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The Non-Governmental Organisational Support given to African Women when Integrating in Austria

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HEFT 12





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Executive Summary

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.

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.) 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.

It is of no doubt that the integration of all migrants in every country require 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. Further, it reveals the disadvantaged positions and vulnerabilities one is faced with in Austria with an identity as an African migrant woman.

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 perspec-

tive 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 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 the 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 centered

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 Ma"tzke, 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 nonstate 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.

In my studying of literature and what it brings onboard the migrant integration discourse, I realized 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. In my thesis, 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.

3. Research design

As earlier indicated, **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". 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. 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. In this regard, the **research questions** posed were as below:

- 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?

For the data collection process, 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. Interviews were used as a qualitative data collection method to enhance the gathering of in-depth information needed for this study (Alshengeeti, 2014) from six migrant NGO experts. 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 but guided with a checklist I conducted a one-onone, face-to-face interview with all interviewees. 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.

I conducted **analysis** of interview data. In answering the question of **challenges faced**, the analytical question posed to my data was

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

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. The analytical question posed was: "What are the interventions for African women migrants? How is the intervention executed, and for what reasons are

these done to support their integration?" **See illustrated in Figure 1.**

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**.

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. 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. See the sample illustration of the diagram to be used in figure 2.

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.

Fig. 1: Analysing Support Analytical framework

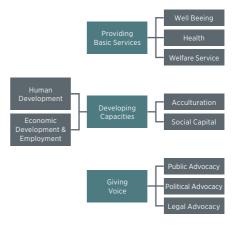


Fig. 2: Reasons for NGO support classification in dimensions of integration sample illustration



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

		Integration Dimensions						
NGO Support	Cultural Integration	Structural Integration	Social Integration	Emotional Integration				

4. 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. The services were consultancies, counselling, administrative support, labour market service and housing search support. 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, 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 above description is summarized in a figurative illustration in **Figure 3.**

Fig. 3: Forms of NGO Support for Clients



5. Challenges faced by african migrant women in the integration process

In this section I sought to know what the challenges for the women were, which called for these offers of support from the NGOs. 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. These living situations made them vulnerable to a problematic integration process.

ity 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. 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. 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.

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the opportunities they had to enter the

labour market in Austria. The national-

5.1 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. The unequal treatment the social group faced was shown to not

Moreover, marginalization 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. Respondents 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.

One could consider the renting of cooperative and state-owned housing

could as options because these are more affordable but unfortunately, renting with these bodies also had some hindrances for the eligibility of the women. These hinderances include the administrative requirements which majority of the women do not qualify for. Interviewees bring to our understanding that the administrative conditionalities enabling registration for cheaper housing options, excluded most of these women in Austria.

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. 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.

5.2 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.

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. 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. Experts indicated that migrant families who were with children of preschool age struggled to combine care and work (Black Community Interviewee 2; Migrare Interview 2). In effect, having young kids was one of the difficult challenges for African women clients.

Acquiring the German language, which is the formal and communicative language in Austria, was challenging for most African migrant women. 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. 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. Experts explain that considering the barrier the female African mi-

grants have due to poor or no German language understanding, women were prone to be misinformed. It is unfortunately not surprising for the women to fall on hearsays as their primary source of information.

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.

6. Alleviating the challenging needs of african migrant women in austrian integration

Under this theme, I present findings on how the support NGOs provide helps to ease some if not all the challenging experiences the social group has to face and endure to be integrated in Austria. I take a look into what justifies the given support. One of the reasons for providing migrants with **basic services 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. 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 capacity

building included support for client's human development, economic development and employment, acculturation and building their social capital. With African migrant women as a minority social group in Austria, we looked at how the NGOs **give voice** to them by helping the group to be heard in Austrian society. An advocacy role is played and by so doing, the NGOs render Public, Political and Legal advocacy to their clients so they can feel at ease in their living in Austria.

7. Dimensions of migrant integration in retrospect

In this chapter, the presentation is on how the support and its detailed justification, falls in place when categorized in the Schunck (2011) constructed dimensions of integration. I display 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 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

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

	Integration Dimensions				
NGO Support	Cultural Integration	Structural Integration	Social Integration	Emotional Integration	
Projects					
Meine Neue Heimat (My new home)		•	•		
Komm Rein (Come in)		•	•	•	
Let's Talk Business	•	•	•		
Komln		•		•	
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		•	•	•	
Labour Market Consultancy	•	•	•		
Nostrification		•			
Competence Kaliedoscope		•			
Administrative Assistance	•	•	•	•	
Events					
Outings	•		•	•	
Seminars	•	•	•		
Workshops	•	•	•		
Public Lectures	•	•			
Symposiums	•	•	•		
Literature Day	•		•		
Information Evenings	•	•	•	•	

After probing how the interventions as support were justified in the dimensions of integration classification, I assess the reasons captured and how it is relevant for achieving each dimension of integration. I also assessed the reasons that justified support and using the four dimensions of integration stipulated by Richard Schunk (2011), this is executed. This is illustrated in figure 4. I must emphasize that these dimensions are shown in no particular order of importance. They are also not interconnected.

Fig. 4: Reasons for support represented in dimensions of integration →

Social Integration

- Wellbeing
- Human Development
- Legal Advocacy
- Social Capital

- Wellbeing
- Acculturation
- Social Capital
- Public Advocacy
- Human Development
- Provision of Social Welfare
- Human Development
- Public Advocacy
- Legal Advocacy
- Legal Advocacy
- Health

- Wellbeing
- Acculturation
- Public Advocacy
- Health

- Wellbeing
- Acculturation
- Public Advocacy
- Human Development
- Provision of Social Welfare

8. Discussion and conclusion

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. 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. In the labour market, they experience workplace discrimination by client or customers and

among their colleagues and supervisors. 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.

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. 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. 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, they do not feel belonged.

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 in-

crease 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 centered 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.

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.

Based on the findings of this study, it is obvious 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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