetings to encourage and motivate the women, especially those discriminated against. By so doing, the experts purport the feeling of inferiority reduces because women are inspired to believe in themselves. Another reported reason for support was to provide information to NGO clients. One expert puts it this way:

"people of foreign origin are lost in Austria as they do not know where to get information, but we know that information is power.... Information should circulate. They should be informed. They should know what is happening; we find a way of informing them" (MI 2)

In the provision of information, NGOs explain the modalities of structures and procedures when it comes to welfare support offers of the state.

"African women clients are a lot misinformed on how to take services of support from the public service, especially the one for youth and children affairs. The staff we have help them to build this bridge that exists by giving them the right information" (MI 3)

The nachbarinnen, HIPPY, women power and the women consultancy all render accurate information to clients. HIPPY resource persons give information to mothers as to where to get what, be it educational shopping items, social help, etc. Also, in the networking tandem project, group meetings were organized. Likewise, the Zeit für dich project, in these meetings NGOs passed on information to the women. To reach more migrants with information and not only clients they know or visit, but the Black Community also used migrant association meetings, church services, social media and emails. As part of their collaborative ventures, information is passed on to the African population from the city of Linz integration department. They have broader access to migrant information thus are helpful.

As part of giving the support of training formally or educationally, NGO experts account that the Nachbarinen and Hippy projects gave women educational training. By so doing developing them for the engagement in the society of immigrants who have to wish to pursue academics in Austria. Migrare experts pointed out that their institution liaised with Fachhochschule (university of applied science) to train highly skilled women, migrants, to qualify as social workers. The training took seven months after which the Upper Austrian University of Applied Sciences accredited successful women with a qualified social worker certificate. For others who wished to, each received a certificate and ECTS point so they could use it maybe later on for a study advancement. With HIPPY, there was also the opportunity for migrant mothers to learn other things for the development of their young ones in Austria. Again, black community experts mentioned that they had joint projects with the upper Austrian chamber of commerce and labour to give educational training in professional fields. Migrare liaises with Fachhochschule to train women to qualify as social workers.

In the interviewee discussions, experts highlight those female African migrants who migrate to Austria are mostly on family reunification visas. These visas give them a limitation with access to labour market entry until after a specific time. In these periods of waiting, NGOs offer support of economically developing themselves. Thus, to enter the labour market when they regally have the right to do so. The women who can have access to the labour market but are currently unemployed and searching benefitted from these offers of support. These offers were captioned under the theme of reasons being for **economic development and employment.** Experts executed consent by granting Labour market services to clients. For the case of Migrare, opportunities and data labour market offers were made available to them and these guides them in helping migrants search for jobs. In a collaborative project with the labour

market service office of Austria, Migrare NGO offered support. The emerged project from the collaboration was the *Komln* project. Migrare offered nostrification service to assist with official recognition of certificates for employment. Experts put forward that the Kaleidoscope service helps migrants know their competences and the case of these possibilities in the labour market. Consultants identified competence and put it in writing when certificates of some clients were not recognised.

Interview respondents echoed that even though some women have studied further here, and certificates are recognised, they are unable to work in their areas of study. Instead, they are allowed to take on learning a vocation to find a job. Thus, to increase the employability of clients, the black community offered subsidies for courses in vocational and technical areas to interested clients. Further, they supported women who were struggling with the German language by providing cost subsidies to help interested migrants partake in courses which are sometimes too expensive for them to afford. There is also a search for language course offering that provide childcare services to make the women with care obligations take part. NGOs to support the economic instability of migrant engaged qualified women as employees. Experts reveal that the staff strength of Migrare was 90%, migrant workers. The situation is the same with the Black community. Interviewees informed that the HIPPY and neighbours projects afforded women employment with Migrare after their courses of study. This submission was apparent in the quote below:

"We had a project in the form of street work consisting of two parts. In the first part of the project which has ended, the women had a study course programme structured for selected women which were drafted together with a partner institution being the institute of applied sciences in upper Austria. After the course, out of sixteen women, four of them got the chance to work with the Migrare as an institution in the project, "nachbarinnen" in the city of Linz". (MI 1)

