Rethinking Labor Market Participation through the Experiences of Turkish Immigrant Women in the Austrian Labor Market

By

Burcu Kisac

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Political Science

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Political Science

Supervisor: Associate Research Fellow Robert Sata

External Thesis Advisor: Associate Professor Violetta Zentai

Vienna, Austria

(2023)

CEU GmbH | Quellenstraße 51-55 | 1100 Vienna | Austria

Abstract

This thesis investigates Turkish immigrant women's labor market participation experiences in Vienna, Austria and it aims to explore the difficulties that Turkish immigrant women have to overcome to participate in the Austrian labor market and access qualified professions despite their citizenship, education, and language skills. The experiences of twenty women were analyzed using a qualitative interpretative approach. Based on the interviews, the difficulties that are experienced by Turkish immigrant women are diverse, and those difficulties impact immigrant women's life to varying degrees. These difficulties are the negative attitude of teachers at schools towards immigrants, the automatic identity given to women regardless of their appearance, lack of German language knowledge (especially for those who arrived under family reunification policies), stereotyping in workplaces, discrimination due to their names and adverse political and media discourses. The interviews also reveal that women of different generations go through unique challenges in accessing the education, linguistic, economic, and social life of the receiving country. The study concludes with a policy recommendation and a set of questions to be addressed in improving the labor market participation of Turkish immigrant women in Vienna, Austria.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, thanks to my friends, Cezar, Umair, Aida, Bálint and to my teachers, Angéla Kóczé, Viktoria Vajnai, Maria Nyerges, and Maya Jean Lo Bello, who always believed in me and have supported me along this journey.

I would also like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Robert Sata and Violetta Zentai who were patiently listening to my ideas and providing their feedback and insights to contribute to my research.

I am extremely grateful to Andreea Nicutar, my tutor who introduced me to Political Science and International Relations fields and supported me with her unique and mindful ideas and with her beautiful heart. You are very dear to me, Andreea.

I am very much thankful to each and every interviewee and politician, Tarik Mete and Faika El-Nagashi, who participated in my research with their important experiences, views, and time. I am also thankful to the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy for their contributions.

Table of Contents

Abstract i

Acknowledgements ii

Table of Contents iii

List of Figures, Tables, or Illustrations v

Introduction 1

Chapter 1 – Literature Review 5

1.1. Previous Immigration and Labor Market Studies 5

1.2. Intersectionality 10

Chapter 2 – Immigration and the Labor Market in Austria 12

2.1. The Austrian Labor Market 12

2.2. Turkish People in the Austrian Labor Market 16

Chapter 3 – Methodology and Data Collection 22

3.1. Methodology 22

3.2. Data Collection and Analysis: Interviews with Turkish Immigrant Women in Vienna 24

3.2.1. Personal Appearance: "They care about what you look like." 28

3.2.2. Language Barrier: "If I want to be accepted here, I need to talk German at a proper level." 34

3.2.3. Gender: "Being a woman was an advantage." 37

3.2.4. Being a foreigner: "The more west you come from the better." 38

3.2.5. Education, Networks and Names: "They prefer names that look like more integrated." 44

3.3. Interview with the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy 47

3.4. Interviews with Politicians 49

Chapter 4: Policy Recommendations 54

Conclusion 57

Bibliography 59

Bibliography (Figures and Tables) 61

List of Figures, Tables, or Illustrations

Figure 1: Foreign Labor in Austria 12

Figure 2: Vienna in Figures, 2021 13

Figure 3: National Origins and Labor-Force: Labor-Force Participation Rate; Population Age 15-65, 2009 19

Figure 4: Top 10 Nationalities for all residence titles issued 2018 (with change compared to the previous year) 20

Figure 5: Unemployment Rate by Sex-Annual Average 2018 21

Table 1: Turkish Immigrants 1945-1999 21

Table 2: Interviews with Turkish immigrant Women in Vienna 24

Table 3: Turkish women's employment-rate in Vienna and Austria 2020. Sources 47

Table 4: PES contact of women with Turkish migration background 2020 48

Table 5: Female Turkish employees (average stock) by economic sections (NACE) 2020 ... 49

Introduction

The Austrian government has been seeking foreign labor to fill the gap that arose after Austrians emigrated in large numbers to Germany, Switzerland, and the U.S. due to higher earnings and better employment opportunities in the decades following the postwar period (Münz 2011, 185; Mayer cited in Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 264). In 1961, the government planned to recruit temporary labor to close the labor gap by first employing Italian workers. In 1961, approximately 1,800 workers have been employed from Italy and in 1962, a recruitment agreement was signed with Spain. Austria's attitude was primarily inspired by the German and Swiss "guest worker" program (Münz 2011, 185). Due to the wage gap between the two countries, the efforts of Austria did not induce greater flows of workers; Italians and Spaniards also had the opportunity to go to other Western European countries. The Austrian government set up recruitment offices in Turkey and Yugoslavia as a part of the guest worker agreement signed with Turkey in 1963 and with Yugoslavia in 1966. This agreement mainly targeted workers who possessed low skills or qualify as unskilled workers (Münz 2011, 185) and was framed within the concept that immigration from Turkey to Austria would be temporary (Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 265). Although the recruitment agreement was only signed on 15 May 1964, Turkish citizens started to arrive in Austria as laborers in the early 1960s already.

Recruitment was halted in 1973 primarily due to the rise in oil prices, which led to economic downturn and a decline in the demand for additional labor. Secondly, the first Austrian baby boomers started to enter the labor market. By this time, 178,000 people from Yugoslavia and 27,000 from Turkey were already working in Austria while the family members of immigrants had started to arrive in Austria by means of family reunion policies (Münz 2011, 186).

In Austria, most foreigners, especially non-EU citizens, are reported to be nationals of Turkey and Yugoslavia. Among these groups, Turkish people are usually regarded as the ones that are less integrated (Wets 2006, 85). A previous study also reveals that people of Turkish origin have disadvantages in accessing education and the labor market (Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008, 228). Even as regards the younger generations of Turkish people, it is known that they face access issues in engaging with economically stable sectors and are therefore mostly present in construction, tourism, and textile industries. (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1140). A study by Wets (2006) raises the question of why many Turkish immigrants fail to integrate. Their "failing" is mainly linked to their low level of education (especially those who arrived under the guest worker agreement) and coming from rural parts of Turkey. The extent to which this failure can be attributed to Turkish immigrants is arguable since integration has been defined as a continuous long-term, shared process that includes the participation of the immigrant and individuals, organizations, and associations of the receiving society by the same study (Wets 2006, 97). Additionally, the same study highlights that no theory of integration has been completely agreed upon (Wets 2006, 86). Integration, in my opinion, is a position in which immigrants need to be provided firstly equal economic opportunities, social inclusion, political awareness and participation. As long as these are promised and provided for immigrants, integration may be revisited.

In their study, Verwiebe et al. (2017) focus on job search strategies and wages among people residing in the regions of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary bordering on Austria and report that integration into a transnational labor market depends on several factors, including labor market conditions, the legal framework, and individual circumstances. As various factors need to be carefully taken into consideration when examining the integration of a particular group into the labor market of a receiving country, this thesis aims to explore the

challenges that prevent Turkish immigrant women from participating in the Austrian labor market and having access to qualified professions despite their citizenship, education, and language skills, with a concentration on the case of Vienna. It is crucial to study Vienna as it is the capital city where one third of the Turkish immigrants and their descendants live (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1121). In addition, Muslim women are reportedly the least integrated group of immigrants in the Austrian labor market (Wets 2006, 86). To clarify the point of religion, according to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria (2005) most of the Muslim population has Turkish origin in Austria.

This thesis strives to contribute to the literature on the challenges experienced by immigrant women and questions what are the difficulties that Turkish immigrant women have to overcome to participate in the Austrian labor market and access qualified professions despite their citizenship, education, and language skills. Moreover, the thesis focuses on women belonging to first generation immigrants since they arrived in Austria as family members, a factor that potentially places them in a more vulnerable position. This examination, however, will include the voices of women from the second and third generation, too, as their experiences can provide further evidence to identify additional challenges. A first-generation Turkish immigrant has been defined as an individual who was born in Turkey; a second-generation Turkish immigrant is an individual with at least one parent who was born in Turkey (Euwals et al. 2010, 523).

The thesis employs a qualitative interpretive methodological approach as it provides the best opportunity to discover the viewpoint of females whose different backgrounds in terms of education and work experience may mean they go unrecognized in quantitative studies (Lee 2005, 2-6). Interviews were conducted face-to-face and online with Turkish women from the Turkish community living in Vienna, Austria and I aimed for as diverse group as possible. The

aim of these interviews was to collect information from a very varied sample of immigrant women to include all possible viewpoints.

The theoretical discussion in Chapter One aims at pinpointing the potential difficulties of integration and thus focuses on previous studies on immigration and labor market participation to summarize how typical reasons such as gender, ethnicity, and duration of residence impact immigrants' labor market participation in the receiving society. It is first necessary to explore the source of the difficulties that Turkish females face, i.e., whether these challenges originate in the Austrian government, the Turkish community, or both. This is necessary to explore as it provides a framework for immigration and labor market studies which could possibly assist relevant future policies.

Chapter Two consists of two parts: the first part mainly provides information on the Austrian labor market and immigration to Austria while the second part focuses particularly on Turkish immigrants in the context of Austria and delivers historical and statistical data to depict the low participation and economic inactivity and access issues to qualified positions for Turkish immigrant women in the Austrian labor market.

Chapter Three presents the chosen methodology and interviews conducted with Turkish immigrant women and politicians in Austria, highlighting their perceptions of the difficulties of the labor market as well as education and social life. Finally, the thesis concludes that women of different generations experience diverse challenges in accessing the education, language, economic, and social life of the receiving country and it suggests a set of questions to be addressed regarding the labor market participation of Turkish immigrant women in Austria with a policy recommendation.

Chapter 1 – Literature Review

1.1. Previous Immigration and Labor Market Studies

To understand the nature of socioeconomic inequalities, different research perspectives are required for explaining economic, social, and political struggles in society. This part of the thesis will focus on previous immigration studies and their claims and perspectives regarding the potential difficulties immigrants face in accessing the labor market in a host country.

Broadly, the challenges that immigrants experience in the host country have been mainly linked to their socioeconomic, linguistic, and knowledge background. In addition, social and ethnic segregation and access to citizenship have also been addressed as relevant sources that generate challenges when attempting to participate in the social, economic, and political life of the receiving society (Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008, 212). Out of these aspects, one significant factor is access to citizenship since it has been considered a form of capital that enables immigrants to gain access to official (legal and institutional) as well as unofficial (practiced and cultural) practices. Based on Bourdieu's vision of capital citizenship, both aspects of citizenship (official and unofficial) serve as a type of capital and manner of difference (Bauder 2008, 316). Legitimate status and its cultural meanings have been considered an aspect that plays a pivotal role in reinforcing the vulnerability of immigrants in the labor market. Citizenship, on the other hand, has also been described as an ordering principle of labor markets in industrialized countries (Bauder 2008, 317). Naturalization, moreover, has been defined as one's acquisition of the nationality of the receiving country. Additionally, naturalization is believed an essential way of getting access and participating in the labor market (Hainmueller, Hangartner and Pietrantuono 2015 cited in McAuliffe and

Khadria 2019, 199). It is important to mention how citizenship is defined as it is very difficult to attain in many places for immigrants.

