Country Report - AUSTRIA
ITHACA Research Report N.1/2015

Alexandra König, Bernhard Perchinig
Jimy Perumadan and Katharina Schaur

International Centre for Migration Policy Development
(ICMPD)

Country Report
AUSTRIA

ITHACA Research Report N. 1/2015

ALEXANDRA KÖNIG, BERNHARD PERCHINIG, JIMY PERUMADAN, KATHARINA SCHAUR

NATIONAL PROJECT COORDINATION: ALBERT KRALER

ICMPD

ITHACA PROJECT

The ITHACA Research Project

ITHACA - Integration, Transnational Mobility and Human, Social and Economic Capital

ITHACA studies the links between migrants' integration and their transnational engagement. Migrants engage in transnational mobility for an array of economic reasons as well as emotional or political ties with their country of origin. They develop transnational business, trade, investments, or social and cultural programmes and circulate between their two countries. ITHACA explores the interconnections between the integration process and transnational mobility of migrants and aims to answer three key questions: To what extent, and in what ways, do integration conditions in the country of destination encourage transnational mobility? What are the conditions in the country of origin that may encourage transnational mobility? What type of transfers take place through the transnational mobility of migrants? ITHACA focuses on economic integration and mobility conditions as factors that encourage or prevent transnational mobility.

The Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS), at the European University Institute (EUI), directed by Brigid Laffan from September 2013, was set up in 1992 as a complementary initiative to develop inter-disciplinary and comparative research and to promote work on the major issues facing the process of integration and European society. The Centre hosts major research programmes and projects, and a range of working groups and ad hoc initiatives. The research agenda is organised around a set of core themes and is continuously evolving, reflecting the changing agenda of European integration and the expanding membership of the European Union. One of its core themes is Migration.

Alexandra König was a Researcher in ICMPD's Research Department until October 2015. She studied Political Science and Gender Studies at the University of Vienna. She is currently enrolled as a PhD student at Birkbeck School of Law, University of London.

Bernhard Perchinig is Senior Researcher in ICMPD's Research Department. He is a faculty member of the Department of Commercial Law and European Studies at the Danube University of Krems, and a lecturer in the M.A. program in "Intercultural Studies" at Salzburg University. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Sciences from the University Vienna (1986).

Jimy Perumadan is Programme Assistant in ICMPD's Research Department. She holds a bachelor degree in International Business Administration from the University of Vienna, and a postgraduate degree in Human Rights & Democratization from the European Inter-University Centre and Lund University (Raoul Wallenberg Institute).

Katharina Schaur is Programme Assistant in ICMPD's Research Department and is a student assistant at the University of Vienna. She holds a Masters' degree in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the University of Vienna.

Executive Summary

ITHACA studies the links between migrants' integration and their transnational engagement. Interviews on mobility practices and transnational engagement were conducted with a total of 82 migrants who were mainly settled in Austria, that were regularly travelling to Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, the Philippines or Ukraine. The study also considers a few cases of returnees to Bosnia and Herzegovina and their transnational engagement relating to Austria. This report aims to answer the following key questions: (1) Under what circumstances do migrants engage in transnational mobility? (2) What kind of transnational engagements are the respondents maintaining and why? (3) What kind of transfers are made? and (4) What kind of relationship can be identified between transnationalism and integration?

Migration corridors under study

The circumstances under which migrants engage transnationally were analysed in terms of migration and integration policy regimes. The four groups studied experienced different migration conditions and migration trajectories, which are mostly distinct from the immigration policy paradigm of "guest worker policy" which dominated Austria's immigration policy making from the early 1960s to the early 2000s. Early Bosnian immigration is composed of "guest worker" recruitment from Yugoslavia in the 1970s. However most arrivals took place in the realm of refugee-movements from the Balkan wars. In the course of the war, authorities increasingly acknowledged the permanent presence of Bosnian refugees in Austria. Subsequently, the state granted access to labour market and permanent residence. Current migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina is now mostly family migration and student mobility. Nurses from both India and the Philippines had been recruited in the 1960's and 1970's onwards by distinct channels differing from the "guest worker" regime. Recruitment from the Philippines was primarily female nurses. Not only were recruited nurses offered support in immigration and skill-based positioning on the labour market, but also in access to housing and facilitated access to naturalization. Conversely, Indians were recruited to become newspaper vendors and came to Austria under a specific regulation, which mainly aimed at supplying publishing houses with cheap and easily exploitable labour. Migration from the Ukraine mainly commenced after the demise of the iron curtain and was primarily composed of family and labour migration. Currently, Ukrainians arriving through student mobility are increasing. It is noteworthy that overall, state policies have successively distanced themselves from origin-specific niche recruitment. Instead, migration governance is increasingly mainstreamed, which is also reflected in the commonality of the structure of the grounds for granting residence of more recently arrived migrants among our groups under study.

Integration and Transnationalism

Concerning the link between transnationalism and integration, in political discourse it is often assumed that the two are mutually exclusive. As Erdal and Oeppen (2013) suggest, in research there is a need for a "pragmatic view" on the matter, which assumes that migrants' lived experience is more complex than an "either/or" situation (2013: 873). Following Erdal and Oeppen (2013), we thus propose to see integration as a social process that shares many similarities with transnationalism, as both involve practices of "making a place for oneself" at the individual level, which are re-constructed and re-shaped through various social interactions across multiple localities. Our analysis was conducted with the aid of Ager and Strang's framework (2008), who propose to specifically look at labour market, housing, health services and education both as markers (expressions of) and means (resources for) integration. Following Bommes' (2000) argument on institutional biographies, we further argue that our respondents' agency is shaped by welfare, labour and migration regimes, which only selectively accommodate our respondents' transnational lives, which is reflected in respondents' difficulties in *employment* and *education*. *Housing* was considered an important topic by our respondents, and mostly our respondents did not report any significant issues relating to their housing experiences in Austria. Taking the transnational stance, housing in the country of origin also played a significant role in our respondents' narratives in terms of relating to a notion of home. *Language*, especially multilingualism, was reported to be an asset. Support in learning the language of the country of destination was thus a crucial resource to make one's place in the country of origin. The interviews further show the ambivalence that *belonging* seems to always entail. Belonging is strongly shaped by the structural dimension discussed above: Whether one can make a place for oneself through employment, education, housing, language also influences whether one feels like they belong. Furthermore, belonging can change over time and is shaped by biography and life cycle stages. The role of *social networks* was reported to be of importance in the process of making a place – again, these have to be viewed as being shaped in a transnational setting, in which virtual spaces established through social media and other technologies play a central role. Our respondents related strongly to *safety and stability* as an important aspect of making one's place. From a transnational angle, achievement of a secure residence status, access to welfare and the possibilities of and limitations to *political participation* were mentioned as crucial issues. Despite formal limitations, practices of political and civic engagement demonstrated that our interlocutors search for manifold ways of transnational political expression aimed at both the country of origin and of destination.

Transnational Mobility

Regarding our respondents' mobility, a variety of motives can be discerned, which are often interrelated. First and foremost, family is the most central reason. In particular, interlocutors who still have family in

the country of origin reported that they travelled back more frequently. This is also related to care obligations for children and parents or other family members. Despite regular contact via telephone, skype or other social media, physical presence with family members is an important means to emotionally bond and to cope with long distance relationships.

In addition to family reasons, voluntary engagements for social or political activities were reported to be reasons for travel, as well as business-related travels and property related commitments. Many respondents referred to their family members and wider networks supporting them in managing these tasks during their absence.

Transnational Engagement

In policy discourses, transnational engagement is often portrayed as a "triple win" situation "in which the countries of origin, as well as the country of destination and the migrants themselves" benefit from the migrant's movement between the country of origin and of destination (Ambrosini 2014, similarly Sinatti/Horst 2015). Accordingly, individuals are expected to redirect resources to the homeland and encourage development, whereas structural conditions remain largely unacknowledged. Although there is critical awareness of this neoliberal development discourse among academics, the dominant angle of research predominately approaches transnational engagement in terms of entrepreneurship. We suggest moving beyond a narrow focus on economic engagement and explore transnational engagement and mobility in the form of voluntary, non-profit as well as for-profit engagement. We analysed our respondents' strategies in starting and keeping up various transnational engagements in borrowing from Bagwell's framework, who looks at processes of engagement from a transnational perspective (2015). Strategies and resources reported range from the initial capital required, mobilising others within transnational networks to become engaged or recruiting labour, establishing formal structures to pursue and stabilise concrete projects, the use of communication technology, and intangible inputs such as circulating ideas and new experiences.