NGOs conducted training and career development for entrepreneurs. The black community had the project titled, "let's talk business". In this project, they had regular meetings with entrepreneurs and self-employed women. At the meeting, invited resource persons representing the chamber of commerce and labour, gave guidance and advice on how the women can achieve excellence in their business ventures in Austria. Furthermore, there was also let's go digital project for migrant women. Interviewee expert described that the target group was for women

with lower knowledge and skills in technologies and manipulating smart devices. They could benefit from the training and workshops provided by Migrare. The project helped women to know how they can access their emails, use their smartphones, and give them awareness on how they can make use and communicate via social media. NGOs offered training and workshops to women actively searching for jobs. This offer was for the women to learn how they can write winning CVs and access the website of the labour market service in Austria. NGOs were hopeful to aide women migrants in developing career opportunities and employability for easy labour market entry. Again, to enter the labour market, it was essential to meet some requirements in Austria. Three interviewees expressed that they expected that with entering the labour market and finding suitable jobs it could help the women to be financially stable and self-sufficient.

All expert respondents, when asked about what integration required in Austria, stressed that it was one-sided. They argued that the need to assist the women in taking on the culture of the host Austrian society was a necessity. When acculturing clients to norms and practices of Austria, NGOs were guided with programmes and understandings of how the women could live as such. Women were shown through demonstrations on how to engage in particular sports and shared Austrian food recipes. An interviewee accentuates that in the tandem project, Migrare aimed at cultural networking of the women. In this project, female migrants get to know the Austrian culture and understand by learning to live in Austria from the natives. One expert was of the view that in conversations and encounters over time, they come to appreciate their visible diversities. In information evenings and women periodic meetings, female migrants received given information on how the system works in Austria. In these meetings, NGOs entreated their clients to be good citizens. The meine neu heimat project of the Black community helped in the acculturation of the housing settlement of the women. Experts reveal that they advise clients on how to live at peace and be able to build a relationship with their new neighbours. As part of acculturing into being good citizens, workshops were sometimes organised by NGOs on how to file taxes, especially for the self-employed.

Social capital describes the benefit one gains as a resource for having built a relationship with others (Palloni et al., 2001). When reviewing the aspiration for building the **social capital** of migrants, the study found that connecting migrants with others, especially natives, possibly influenced the increase in women's social networks. Interviewees emphasised the importance of having personal relationships with other migrants and natives as helping to ensure an easier

integration. Regardless, African migrant women are mostly not seen in societal engagements. An interviewee commented saying:

"mainly because of the isolation which they have, I think a lot of the women live at home and do not take part in society. I think African women are often in a closed group, and it is very difficult to get them out to come together with other women groups". (MI 3)

NGOs, as a result, tried to create avenues to help the social group meet others and socialise. The female migrants were especially meeting locals as in the tandems project. NGOs geared all of these efforts towards supporting the networking of their clients. Engagement in zeit fur dich project meetings and attending events ensures more interaction and thus, reducing isolation. Reduced isolation of women aides them in having more chances of building social capital. Experts were also of the view that their female client's involvement in the attendance of programmes, seminars, and workshops expands their social networks. Through some of their meetups, experts were sure that this creates opportunities their clients would typically not have found more comfortable doing. In social networking, it came to light that the black community assisted more in connecting clients with the community of migrants than natives as the majority of their projects scarcely indulged natives.

#### 7.3 Giving Voice

The African migrant women are a minority social group in Austria. For this reason, the study sought to know how NGOs help them to be heard in Austrian society. This sub-section delves into the advocacy role played by the NGOs on behalf of the social group. The thesis assesses how NGOs meet public advocacy, political advocacy and legal advocacy.