Furthermore, there are two strand of literature theorizing about labor market and migration: 1) segmentation and 2) human capital theories. Segmentation theory refers to when the labor market is separated according to gender and ethnicity (Collins 1978 cited in Lee 2005, 3). Miller characterizes segmentation theory by describing a labor market divided by class, gender, and race (Miller 1986 cited in Lee 2005, 14). Additionally, since it has been argued that Austria is a homogenous society where assimilation has been an approach to integrate linguistic and cultural minorities and where there are ongoing experiences of discrimination against its "old minority groups" while "new" immigrant minorities (people of Turkish origin and people from the former Yugoslavia) generate new challenges, this research considers segmentation theory as one of its pillars (Georgi 2014 cited in Wets 2006, 92). Reportedly new minorities face social and political exclusion, and these groups, including people of Turkish origin, remain marginalized and segregated (Georgi 2014 cited in Wets 2006, 92).

In addition, Labor Market Segmentation Theory interprets the inequality of immigrants based on their gender, country, duration of residence, and status of their immigration (refugee or non-refugee). The time that immigrants have spent in the receiving country and the experiences they gain after their arrival have been seen as other elements in labor market success since the length of time they have spent in the host country is associated with the chance that an employer will know more or less about the competence of an immigrant applicant compared to a local one with similar features (Knize 2018, 31).

Mainly by concentrating on the valuation of an individual's skills or capital, human capital theory, on the other hand, proposes another explanation for disadvantages in the labor market. Namely, these skills comprise proficiency, together with degrees, work experience, language competency, and other attributes and accomplishments. Human Capital Theory focuses on skills as well as the personal characteristics of individuals. This theory asserts that humans' productivity and occupational position (thus, income in the labor market) depends on the individual skill set that progresses during their lifetime. It has been argued that increasing resources (education in particular) will impact one's economic development, also called "investment" (Mincer and Polachek 1974 cited in Knize 2018). Investments in human capital include education, job training, health, immigration, and knowledge about prices and incomes. Moreover, obtaining knowledge about the economic, political, and social system enhances human capital since acquiring information about the labor market opportunities and the respective wages constitutes an advantage (Becker 1975 cited in Knize 2018, 27).

Furthermore, the human capital theory states that immigration happens mostly from lower-wage places to higher-wage places in an attempt to improve the immigrants' economic status. Thus, immigration is considered to be an investment due to the aim of collecting better human capital in an environment with higher productiveness (Knize 2018, 29). Although segmentation theory and human capital theory have been criticized for not allowing necessary space for individual agency and for missing structurally embedded discrimination practices (Lee 2005, 3), this thesis aims to explore those theories to comprehend immigration and labor market studies from different angles. As education and the language of the receiving country are crucial assets for the labor market participation, Human Capital Theory might be applicable in which individuals' low labor market participation could be analyzed, however, in the case of immigrants, in a setting of another country, those assets might not be as strong as they are

in their home country, because in another country setting those assets may not be powerful enough to compete with citizens of the receiving country. For instance, in the case of Turkish immigrant women those who came Austria under family reunification, it is questionable if they had a choice for their destination.

Two other theories further the debate over immigrants' obstacles in the receiving country: Taste-based Theories and Statistical Discrimination Theories. Taste-based theories presume that employers do not prefer to work with minority groups, which is why adverse labor market outcomes occur. Statistical discrimination theories, in contrast, contend that employers utilize demographic indicators in which they are likely to make assumptions on the valuable qualities of immigrants that are invisible in the employment selection process. Despite the language competence of a recently immigrated foreign worker, employers, for instance, who evaluate the resume may assume that the applicant's language competencies will be insufficient (Weichselbaumer 2017, 4). Since this type of background may not be adequate for local job requirements, the education and experience an immigrant received in their country is often undervalued by employers (Weichselbaumer 2017, 6).

Language is further regarded as another crucial difficulty that might challenge immigrants in both the educational and labor market, in particular, for first-generation immigrants in the labor market (Heath, Rothon, and Kilpi 2008, 222). The language skills of immigrants have been addressed as a dimension that has a substantial impact on being successful in labor market activities (Dustmann and Fabbri 2006 cited in Rubin et al. 2008, 20). Another study has also found that 95 percent of Europeans in Europe agreed that knowledge of the host country's language plays a vital role in immigrants' integration (European Commission 2018 cited in McAuliffe and Khadria 2019, 192).

Education has been considered another dimension that positively impacts the employment and social inclusion of immigrants (McAuliffe and Khadria 2019, 193). Regarding women, it has been noted that secondary or tertiary education is crucial for women in that it enables their participation in the labor market. Women who hold secondary or territory education are not expected to be unemployed in the receiving society. Moreover, another obstacle resulting in the low level of participation in the labor market or their presence in low-skill jobs is the fact that immigrants' academic and professional qualifications obtained in their home countries are often not recognized in the receiving country (Rubin et al. 2008, 18). It is then arguable how education could enable immigrant women to have a job (not to mention a qualified job) in the host country if their diplomas and qualifications remain unaccepted.

Additionally, based on Helbling's (2014) research conducted in six European countries, it has been concluded that the attitude of non-Muslims is significantly more unfavorable toward wearing a headscarf than toward Muslims in general. Furthermore, regarding immigrant women's lower labor market participation, two significant elements have been addressed in previous studies as reasons: firstly, the arrival time of an immigrant woman in the host country and secondly, the age of her youngest child. It has been highlighted that, in comparison to a native-born woman, having a child below the age of five lowers the participation of immigrant women in the labor market more (Dumont and Isoppo cited in Rubin et al. 2008, 18). This is an important detail as raising young children demands an environment where women can be supported, a crucial component of women's surroundings that impacts their capability and willingness to participate in the economic activities of the receiving society (Rubin et al. 2008, 18). It has been pointed out that, compared to native-born women, immigrant women in several EU countries are more ready to list childcare tasks as a reason for not being part of the labor force (Heron 2005 cited in Rubin et al. 2008, 18).

1.2. Intersectionality

An increasingly globalized world is causing the emergence of new inequalities which potentially require new evaluations when revisiting the challenges of immigrants. Disparities not only occur as consequences of gender but also due to overlapping influences of various themes. This fact points to the need to employ an intersectional approach due to the potential variety of challenges based on multiple differences among immigrant women. The framework of intersectionality provides a point of view in which one can evaluate the position of immigrant women confronting multiple systems of domination. Moreover, it is crucial to apply intersectionality as it allows this study to analyze the intersecting impacts of different reasons in the immigrant women's situation in terms of accessing the economic activities of the host country.

Intersectionality is a concept wherein gender, race, ethnicity, and class are lines of power that identify the social and economic place of an individual in the political sphere. These factors are also viewed as disempowering dynamics that are interpreted as distinct from each other, even though, in reality, they intersect (Jovanovic, Kocze, Balogh 2015, 3). According to Black feminist scholars and activists, intersectionality is defined as, "the act of denoting the various ways in which race and gender interacted to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's experiences" (Crenshaw 1989 cited in Jovanovic, Kocze, Balogh 2015, 3). Over time, this term has been expanded into a concept in which several categories of disparities including gender, ethnicity, and age, interact and furnish individuals with different power positions.

Recognizing that women experience a plethora of diverse challenges when attempting to access social and economic resources is a departure point for exploring new aspects of inequality in the modern world. An intersectional approach functions as a tool to explore a new

aspect of the social, economic, and political experiences of women facing a plethora of inequalities in this thesis. In light of this concept, this study argues that the status of Turkish immigrant women in Vienna should be analyzed from the perspective of intersectionality since this critical lens provides the opportunity to extend and revisit the avenues of power that determine the opportunities of immigrant women.

Chapter 2 – Immigration and the Labor Market in Austria

2.1. The Austrian Labor Market

The population growth in the 1950s resulted from Austria's high birth surplus. Guest work recruitment, on the other hand, has led to an increase in immigration, the main source of population growth after World War II. (Corporate Authors, 2019, Integration Report, Federal Minister for Europe, Integration, and Foreign Affairs (BMEIA)). Turkey, Serbia, and Bosnia were the major countries from which immigrants arrived.

Figure 1: Foreign Labor in Austria

Source: WIFO cited in Pichelmann and Hofer 1999, 6

The capital city Vienna has been considered as a critical case to analyze. Vienna is also well known for its Turkish population, and it has been indicated that one-third of Turkish immigrants live in Vienna (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1121).

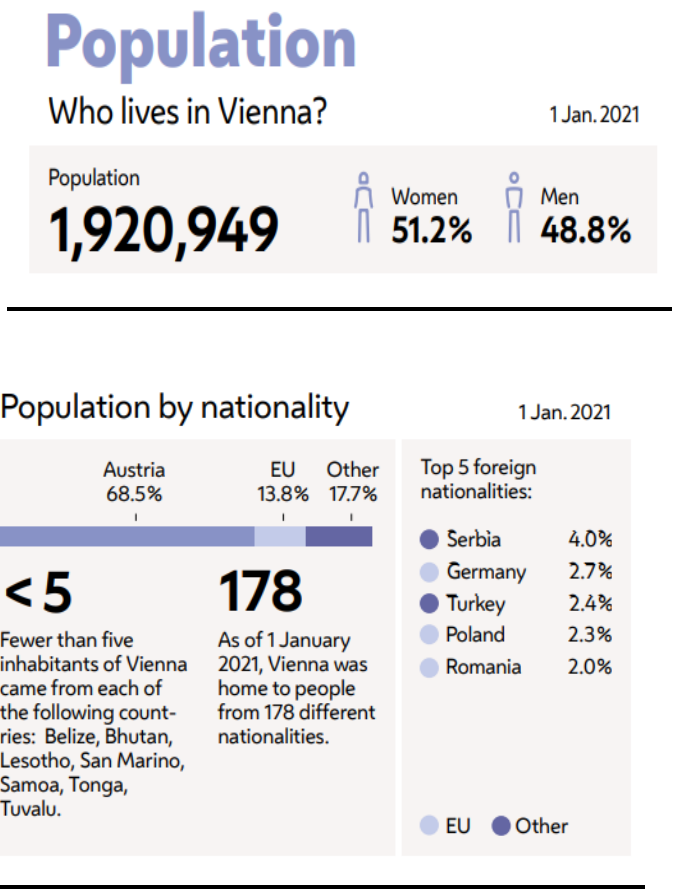

Figure 2: Vienna in Figures, 2021

Source: wien.gv.at/statistik/pdf/viennainfigures-2021.pdf

Historically, the population in Vienna rose from 700,000 in 1880 to over 2,000,000 in 1910 (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1121), a population boom that mainly comprised individuals originating from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Those belonging to the former monarchy, i.e., *heimatberechtigt* (meaning that Austria was not their home country) were regarded as foreigners even at the time of World War I (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1121).

Furthermore, it is necessary to include historical information regarding labor market laws and regulations in the Austrian labor market as it can provide a background in which foreign labor and employment could be further explored. One of the laws to regulate the employment of foreign workers was the *Inlandarbeiterschutzgesetz* (Indigenous workers

protection law) passed in 1925 (Bauböck 1996 cited in Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1122). It has been stated that the primary reason for this law was to create a temporary measure at that time. However, the idea of protecting native workers from competition with foreign workers has remained a fundamental principle in regulating laws (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1122). In the early 1960s, an agreement named the Raab-Olah Agreement led to the increased admission of foreign labor into the Austrian labor market and the employment of foreigners (Bakondy 2017, 117). This agreement was made in 1961 between the Austrian Trade Union Federation (ÖGB) and the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber (BWK), the principal interest groups for employees and employers in Austria (Bakondy 2017, 117).