As our analysis indicates, mobility is necessary, but not indispensable to pursuing engagement. Mobility especially plays a role for our respondents to stay professionally connected with their field of occupation. Mobility is also relevant to review goods to be imported to Austria, as well as to use material and non-material resources which are forming the core of the transnational projects of our respondents.

As time goes by and biographies evolve, engagements change, according to the resources available and the structural circumstances in which this engagement takes place. Analysing motivations, we found that some respondents set up businesses as a means to generate income, but also maintain a way to safeguard their independence and realise their personal ambitions or household-related projects. Other respondents

invested in business in order to provide employment for their relatives. A major motivation for voluntary work was to promote social change, be it on a larger or smaller scale. This is particularly important in the case of political engagement. Finally, drastic incidents play a role. This became evident in the examples of collective remittances gathered subsequent to the Typhoon in the Philippines or the devastation of whole regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to heavy floods, or the dynamic of conflict, which developed in Ukraine. Finally, transnational engagement, as our study shows, is a way of maintaining ties with the country of origin, while being strongly in touch with local social spheres. Our material shows how transnational engagement also intervenes into multiple localities, comprising interventions into Austrian society and the country of origin likewise, demonstrating the extent to which engagement indeed holds a truly transnational core.

Integration and transnational engagement, as we showed based on our respondents' experiences, are related to a careful balancing act in– at least for the case of Austria – not always welcoming and inclusive societal structures.

Keywords

Transnational mobility, transnational engagement, integration.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

1. Introduction and Scope of the Country Report

1.1 Aim of Research and Structure of Report

ITHACA studies the links between migrants' integration and their transnational engagement. Migrants engage in transnational mobility for an array of economic reasons as well as emotional and political ties with their country of origin. They develop transnational businesses, trade, investments, or social and cultural programmes and circulate these between their two countries. ITHACA explores the interconnections between the integration process and the transnational mobility of migrants and aims to answer the following key questions: (1) under what circumstances do migrants engage in transnational mobility? (2) What kind of transnational engagement are the respondents maintaining and why? (3) What kind of transfers are made? (4) What kind of relationship can be identified between transnationalism and integration?

This report forms part of a wider comparative study, including research in the following countries of destination: Austria, Italy, Spain and the UK and in the following countries of origin: Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, Morocco, the Philippines and Ukraine. For the case study at hand, the focus was set on mobility practices and transnational engagement of migrants mainly settled in Austria that were regularly travelling to Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, the Philippines and Ukraine. The study also considers a few cases of returnees to Bosnia[1] and their transnational engagement relating to Austria.

The report is organised as follows: (1) A conceptual framework to our empirical analysis in the section following the introduction. (2) An overview of the specific policies which impacted the arrival and settlement of our respondents to Austria. The peculiarities of the migration regime will also be discussed along the specific migration history of our respondents' respective countries of origin: Bosnia and Herzegovina, India, the Philippines and Ukraine. (3) This section will describe the methodology of fieldwork and provide a statistical description of the interviews gathered in the course of the fieldwork. (4) The report will present our empirical analysis, focusing first on the types transnational engagement of our respondents, and their strategies and motivations. Secondly, this section will discuss our respondents' strategies of "making a place" for themselves in a transnational setting. Throughout both sections, respondents' motivations for transnational mobility between the country of origin and Austria will be

---

[1] In this report, "Bosnia" is used as abbreviation for Bosnia and Hercegovina. "Bosnian" refers to all of Bosnia and Hercegovina, regardless of ethnicity or entity.

discussed. (5) The conclusion will summarize key findings with regard to our respondents' practices of creating a place in a transnational setting and their respective transnational engagement.

We would like to sincerely thank all our interview partners, who accepted to dedicate their valuable time in meeting with us and discussing their experiences. We also want to thank them for their openness and their insightful narrations – without this tremendous contribution, this report simply would not exist. Please note that any errors and omissions in this report are the sole responsibility of the authors. We also would like to thank everyone who supported this study, be it by helping us in identifying interview partners, conducting or transcribing interviews and other important contributions. We especially thank Tahnee Reed, our colleague at ICMPD, for editing this report. Finally, we also warmly thank this report's reviewers for their constructive and insightful feedback.

1.2 Conceptual Background and Operationalisation of Core Concepts

A prevalent line of argument put forth in the policy discourse on migration and development suggests a "triple win" situation "in which the countries of origin, as well as the countries of destination and the migrants themselves" benefit from the migrant's movement between the country of origin and of destination (Ambrosini 2014, similarly Sinatti/Horst 2015). As criticised by Ambrosini, the "image of migrants as protagonists in the advancement of the communities from which they come accords with a neoliberal approach to the issues of development (…)" Furthermore, "(i)ndividuals should be deployed from the bottom up, at a micro level, in order to redirect resources to the homeland, relieve poverty and encourage economic and social progress." (Ambrosini 2014: 620) Individual transnational engagement is however essentially viewed in economic terms.

Against this background, attention – academic and political likewise – has been paid to what is commonly labelled as migrant entrepreneurs and their transnational activities involving their country of origin (Ambrosini 2014; Brzozowski et al. 2014; Storti 2014; Bagwell 2015). The focus on economic activities implicitly suggests that transnational entrepreneurs are important to examine, primarily because of the relevance ascribed to migrants' economic contribution to the country of origin and destination.[2] However, the heavy focus on transnational entrepreneurship brings forth several limitations to understanding the dynamics of transnational engagement. First and foremost, it overlooks many activities which form part of

---

[2] Ambrosini (2014) for instance researched transnational engagement and for this purpose conducted fieldwork with interlocutors active in specific economic branches, ranging from "ethnic" shops, "ethnic" catering, international phone centres, money transfer businesses, migrant courier businesses and so forth; and their actual engagement in the country of origin. However, Ambrosini's case selection clearly limits the understanding of transnational entrepreneurship to a specific range of activities, which revolve around businesses that are primarily labelled as "ethnic".

social interaction and therefore also inform social change in transnational settings. Secondly, and this is important in another strand of debate, the focus on remittances and entrepreneurship adopted in some of the literature and political discourse likewise perpetuates a rather selective notion of who is actually considered a legitimate "agent of development" and, accordingly, who is therefore in a position to participate in activities deemed "useful". Sinatti and Horst (2015: 139ff.) pointedly assessed how migrants' engagement in the country of origin is framed by European governments and development institutions as primarily small-scale, or even dismissed as unsystematic acts of charity and philanthropy of emotionally biased individuals or collective actors, therefore viewed as requiring more professionalism. Efforts of governments are thus directed at strengthening the absorption of migrants' self-organised initiatives into the development industry and to strengthen economic stimuli, for instance by facilitating entrepreneurial activity. Thirdly, there is a lack of awareness that both approaches pursue a presumption which ascribes migrants a quasi-natural connection to their country of origin, equally presupposing a natural "urge to help in the development of that country." (Sinatti/Horst 2015: 147) Not only does this view essentialise ideas about migrants' belonging to and aspirations towards their country of origin, it also further reinforces ethnicity as a decisive determinant for actual practices, such as economic engagement. Some studies argue that ethnicity may explain the business strategies adopted and economic performance of ethnic groups in a given country of destination. This leads the authors to conclude that some (ethnic) groups are more entrepreneurial than others, as they better succeed in mobilizing the transnational resources available (e.g. cultural ties, transnational networks) (Brzozowski et al. 2014: 546f.; Storti 2014: 522). In our view this stance tends to essentialise and homogenise ethnicity. Against the background of these issues we stress the need for broader concepts of transnational engagement that address (1) practices beyond a narrow economic understanding in order to allow for a broader assessment of practices of social change; (2) Critically reflect upon the prevalent emphasis on ethnicity when looking at migrants' transnational engagement; (3) Offer a means to assess the migrants' negotiation processes of their specific transnational embeddedness. We shall now address these conceptual considerations in more depth.