In delivering support for **Public advocacy** of the social group, NGOs acted as a common front inputting information in the public domain the situational experiences of their clients. As discussed in section 5.2 of the results of the study, the marginalization the social group encounter imposes negative consequences on their integration. NGOs spoke against the discriminatory actions of the public against the social group of African migrant women. Experts mentioned that they engage in activities to show their displeasure for the discrimination

their clients face. NGOs organised campaigns and demonstrations in their bid to stop racism. Publicly, they created awareness through electronic and social media platforms as a way of exposing discrimination suffered by their clients. Experts indicated their use of public lectures, symposiums, seminars and workshops to bring to the fore intersectional vulnerabilities of their clients. Experts were of the view that sometimes people were not aware of the consequences of their actions until it is made known to them. Thus, making them knowledgeable in one way or the other could help stop the marginalization of the social group. Migrare experts express that in training with other organisations, especially the state institutions, they exchange ideas on how best to deal with migrants in their line of duty considering the challenges they face in Austria.

"We are a reference point for the government. When they want to reach out to the African migrants". (BCI 2)

In serving as an advocate, they act as middlemen passing on information from the state government that needs to reach their clients.

NGOs organized cultural and sports activities to get the natives and their clients together. With these, NGOs hoped that with time locals could get a better understanding, know and appreciate the clients of the social group and let go of their preconceived ideas of who they are. Interviewees explained that they conducted these activities to encourage a positive attitude in interacting with the members of the social group.

In exerting **political advocacy**, experts acknowledged that politicians over the years had been influenced with right-wing anti-immigrant decisions, thus making integration a hard one for the social group. Experts from the Migrare NGO on government advisory boards used these mediums in advocating for the fair treatment of their clients when integrating. The NGO experts wrote petitions to politicians where need be for better policies to work in favour of their clients. To add, Migrare and Black Community supported their female clients by giving a common voice in representing what comes as matters of concern from the women to the government. An interviewee states clearly:

"...so it is very important to put together these cases of discrimination and make it known to the public. I think individual complaints do not go far, but when done as a group, it works better." (MI 3)

Both NGOs exuded **Legal advocacy** services to clients. In their consultancy sessions with clients, experts make known what is due to their clients as they educate them on their rights even as migrants in the host society. Migrare respondents revealed that their trained legal experts looked into enacted policies to fight for better conditions for their clients. NGOs pushed for more supportive policies and initiatives to ensure the migrants were given and received humanitarian support so they can feel at ease in their living in Austria. Nevertheless, there seemed to be blatant employer discrimination towards the social group, which was still a struggle for the NGOs to deal with in helping their clients. In such cases, experts indicated that their NGOs had allied with other legal organisation to work better approaches to meeting the needs of their clients. The Black Community was with the European Network Against Racism and Migrare was with an organization called Klagsverband in Vienna. These associations were all in efforts taken to combat discrimination in Austria.

# 8. DIMENSIONS OF MIGRANT INTEGRATION IN RETROSPECT

In this chapter, results are presented on how the support and its detailed justification, falls in place when categorized in the Schunck (2011) constructed dimensions of integration. I present findings using a tabular and figurative diagram. The diagrams summarize the specific support offered to the women, correlated against the constructed dimensions of integration of a migrant. The use of these diagrams also helps to make the integration justification clearer when deducing from the description that characterises the support. Building on the parameters of the dimensions of integration as stipulated by Richard Schunk (2011), this is executed.

Cultural integration addresses support that helps to attain "knowledge and skills" of one's host society. These include shared values and norms acceptable in society and what is more, the preferences of the native Austrian. Structural integration covers integrating into the "core spheres" of the society such as labour market, education, housing and every major institution of Austria. Social integration describes an achieving integration in the area of "interacting and making contact" with the majority population of Austria. Emotional integration entails the support with gaining a sense of "identity and belonging" for these migrants.

I present in this study support NGOs had as interventions for women clients. Also, how each support, as described and justified, plays a role in the specific dimensions of migrant integration for the female African migrants.

Table 2 (NGOs support relevant to achieving dimensions of migrant integration) in the thesis displays the described concept.