Between 1961 and 1973, the number of employed foreign workers increased from zero to nine percent of the overall labor force (Bakondy 2017, 117). After the 1973 oil crisis, the main political forces and the labor unions in Austria attempted to decrease the number of foreign employees. Labor recruitment, moreover, was stopped in 1973 due to the oil price shock that caused a reduction in the demand for additional labor. At the same time, the first Austrian baby boomers turned eighteen and started to enter the labor market (Münz 2011, 186).

The first migration law (*Fremden- und Aufenthaltsgesetz*) was passed in 1992 (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1123). The "Aliens Act" focused on the residence stabilization process for long-term foreign residents and also involved protection from expulsion for third country nationals (Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 266). A leading slogan, "Integration through performance," was introduced by this creation. This institution, however, has not dealt with the problems related to access difficulties in education, employment, political participation, and strict citizenship legislation (Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 267). Integration policies were not on the political agenda of Austria by the 1990s. Such policies which targeted the long-term

foreign residents, including Turkish families, began to appear on the political agenda of the Austrian government in 1997 (Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 266).

Furthermore, when the FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria) entered the government under the leadership of the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) in 2000, integration has been viewed as the individual's responsibility to adapt to the Austrian value system (Permoser and Rosenberger 2012 cited in Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 266). For four decades, most of Austria's political powers have pretended that Austria was not a nation of immigrants.

On the other hand, lawmakers have viewed naturalization as a type of prize awarded for having completed the integration process, throughout which immigrants had to overcome various formal and informal difficulties (Feik 2003 cited in Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1123). Only after thirty years of residence in Austria does an individual have the opportunity for naturalization. Based on a comparative study of integration-relevant legal regulations conducted across seven other European countries, Austria and Switzerland have been reported as the most restrictive countries regarding legal regulations for foreigners (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1123).

The Public Employment Service (*Arbeitsmarktservice,* AMS) is responsible for labor market policy. The Foreigners' Employment Act, on the other hand, is one of the main control mechanisms for foreign employment. Additionally, it has been indicated that in 2014, more than 19% of the Austrian population belonged to first or second-generation immigrants**,** one of the largest rates found in the OECD (Weichselbaumer 2017, 3).

2.2. Turkish People in the Austrian Labor Market

When Austria began to regulate immigration to Austria, nearly 16,000 people originating from Turkey lived in Austria, according to the 1971 census. Turkish people comprised about 8% of the total foreign population, a number that increased to 20.2% of the foreign population by 1982. By 2001, the number of Turkish people had reached 127,000 in Austria (Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 265).

During the period of guestworker immigration that extended from 1960 to 1973, 11,700 male and 3,400 female workers came from Turkey to Austria. Turkish workers were aware that it would be difficult to re-enter if they left the country. Therefore, they preferred to stay and asked their families to come to Austria. As was pointed out by previous studies, this process occurred while there was a demand for foreign female workers in Austria in the textile industry and in the service sector. The following table summarizes immigration from Turkey to Austria from 1945 to 1999 (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1124).

Table 1: Turkish Immigrants 1945-1999

TURKISH IMMIGRANTS 1945-1999

Turkish Citizens	Male	Female	Total
Before 1960	200	400	600
1960-73	11,700	3,400	15,100
1974-88	22,700	24,300	47,000
1989-93	19,500	16,700	36,200
1994-99	3,200	7,000	10,200
Total	57,300	51,800	109,100

Source: Microcensus 2000 cited in Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1124

Immigrants belonging to the first generation mainly had a farming or housewife background although some belonged to the categories of un/semiskilled worker and skilled worker. It is known that first-generation Turkish immigrants in Austria had lower educational

and professional backgrounds than those who immigrated to Germany (Jacksche 1998 cited in Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1124).

Furthermore, Turkish Muslims have been portrayed as the ones who are less likely to integrate into Austrian society (Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 263). The Austrian Interior Minister, Liese Prokop of the conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), presented a survey to demonstrate and argue that 45% of all Austrian Muslims are not willing to integrate (Hödl 2010, 449). However, this opinion has not been a persistent perception of Turkish people throughout history. An article published in the Austrian daily newspaper *Die Presse* on 15 March 1963 had the following title: "Vienna prefers Turks.". This shows that the attitude towards Turkish immigrants was not always negative (Initiative Minderheiten 2014 cited in Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 263).

It is known that Turkish people are well known for their small enterprises of their cultural cuisine, which is expected to aid their labor market integration. Some management consultants have been established in Vienna to help immigrants to leave behind the oriental kebab food culture in which the primary approach was: "Become different." It is questionable what the word "different" refers to here. This command has been explained in the following way: "migrant enterprises have to adapt to current western trends" (Caseau 2012, 60). Several questions arise such as: "Does integration mean being more westernized?", "What does it mean to adapt a cultural cuisine to labor market?", and "Would doing so lead to more stereotyping practices about Turkish immigrants?". There is a need for further investigation to address those questions.

The Austrian government offered services for those who experience difficulties in founding their own business. One of them is the *Wirtschaftsverband Wien* (The Social

Democratic Business Association Vienna), particularly the *Arbeitsgruppe türkische UnternehmerInnen* (Working Group of Turkish Entrepreneurs), where immigrants can receive help and answers to their questions and information on what necessary skills are required or the acceptance of credentials completed in Turkey (Caseau 2012, 63). The office of Mingo Migrant Enterprises of the city of Vienna has provided free advice for those wanting to become independent (Caseau 2012, 63). To sum up, there are forms of support available to immigrants, and those who need help can find it if they wish to. However, there seems to be no initiative that could support unskilled laborers or women. Associations listed on the website of the City of Vienna[1] provide advice on partnerships based on cultural and religious differences while other associations answer questions related to health, education, and family.

It has been problematized that there is no adequate research to describe and explain the long-term decisions of young people with Turkish backgrounds in Austria (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1136). Furthermore, there are no recent studies on the second generation in the labor market in Austria, which makes rendering any kind of a description difficult (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1138).

Additionally, Turkish females reportedly leave the education system after compulsory school age and start work as unskilled workers in order to contribute to the family income. Others marry and become housewives. It was reported that, in 1990s, only 39 percent of women with Turkish origin used to participate in the labor market compared to 78 percent of ex-Yugoslavian women in Vienna (Wroblewski 1998 cited in Herzog-Punzenberger 2003, 1136). Furthermore, regarding Turkish immigrant women, establishing a family business has been considered one of the ways for Turkish women to enter the labor market (Caseau 2012, 62).

[1] https://www.wien.gv.at/english/social/integration/advice/women-seniors.html

Employing Turkish women in family businesses seems to be stereotyped since it raises the question of to what extent then Austrian authorities are a part of the integration of Turkish immigrant women into the Austrian labor market and what types of professional and personal qualifications those women could obtain and improve through family businesses is arguable.

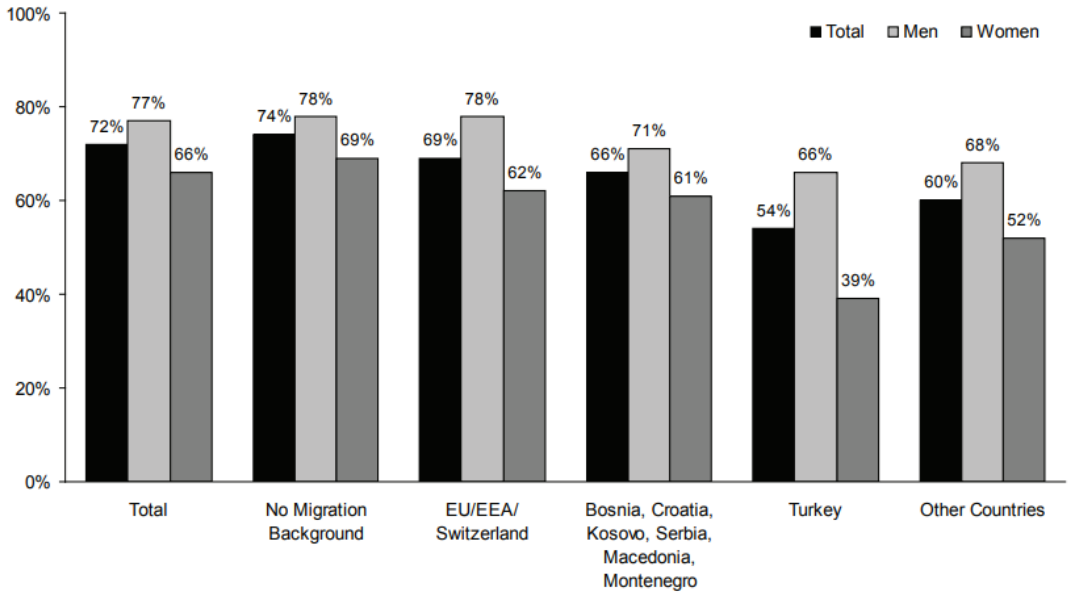

Figure 3: National Origins and Labor-Force: Labor-Force Participation Rate; Population Age 15-65, 2009

Source: Statistik Austria, Labor Force Survey 2009 cited in Münz 2011, 196

The data reveals that Turkish immigrant women form the minority in the labor force not only compared to Turkish men, but also to women belonging to other nationalities. It should, however, be noticed that since Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro have been given as a single category, it might be different in their case when a specific country is analyzed. Regardless of gender, the unemployment rate was also significant among Turkish people in 2009.

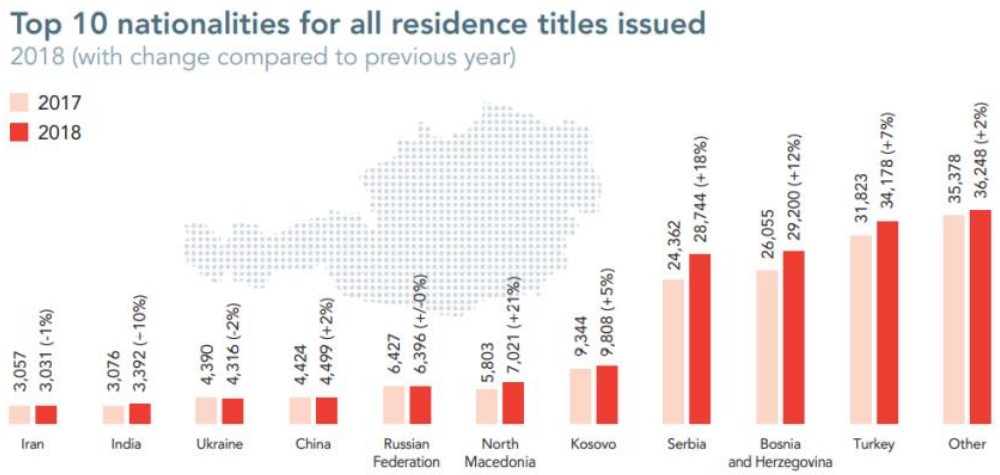

Figure 4: Top 10 Nationalities for all residence titles issued 2018 (with change compared to the previous year)

Source: https://www.bmeia.gv.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Zentrale/Integration/Integrationsbericht_2019/IB2019_EN_web.pdf

The data clearly illustrates that Turkish people are in an advantageous position in terms of legal residence status, which should give them better places to participate in social and economic life in Austria. When considering the more recent unemployment rate by sex, on the other hand, the data reveals the following:

Figure 5: Unemployment Rate by Sex-Annual Average 2018

Source:https://www.bmeia.gv.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Zentrale/Integration/Integrationsbericht_2019/IB2019_EN_web.pdf

The data on Figure 5 reveals that the unemployment rate between Turkish women and Turkish men is clearly visible. Moreover, after the Serbian women, unemployment rate is the second highest among Turkish women, and perhaps the reason for that is a lot of recent refugees. On the other hand, when comparing the difference between Serbian women and men, it becomes obvious that there is no significant difference among them when it comes to unemployment. Nonetheless, in the case of Turkish women, it is evident that unemployment is more noticeable despite Turkish men's unemployment rate, if we only take gender into consideration within the same nationality. Thus, it should be noticed that although Serbian women and men have almost the same unemployment, in the case of Turkish women and men the difference is deeper in terms of percentage. Although both groups are immigrants and therefore constitute a minority in Austria, it is questionable what makes Turkish women more unemployable compared to Turkish men.