Transnational Engagement and Mobility

Resulting from the previously mentioned considerations, we propose an understanding of transnational engagement which is not limited to business activity alone. Drawing on a concept of economic activity as socially embedded (Polanyi 1944), we would like to emphasise that we analyse all of our respondents' economic activities as inherently social. For example, sending money back to the country of origin is on the one hand providing financial support to the receivers of the remittances, but one the other hand also signifies the continuation and reaffirmation of a social bond. We also would like to maintain that other kinds of engagements – be they social, political, cultural and so forth – comprise of economic

components. Thus, a project that initiates youth reconciliation work among different ethnicities in Bosnia aims at overcoming social cleavages and therefore necessitates material components and processes which share many commonalities with entrepreneurial activity.

As we would like to emphasis in this report, engagement in the country of origin can take many forms and is subject to a range of motivations. It is the result of complex negotiations between "here" and "there" and the space "in-between", biographical situatedness, the peculiarities of migration regimes, life cycle etc. Most importantly, these reflections brought us to an understanding of economic activity as socially embedded and reversely, of social activity entailing economic components. Accordingly, transnational engagement furthermore encompasses the mobilisation of a set of activities and resources. In order to gain a deeper awareness of the processes at work in the realm of transnational engagement, we found Bagwell's (2015) notion of "transnational entrepreneurship" a helpful contribution. She conceptualises transnational entrepreneurship as a bundle of (at least) five processes crucial to the operation of the economic enterprise. Depending on whether these processes are supported, supplied or organised transnationally, locally, or both, Bagwell argues that the degree of transnational embeddedness therefore varies (ibid: 334). She identifies the following core processes (2015: 334): (1) the capital made available to commence and pursue the engagement (2) the labour required to keep the engagement operative (3) the material inputs for supply and maintenance (4) the "consumption" markets or addressees of this engagement (5) immaterial inputs such as advice and ideas (we will address this latter point more in-depth shortly). As we have previously suggested a broader notion of engagement, we accordingly propose to focus on commonalities that can be found among transnational engagement relating to voluntary, dependent work, or self-employment. We therefore suggest expanding her notion of transnational entrepreneurship to incorporate transnational engagement. Most commonly, studies of transnational entrepreneurship are often dedicated to exploring transnational economic activity revolving around self-employment (f.ex. Kloosterman 2010; Ambrosini 2014; Bagwell 2015). We suggest looking into commonalities between transnational engagement relating to voluntary, dependent work, or self-employment, precisely because in the realm of globalised neoliberal economies, not only are work-relations becoming increasingly transformed according to neoliberal parameters, but so are life-worlds more generally. We therefore follow Aihwa Ong's argument; in which she argues that

> (the) neoliberal logic requires populations to be free, self-managing, and self-enterprising individuals in different spheres of everyday life – health, education, bureaucracy, the professions and so on. The neoliberal subject is therefore not a citizen with claims on the state but a self-enterprising citizen-subject who is obligated to become 'an entrepreneur of himself or herself' (Ong 2006: 14).

Against this background we propose to understand transnational engagement as a bundle of practices inextricably linked to the above-described mode of entrepreneurial self-governance.

The concept defined by Bagwell (2015), jointly with our broad take on transnational engagement furthermore allows pinpointing flows emerging from transnational engagement, which are other than material. As Bagwell (2015: 224) argues, the circulation of non-material inputs such as ideas and advice are relevant to the founding and maintenance of transnational entrepreneurship. Moreover, some forms of engagement are essentially about non-material circulations – such as transnational initiatives for cultural exchange. We find a conceptual refinement in that regard helpful and therefore will shortly highlight the notion of collective and social remittances in the realm of transnational engagement. The term was coined as a critical intervention in the scholarly discourse on the migration-development nexus, which is criticised as privileging the economic over the social, which parallels the identification of similar shortcomings we enunciated in our argument above. Following this concept, transnational engagement not only is about the circulation of material (especially monetary) flows, but also about non-material flows. For instance, these non-material flows relate to the circulation of ideas and practices. This type of remittance is exchanged in social situations, be it return migration, visits, acts of digital communication and so on. The flows circulated are not fixed, but continuously in movement, changing in intensity and are multidirectional (Levitt/Lamba-Nieves 2011: 3). In their paper Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2011) develop two core arguments on social remittances: Firstly, that the experiences acquired prior to migration plays a role in how migrants engage in the context of destination and of origin, and therefore on the type of social remittances and the modes of circulation. Secondly, the authors suggest differentiating between individual and collective social remittances, similarly to existing discussions on economic remittances (ibid.). Accordingly, individual social remittances are circulated among friends and relatives, while collective social remittances "are exchanged in their role as organizational members and are used in organizational settings such as hometown associations, church groups or political parties." (Levitt/Lamba-Nieves 2011: 13). As our report will show we can find reports of both individual and collective social remittances being circulated in the realm of our respondents' transnational engagement which is directed at various purposes. Their circulation can be related to dependent work, self-employment and voluntary work performed by our interlocutors.

Having briefly sketched our conceptual framework above, our fieldwork approach towards transnational engagement was structured by the following reflections: Firstly, our selection criterion for respondents was their concrete mobility. The study therefore essentially focuses on practices of transnational engagement of transnationally mobile migrants. This means that the research at hand targeted a very specific population with the distinct feature of travelling back and forth between the country of destination

and the country of origin at least twice in two years. Several studies argue that mobility is an indicator of intensive transnational engagement. Furthermore, types of mobility that are connected to transnational engagement (largely understood in economic terms) are argued to apply to a comparatively small share of immigrants (Schunck 2011: 261; Portes 2003). As the present study did not refer to any control group (e.g. non-mobile migrants and their respective forms of transnational engagement), a comparison between the transnational engagement of migrants who travel less, yet lead more transnationally mobile lives, is beyond the scope of this report. Secondly, our sample furthermore consists of individuals with migratory careers who engage transnationally in multiple ways – be it politically, socially, economically or otherwise. Thus, we were essentially guided by the notion of transnational engagement as outlined above. Consequently, a number of questions in our interview guidelines were aimed at understanding in what ways and in what kind of activities our respondents are involved, and how mobility actually plays a role in their concrete engagement.

These methodological decisions regarding field access generated a range of useful insights, which shall be recapped in our report's conclusions. That being said, we hope to add some complexity to the understanding of not only transnational economic engagement, but also transnational engagement overall by relating our analysis to our respondents' concrete situatedness and mobility in their respective transnational settings. This is especially so as we analysed our interviews from a perspective of concrete practices of engagement and the meanings our respondents ascribe to these. The following subsection shall offer a conceptual framework for understanding the relationship between integration and transnationalism, therefore to elaborate a conceptual tool to reflect on the concrete situatedness and mobility of our respondents. We argue that this relationship can be understood as an ongoing and fluid negotiation process of making one's place in a transnational/trans-local setting.

Making a Place in a Transnational/Trans-Local Setting: Integration and Transnationalism

Several works have discussed the relationship of transnationalism and integration. Whereas some studies argue that transnational engagement is a hindrance to integration in the country of destination, others have put forth that integration actually forges the means to engage transnationally, meaning that transnational engagement and integration are mutually supportive strategies (Ambrosini 2013; Hammond 2013; Erdal/Oeppen 2013). However, it should be noted that the conceptual utility of "integration" is subject to fierce academic contestation. It has especially been criticized for its policy-driven and thus highly normative foundations, which may result in a conflation of analytical and conceptual categories (do Mar Castro Varela 2013; for a more general argument see also Bakewell 2011; for earlier contributions, see e.g. Schnapper/Shirinian 1991; Sayad 2004/1999). Research is therefore at risk of essentialising

integration and thereby ignoring the fact that it is a socially, academically and politically constructed phenomenon. Especially against the background of the bulk of literature produced on transnationalism (Glick Schiller/Salazar 2013) it becomes apparent that dominant understandings of integration furthermore solely focus on the so called host-society,[3] which replicates the notion of stasis being the norm and mobility the exception to the norm. This neglects the reality of migrants being embedded in multiple social sites (Lacroix 2013: 1020) and engaging in a variety of transnational practices.