	Integration Dimensions			
	Cultural	Structural	Social	Emotional
NGO Support	Integration	Integration	Integration	Integration
Projects				
Meine Neue Heimat (My new				
home)		•	•	
Komm Rein (Come in)		•	•	•
Let's Talk Business	•	•	•	
KomIn		•		•
Zeit für Dich (Time for you)	•	•	•	•
Women Power Project	•	•	•	•
Tandems				
(Intercultural/Networking)	•		•	•
HIPPY	•	•	•	•
Nachbarinnen (Neighbours)	•	•	•	•
Let's Go Digital		•	•	
Services				
Psychosocial Counselling			•	•
Counselling for Women	•	•	•	•
Rights and Legal Consultancy		•	•	•
<b>Labour Market Consultancy</b>	•	•	•	
Nostrification		•		
Competence Kaliedoscope		•		
Administrative Assistance	•	•	•	•
Events				
Outings	•		•	•
Seminars	•	•	•	
Workshops	•	•	•	
Public Lectures	•	•		
Symposiums	•	•	•	
Literature Day	•		•	
Information Evenings	•	•	•	•

Table 2: NGOs support relevant to achieving dimensions of migrant integration

- Support solely by Migrare= blue
- Support solely by Black community= yellow
- Support by both (not offered together) = green

In understanding the framework in Table 2, I make an example for clarity:

In the *let's go digital* project of Migrare, chapter eight of the thesis explains the aim for executing the project. Even though interviewees do not explicitly state the integration dimension it is meant to support, I assess how the project is executed to build the technical skills of the women. I saw that after training, it could help women get the knowledge to access their emails, apply for jobs online, use social media and interact with people via the internet. When examining what each dimension stands for, the support is checked with dot to indicate the dimensions it contributes to. Let's go digital project in the framework above, contributes to achieving structural (build technological skill and employment search support avenue) and social integration (more social interaction using the internet) of the migrant woman.

After probing how the interventions as support were justified in the dimensions of integration classification, I access the reasons captured and how it is relevant for achieving each dimension of integration. I assessed the reasons that justified support. Using the four dimensions of integration stipulated by Richard Schunk (2011), this is executed. The categories presented as justifying reasons for NGO contributions were the support of wellbeing, health and provision of welfare services. Then I had for Human Development, Economic Development & Employment, Acculturation, and Social Capital. Also, there were reasons for Public Advocacy, Political Advocacy and Legal Advocacy (Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann 2017, p. 1855-1859). Results presented below depicts where each of these themes fits in when explored from the dimensions of immigrant integration perspective. I must emphasize that these dimensions are shown in no particular order of importance. They are also not interconnected. This is illustrated in figure 4:

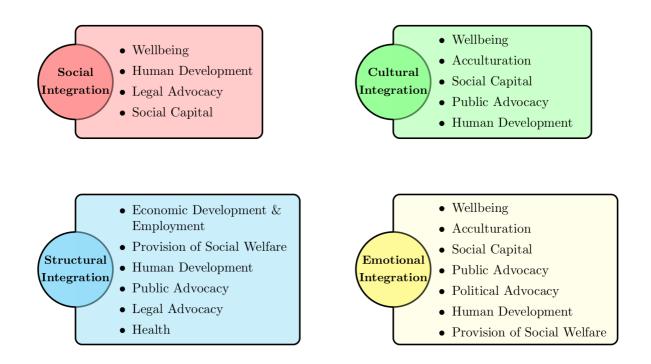


Figure 4: Reasons for support represented in dimensions of integration

To understand the above in Figure 4, I make an example below:

When support has the motive of ensuring the wellbeing, human development, legally advocates and building social capital, it will result in achieving the social integration fulfilment of the migrant. From the above figure, it could inform us of where a particular intervention or support will be directed at if these motives are factored in intervention formulation.

#### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I summarize the main results of the study and discuss some of the results, considering other empirical findings of researchers. I conclude the thesis as I highlight the limitations of the work and make some recommendations based on the results of the study.