Chapter 3 – Methodology and Data Collection

3.1. Methodology

Listening is considered a vital component of understanding "ourselves" as much as it is necessary for comprehending those speaking to us (Murphy 2021, 23). Throughout the interviews, I tried to listen to women from different backgrounds and generations in terms of age, education, socioeconomic background, and circumstances. Since I have read previous studies on the situation of immigrant women and their labor market participation, I had a set of questions in my mind that were sufficient for fulfilling my thesis requirements. I thought I was already familiar with their situation since I had previously read the relevant literature that extensively discussed the difficulties that immigrant women experience in the receiving society, and I assumed that I already knew what to hear and expect from the interviews. I constructed semi-structured interviews, because this method allows me to give a certain direction to my research and my questions were used as a starting point.

After starting to talk to women, I realized that each woman has a different and unique story, set of life experiences and perspectives to contribute my thesis. I therefore had to be flexible with my questions and even had to change some of my questions on the spot and I allowed my interviewees to take me to different directions. Their life experiences brought different directions that I was curious to follow and made me eager to listen to them more. Initially, my attitude was that I am here as a researcher to collect my data and I am the only one who will ask questions. However, it did not work this way as my interviewees also asked me questions in order to understand why I am interested in the difficulties they experience. During this dialogue, I realized that they are also studying me as they have a right to do so. Although becoming a researcher throughout this experience is one positive thing that can

happen to me, engaging women's experiences and exchanging stories, in other words, giving them as much as I take from them, can help me become a more human being.

A qualitative interpretive methodological approach (specifically semi-structured interviews conducted face-to-face as well as online in Turkish) was the chosen method for data collection. Care was taken to include educated, uneducated, and women of different generations. Interviewees were aged from 20 to 60 years old, and all interviewees had been in Austria for at least two years. The age range and inclusion of women from different generations meant that there is variety among the sample in terms of labor market experiences given in this thesis.

The aim of the interviews was to collect information regarding any potential difficulties that hinders Turkish immigrant women from entering the labor market in Austria as well as experiencing challenges when attempting to have a qualified job. The experiences of Turkish immigrant women serve as the main source of data. For the sake of privacy, the names of the interviewees are not presented but numbers are assigned for each interviewee for instance Int_1 and Int_2. The sample was conceived through the random selection in the street based on an oral agreement and the recommendation of immigrant women in the case of online interviews which is called snowball sampling. There is no identifiable information of the interviewees, and everybody's privacy is protected.

Qualitative studies are useful for discovering the reasons why certain individuals experience difficulties when attempting to participate in the labor market regardless of their race and gender. As segmentation theory argues that race and sex of a person play a pivotal role in her/his participation and as human capital theory contends that skills and qualifications of a person are the reasons for low or non-participation in the labor market, qualitative studies

provide an opportunity to point out any other potential reasons that can clear the way for research's limits. It is also known that qualitative research can provide information on the motivations, demotivation, and personal struggles (Lee 2005, 5). While quantitative analysis techniques are found effective to collect and evaluate data on the labor market participation of a substantial number of people, qualitative analyses are found useful in highly focused studies of small research samples (Lee 2005, 5). Abundant information focusing on specific cases is mostly preferred by researchers employing qualitative methods (Collier and Elman 2008, 781).

This thesis provides a point of view where it could be possible to connect the experiences of those who immigrated under family reunification with the ones who were born in Austria and already taking part in the labor market. By analyzing their experiences with their own evaluations from their perspective, the thesis articulates their problems by not solely taking into account the already existing statistically given data but also their own words and experiences. As immigration is a highly politized topic, the thesis provides interviews with politicians as well (Tarik Mete, Turkish-Austrian politician from the Social Democratic Part of Austria (SPÖ) and Faika El-Nagashi, an Austrian politician from the Green Party) in Austria who also have immigration background. By doing that, objective of this thesis is to establish an approach that would serve in a way that the difficulties that immigrant women experience can be recognized and evaluated from different approaches.

3.2. Data Collection and Analysis: Interviews with Turkish Immigrant Women in Vienna

The thesis aims to cast light on Turkish immigrant women's challenges in Vienna. To gain a more comprehensive view, interviews were conducted with women who belong to different generations and socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, the theory part of the thesis addresses a lot of questions and dilemmas such as why immigrant women from younger generations are still

experiencing certain difficulties in accessing education and job opportunities even though they have Austrian citizenship and can speak German fluently. Based on the interviews, it can be concluded that some of the women do not even need to display their religious belief publicly by wearing a headscarf: this conclusion means that they may face the same difficulties that a woman wearing a headscarf endures. Their names and origin of their countries can be sources for difficulties, too, since their names and country of origin are mostly the primary indicators for people in the host country to give them an identity and automatically place them in a particular religious category. From this point on, women of Turkish origin are expected to behave and look a certain way, as was indicated by some of the interviewees.

After listening to their stories and life experiences, it became easier for me to comprehend the concept of intersectionality. Not only the statistics of immigrant women but also giving a voice to their words and concerns may lead us, researchers, to interpret statistics more accurately. When I was reading intersectionality, I had an understanding of a concept where gender, race, and ethnicity overlaps, and after listening to the women of different generations residing in Vienna, I comprehended that how different elements interact with each other in a unique way and how intersectionality is displayed in women's life.

This research encourages future researchers to pay attention to generational differences among immigrant women when identifying any potential obstacle that would prevent women from participating in the labor market since women from different generations seem to face different challenges in terms of accessing job opportunities. For instance, wearing a headscarf appears to influence women's labor market participation differently if they belong to the first generation. They are likely to experience its consequences in social life rather than in work life since they mostly take part in domestic labor at home.

This research proposes that future studies focus on finding a fact-based answer regarding immigrant women's low participation in the labor market of the host country by diving into any differences in age, socioeconomic background, generation, education, and access to the language knowledge of the host country. To mention one reason for the need to differentiate: the Turkish immigrant women from the first generation did not have access to the German language as some of the interviews revealed but women from the younger generations have had access to the language. In spite of this, the origin of their countries and their names might have consequences in women's lives that are easily as strong as those related to language ability and moreover, beyond any other difference, what is constant for these women is discrimination because of their assigned origin (Turkey).

Based on the interviews I conducted, I argue that there are different settings that activate any element (in this research gender, appearance, language, and the origin of country) that can cause difficulties in the labor market and might emerge in a different setting. For instance, from the Turkish immigrant women's point of view, gender does not seem to be as present as language when in the context of Austrian society. I expected that theoretically gender would be addressed as an issue explicitly, however, the interviewees did not really talk about it. Nevertheless, they talked about it implicitly through their experiences. Therefore, gender should not be excluded as a variable: it still has an impact.

Table 2: Interviews with Turkish Immigrant Women in Vienna (Reasons provided by the Respondents)

Interviewee	Language	Personal Appearance	Education	Citizenship	Gender	Personal Reasons
Int_1 2nd generation	✓	*	—	—	—	Attitude of people
Int_2 2nd generation	✓	✓	—	—	*	Attitude of people
Int_3		*	—	—	—	—

1st generation	✓					
Int_4 1st generation	✓	✓	—	—	—	—
Int_5 2nd generation	✓	✓	—	—	*	Visibility in workplaces
Int_6 2nd generation	✓	✓	✓	—	—	—
Int_7 1st generation	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Int_8 1st generation	✓	✓	✓	—	*	—
Int_9 1st generation	✓	✓	—	—	*	Attitude of people
Int_10 2nd generation	—	✓	—	—	—	Attitude of teachers and country of origin
Int_11 2nd generation	—	—	—	—	✓	Names and attitude of teachers
Int_12 1st generation	✓	*	—	—	—	Attitude of people
Int_13 3rd generation	✓	—	—	—	—	Names and families' education level
Int_14 x	—	—	—	—	—	Bureaucracy and rules
Int_15 3rd generation	—	—	—	—	—	Names, lack of diversity among teachers, and economic backgrounds of families
Int_16 x	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Int_17 2nd generation	—	—	—	—	—	Names
Int_18 1st generation	✓	—	—	—	✓	Names, work permit, and dialects

Int_19 1st generation	✓	—	—	—	—	—
Int_20 3rd generation	—	*	—	—	✓	Names

Legend: (✓): Explicitly mentioned; (*): Implicitly mentioned; (-): Not mentioned

Table 2 reveals that German language skills is the most common difficulty articulated by the majority of the immigrant women. Although I was expecting gender, citizenship, and education as popular potential answers since they have repeatedly been addressed by previous studies as crucial factors to analyze, in this research they did not come up frequently. This result might be due to the sample size which contained only 20 women or maybe the focus of the interviews that asked women to reflect on institutional factors mainly. Even though only a few interviewees point out gender explicitly, it is important to emphasize that when they talk about family and life, it turns out that gender appears to be a challenge as women are mostly family care takers.

3.2.1. Personal Appearance: "They care about what you look like."

The first interviewee (Int_1), a 46-year-old woman wearing a headscarf and in possession of Austrian citizenship has been living in Vienna for 30 years, since 1989. She got married when she was 16. She has owned a small restaurant in Vienna for two years. She graduated from a secondary school and worked as an assistant secretary in a doctor's office. In 2016, she opened an association for the making and selling of handicrafts where she started welcoming Syrian refugees. She has provided support for refugee families in the form of food and accommodations. Her mother migrated to Vienna earlier, therefore she is the second generation of her family to move to Vienna.

"When people look at me disparagingly, I just ignore them and speak German well. Once, I wanted to work in a nursing home but one of them did not accept me because of my headscarf. I could not sit around the same table with people there when I was working, but it was due to the people living there, not the managers. But after some time, eventually, they invited me to sit with them."

It is noteworthy that she is formulating not the managers' but rather the people's negative attitudes towards her. The experiences of Int_1 as a woman wearing a headscarf also illustrates that breaking the language barrier might help an immigrant woman demand acceptance at her workplace.