That being said, and since the research focus of this study aims to understand the links between integration and mobility practices and transnational engagement, our report necessitates a concrete analytical perspective on integration; as Erdal and Oeppen suggest, there is a need for a "pragmatic view" on the matter, which assumes that migrants' lived experience is likely more complex than an "either/or" situation (2013: 873). Thus, we understand integration as a social process within complex, heterogeneous and in flux societies without delineated borders. This concept moves integration away from describing a process that only applies to "migrants" coming from outside to a bounded society, which is often linked to notions of statehood. Following Erdal and Oeppen (2013), we propose to see integration as a social process that shares many similarities with the social process of transnationalism. In their introduction to a special issue exploring the relationship between transnationalism and integration, they claim that rather than juxtaposing these terms, they should be viewed as connected with each other. Considering integration as a social process in the context of our specific research, the central question which needs to be addressed accordingly is: how do people make their place within a transnational setting? "Making a place" for oneself helps with framing integration as an ongoing process that is constantly re-constructed and re-shaped through various social interactions across multiple localities. These multiple localities can be understood as "trans-local", as they involve different societal contexts (Erdal/Oeppen 2013: 871 and 874). We particularly value this approach because conceptually it allows us to do justice to the transnational practices, and therefore the mobile lives of our respondents, while at the same time accounting for structural constraints that shape our respondent's agency in multiple contexts. Conversely, a concept of integration which merely focuses on the interaction of the "migrant" with a given "host society", in our view offers no means to account for this complex experience.

Furthermore, we took note of suggestions in the literature to include individual's life-cycle as a consideration when exploring the links of transnationalism and making one's place in a transnational setting (Castles 2004; Wingens/Windzio/Valk/Aybek 2011). For instance, being responsible for the care of elderly parents or starting a family and children attending school changes the commitments that connect

---

[3] See for example policy evaluation instruments such as the Zaragossa instruments.

to a specific place and may also alter the plans and strategies adopted (Castles 2004). Biographies are also inherently shaped by structural components. For instance, access to welfare systems is based on the requirement to fulfil a certain "norm biography" – for example, the standard pension allowance is based on the implicit norm of having worked in a single nation-state throughout the entire work biography (Bommes 2000). Accordingly, the life trajectories accommodated for are primarily non-mobile biographies.

For the purposes of methodological operationalization, we translated the notion of "making one's place" into strategies of negotiating membership with regard to (1) institutional dimensions and (2) socio-cultural dimensions. These dimensions were separated for analytical purposes, but they are in fact tightly connected in our respondents' narratives. The institutional dimension was translated with the help of Ager and Strang (2008), who suggest looking at integration in the sense of markers and means. The notion of *marker* is related to the macro-social level and indicates how far a given population can access core social institutions such as the labor market, housing, health services and education (ibid.: 169ff.). The notion of *means* relates to the micro-social level, which is the centre of our present analysis: Namely our respondents' individual strategies in negotiating membership in a transnational setting that is structured by specific regimes regulating access to social institutions such as employment, education, housing and health services and welfare more generally, as well as citizenship and its associated rights (ibid.). The other dimension of making place we elicit in this report is the socio-cultural dimension. Strategies of making one's place also encompass the negotiation of notions of (transnational) belonging. Borrowing from Erdal/Oppen (2013) and Ager/Strang (2008), we operationalize the negotiation of belonging in the following aspects: strategies of emotional attachment and detachment, the forming of (new) social networks, strategies to achieve political participation, and our respondents' assessment of safety and stability in the transnational setting.

The report will now elaborate the historic specificities regarding the policy framework shaping the arrival and settlement of our respondents.

2. Migration Corridors and Immigration Regimes in the Austrian Case

The four migration corridors analysed in this study represent very specific migration patterns and immigration contexts for Austria. Whereas persons born in Bosnia represent approximately 10.70% of the foreign born population residing in Austria, migrants from India, the Philippines and the Ukraine belong

to the smallest immigrant groups. As of January 1st, 2015, these three groups combined only totalled to 2.45 % of the foreign born population residing in Austria.

Table 1: Population by country of birth, January 1, 2015

Country of birth	Total	%
Foreign born total	1,484,595	100.00
Bosnia and Herzegovina	158,853	10.70
India	13,088	0.88
Philippines	12,622	0.85
Ukraine	10,651	0.72

Source: Statistik Austria, StatCube, accessed 2015/16/22

These four groups experienced largely different migration conditions and migration trajectories, which are distinct from the immigration policy paradigm of "guest worker policy" which dominated Austria´s immigration policy processes from the early 1960s to the late 1990s and early 2000s. Bosnian immigration is composed of "guest worker" recruitment from Yugoslavia in the 1970s, of refugee-movements from the Balkan wars, and of post-war migration. Nurses from both India and the Philippines have been recruited by distinct recruitment channels differing from "guest worker" recruitment, and Indians recruited to become newspaper vendors came to Austria under a specific legal migration regime. Migration from the Ukraine mainly commenced after the fall of the iron curtain and was primarily composed of family and labour migration with an increasing share of student mobility.

2.1 Migration from Bosnia-Herzegovina[4]

Among the Bosnians, two different migration patterns have to be discerned: While the majority came to Austria as refugees from the Balkan wars in the early 1990s or after the Balkan wars, "guest worker" recruitment in the former Yugoslavia since the 1960s always contained a portion recruited from Bosnia. However, the concrete numbers cannot be determined, as the available data does not contain information on the place of birth in former Yugoslavia.

Austria started to recruit labour migrants from mainly the former Republic of Yugoslavia and Turkey since the early 1960s. The recruitment philosophy followed the "guest worker model", which aimed at the

---

[4] This section is based on ICMPD forthcoming.

temporary recruitment of workers, excluding them from equal access to rights in the workplace and access to social welfare (Matuschek 1985; Perchinig 2010).

However, the majority of Bosnian migrants residing in Austria entered Austria as refugees of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and after the war. Up until 1998, some 85,000 refugees from Bosnia found shelter in Austria. When the war started, Austria did not accept the war as a reason for granting the refugees status according to the Geneva Convention, but instead developed a system of temporary protection based on membership to a group at risk of persecution. After the war, migration continued, while remigration to Bosnia – which was supported by Austria and international organizations – remained low (Hadolt et al. 1999: 37; Fassmann/Fenzl 2003: 299).

Temporary protection was organised by the provincial governments and included housing in public accommodation, health insurance, discretionary spending money and providing support to families who accommodated refugees, leading to different settlement conditions in the nine different provinces. Only refugees without family ties in Austria were eligible for financial support. Although relatives already residing in Austria housed large numbers of refugees, this program granted some 47,800 persons support in June 1993 (Valentini 2000: 50, Hadolt et al 1999: 34). As the refugees were excluded from legal access to the labour market, a growing number found irregular employment in the hospitality industry, trade and other sectors. When the authorities realized that the war would last longer than originally expected, legal access to the labour market was gradually improved, but only for the labour market sectors with a high demand for unskilled labour. Thus, a growing number of Bosnians found employment, albeit often in positions well below their formal training. In 1998, Bosnian refugees working in Austria were given access to permanent residence and a permanent labour permit (Hadolt et al 1999: 38 ff.; Franz 2005: 53ff.).

Publicly, Bosnian refugees were largely welcomed and supported as their integration was organised by relatives, who were already residing in Austria, by churches and by many local governments. In particular, children's attendance to school was supported by language training and other measures (Valentini 2000: 147). Currently, migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina is largely channelled through family reunification and spousal visas, and an increasing share of Bosnians on student permits. Labour migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina has decreased considerably.

2.2 Migration from India

Migration from India commenced in the early 1970s by the recruitment of predominantly female nurses from Kerala through networks of the Catholic Church, first facilitated through personal networks of Indian

theology students, then through an Austrian Catholic congregation (Hintermann 1995: 47ff.; Fuchs 1997: 149ff.). Consecutive family migration brought highly qualified spouses to Austria, whose qualifications were often not recognized and who had to often retrain as assistant nurses. Nevertheless, due to their professional integration into a stable and publicly funded sector of employment, the nurses and their spouses had easy access to naturalisation and naturalised in high numbers (Hintermann 1995: 55f.).