NGOs in the study had three primary forms of support. These were rendering services, executing periodic activities and communication and advocacy offers for migrant clients. I describe the challenges of the social group, which resulted from the consequences of being marginalised. The challenges included a high incidence of discrimination in Austria. Experts attributed persisting discrimination to Austria having a weak penal code for discrimination offence. Experts deduce that the weak penalty for discrimination in Austria could be a reason for its frequency against the social group. Discrimination faced was from the notion that Africans are lowly esteemed in the social stratification of society. This perception transcends into having fewer chances of being employed in the host society. African migrant women are hardly taken for job offers. If they are fortunate to enter the labour market, low skilled and lower-level jobs are given to them. Most African female migrants have problems transferring academic and professional qualifications. For this reason, most highly skilled African migrant women are deskilled in Austria because they are not functioning in areas they qualify to work. In the labour market, they experience workplace discrimination by client or customers and among their colleagues and supervisors.

The nature of jobs the female African migrants have is not secured enough leading to unstable finances. The women are often constrained because they are low skilled, have menial jobs and earn a low income. The social group scarcely enjoy unemployment benefits. Finding suitable housing is a challenge for African migrant women because the owners scarcely rent their properties to them. The community and state housing options could be an option, but unfortunately, the women rarely meet the given eligibility requirements for these housing offers. African migrant women are also often in isolation. Social interaction and engagement in activities in society record less participation for members of the social group. Even in the bigger migrant groups, they are often not present. Attitude wise, they are labelled as radical, violent and primitive. For this reason, these women are not accorded due respect and trust in Austria.

The study revealed the challenges encountered by having a weak support system. Most African families holding on to patriarchal culture had effects on the support women get in the care roles. More often, African migrant women are not qualified for welfare state care support. The reason for not receiving care space is because they do not meet child care entitlement eligibility. As a result, the women fall out of the major avenues to being well integrated when they have younger children. The social group recorded high domestic violence and health problems resulting from frustration and depression of being marginalised as well as family-related issues. Meeting the integration of the German language requirement is also a struggle. Female African migrants often lack vital information because they have few avenues of getting information.

NGO experts highlighted that integration in Austria was rather assimilative in practice. Integration policies and requirements in Austria focused more on acculturating the female African migrants into society. In this regard, in helping to support the social group, steps taken are guided by these assimilative situations. NGOs offered support using projects, services and events to ensure the essential provision of service needs. They also help develop women capacities for comfortable livelihood in Austria and giving them a voice in their host society. When justifying support with these reasons, I identified that the two NGOs gave support interventions to cover all the dimensions of migrant integration stipulated by Richard Schunck. According to Schunck (2011), if host society fulfils all the dimensions of integration put forward, the integration will work well.

Also, findings from this study indicate that African migrant women need to feel a sense of belonging in Austria, which they lack. This dominating area of support for African women's emotional and structural integration requires more input from the NGOs. Regardless of these findings, the feasibility of achieving an "Austrian integration", that is to be deemed well-integrated in Austria, cultural integration is a necessity. Specifically, acculturation of the social group in Austria is an essential factor to ensure their integration. The adoption of the theory of migrant integration (Schunck, 2014; Schunck, 2011) to guide us, reveals that Austria overlooks coverage of some integration dimensions. Unfortunately, this makes achieving a successful integration hard for migrants who fall into the social group.

The first research question in this study sought to explore the challenges of African migrant women as a social group in integrating in Austria. When seeking answers to this topic of

enquiry, marginalisation consequences emerged as dominant challenges for the female African migrants. Intersectional theoretical works (Hillsburg, 2013; McCall, 2005; Christensen and Jensen, 2012; Windsong 2018) have brought to the fore that in having identities which the social group in the study have, a high chance of marginal vulnerability should be expected. Regardless of this, the thesis found that there are problematic preconceptions of Africans. As a result, undoubtedly, inclusion and acceptance of this social group are less likely to be an easy one even if successful. Results indicating the willingness of the social group to integrate, despite their efforts to do so, they were always met with discrimination that was often beyond their control. For instance, the frequent incidence of racial discrimination in Austria reflects the attitude of native Austrians who make inclusion effort difficult for African female migrants. Unfortunately, this discrimination is because of a lowly perception they have of who the social group are.