Furthermore, I met Int_2 in an international fast-food franchise in Vienna at night, where she was working even though it was midnight. I heard her speaking Turkish and approached her and started asking questions. I expected her to be an uneducated woman since she was working late at night, but I was surprised to learn that she has a BA degree in the field of foreign trade in Turkey. She is 31 years old, and her father has been living in Vienna for 32 years. She has been living in Vienna for four years and has been working at this job since then. She does not have Austrian citizenship. Regarding her interaction into Austrian society:

"When I meet an Austrian for the first time, they asked me why I am not wearing religious clothes. They care about what you look like."

The experience of Int_2 reveals that there is an expected style of dressing for Turkish women in Austrian society and not wearing a headscarf may be surprising for Austrians as Turkish immigrant women do not meet the stereotype. She also did not highlight the managers or companies, but instead reflected upon individuals' attitudes towards her.

The experiences of another participant (Int_12) who did her PhD at the University of Vienna after completing a degree in sociology in Turkey is similar to the experiences of Int_1 and Int_2. She is currently working at the University of Vienna in the field of theology, where she teaches methodology classes. She has been living in Vienna since 1998.

Another interview was conducted with a 67-year-old woman (Int_3) whom I met on the street in Vienna. This lady had come to Vienna in 1988. She has 29 years of work experience, including working as a cleaning lady in dormitories and hospitals. When I asked her experience when attempting to find a job:

"I love this country. I have not experienced anything bad anywhere in this country. I worked a lot as a cleaning lady, but I worked on myself to improve my German. Our people, at my age, do not know how to speak German and even if they go to a doctor, they cannot talk about their problems."

She does not have an education but can speak basic German which she learned while working. As she says there were no German language courses that she could have attended at the time.

The next three interviewees comprised a mother (Int_4) and her two daughters (Int_5 and Int_6) who had all come to Vienna nine years ago via a request for family unification. The younger daughter works as a pastry chef. She is 19 years old and attended a technical school where she studied pastry and gastronomy.

The young daughter (Int_6):

"I work at Billa in the pastry section, and normally it is forbidden to wear a headscarf."

The elder daughter (Int_5):

"It is not about being a Muslim or not, they accept Muslim people without a headscarf. Since I wear a headscarf, to them I am a sign of being a Muslim. I work in Turkish markets, I have never worked in a foreign market, my mother's workplace is like a factory where she is not visible, my sister works in the backrooms of her workplace, too. If my mother and sister's work required them to be visible, they probably would not have gotten these jobs."

This conversation suggests that if immigrant women are not visible in their workplaces and positions, then wearing a headscarf might not be an issue. The input of these three interviewees prompted me to seek female experiences regarding what it is like to wear a

headscarf while working or studying. For this purpose, I have interviewed women from different backgrounds, the results of which can be found in the following sections.

If you had the opportunity to receive higher education, would you apply for better jobs?

"Yes, I would apply. I wish I had had the chance to study and instead of working in a laundry I would prefer working in an office. But, instead of being a housewife, working in a laundry is good."

You all work, but you are not visible at your workplaces, what are the reasons for that, in your opinions?

The elder daughter (Int_5):

"I think it is because of the lack of setting a goal, if I had set a goal to achieve, things would have been different."

As this is not explicit here, this quote implies that better motivation would be needed for better job and better motivation indeed comes from better education, therefore this is also about education, which also is a question of getting better language skills as part of education. At the same time, gender comes up implicitly – having a job is still regarded better than just being a housewife.

The mother (Int_4):

"If you want to go forward in life and work in a place where you will be visible you have to have perfect German here."

The reaction of Int_4 brings another obstacle to the table: language. Here, it is possible to see that language plays a crucial role before it is even possible to apply for better jobs in a immigrant woman's mind. In her experiences, language is articulated as another difficulty but on a deeper level this view can be interpreted as meaning that, if the required language is German, then language forms a double challenge as immigrant women are aware of that they have to speak it at a perfect level. It is questionable whether her opinion is due to the nature of

language, or rather to expectations of native speakers or institutions where workers are expected to have a high command of speaking, writing, and communication.

Another interviewee (Int_8) is 45 years old and came Vienna in 1995 when her husband brought her on a tourist visa. She now has citizenship, and she has mentioned her experiences in the following way:

"If you do not have a diploma for a certain occupation or have not studied in a school, you cannot work everywhere. You need to have studied at one of the schools here or you need to know the German language well."

Based upon Int_8's reaction, there is another point that intersects with the German language: schools. As was mentioned in the literature review, foreign schooling or qualifications may not be accepted by employers in the receiving country. This factor appears to have impacted the positionality of Int_8, too. Based on Int_8 experiences, it can be said that there are various reasons that prevents immigrant women from demanding better positions in work life and these reasons impact their lives to different degrees.

Another respondent (Int_9) moved to Vienna in 1994 to join her husband who had previously established residency in Vienna. She has four children and currently, she works at their small family business where they prepare and sell traditional Turkish food.

There was a point in our conversation when she considered not knowing the language an advantage:

"They snipe at us, they say 'Look at you!' Our biggest advantage is we do not understand the language; therefore, we do not understand many of the things that they say on the street to us and not knowing the language is good for us sometimes.'"

This interview raised another element to discuss and further investigate for immigrant women. If immigrant women experience such attitudes from people, how is it possible for them to have the confidence to apply or even demand participation in the labor market? It seems

there are not only difficulties originating from language ability or citizenship status: these women need to feel engaged, included, and welcomed by the host country's citizens in order to develop their voices and have the courage to demand better jobs.

After completing this interview, I had the chance to interview her daughter (Int_10) who is studying fashion design at a university in Vienna. She was born in Vienna and helps her parents from time to time in their family business.

About her experience:

"I did not feel anything until going to a middle school, but it started to make a difference after that. When I was going to high school, there were two more girls like me wearing a headscarf, one of them was from Tunis and the other one's mother was from Egypt. They did not recognize us as individuals, they did not call us by our names, but instead, they called us something like 'Hey you three, there!' If three blonde students were sitting together, they called them by their names but when we sat next to each other they called us differently."

Her experiences shed light on the fact that once religion is visible, the discriminatory attitude is present, and it does not matter what nationality a person has.

Her experiences caused some health problems in her life:

"*I had stress due to always trying to make myself and my work good enough to be accepted by them. I had depression when I was 17 at school, I had panic attacks and it lasted for two years, I did not have a social life due to problems I had at school. I have never had difficulties due to classes and their curriculum; I swear, we were having math classes that were high level, I wish I had difficulties due to my classes, but I had difficulties due to teachers who were always dissatisfied."*

The experiences of Int_10 reveals that the difficulties that immigrant women experience when attempting to access to higher education may originate not from the language or the curriculum but from the attitude of teachers at schools. As education is crucial factor that would assist immigrant women to have access to qualified positions, those negative attitudes of teachers need to be further discussed and analyzed by future studies.

3.2.2. Language Barrier: "If I want to be accepted here, I need to talk German at a proper level."

Language has extensively been addressed as a difficulty by previous studies and by women in the previous section, and thus this part will gather the views of immigrant women on the particular impact of the language of the receiving country (in this paper Austria) in immigrant women's engagement in the labor market of Vienna.

The experience of Int_3 who arrived in Vienna in 1988 and received citizenship in 1998 is the following:

"Back in the day, no one asked for German language and they were looking for a particular paper which represents your work permit and then you could start working straight away."

Her experience points the need to ask when and how language starts being a barrier for immigrant women since this issue was not articulated in a negative manner in her experiences. She, however, indirectly says that when language is a condition, one needs to wait before starting to work.

Language does not seem to display its impact only on immigrant women's employment but also on their education, as Int_6's experiences reveal in the following quotation:

"It is so difficult to go to a university here because of the language and they make the process even harder."

I was interested in her difficulties and was eager to ask:

What are the difficulties?

"You should speak German language perfectly, you have to know everything about this country including language, food, and everything."

It is then not only language which is maybe a first condition but also the expectation of learning the Austrian culture and Austrian way of life to be integrated.

In Int_9's experience, language was declared an obstacle when I asked her whether the government helped her with the language when she first arrived in Vienna:

"No, now they do not give a visa before going through a German language course, I wish it was the same when we came here for the first time, we would have learnt German."

This part of the interview made me think that even though receiving the citizenship of the host country is something that would theoretically make their lives better or perhaps easier, not being required to know the language well or to pass an exam or attend a course caused challenges in their lives. In the case of women who came here via the family unification process, getting a residence permit was not a problem. Not being provided a certain level of language education, however, was a problem for them in that this lack meant that they not only fell behind Austrian women but were also superseded by Turkish women who belong to the second generation.

She additionally emphasized the importance of knowing the language intensively:

"There are so many Austrians who are ready to speak to me, but I do not know how to speak German."

In Int_12's viewpoint language has been also problematized:

"*The biggest issue for me when I was student was language and this created a situation for feeling alone, isolated and then you start searching for people who can help you."*

To detail her struggles with learning the language:

"I never experienced such a thing like where German language is not in the focus. Whoever they talk about, they describe people based on their German level. If you are studying in a technical department, it will not be a problem, but it is a problem in social sciences. There is a hierarchy among languages, knowing Turkish and Arabic is very important in theology because of the sources we are using, but again it is not enough, you need to prove yourself with your German language level here."

Int_16 is a 38-year-old woman who studied in Turkey and is currently doing her PhD in Vienna at Angebote University. She has been living in Vienna for more than four years and takes part in a cultural and art organization.

"The German language has always been a problem. I am always surprised when I see that even the funds that are encouraging diversity and aiming at helping immigrants are written in German and the people who are responsible for informing people about these projects are consistent about speaking German. When I do not understand what a fund is about and when I asked someone questions about it, I am directed to immigrant women to get information."

The experiences of Int_16 reveals that even the funds that target immigrants are likely to be written in German and it is expected for immigrant women to know about it better than anyone else. The degree of difficulty in knowing the language of the host country enters immigrant women's lives as an obligation. However, since receiving a residence permit in Austria was not that difficult back in 1970s (based on the experiences of Int_3 and Int_9 as mentioned above), how reasonable is it to establish funds in German language that should assist these women in participating in Austria's social and economic life? How fair is it to expect these women to be capable of understanding these types of documents?

Int_16 was eager to talk about the aspect of language in more detail:

"If I want to be accepted here, I need to talk German at a proper level with people and I need to talk about my projects in German. Even native speakers do not understand the language in the formal documents, like university application rules. How many immigrants would understand?"

Int_18, a 45-year-old woman who came to Vienna in 1998 as a student and studied food and genetic technology, mentioned her experience with language in the following way. Her work experiences are mostly in the social sciences, but she has also received education in the field of pedagogy. She has worked at an association established for protecting women.

"Language has always been a problem for me but there are things related to dialects that are spoken in different regions. For instance, I was in Germany once and I did not experience difficulty there in terms of language because when I was making mistakes people

were correcting me or when I was speaking slowly, they were listening to me, I did not feel bad there about the language. However, in Vienna, my experiences are different due to differences in dialect and also people do not have the patience here to listen to you. I sometimes feel like it is better if I do not talk."

Int_18 brings another theme to the study that needs to be underlined when it comes to speaking the language of the receiving country: dialects. As it is already addressed by different interviewees, speaking German Language at a proper level is expected by the people of the receiving country and as it seems speaking also according to the expectations of different regions is another difficulty that immigrant women have to overcome.

3.2.3. Gender: "Being a woman was an advantage."

Although gender has been extensively highlighted by previous studies as an obstacle for immigrant women, among the interviewees the issue of gender did not come up explicitly, however, it seems to be an obstacle that was mentioned in the interviews implicitly as wearing a headscarf is related to only women.