Migration of Indian nurses grew in the 1980s and peaked in the early 1990s, when new migration legislation sharply restricted family reunification. In 1997, some 52% of the 1,092 Indian nationals employed in Vienna (being the centre of Indian immigration) worked in medical professions (Hintermann 1997: 199). This group of Indian nurses represented a cohort different from the then usual pattern of labour migration to Austria. At this time, labour migration in general was still dominated by largely unqualified men working in insecure and menial positions, mainly in the construction, tourism and trade industries recruited in the framework of "guest worker policies". In contrast, migration from Kerala was characterised by a dominance of women, who were mainly working in qualified, stable and well-paid employment in the medical sector.

The second largest group of Indian migrants in Vienna, Sikhs and Hindus from the Punjab, were also recruited via a specific channel. Between the 1970s and the late 1990s, street vendors for newspapers were exempt from Austrian migration and labour market regulations. This rule was implemented as a political favour to the largest, politically influential Austrian tabloid newspaper, the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" (Fixl 2006; Petry 2008) and provided a supply of cheap labour from abroad. Recruitment followed a chain-migration process: The first Indians who had found work as newspaper vendors recruited among their family networks, who were eager to send family members abroad (Fuchs 1998: 114ff.). Although street vendors work for newspapers under conditions typical of dependent work, a decision of the High Administrative Court in 1965 (Fuchs 1998: 43) rejected the validity of the Labour Code and defined street-vendors as entrepreneurs. Consequently, street vendors were also exempt from labour migration regulations, but the publishing house had to inform the aliens' police once their contracts came to an end. If the person could not prove they had sufficient income to stay in Austria, the residence permit could be revoked (Hummel et al 1997: 101). This way, the Austrian Ministry of the Interior created a highly vulnerable group of immigrants in a situation of "institutionalised irregularity" (Fuchs 1998: 45). On the one hand it allowed a specific group of immigrants' easy entry, but on the other hand it excluded them from the protection of labour law and made them completely dependent and easily exploitable by the media industry (Lichtenberger 1995: 14).

Migration from the Punjab was almost exclusively male, and most migrants originated from the rural middle classes, and had attended high school. Although most of the migrants were married and had

children in India, their low income and weak legal position prevented family reunification in Austria (Hintermann 1997: 197). Pushed into a specific employment niche characterized by severe exploitation, they only rarely were able to fulfil the conditions required for naturalisation.

Since the 1990s, the social position of the former street vendors improved. A growing number found regular employment in other jobs or turned to self-employment. A larger group succeeded in setting up Indian shops or restaurants (Fuchs 2007: 264). As a result of this improved social condition, family reunification migration commenced as their families joined them in Austria.

Since the late 1990s, migration from India to Austria remains steady at around 1000 persons per year. Flows of Indians into Austria have diversified, now including asylum seekers, students and family reunification (Hintermann 1997: 198). Further to these main migration channels, there is also a small group of elite ion -migrants from Delhi and West Bengal, who have been coming to Austria since the 1970s. The majority are either employees at one of the several International Organisations based in Vienna, work for international companies, or run their own businesses.

2.3 Migration from the Philippines

Migration from the Philippines to Austria commenced in the early 1960s with the immigration of diplomats and international businessmen. Similar to the Indian nurses, nurse recruitment started through religious channels: The first few Filipina nurses were recruited in 1971 by a Catholic priest to Catholic hospitals in the province of Vorarlberg (Marschnigg 2010: 66). A Recruitment Agreement between the City of Vienna and Department of Labour of the Philippines was further concluded in 1974. It agreed on the recruitment of some 720 unmarried female Filipina nurses[5]. The agreement included the payment of travel costs and of a German language course for four weeks. The nurses were given a three-year work contract and were offered housing either in the housing provided by the hospitals or in flats provided by the "Viennese Fund for Immigration"[6], which was founded in 1971 as a housing association to provide immigrant workers from the other Austrian provinces with cheap and temporary housing (Henning 1992; Kirnbauer 2010: 45; Marschnig 2010: 67).

Most of these Filipina migrants had their contracts amended to unlimited contracts after the first few years in Vienna. At this time the residence period required for naturalisation could be shortened to four years in the circumstance of regular employment, most of these migrants naturalised after four years. Major

---

[5] Rathauskorrespondenz, 13.09.1974, cited in Kirnabuer 2010, 45.

[6] Wiener Zuwandererfonds

motives for naturalisation were the access to family reunification and the fact that the Philippines required their nationals to pay taxes in the Philippines on their already taxed income in Austria. Thus, naturalization prevented double taxation (Kirnbauer 2010: 63).

In 1985, the agreement expired without any formal termination. At this time, some 400 Filipina nurses held permanent residence in Austria (Reiterer 2007: 150). At that moment, Filipino immigrants had to follow the regular migration procedures still governed by the concept of "guest worker migration" at the time. In the 1980s and 1990s many nurses married locally or brought their Filipino husbands to Austria and started families. The Filipino husbands, who often held academic degrees, often experienced massive de-qualification, as their education was not recognized in Austria. Many of the husbands retrained as assistant nurses and also found jobs in the health sector (Reiterer 2007: 152).

Today, migration from the Philippines is mainly based on family reunification or student mobility (PHI_3_Philippine Embassy Representative). Annually, between 200 and 500 persons migrate from the Philippines to Austria, and about 100 to 200 return to the Philippines annually (Statistik Austria 2015). Today, employment of Philippine nationals is heavily leaning towards tourism and restaurant trade and in the health sector. As data on employment is based on nationality, and most Filipino nurses are naturalized, the role of the health sector for the employment of Filipino migrants is not correctly reflected in these figures.

2.4 Migration from Ukraine

To date, there is little literature available on overall migration patterns from Ukraine to Austria. Thus, this section is based on the few sources available and draws some conclusions based on the information generated during the expert interviews.

The migration history between Austria and Ukraine dates back to the Austro-Hungarian empire, during which considerable parts of modern Ukraine formed part of the empire's territory. However, the Ukrainian state with its current official borders was founded in 1992. Accordingly, its history of emigration is more recent than migration associated with the "guest worker" regime.

As another expert reported (UKR_4), the migration pattern from the Ukraine to Austria is threefold consisting of: (1) the most recent development pertains to student mobility, which has increased in the past five years or so. As the expert explained, training in Austria is viewed as an important means to eventually enter the Austrian labour market – as the recognition of qualifications from the Ukraine is in fact still cumbersome and income requirements are comparatively high (2) Another important pattern is marriage migration and family reunification, which peaked 20 years ago, but still prevails as a pattern. (3) The third

pattern consists of undocumented migrants, who are employed in highly informal and precarious sectors – mainly construction work and domestic/care work, which contains a high proportion of females.

The most thoroughly researched area relating to migration from the Ukraine to Austria relates to domestic and care work. On the one hand, there are studies addressing the evolvement of policy conditions (welfare, employment and migration regime) under which domestic and care workers earn their livelihood and practice their mobility (Gendera/Haidinger n.d.). Another strand of literature addresses the transnational lives of migrant domestic and care workers from the Ukraine (Haidinger 2013). The first strand underlines the fact that the recourse of migrant care workers from the Ukraine is inextricably linked with transformations of the labour market, including the increase of labour market participation of female Austrian nationals, and the re-privatization of reproductive labour in the realm of the neoliberal restructuration of the welfare state in Austria. One crucial issue discussed in the literature is the difficulty for care workers in obtaining regular residence. The requirements for labour migration were raised and factually only so-called "key labour forces" (pre-defined high-demand skilled labour) receive a residence permit on grounds of their employment. Consequently, as the care sector is highly informal and difficult to monitor and control, it can lead to employment of workers who are in precarious residence situations. In fact, the study of Gendera and Haidinger argues that these precarious working conditions are actively tolerated by the Austrian state. This is especially so because the care work performed effectively "relieves" the state from its reproductive responsibilities (ibid.). As both cited studies emphasise, it is mainly well-educated migrant women from Ukraine working in this sector. Respondents from the fieldwork view their employment under these circumstances as a temporary arrangement that is linked to a transnational household strategy which includes financing the subsistence and education of family members still residing in Ukraine. Struggles with issues concerning residency and social security are frequent concerns of the respondents. One of the experts interviewed reported that in her opinion, the irregular situation in Austria of some of the migrant care workers from Ukraine actually impedes their mobility practices, whereas a secure residence status offers less impediments in that regard (UKR_4).