Avramov (2009) pinpoints that natives of a host society will usually show discrimination for a minority group of migrants by displaying an unwelcoming attitude towards the migrant group. He argues that this might be for the fear that the social group will be in competition with them for their resources, especially jobs. Yet, for this study, I see that in Austria, it is not for fear of competition when it comes to this social group. Because the female African migrants instead take up the jobs, the natives would not do. Intersectional theoretical discourse enlightens us that the social group with the identities of being black and African are more vulnerable to discrimination in their host society especially in the labour market (Garces-Mascarena and Pennix, 2016; Neuwirth 1999, p. 57). The discrimination bias is then as a result of the lowly perception for their identity diversity in particular.

The discrimination discussed is not only the race, but unfortunately, it becomes an intensifier to the vulnerability of the social group being discriminated. Gomes (2006) addresses a "compounded disadvantage" situation when such eventualities happen. She argues that even though women generally have to encounter a lot of social inequalities because of their gender than the men, when other factors of discriminatory identities come in, it is worse for the women (ibid). Gomes describes this as the "compounded disadvantage" (ibid, p.27). On the issue of being disadvantaged, Boler (2018) brings to the fore that the Austrian Equal Treatment Act gives penal consequences for any form of discrimination because of racial, ethnic origin or gender. With a legal act in place, one may then ask why discrimination pertains in Austrian society. Experts raised this in the findings stating that they observed the penal code not punitive

enough to be a deterrent. For this reason, there was a need to work on the discriminatory penal code to make it more punitive.

Apart from having lowly perception, there is a significant attribution to the attitude of the natives as being more closed in reception. The attitude of native Austrians being into themselves and not open does not help in the integration process. Researcher Dirk Rupnow confirms this in a claim that Austrians generally do not engage much with migrants. Also, there is a lot of expectation from the migrant, whilst very little is done by natives to ensure integration in the host country (Bischof and Rupnow, 2017). In support of this, Stepien (2008) highlights that integration is understood as having adopted an Austrian lifestyle and assimilating into Austrian society. Also, natives expect the migrant to have good control of the German language and have a stable income. The current study findings confirm this claim of who is recognized as well integrated in Austria. Stepien further claims that making the Austrian host society a "new home" has been a "broken dream" for migrants (ibid, p.169). Similar to Stepien's claim, this thesis found out that in the integration process, most African migrant women have had a shuttered expectancy. Most African migrant women's hope to a better life in Austria was not met and also not they do not feel belonged.

However, the problematic integration of the social group can also be attributed to an antimigrant stance of most politicians for migrants from Africa. Migration of non-EU citizens to Austria has not been something new because it has existed since the 1960s (Bischof and Rupnow, 2017). They enlighten us that people from Turkey and Yugoslavia came in as migrant workers. Fast forward into 2015, there was a heightened migration to Austria and the EU at large from the non-EU countries (ibid). Unfortunately, even though the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen Austria as an "immigration country" (ibid, p.39), it does not exhibit such in its migrant integration policies. Unfortunately, policy implications reinforce challenges for the social group when integrating.

The pertaining political divide has caused an increase in anti-immigrant sentiments in the public sphere as well. Austrian Migrant policy legislation has different visas for third-country nationals (Africans fall in this category). The residence visa most regular female migrants from Africa hold has restrictions for labour market participation. The visa rules prevent the societal participation of the women. Migration laws restricting labour market participation of the social group often affect the host country's welfare financially. The reason for this is because African women cannot make contributions in the form of taxes for financing the welfare system.

Unfortunately, there is a constant increase in the number of regular female African migrants in Austria. Non-contribution of the women would over-time, not be favourable for the economy of the welfare state. If given the room to integrate as early as possible, it will go a long way to help the country as they get into the system and do not have to always fall on social welfare support to manage their costs of living in the host country. Gomes (2006) accentuates that the certainty of having a lasting and sustainable welfare state could get hampered if measures are so restrictive for migrants. As a result, not being integrated comes not only as causing harm to the African migrant women but also a cost to the host society.