From the point of view of Int_1:

"If you are sociable and have an enterprising character you can do everything. Even if I want to do politics, I will do it, but first I need to want it."

In Int_18 experiences, gender appears in the following way:

"I love being a woman here, because I do not have to be careful with my clothing style here."

In the experiences of Int_18, it is important to notice that there is a different perspective of gender in different places which may bring a feeling of liberation from gender norms of traditional families. Gender, then, is a very dynamic concept that needs to be taken into consideration.

Int_11 is completing her M.A. in history at the University of Vienna. She moved to Vorarlberg, Austria with her family when she was six. Now she has been in Vienna for three years. Before this, she studied law in Innsbruck. Her work experiences include working as a waitress, tutor, translator, and assistant at a doctor's office. She knows the German language very well as she moved to Austria when she was six.

"Sometimes when I apply for a job, even if I see that my qualifications are enough, I have difficulties getting in. When you are educated it does not mean that you are not going to have difficulties, because both being a woman and being a foreigner influences the process."

This should be noted that Int_11 emphasized the impact of gender together with being a foreigner since this combination doubles the impact of difficulties that one can experience.

In Int_12's experiences being a woman was seen as an advantage:

"*Being a woman was an advantage at my first work experience because the first work I did in Vienna was the work that would suit me the most. I was working in an integration office, and I was responsible for women because I was part of a project where women with an elementary school diploma were trying to learn German and at the same time basics in Math and Biology. At that time, I was visiting mosques and meeting women there. For a man, this would be hard, so being a woman was an advantage for me."*

Although being a woman was articulated as an advantage in her viewpoint, I would still argue that this might be the case only for certain occupations that target to serve women which does not mean that it is assisting women for integration into the labor market.

3.2.4. Being a foreigner: "The more west you come from the better."

While I was interviewing Int_11, she described her sister's work-related experiences in the following way:

"The school that my sister attended has 30 partners where students can do an internship and my sister is great at preparing CV's and she always helps her classmates to prepare their CV's, she was the only student among 25 students who could not get accepted for an internship. When they hear my sister's name, they change the tone of their voice on the phone."

How would you describe your sister's situation?

"The cities outside of Vienna, they are mostly conservative and there is othering. Even if you have a good education, there is othering and categorization."

This was the point where she started to speak more deeply about her experiences and together with her sister's, her experiences require special attention as these instances reveal that success at school, at speaking the language of the country, having the citizenship, and being studied at schools that are recognized by society may still not be enough for women to have the motivation to demand better positions in Austria. Moreover, stereotypes seem to be very important to be taken into consideration as they seem to be present in education as well as in jobs.

What are you planning to do after finishing your MA?

"If I can do something in academia after finishing my MA, I will be so happy, but it seems so hard."

Why did you say, "If I can"? What made you say that?

"There are different factors, first, because I am a woman, and I am a foreign woman. This is why I think it will be so difficult for me, also there is no motivation left in me. And if I want to go farther, I need to fight with two sides, and it makes me tired."

Additionally, she mentioned that:

"If I were from, let us say, from England or France probably it would be different. The more West you come from the better. There is this mentality."

The experiences of Int_11 might seem that being a foreigner disadvantages immigrant women in general. The experiences of Int_12, however, is different about being a foreigner in Vienna:

"It was different in Sociology. I did not feel excluded, I did not have problems with professors. There was a positive discrimination for example when I was in an exam, they let us use a dictionary."

She also believes that if she had born in Vienna as Turkish this circumstance might have been an advantage for her which might mean that there are parts of society where things are much better for immigrant women than the general atmosphere:

"Things would be faster if I had been born here as a Turkish. But those people who were born and went to school here they have discrimination in their lives. I am doing research with Muslim youths here and they always say that they experience discrimination."

The following contributor (Int_13) is a 34-year-old woman who was born in Austria, started studying sociology and dropped out for economic reasons and shifted to work life. She has been living in Vienna for seven years: before coming to Vienna, she lived in Salzburg. Her parents first migrated to Salzburg in 1960. Her mother and father are the second generation, so she belongs to the third generation of Turks living in Austria. She works in a post office in Vienna and can speak German very well.

"I did not experience anything bad, and I did not have any difficulties. I first started working in a place where I was selling coffee, therefore I did not need to have high qualifications and it was a part time job. I have not experienced difficulties because of my nationality at the university or work, but when I was looking for a house to rent because of my name they mostly did not prefer me. They do not recognize me as being Turkish as long as I do not say my name."

This also illustrates that sometimes immigrant women experience difficulties just by physical appearance or name.

Her parents have an elementary school education:

"I would be doing something else if my family's education level were different, maybe then I would have a higher position in work life."

This observation suggests that the situation of the generation that migrated to Austria might be another pattern that influences next generations' access to education and work-life since people from the next generations will need guidance from their families.

Int_15 was born in Vienna, and she is 32 years old; her father came to Vienna at the age of 14. Her grandparents came to Austria in 1960. Her parents have a restaurant. She studied urban and regional planning at the Vienna University of Technology and has also been educated in theater. Her work experiences are mostly related to culture and art.

"Some names are more divulging of our origin, for example, if your name is Mehmet, Mustafa, Hatice, or Ayse, then you are more likely to experience difficulties. My friends who have those names used to experience problems. When you send your CV somewhere, and if your name sounds international it might be interesting for companies, but if your name is something that includes Gul, Mehmet, or Ayse that means you come from Turkey."

She voiced more concrete thoughts that pave the way for identifying another obstacle concerning the lack of diversity among teachers:

"If there are 30 kids at school, 20 of them are foreigners but teachers are mostly white. These kids come from different economic backgrounds, and they grow up in a multilinguistic environment, some of them do not have a computer or a separate room, there is a prejudice about these kids that they do not have discipline, or they do not want to study."

Regarding her work experiences:

"I work in projects related to culture and art and this is why I did not experience anything bad in work life, such as racism or discrimination."

She mentioned complications such as family socioeconomic background and the lack of diversity among teachers in schools explicitly. However, through the experiences of Int_15, it should be noted that the lack of a diverse perspective of teachers in schools towards immigrant students seems to be another obstacle.

Another contributor (Int_17) was born in Vienna, is a 34-year-old woman whose father came Vienna in 1980 and brought the family later, but not specifically related to the family reunification process. She studied political science at the University of Vienna and also trained in acting. She is currently working as an actress.

"When they cannot pronounce your name, they realize that you are a foreigner. I am lucky since I received acting training. There is positive discrimination recently, there is this attitude to include people who come from immigrant background in art and cultural activities."

Related to her work experience:

"I can play Austrian roles – maybe because of my appearance – My friends who have darker skin, they would not get roles that represent Austrians."

Through the experiences of Int_17, it should be noted that the importance of look and name is as present as other difficulties in the labor market for immigrant women.

Int_19, 43 years old, is completing her postdoc at the University of Vienna and has been living in Vienna for a year. She has a Ph.D. degree in Political Science.

"I did not have an advantage or disadvantage due to being from Turkey. Our department is international, and the university is trying to employ people from different countries, for instance, one of the people in our department is from Chile. So, being Turkish is an advantage for me in this case. I have trouble in terms of integrating myself into the German language since I was beginner in German at the beginning. Everyone knows English but German is more common."

Gender aspect:

"I worked in Denmark and Sweden, and I do not think there is a stereotypical expectation."

She first emphasized that she had international work experience, then said that there is no such an expectation, perhaps, this should be noted that if you are a woman who has studied and worked abroad then there is no such an expectation. Education and working at certain universities or organizations might have different impacts on a immigrant woman's life. When/how, or which obstacle is going to influence one's life is difficult to predict since the immigrant women's backgrounds and experiences are diverse and unique on a personal level. Allegiance to different organizations, professional fields, or levels and types of received education might activate or deactivate some of the obstacles in certain settings that are already present in other women's lives.

Int_20, 22 years old, has been living in Vienna since the age of 17. She is from Vorarlberg and her mother was born there, too. Her grandparents originally immigrated to Vorarlberg because there were job opportunities in textiles. She started to play the saxophone when she was ten and attended a high school specializing in tourism. She came to Vienna to make music. She wanted to study in Vienna but changed her mind.

"It was not easy for me to come where I am right now in my life as a person."

What was difficult?

"For example, in elementary school I heard something like 'You are Turkish.' I learned German very fast, and my German is better than my Turkish."

Here it is important to notice that the differences in immigrant women experiences can originate from different approaches in different cities, maybe some cities are more open to migration. Women from the first generation complain about access to the language, however, the pain still remains even in the case of women who were born in Austria and can speak German well.

"I was born and raised here, I think language is a different thing for me, and sometimes I do not think even the language is important sometimes."

"I wanted to become a musician; my family wanted me to be a good girl. I left Vorarlberg because I did not want to be this girl."

It is important to highlight here that different cities bring different perspectives to immigration and immigrant women's labor market experiences. This might be related to local government bodies and their politics for migration.

"If you have a name like Leyla, it is not easy."

She did not have difficulties in terms of job interviews because she reaches out to people through her network and, also, she knows German well. Moreover, the experiences of Int_20

seems to be analyzed from gender aspect as the problem seems to be relating to traditional gender norms that delimit her, rather than the Austrian expectations.

3.2.5. Education, Networks and Names: "They prefer names that look like more integrated."

Although being educated might seem to be helping immigrant women to attain better opportunities in the receiving country, some of the interviewees' experiences reveal that this might not be the case every time. For instance, Int_16 does not see her education as an advantage:

"My advantage was not being a PhD student, but my boyfriend's network helped me here."

Int_2 was also working in an international fast-food franchise in Vienna, and she provided an important detail in terms of how people perceive jobs in Austria:

"Even if you are a cashier in a supermarket, people consider it a job here. People consider these kinds of occupations as jobs, and they are happy with it. I got used to thinking like them about jobs."

I do not know whether this answer means that she is developing a mindset where she can engage in labor market activities in Vienna or avoid handling the obstacles to demanding a better job.

Furthermore, while I was interviewing Int_11, she linked her experiences with her sister's that was related to them and their country of origin as foreigners in Austria:

"My sister is 23 years old, and she was born here and studied software engineering. She knows German better than she knows Turkish. She got a 4 for her BA thesis, and the worse failure grade is 5. And my sister asked her professor why to understand whether it is happening due to language. Her professor told her that no, her German is good, but the professor thinks she did not understand the class because she is a foreigner. This is the type of an answer that she received."

By looking at the experiences of the sister of Int_11, it can be said that stereotypes seem to be one of the major difficulties in the Austrian education system for immigrant women.

Another participant (Int_14) is an architect who migrated to Vienna one-and-a-half years ago due to her husband's job in Germany and is currently doing her Ph.D. in Helsinki.

"I have mostly Turkish friends here and when I hear their experiences in terms of participating, there are risks to making mistakes because of not knowing bureaucracy *and rules, I am afraid."*

The viewpoint of Int_14 shows that in the case of educated immigrant women the previous women's experiences might be the source of knowledge and experience for them to be afraid of participating the social and economic activities in the receiving country. However, it is still questionable if being an educated woman means having more opportunities or accepting unqualified jobs because of their immigration background.