With regards to transnational economic engagement, an expert further explained that large volumes of transnational economic activity are corporate investments flowing from Ukraine to Austria, or the consumption of high-end services and goods in Austria – such as private health care, real estate and luxury tourism – by highly mobile elites. She believes that the reverse case of Ukraine nationals being mainly settled in Austria and performing investment in Ukraine is rather unusual. In her view, this is mainly due to the comparatively tiny market potential and weak purchase power in Ukraine (UKR_4). However, the expert emphasized that her observations are mainly based on her experience and further research is definitely needed. Another expert reported that he was not so knowledgeable about corporate investment,

but could observe an increase of transnational political engagement since the orange revolution, and it revival in the wake of the Maidan upheavals (UKR_3).

3. Methodology

3.1 Methodological Considerations for this Study

The report is based on a set of methodological considerations which shall be briefly discussed in this section. At the early stage of the project, a set of expert interviews were conducted in order to generate a basic overview on the topic of mobility, transfers, and transnational engagement. We aimed to identify a variety of experts, comprising of researchers who had worked on the distinct migration patterns of our groups of countries of origin, their respective embassies, experts who are knowledgeable about the subject from the insight they gained from being active in the field by profession, or in associations, cultural institutions, NGOs or other aspects of "organised" civil society. The interviews were summarised and served as background material to the migration corridors described in the previous section.

Overall, we found it striking that from the expert angle, there is seemingly a broad consensus that the phenomenon of mobility for the purpose of economic transnationalism is a comparatively rare phenomenon. Indeed, the initial identification of interview partners who could share such experiences was a challenging task. In total, this report is based on 82 such interviews, out of which 63 interviews were conducted in Vienna, 12 in Linz and seven in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We conducted 77 interviews with respondents who were mainly settled in Austria and reported that they regularly visit their country of origin and are transnationally engaged with the country of origin. Furthermore, five interviews were conducted with respondents who re-settled in Bosnia and Herzegovina and who had previously lived in Austria.

In order to identify interview partners, we approached a range of access points. Although we invested considerable efforts in diversifying these as much as possible, the pool of interviewees is the result of a snowballing process with a set of entry points. We visited different community events to recruit interview partners, requested our experts to recommend interview partners, asked our interview partners themselves to think of people to recommend. The project was advertised on Facebook, people forwarded our request through mailing lists and migrant professional networks, we addressed migrants' associations, asked embassies representatives and the Austrian Chamber of Commerce in the respective countries for support. Finally, we screened lists available online of companies registered in Austria which have a branch in one

of the respective countries of origin relevant to our study. Despite the range of access points, the report can by no means claim to be representative for any group of origin.

The questionnaire comprised of a set of closed and open questions, which aimed at exploring our respondents' mobility practices, types of transnational engagement, migration history and history of settlement. What follows is a section which will give a statistical overview on the core topics of our study, for which the totality of our sample was considered. The consecutive sections will then present the results of our qualitative interview analysis. The results are qualitative in the sense that we aim to describe practices of our respondents and meanings they ascribe to these in their narrations. For our qualitative interview analysis we utilised a computer program for processing qualitative data. Prior to analysis, we designed a codebook which was essentially based on our theoretical readings and further discussions of the questionnaire. We opted for an open coding procedure, meaning that when new codes emerged, we included them in our codebook. The qualitative analysis is not based on the totality of our interview pool, but on a careful case selection for each group of origin, in order to allow for in-depth quality analysis of those interviews that were most insightful. As the study is explorative in character, the selection was thus aiming at a thick description of respondents' engagement and mobility practices in a transnational setting. In total, we coded 35 interviews for our in-depth analysis, amounting to: 11 interviews with Bosnia-Herzegovinian respondents, 9 interviews with Indian respondents, 5 interviews with Ukrainian respondents and 10 interviews with respondents from the Philippines. If applicable, we have highlighted results specific to a group of origin throughout the report, however the in-depth analysis mainly focuses on shared experiences and patterns of practices.

3.2 Sample Description

The following section provides a sample overview, which elicits basic demographic information about our respondents. It will moreover give a statistical overview of our respondents' mobility practices and reports on remittances to and investments in the country of origin. The results are based on basic statistical calculations (pivot tables).

Table 2: Respondents by gender and age-group

	Age group				
Gender	**20 - 29**	**30 - 39**	**40 - 49**	**50 +**	**Total**
Male	6	15	8	8	37
Female	9	15	10	11	45
Total	15	30	18	19	82

The sample consisted of 82 respondents, as noted above. As the table below shows, more than two thirds of the respondents were aged between 30 and 49. The sample is slightly skewed towards female respondents (54,8%). Approximately two thirds of the respondents were married or cohabiting with a partner, and approximately 30% were single. Among those married or cohabiting with a partner, approximately two third reported to live with their partner in Austria.

The sample is clearly biased towards higher education (College, University), which accounts for approximately two third of the respondents. Most other respondents have reached a medium level of education (vocational training, secondary education). There are no relevant gender differences in the distribution of education levels, and no relevant differences regarding age.

Table 3: Education level by gender

Education level	Male	Female	Total
High	24	30	54
Medium	11	14	25
Low	2	1	3
Total	37	45	82

Whereas approximately half of the male respondents had been educated and trained in the country of origin (or in another country, but not the country of destination), and approximately one third in both the country of origin and the country of destination, approximately one third of the female respondents were educated in the country of origin, approximately one third in the country of destination, and about one third both in the country of origin and the country of destination.

Respondents also were asked about their nationality (in the sense of citizenship). In cases of dual nationality they could decide which citizenship they would consider as their "first citizenship". According to this "first citizenship", citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina formed the largest group (29), followed by Austrian citizens (23). Among the 82 respondents, 12 held dual nationality. 32 of the 82 respondents were born in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 14 in the Philippines and 14 in India and 3 respondents were born in Austria.

As Table 4 shows, the frequency of travel to the country of origin is related to its geographic proximity. 75% of the Ukrainian respondents have travelled to the Ukraine more than three times in the last two years. Whereas the vast majority of those born in Bosnia-Herzegovina report travelling to Bosnia more than three times in the last two years, with more than half of this group indicating seven trips or more, half

of the Indian born respondents only have travelled India up to two times, and only two Filipino respondents out of 14 travelled to the Philippines more than three times in the last two years.

Table 4: Country of Education and Gender

Gender	Country of Education			
	Both CoO & CoD	CoD	CoO	n.a.
Male	12	6	18	3
Female	14	13	15	1
Total	26	19	33	4

CoO = Country of Origin, CoD = Country of Destination

Table 5: Amount of trips to country of origin in the last two years by CoO.

Country	0	1	2	3-6	7+	Total
Austria		1		2		3
Belarus				1		1
Bosnia			3	12	17	32
Kazakhstan			1			1
Montenegro				1		1
Philippines	3	4	5	2		14
Poland				1		1
Russia				1	1	2
Serbia			2	1	1	4
Slovakia					1	1
Ukraine	1	1		4	2	8
Total	**4**	**8**	**16**	**32**	**22**	**82**

Length of stay during travels to the country of origin are also related to geographical proximity: While all respondents from the Philippines and the vast majority of the respondents from India reported a stay of at least three weeks, the majority of migrants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and all respondents from the Ukraine report stays for up to two weeks. The majority of the respondents reported that they travelled with their family when going to their country of origin. Average length of stay is also related to age: Whereas the majority of the age groups between 20 and 49 stay in their countries of origin for up to 3 weeks, nearly half of the age group 50+ stay longer than 3 weeks.

Regarding remittances, approximately two third of the respondents reported either sometimes or regularly send remittances, and approximately three quarters reported having investments in the country of origin. Out of the 50 respondents who had invested in the country of origin, thirteen reported to a minimum, from time to time employ others in their business. Remittances are mainly sent to parents, siblings and other

relatives. Approximately half of the respondents also reported to send remittances to charity and religious organizations.