In as much as Austria has a robust and advanced welfare system, there are restrictions for the third-country national to benefit from this (Permoser and Rosenberger, 2012). Gomes (2006) argues that sometimes the support given by the state alienates other families by the process of not giving them access due to bureaucratic processes and eligibility criteria that exempts them. I see this in Austria for their welfare support and subsidy entitlements. Being "integrated" is a necessity for third-country migrants who wish to live in Austria. Fulfilling the integration agreement is a requirement for the social group. In the agreement, one signs to a language requirement which ought to be fulfilled in two years or lose residency. Duncan Fraser states that the name, "integration agreement is misleading" (2010, p. 346). He argues that the integration agreement is focused mainly in the area of language knowledge to prove integration. Austrian policies of integration centred on acquiring the German language only achieves cultural integration of the migrant (Permoser and Rosenberger, 2012; Stepien, 2008). As a result, succumbing a migrant to Austrian cultures and values as well as having a way of controlling the immigration flow is what Austrian Integration stands for (Permoser and Rosenberger, 2012). As a result, ensuring participation of the immigrant is not the main reason for this "integration agreement" (ibid). In Austria, having access to fundamental social and human rights are preconditioned with German language proficiency of the African migrant. In this thesis, experts point out that state or community housing (having shelter as a human right) acquisition and subsidies are accessible for African migrants only after meeting language requirements. Such impositions as these, reinforce inequalities in society and could encourage disintegration.

An interesting finding was the subsidiary role being played by the state in supporting the integration of migrants. Experts of both NGOs bring to the fore that the state government finances most of the support they give migrants. When this happens, I realise that migrant NGOs are relegated in taking up the work of integrating migrants. As a result, NGO

interventions ought to be in line with helping to meet the need of the migrant. Besides, they seem to be the most feasible go-to resort for the social group when they have problems. In the study of Migrare and the Black community as cases, several interventions are in place to help their clients in the arena of support to integrating in Austria. I find that building the social capital of the social group is a priority of NGOs to created networking with natives. The purpose of using social capital is consistent with work done on social capital and international migration. In this article by Palloni et al., (2001) they explain that Social capital is not a physical resource but then serves as a source of value because it helps to equip individuals by networking them. When this network exists, people who form a part of this have access to information and resources for which they usually would not have known or had if not for this network created (ibid).

From the findings of support rendered, the cultural, emotional, structural and social integration dimensions are all captured in what these NGOs offer. Despite this coverage, for the social group under study who face a lot of discrimination in society, Garkisch, Heidingsfelder and Beckmann (2017) give a caution. They stress that to focus on the wellbeing of the migrants is essential, but when facing a form of discrimination, third sector organisations need to render more support to ensure belonging of the migrant. In other words, NGOs ought to prioritise fulfilling the sense of belongingness of the female African migrants.

In conclusion, the study puts forward that there is a high cost an African migrant woman pays to fulfil integration in Austria. Esser (2001) postulates that in a society where marginalisation of a migrant minority group is present, it is required of the members of the group to assimilate because "integration" does not become realised for the migrant. Conditions of marginalisation cause the segmentation of the social group. In that, when marginalised by the majority in the host society, the marginalised group get comfortable integrating and incorporating themselves only in the "host ethnic society of the migrant" (ibid). It is therefore essential to know that if marginalised African migrant women get segmented, they will not achieve integration in Austrian society.

As part of the limitations of the study findings, I would like to state that I do not generalise the results for all countries hosting regular African migrant women. Not generalising is for the reason that the study considered only the living situation in Austria amidst the policies and conditionalities of what it takes to integrate as a migrant in Austria. Also given the two NGOs used in this study, both are small compared to other established NGOs in Austria. For these

reasons, caution should be taken when interpreting the results of the study. Also, the results cannot be extrapolated to reflect all other migrant NGOs in Austria. Furthermore, as the study limited itself to only regular African migrants, conclusions do not represent challenges of every African migrant woman in Austria. Other female migrant categories include refugees, asylum seekers and illegal migrants who possibly have different issues and interventions that are not captured here in the thesis.