Int_18 has had both formal and informal job opportunities and therefore her experience is more diverse since she experienced life in Vienna as a student and engaged in different jobs in the labor market. She married an Austrian and changed her surname.

"With that surname I have never gotten rejected from jobs."

She got divorced and got her Turkish surname back and when she started to send her CV to the same workplace where she had worked for two-and-a-half years, she was not invited for an interview even though she had left the company earlier without a problem.

"I think they prefer names that look more integrated."

Detailing her work experiences:

"When I was working in a youth organization, as an educator, we used to organize meetings and prepare food, my colleagues used to assign me to cook at those meetings."

This is an interesting aspect that even though she is an educated woman at her workplace, knowing that she is from Turkey, it is expected for her to be in the kitchen. Furthermore, one of the main obstacles that has been addressed throughout the interviews was the level of demotivation immigrants' women and children receive at schools. For instance, Int_2 explained her experience in the following way:

"I first wanted to study pedagogy here but the person in charge of the student affairs office talked to me very negatively, I just wanted to ask if I could start studying here. She told me that their own students cannot pass the exams, so how can I pass them? After that negative talk, I felt like someone had thrown cold water on me."

The experiences of Int_2 reveal that even if immigrant women attempt to receive higher education in Austria, the negative belief that they cannot succeed might stop them from going further in life, a factor that was also highlighted by Int_8 in the following way:

"Even if there could be success, they break the self-confidence and if an Austrian kid has a grade like a 5 – which is a bad grade – they think that that kid can handle it but if it is a Turkish Muslim kid the attitude is like s/he cannot go further with this grade, and they say it to their faces. They do not like Muslims. Once my daughter said, 'I do not want to participate in class even if I know everything well, because my teacher would say that I do not know it.'"

The practices of people differ in terms of experiencing demotivating talks. Int_8 was evaluating how these kinds of talks impacted her daughter's experience:

"When, I look at the pictures of my daughter from middle school years, there is a sadness in her face that you can easily recognize. Now, my daughter went to Turkey to study at the university, and she saw the school life and now she is more confident and happier, but still trying to get rid of her memories that she had here."

Based on the collected data, it can be said that the obstacles that challenge immigrant women differ among immigrant women as different difficulties impact women's life to varying degrees. These difficulties namely are the negative attitude of teachers at schools towards immigrants, the automatic identity assigned to women regardless of their appearance (whether wearing a headscarf or not), lack of language knowledge (especially for those who arrived

under family reunification policies), stereotyping in workplaces, discrimination due to their names.

With the aim of capturing the organizational and political point of view on the labor market participation experiences of immigrant women, the following part of this study will present interviews made with politicians and with the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy.

3.3. Interview with the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy

In this part of my research, I aimed to analyze the situation of Turkish immigrant women's labor market participation from an organizational point of view. I therefore contacted the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy. My interview questions were sent via email and the following answers were received. Sources were included in the email.

What is the employment rate of Turkish women in Vienna?

Table 3: Turkish women's employment-rate in Vienna and Austria 2020

	Vienna	Austria
Resident population	17,215	43,428
Employees	6,981	19,907
Self-employed persons	314	824
Employment Rate	**42.4%**	**47.7%**

Source: Resident population: Statistik Austria. Employees and self-employed persons- provided by the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy2

[2] The answers to my questions were received on the 1st of October 2021 via e-mail from the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy and in pages 51 and 52, the direct quotes are from them.

I have not been able to acquire statistics on Turkish women who have Austrian citizenship and the employment rate amongst this group may be higher.

Do Turkish women come and ask for guidance and assistance in finding a job?

"During the year 2020, a total of 6,223 women with Turkish citizenship had contact with the Public Employment Service (PES) in Vienna. Including women with Austrian citizenship who formerly had Turkish citizenship, i.e., women with a Turkish migrant background, 13,382 contacted the Viennese PES."

"In Austria, a total of 30,530 women with Turkish migrant background used the PES services."

Table 4: PES contact of women with Turkish immigration background 2020

Women with PES contact	**Vienna**	**Austria**
Turkish citizenship	6,223	14,732
Former Turkish citizenship	7,159	15,798
Turkish migrant background	**13,382**	**30,530**

Source: PES Data Warehouse - provided by the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy

Of those who are employed, what kind of jobs do they usually do?

The answer indicated that about 23 percent of Viennese women with Turkish citizenship work in the sector "wholesale and retail" and 20 percent in the sector of "administrative and support service activities" and 9 percent in "human and social work activities". In my opinion, it is important to have a breakdown of occupations under each sector to be able to analyze the situation of Turkish immigrant women in more detail, however, it is still possible to argue that they seem to be more engaged in sectors that do not require professional and educational qualifications.

Table5: Female Turkish employees (average stock) by economic sectors (NACE) 2020

	Vienna		Austria	
	absolute	in %	absolute	in %
A Agricultur, foresty and fishing	0	0%	24	0%
B Mining and Quarrying	0	0%	1	0%
C Manufacturing	307	4%	2,136	11%
D Electricity, gas, steam and air conitioning supply	5	0%	13	0%
E Water supply, sewerage, waste management	4	0%	87	0%
F Construction	117	2%	249	1%
G Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicl	1,605	23%	4,341	22%
H Transportation and storage	148	2%	544	3%
I Accomodation and food service activities	481	7%	2,102	11%
J Information and communication	109	2%	173	1%
K Financial and insurance activities	220	3%	341	2%
L Real estate activities	118	2%	207	1%
M Professional, scientific and technical activities	333	5%	568	3%
N Administrative and support service activities	1,395	20%	4,525	23%
O Public administration and defence	564	8%	1,207	6%
P Education	519	7%	702	4%
Q Human health and social work activities	635	9%	1,597	8%
R Arts, entertainment and recreation	38	1%	122	1%
S Other service activities	375	5%	951	5%
T Activities of households as employers, undifferent	5	0%	12	0%
U Activities of extraterritorial organisations and b	0	0%	0	0%
X Others	4	0%	5	0%
Total	**6,981**	**100%**	**19,907**	**100%**

Source: Dachverband der Sozialversicherungsträger (Main Association of Austrian Social Security Institutions)- provided by the Federal Ministry of Republic Austria Labor and Economy

Turkish immigrant women are present in the labor market, however, when one looks deeply into what this presence means and where these women are mostly situated in terms of their professions, the data displays that they are mostly present in support services & assistance positions & care related jobs and also wholesale and retail trade. When observing the data, it can be said that Turkish immigrant women seem to be present in sectors that affirm and strengthen their position as unqualified workers.

3.4. Interviews with Politicians

Interviews have been completed with politicians in Austria in order to look into the situation from their perspective and collect data to identify other difficulties. The first interview was conducted with Tarik Mete via Zoom, a Turkish-Austrian politician (SPÖ), he was a

member of the Salzburg state parliament from February 3 to December 13, 2016. Currently, he operates an education centre in Salzburg. He was the first Member of the Salzburg State Parliament of Turkish origin.

"When a woman seeks a job, she is in a disadvantaged position because of her gender and if she has a foreign name, it brings another disadvantage and if her appearance is different than that of the women in the host country, and if she wears a headscarf and if she says that she is Muslim, then she is already at a disadvantage. I think that there are so few things that government does to eliminate those disadvantages in the case of Turkish people."

As Mete lists various reasons, it is important to realize that he also highlights intersectionality and confirms the multiple obstacles which I also found in my interviews. Mete was mostly referring to political atmosphere and political discourse in the country when he was talking about conditions. Bringing a political view to understand immigrant women's challenges when attempting to participate in the labour market of the receiving country, as it seems, is another departure point regarding the difficulties that immigrants (regardless of their gender) have to face in the host country. Although Turkish people have been residing in Austria since the 1960s, I was expecting that the length of time they have spent in Austria would help natives as well as the government to revise the negative image established towards them. This conversation, moreover, sheds light on the fact that the obstacles have originated from political powers which is also the part of the society.

When the interview delved deeper into the position of Turkish immigrant women in work life:

"Participating in the work life is the first step, however, there are issues related to qualified and good jobs that would be suitable for their profiles."

Based on Mete's viewpoint, accessing qualified jobs is a concern and despite immigrant women's presence in the labour market, the issues related to accessing qualified positions have been problematized.

"Once a friend mentioned, working in a bank, they are not giving her Austrian customers because of her name since a customer did not want to deal with financial matters with her. It will be harder to achieve while there is this prejudice and preconception in the society. Not only role models but also, we need institutions that will act as role models."

This example provided by Mete resonates with the experiences of some of the interviewees who also related experiences in which women had to face discrimination and exclusion due to their names.

Another interview was conducted with Faika El-Nagashi, a spokesperson for integration for the Green Party and a member of parliament.

"When I say integration, I mean participation, I do not mean submission into another society. I mean the possibilities for participation in education, information and labour market and then societal activities and politics, also chances and perspectives."

Her perspective in terms of participation:

"If you are a woman from Syria or Turkey, you might be able to work in Austria but only as a cleaning lady, and there is no perspective that you actually can become a doctor or a teacher or an academic or have a qualified job. The combination of participation and opportunities and perspectives that is what to me integration is. You participate in a society you actually also bring with you not only the skills but also openness, willingness and adaptability to be part of this system."

The viewpoint of El-Nagashi on immigrant women's access to better positions in the receiving country matches with the viewpoint of Mete as they both argue to frame the issue accurately. Additionally, it is important to realize that the politicians highlight the same issues that confirms my research findings.

How does Austria treat immigrants, and has this changed since 1970s?

"Yes, also immigration has changed, and the political system has changed. So much has changed with regards to groups that are present and their needs, their expectations and their legal status and also national politics towards it. In the middle of the 1990s, we saw an incredible rise in the political instrumentalization of integration and then also combined with migration. In election campaigns and political profiles and right wing but also Christian conservative party, what started with FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria) in the mid-1990s

becoming more extreme on this topic, and now this is taking a specific form in the last years, this can be observed when you look at election campaigns and political posters that are being put up that highly refer to specifically and especially Muslim immigrants, Turkish immigrants, and refugees. They take these three groups, and these groups are being problematized."

El-Nagashi brings a perspective in which another line comes up that potentially feeds the negative attitude in the society towards immigrants: problematizing specific immigrant groups in political speeches. As pointed earlier, there were times when Turkish people were welcomed (Initiative Minderheiten 2014 cited in Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 264). That slogan has been designed to remind the Austrians how welcome Turkish immigration to Austria was at the time of the economic boom, when Austrian industry was desperately searching for foreign labor to replace Austrians who had emigrated to Germany and Switzerland, where earnings were higher. This article furthermore shows that Turkish immigrants have also been viewed in a more positive light (Sievers, Ataç, and Schnell 2014, 263-274).

With regard to the German language, El-Nagashi seems to be on the same side with the interviewees:

"They almost fetishize the German language sometimes. There are a number of offices predominantly in Vienna but also in other cities in Austria where you could get information in a number of languages including Arabic, Albanian, Chinese, and Turkish. These offices were founded by immigrants themselves. They know of this need, and it is easier to talk about your situation fluently in your language than to have a conversation just for the sake of speaking German, but you are by far well-equipped enough to have this conversation in German, so it makes no sense. They have this knowledge, and this has nothing to do with appreciating a country or a language or being lazy or not or wanting or willing to integrate or not."