Figure 1: Recipients of remittances
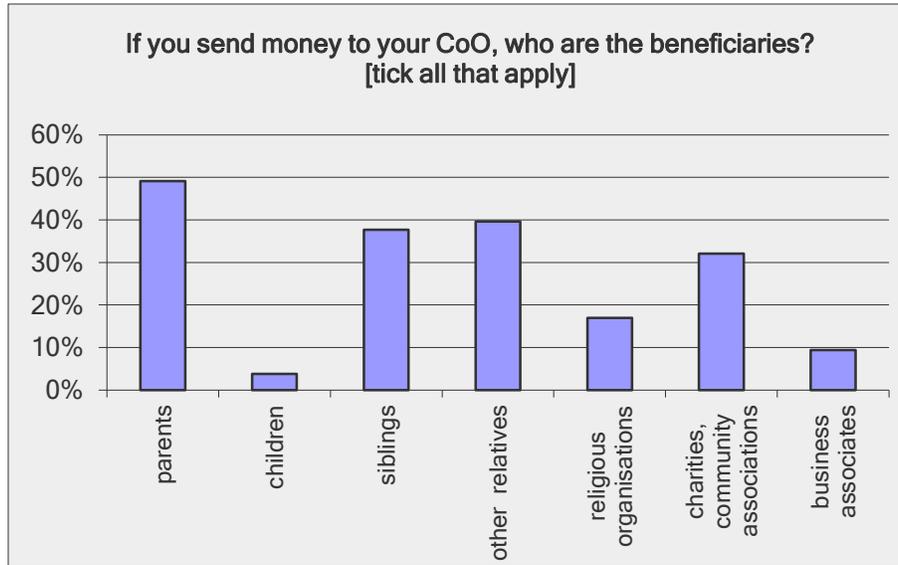
Approx. 80% of all interviewed men and 69% of all interviewed women reported an investment in the country of origin. Whereas only nine of those who had invested in the country of origin were below the age of 30, there are no noticeable differences regarding age in the age groups 30+. Asked on the type of the investment, the vast majority of those answering the question reported investment in property or the renovation of an already owned house or flat. Investment into education and training was reported second, only a few respondents reported investment into a company.

4. Analysis: The Dynamics between Transnational Mobility and Integration

Subsequent to the methodological introduction to the study and the thorough sample description underlying the present research, the sections below will discuss our qualitative analysis. It is structured as follows: It first presents findings on different patterns of transnational engagement we could identify and their relation to mobility practices. A discussion of integration understood as practices of place-making in a transnational setting will build the second core pillar of our results.

4.1 Transnational Engagement and Mobility

Types of Transnational Engagement

As delineated in the introduction, studies on transnational engagement often focus on migrants' businesses and use an ethnic lens to identify relevant businesses. Following critical work on diaspora engagement (Sinatti and Horst 2015), we go beyond this narrow scope and shift our attention to commonalities across a range of non-profit, voluntary and for-profit (business) forms of engagement. In the following section, we will first give an overview of the types of engagement we encountered in our interviews, including respondents' motives for engaging. Then, we focus on the processes and strategies required to maintain this engagement, following Bagwell (2015). We conclude with discussing respondents' mobility strategies as related to their engagement.

Non-Profit and Voluntary Engagement

The first type of engagement we would like to introduce is voluntary and non-profit activities, which we discuss alongside selected examples from our pool of interviewees. The spectrum of engagement revolves around a variety of sectors, ranging from youth education, civic education, cultural projects, reconciliation work, immediate crisis relief, and political work.

Voluntary engagement: Flora, who is now in her mid-twenties, fled the war in Bosnia with her family when she was a child. Her travels to her region of origin inspired her to become active in reconciliation work, as she perceived the ethnic divide in Bosnia as still prevalent in everyday life. She initiated a youth reconciliation project during her studies in Austria, which focused on forging links among youth from the border region originating from both entities and holding diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Non-profit engagement: Several respondents performed transnational engagement through employment for non-profit organizations. Rose is working on a project which aims to strengthen civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was initiated after the political protests in Bosnia in February 2014, in which the established political landscape and its ignorance of the actual needs and interests of the population were substantially questioned. The project aims at providing means to sustain bottom up initiatives focusing on political and socio-economic change and strengthening civic local initiatives.

Academic engagement: Another variation of engagement amongst our respondents is academic engagement. In most of these cases, the only profit obtained is through salaries. Sarah, a respondent from the Philippines, came to Austria because she was granted a scholarship to go abroad as a doctoral research fellow. She maintained ties with her university and continued supervising and advising undergraduate

students based in the Philippines. Another practice identified relates to regular travel to conduct research in the country of origin.

Occasional or spontaneous engagement: Some respondents mentioned engagement in the country of origin, but on a more spontaneous basis, comprising of activities related to our respondents' professional experience and training. Amit, one of our respondents originating from India, shifted his practice from running a charity foundation to his current engagement, which he described as follows:

> *So I am helping the people who don't have money for (having) food or something like that. Sometimes (I) build small houses, not like 1000 € something to build a house, you know to Indian money that's much, so you build a small house for them to live (in) it.*

Profit-Oriented Engagement

The following will outline the different types of profit-oriented involvement we were able to identify. We differentiated these types of involvement along the conditions in which the profit is being generated: (1) dependent employment with transnational components (2) self-employment with transnational orientation and (3) property ownership as an investment.

Dependent employment: Firstly, some of our respondents reported to be employed in transnational companies. These were the cases in which mobility was mentioned to take place first and foremost for business purposes, although travels were also frequently connected with family visits. Michael, a Bosnian respondent who came to Austria as a refugee, convinced his Austrian employer to expand the business to Bosnia and Herzegovina, as he reasoned some components of their product could be manufactured threat a cheaper cost:

> *So I approached my manager and told him, if we buy these products from another firm, why not just produce them ourselves in Bosnia, where labour is cheaper and where we have better opportunities to expand our product placement Europe-wide. We would be (only) 550 kilometres apart from the headquarters, the economy is struggling in Bosnia, many people are unemployed there. We could make good business there.*

Michael subsequently became manager of this new production site.

Self-employment: Secondly, some respondents were self-employed and founded businesses in Austria which are strongly connected with the country of origin. These projects involve a range of transnational activities. Some of our respondents were involved in the import of goods from the country of origin. Mona moved from Ukraine to Austria in her early thirties to live with her Austrian husband. She subsequently found employment as a photographer in Vienna. When she learned about a program for future entrepreneurs, which was offered by the chamber of commerce, she resigned from her job and attended

the course. Meanwhile, she set up her own studio and has specialised in wedding photography. Recently, she expanded her business and started importing wedding gowns from Ukraine with the assistance of her mother, who resides in Ukraine. Another form of transnational economic engagement is the support of or investment in self-employed enterprises in the country of origin. The main transnational components in these cases are the capital provided for the start-up of the business, as well as non-material support, which is mainly comprised of advice and emotional support. Sandra, one of our respondents from the Philippines, supported her nephew and niece financially and emotionally to set up an internet café, which now provides an income to both of them. Furthermore, she regularly travels there to give her support:

> *I always have to check how they are, they imperatively need my support. (…) I am worried about these children, I absolutely have to fly there every year (…) because I want to support these children financially and morally.*

Property ownership: We furthermore classified property possessions as a profit-oriented activity as the potential increase in value may be viewed as a means to provide future financial benefits. Ruth, now a retired nurse, developed and invested in property located in the Philippines as a means to generate some additional income. She implemented this activity jointly with her Austrian partner and with the support of her sister, who took care of all the necessary administrative proceedings on site. As clarified in our introduction, we view economic activity as being intrinsically linked with social activity. Property ownership thus cannot be presumed to be a mere financial investment. Place can hold a very important social meaning to individuals. In many respondents' narratives they associated these properties with home and a recreational comfort zone for oneself (see section 4.2.1).

Motives

Across the different types of engagement delineated so far, we have seen a range of motivations for transnational engagement. On the one hand, voluntary and non-profit engagement is different to for-profit engagement: one has a clear motive in generating income or profit, the other does not. However, beyond this difference, many commonalities in motives can be discovered, the main one being a desire to maintain some connection to the country of origin and initiating transformation in the region in question, be it through economic, social or political engagement.