Based on the findings of this study, to help to combat the discrimination faced by the social group, there is a need for review of the penal code in the equal treatment laws. A more punitive consequence could ensure the reduction in high racial discrimination the female African migrants face. Also, an investigation should be taken to know the bureaucracies acting as bottlenecks that cause the social group to desist from lodging complaints when victimised. Additionally, there is a need for the Austrian welfare state to consider the struggles of the female African migrant when formulating migrant policies for third-country nationals from the African region. There are family-friendly policies in Austria but not friendly enough for the African migrant woman. Eligibility requirements for social support, especially in the care of young children should be extended to all, regardless of how long one has stayed in the host country. Executing this could help the social group combine work and family life, resulting in an easier structural integration into the Austrian Society.

If the government of Austria continues to play subsidiarity role when integrating regular migrants in Austria, then NGOs should be adequately funded. When NGOs have enough funds, it can capacitate them to give more support to the female African migrants. I deduce from the study findings that to achieve integration, the social group require special attention and support strategies compared to the larger group of migrants in Austria. For the NGOs, more interventions in the spectrum of bridging the gap between natives and migrants in this social group could be helpful. Natives having more association with the social group can help withdraw the differentiation and negative mentality they have of the social group. Getting to know at least one person from the social group on a personal level devoid of perception, could allay their fears and dissolve the lowly placed stratification of the social group in the Austrian society.

Despite the revelatory results in this study, it is essential to note that all information in the study were from the institutional NGOs experts' perspective. Because of this, further work is needed to get more validation of how support meets the integration need of the female African migrant

from the women's perspective too. Possible strategies from the women could help us have more salient avenues for their success in Austrian integration.

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## Appendix 1

# **Guide questions for experts**

#### **SOCIAL SUPPORT:**

• Could you briefly describe how you support African migrant women?

(Depending on the answer,)

Do you also provide any services concerning

Cultural integration (acquisition of knowledge and skills, such as language, knowledge of norms, etc)

Structural Integration (immigrants' positioning and the participation of migrants in core spheres of the receiving society – such as the labour market.)

Social Integration (interaction and contact with the autochthonous population, i.e. friendships, intermarriage, etc.)

Emotional integration (aspects of identity and belonging)

• What has been the motivation behind these services you provide?

#### **CHALLENGES:**

- Can you briefly describe your clientele background?
- What are the main challenges of African women that get in touch with you for consultation concerning their integration in Austria?
- Based on your consultation experience are there particular issues that black African migrant women come with?

### MOTIVE FOR SUPPORT

- What has been the service interventions of your organization in helping to address these challenges faced by the black African migrant women?
- Apart from the general services for your clients, what is your opinion can be done to support the integration of black African migrant women?

## Appendix 2

## **Interview Consent Form**

This consent form is to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement as an interviewee and agree to participate in the study.

- You have received enough information about this research work and understand your role in it.
- You are voluntarily taking part in this project and understand that you don't have to forcefully participate.
- That you have the right not to answer questions if you feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session. Also, the right to withdraw from the interview and ask that the data collected before the withdrawal be deleted.
- You permit the researcher to take notes during the interview and the interview is audio- recorded. Of this interview, a transcript produced and analyzed by the researcher. The audio recording will be saved under a pin code on my smartphone and will be deleted permanently after receiving the results of the submitted thesis.
- You agree that any summary interview content, or direct quotations from the interview, that are made for academic purposes will be anonymized so that you cannot be identified, and care will be taken to ensure that other information in the interview that could identify yourself is not revealed. This will be done by changing your name and disguising any details of your interview which may reveal your identity.
- You understand that all information you provide for this study will be treated confidentially.

Participant's Signature/ Date	Researcher's Signature/ Date