Language was one of the main obstacles pointed out by most interviewees, the interpretation of which has been given by El-Nagashi as a tool for showing one's power. El-Nagashi also argued that even if the language is well known by a immigrant woman, other situations might come up such as what a immigrant woman looks like. El-Nagashi, moreover, pointed to the need to examine the impact of the media when analysing the situation of immigrants and not getting recognition of their professions has been considered a problem from

El-Nagashi's perspective too which might be another source of obstacle that paves the way toward becoming an unqualified worker.

Chapter 4: Policy Recommendations

Based on the interviews conducted with Turkish immigrant women and politicians in Vienna, Austria, some policy recommendations can be made. Firstly, the issues related to labor market integration should be tackled by addressing access issues of immigrant women to the language of the receiving country as a significant feature. Secondly, it is necessary to acknowledge the extant stereotypes in the receiving country that ought to be recognized by the local and national bodies of the government in order to fight these and produce integration policies and implement solutions that would enable immigrant women's participation in the labor market, and therefore in society itself. As the interview with Faika El-Nagashi shows, it is important to make some regulations that will adjust media platforms and the discourse regarding immigrants. The speeches of political leaders should be restricted to avoid any negative speech that will contribute to the stereotypic image of immigrants.

More importantly, a new vocabulary is needed to identify the issues of Turkish women in terms of their labor market as well as social integration. Apparently, there is an attempt by the Austrian government to monitor and collect data with the aim of revealing the situation of immigrants in terms of their integration to the Austrian labor market and society. However, this attempt does not focus on a particular group, but rather perceives the process as a whole, including refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants. Comprehensive data is still needed to analyze the specific causes of being locked in certain jobs or market sectors, as can be seen in the case of Turkish women. Examining these causes allows researchers to draw conclusions regarding future integration policies. Furthermore, there is a need to distinguish immigrants in terms of the patterns and the reasons of why they prefer to live in Austria. For instance, it would be difficult to implement the same integration policies for Turkish Muslim women and Syrian Muslim women, even though the problems related to gender may overlap in their case.

However, the differences in terms of the country of origin and the type of immigration would make changes that would potentially influence their integration processes into Austrian society and economy.

The 2019 integration report indicates that integration policies and strategies should focus more on the individuality and development possibilities of the individual in order to avoid the unconscious transfer of patriarchal structures or traditional forms of violence in communities to the next generations (Integration Report, 2019). This is, in fact, a considerable point for avoiding an unsustainable integration policy which would cause several inequalities.

This thesis has also aimed to pinpoint the importance of finding a fact-based answer regarding immigrant women's integration into the labor market by raising the question of why immigrant women are deprived of access to the labor market in the host country which future studies and policies should focus too. This type of examination should be done by confronting the existing discussions in literature with survey and interview data. By doing so, the results may display a higher level of relevancy for other countries with structured minority populations such as Germany.

When previous studies focus on immigrant women and their labor market experiences, there is a need to talk about which women (from which country, which age group, which language) are under discussion since country of origin, language, and the level of education differs among women and paves the way for different challenges. While education might have seemed a crucial element in women's labor market participation, in the case of women wearing headscarves education was not enough for them to overcome certain difficulties. When looking at the experiences of educated and uneducated immigrant women, it is worth noting that education does not really encourage immigrant women to have better job opportunities since

they are discouraged by teachers at schools. The reality that instead emerges is that there are layers among education, language, a religious appearance that impact immigrant women's life differently and it is difficult to decide which one will be more influential in one case, even if some information about the given individual is available.

Language, on the other hand, has extensively been mentioned as a challenge by women from the first generation who migrated under family reunification processes. Language was not only a challenge to participate in the labor market of the host country but also hindered their access to social life. Therefore, the language knowledge level of immigrant women should be improved and based on the results, trainings should be provided for immigrant women from every background and age. As interviews revealed, information, brochures, or websites should be offered in different languages to make the process of receiving information easier for those who need it.

The government can also make regulations that will ensure that immigrant women do not experience difficulties when attempting to receive education or find jobs due to their country of origin or names. The number of foreign teachers employed by schools should be increased since some of the interviews mentioned that the lack of representation makes for a situation in which they feel sorrowful. Training should also be provided for Austrian teachers who work with immigrant children to teach them openness and make them feel comfortable when working with a diverse group of students which might ultimately prevent discrimination towards immigrants at schools.

Conclusion

The thesis intended to discover the difficulties that prevent Turkish immigrant women residing in Vienna, Austria from participating and having access to qualified professions in the Austrian labor market. Interviews with twenty Turkish immigrant women from different backgrounds in terms of education, socioeconomic, age, and experiences have been conducted face to face and online. Based on the collected data and literature review it can be said that the difficulties that challenge immigrant women differ among them as different challenges impact women's life to varying degrees. Additionally, the interviews reveal that women of different generations go through unique challenges in accessing the education, language, economic and social life of the receiving country.

Therefore, the thesis encourages future studies in analyzing the intersection of paths that lead to lack of access to skilled jobs as well as higher education since the immigrant Turkish women mostly have problematized the attitudes of teachers at schools as difficulties when attempting to receive an education. As the thesis discovers, their immigrant background should not be considered an obstacle at all; instead, their profiles and backgrounds should be taken into account when their access issues to labor market are being weighed. As Turkish immigrant women indicated throughout the interviews, when women attempt to participate in work life and in education, they have different struggles in both areas. These struggles do not solely originate from immigrants' language ability or socioeconomic background but can also arise from the given identity along stereotypes that is automatically assigned to an immigrant by natives and employers.

Intersectionality has been one of the main pillars of this thesis and since the experience of immigrant women intersects with structural factors in unique ways. Age, level of education,

linguistic knowledge, and country of origin impact in different degrees in immigrant women's economic activities in the host country. While previous studies have mostly focused on socioeconomic, linguistic, knowledge background, type of immigration, and citizenship status of immigrant women, this thesis contributes to the field by investigating immigrant women's unique experiences to address any case that would escalate their vulnerable positions in the labor market of the receiving country. Instead of focusing on difficulties that might originate from immigrants' socioeconomic, linguistic, and citizenship status, this thesis points to the need to discuss and examine obstacles that originate from the receiving country, such as the negative attitudes towards immigrants experienced at schools or jobs. Although the starting point was to discover the difficulties that impact immigrant women's labor market participation in Vienna, Austria, the thesis sheds light on the concerns of education, too. Moreover, one of the findings of the thesis is that women – regardless of whether they display their religious belief publicly or not – might face negative attitudes typically attributed to women wearing a headscarf due to their personal appearance or their names due to negative stereotypes in Austrian society.

Although theories such as labor market segmented theory and human capital theory seem to be examining reasons that are mostly linked to immigrants' background, this research revealed that there are reasons that contribute to immigrant women's vulnerability in the labor market integration process that originate from the media, political discourse, and the attitude of people of the receiving society. Therefore, this thesis suggests the need for a ground where the experiences of immigrant women can be evaluated and examined from different angles. Based on the interviews conducted with Turkish immigrant women and politicians in Austria, it is very important that government, society, and organizations work together to place immigrant women at the center and have their voice heard.

Bibliography

Akerlof, G. A., & Kranton, R. E. (2000). Economics and identity. The quarterly journal of economics, 115(3), 715-753.

Atac, I. (2014). Determining Turkish migration to Austria The role of migration policy. Migration Letters, 11(3), 275-287.

Bakondy, V. (2017). Austria Attractive for Guest Workers? Recruitment of Immigrant Labor in Austria in the 1960s and 1970s. Migration in Austria, 113-137.

Barslund, M., & Laurentsyeva, N. (2018). On International Women's Day: More focus needed on integrating migrant women. CEPS Commentary, 8 March 2018.

Bauder, H. (2008). Citizenship as capital: The distinction of migrant labor. Alternatives, 33(3), 315-333.

Caseau, C. (2012). The Power of Migrants, or How Turkish Immigrants Influence the Austrian Economy. Politeja-Pismo Wydziału Studiów Międzynarodowych i Politycznych Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 9(20-3), 57-66.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. (1990). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. Stan. L. Rev. (43), 1241-1299.

Corporate Authors. (2019). Integration Report, Federal Minister for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs (BMEIA), accessed in 2021, https://www.bmeia.gv.at/fileadmin/user_upload/Zentrale/Integration/Integrationsbericht_2019/IB2019_EN_web.pdf

Euwals, R., Dagevos, J., Gijsberts, M., & Roodenburg, H. (2010). Citizenship and labor market position: Turkish immigrants in Germany and the Netherlands. International Migration Review, 44(3), 513-538.

Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria. (2005). Muslims in Austria, in their homelands, and living together in the new Europe.

Heath, A. F., Rothon, C., & Kilpi, E. (2008). The second generation in Western Europe: Education, unemployment, and occupational attainment. Annu. Rev. Sociol, 34, 211-235.

Helbling, M. (2014). Opposing muslims and the muslim headscarf in Western Europe. European sociological review, 30(2), 242-257.

Herzog-Punzenberger, B. (2003). Ethnic Segmentation in School and Labor Market—40 Year Legacy of Austrian Guestworker Policy 1. International Migration Review, 37(4), 1120-1144.

Jovanović, J., Kóczé, A., & Balogh, L. (2015). Intersections of gender, ethnicity, and class: History and future of the romani women's movement. Budapest: Central European University.

Knize Estrada, V. J. (2018). Migrant women labor-force participation in Germany: Human capital, segmented labor market, and gender perspectives (No. 12/2018). IAB-Discussion Paper.

Lee, J. G. S. (2005). A narrative analysis of the labour market experiences of Korean migrant women in Australia.

McAuliffe, M., & Khadria, B. (2020). Report overview: Providing perspective on migration and mobility in increasingly uncertain times. World migration report, 2020(1), e00011.

Murphy, Kate, (2021). You're Not Listening: What You're Missing and Why It Matters.

Münz, R. (2011). Austria and its Migrants.

Rubin, J., Rendall, M. S., Rabinovich, L., Tsang, F., van Oranje-Nassau, C., & Janta, B. (2008). Migrant women in the European labour force. Current situation and future prospects, 177.

Sievers, W., Ataç, I., & Schnell, P. (2014). Turkish migrants and their descendants in Austria Patterns of exclusion and individual and political responses. Migration Letters, 11(3), 263-274.

Verwiebe, R., Reinprecht, C., Haindorfer, R., & Wiesboeck, L. (2017). How to succeed in a transnational labor market: Job search and wages among Hungarian, Slovak, and Czech commuters in Austria. International Migration Review, 51(1), 251-286.

Weichselbaumer, D. (2016). Discrimination against female migrants wearing headscarves.

Weichselbaumer, D. (2017). Discrimination against migrant job applicants in Austria: An experimental study. German Economic Review, 18(2), 237-265.

Wets, J. (2006). The Turkish community in Austria and Belgium: The challenge of integration. Turkish Studies, 7(1), 85-100.

Bibliography (Figures and Tables)

Figure 1:

Pichelmann, K., & Hofer, H. (1999). Country employment policy reviews: Austria.

Figure 2:

wien.gv.at/statistik/pdf/viennainfigures-2021.pdf

Figure 3:

Statistik Austria, Labor Force Survey 2009 cited in Münz, R. (2011). Austria and its Migrants.

Table 1:

Herzog-Punzenberger, B. (2003). Ethnic Segmentation in School and Labor Market—40 Year Legacy of Austrian Guestworker Policy 1. International Migration Review, 37(4), 1120-1144.