Furthermore, several respondents discussed their ideas for bridging the two societies they felt they belonged to, making cultural goods such as literature, dance, music etc. more accessible. Dominic, a Bosnian respondent, described this bridging engagement in the following way:

> *I simply felt the need to promote exchange between Austrian and Bosnian society (…). We always made sure that this dialogue between these societies takes place in a way beneficial to both.*

Some of the initiatives aim to raise awareness and reduce discrimination and racist opinions, or, more generally, bringing change to Austrian society. Activities are strongly connected with the concrete experiences of our respondents, the change that occurred through the process of migration, the difficulties while settling and overall difficult and perceived unwelcoming reception in Austria. One example is a cultural association run by women from the Philippines, whose members wrote and performed a play which reflects the experiences of Filipina nurses who arrived to Austria 40 years ago.

Finally, drastic incidents in the country of origin were also mentioned as a crucial driver for individuals to mobilize support either within networks they were already part of, or by joining new initiatives that were founded in the realm of specific incidents such as natural disasters, political upheavals, and war. In these initiatives, the main purpose was mostly to rebuild homes, provide medical care, and sustain the livelihoods of people in the affected areas. This was the case during the floods in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which mobilized many networks to provide assistance from Austria. Other important incidents include the typhoon in the Philippines, for which a broad range of charity events were organized and networks and associations collected money and organised relief, and the Euromaidan movement and subsequent events in Ukraine.

Transnational Processes and Respondents' Strategies in Engagement

How do respondents start and keep up their transnational engagement? We adapt Bagwell's (2015) model developed for transnational businesses and use it to compare processes and strategies involved in both non-profit and for-profit engagement. For methodological reasons, we cannot explore in detail the degree of transnational involvement as she proposes, but we aim to broadly discuss similarities and differences of engagement in starting up engagement as well as finding labour, material inputs, and intangible inputs for transnational engagement.

Starting Engagement

How challenging it is for respondents to start engagement depends on the capital required. In the case of voluntary engagement, it is sometimes just a question of motivation, providing time and energy and getting organized. In this case, livelihoods were provided by their day-time job, which sometimes was not connected to the transnational engagement. Some respondents in this situation remarked that they would aspire to be more dedicated to their transnational project, but the lack of opportunities to pursue this engagement while employed was considered an impediment. Dani's reflection on her situation demonstrated this: "This would be an incredible dream, if I could be active in that sense, if I could make (these projects) my profession and provide support. This would be like 'wow'."

For other respondents, their transnational engagement corresponded with their actual employment, as demonstrated in section 4.1.1 above. Rose is employed at an Austrian non-profit organisation with a project which aims to strengthen bottom-up initiatives of civil society in Bosnia. Within a corporate environment, Michael approached his manager with the idea of starting a new production site in Bosnia. The means made available to start up the site were contributed by the Austrian headquarters.

Becoming self-employed, if it means starting a business, often requires initial capital. Jason started an enterprise importing goods from India. He had received the initial capital for starting his business from his family: "They took a loan for the goods, with a total value of EUR 14.000." In addition to capital, specific knowledge may also be required to start a business. Mona received know-how through a program for entrepreneurs she attended in Austria, which allowed her to successfully start up her business of importing bridal gowns.

Labour Required: Hard Work, Finding Like-Minded People

Another important question: where does the labour required for transnational engagement come from? In the case of both voluntary engagement and self-employment, the transnational project is based on the respondents' own labour. Transnational engagement was reported to be rewarding, but also strenuous and stressful. Those respondents who were employed for transnational engagement often considered themselves as lucky. For those who committed voluntarily, their other commitments, such as full time employment, a family life and so forth were reported to provoke intense, at times over-burdened schedules, with "no sleep".

In a corporate environment like that of Michael, the majority of the workforce is stemming from the respective Bosnian and Austrian regions, which is tightly connected to Michael's concern of alleviating unemployment in the Bosnian area. Owners of small businesses sometimes reported that they had employed members of their family. Some discussed this as an advantage, as they felt there was more trust involved, while one respondent saw his family as particularly unreliable.

For voluntary engagement and non-profit projects, it is furthermore important to mobilise others. This was particularly pertinent to those cases where drastic incidents were the motivation of engagement. The Maidan protest and subsequent armed conflict in Ukraine mobilised new initiatives within the Ukrainian community. One pressure group was formed to raise awareness and pressure the international community to become active. Several of our Ukrainian respondents regularly attended these meetings. Transnational networks available were mentioned as a crucial resource for maintaining these initiatives. They were central to knowing what was needed and safeguarding relief would be provided where necessary. Moreover, our respondents organised collectively and transnationally so as to increase the effects of

mobilization and made use of the skills acquired in the course of their professional experience or throughout voluntary engagement in the community and beyond.

Material Inputs and Maintenance of Transnational Engagement

Entrepreneurs interviewed often had a transnational component in their supply chain, importing goods from the country of origin (as described in section 4.1.1). For voluntary engagement funding can prove difficult to source for new initiatives. One strategy to gain funding results from a certain degree of institutionalisation. For instance, the forming of cultural associations provides, amongst other things, the means for inviting artists and resolving visa issues, obtaining grants and having a voice as a unified actor. Norma remembered how her friend's cultural association was founded:

> *And that was the first time we formed Z (name of association), because of the invitation letter of visa, you know. (…) (A)nd then I told (my friend): >Now, as it is you have it on paper, let's do a couple of things to your Verein[7] and let's check if I, if we can get grants<.*

Organising and sustaining these transnational networks was especially relevant to the voluntary initiatives, which otherwise could not have achieved the level of outreach to the extent they did, as was demonstrated by the examples of mobilising for collective remittances for relief aid.

Another important means of maintaining transnational engagement was technology. Interview partners often discussed its role as a crucial facilitator for their transnational engagement, ranging from being able to virtually connect, "staying tuned in" and expanding networks with professional business partners or cooperation partners for non-profit activities. According to our interlocutor Dani, who was intensively involved in organising relief for the floods in Bosnia, this initiative started with a campaign via Facebook, which succeeded in mobilising far-reaching help. Another respondent who assessed technology positively is Amit, who mainly operates his business in India via phone and WhatsApp. However, this is only possible because he had already established a relationship of trust with his employees.

Other respondents were much more ambivalent about the potential of technology and whether it can complement mobility and physical presence, respectively, as we will discuss in section 4.1.3.

Intangible Inputs and Social Remittances

Both non-profit and for-profit engagement relies on intangible inputs. One type mentioned briefly above is the role of trust in transnational engagement. Amit can remain with his business in Austria partly because he knows his employees in India are experienced: "They have been working for me for 10 years, they know what to do."

---

[7] German word for association

Most respondents referred to intangible factors as circulation of skills and perspectives on society they have gained through their transnational experience, as we discussed in the introduction under the heading of social remittances. Our respondent Michael, who goes back and forth between his company's headquarters in Austria and the Bosnian branch, referred to numerous instances in which he combines his knowledge and skills acquired in Austria and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, his own entrepreneurial experiences pushed him to make his practices more known to audiences in Austria and Bosnia, hoping to encourage more projects of this kind.

Some of the economic forms of engagement are inextricably linked with non-material resources in the country of origin, which are then transnationally circulated. Ahmel developed a book project over the past years. He had acquired a considerable collection of photographs from his travels to Bosnia and Herzegovina, which he eventually decided to turn into a book, providing information on the diverse regions of the country, the sights to visit, historical background etc. His project entailed numerous trips to Bosnia in order to gather and compile material for his publication.

Another important aspect is experience prior to migration. For several respondents, skills acquired in the country of origin (such as negotiation skills, previous work experience) were an important means to implement their engagement. However, the migration experience also represents a rupture in some ways, requiring thoughtful strategies to set up successful engagement.

Engagement and Mobility

The role of mobility has changed due to new technologies which allow new practices of engagement from afar (Bagwell 2015: 329-330). Our respondents mostly agreed with this notion, as we discussed above. However, there was also some ambivalence, as some respondents maintained that the quality of physical co-presence is still not fully replaceable by technology. Niko, a respondent from Bosnia involved in development initiatives in his country of origin, makes use of social media in order to stay connected with project partners, his friends and family. He nevertheless believes that technology cannot replace physical presence, particularly in his relations with his children who are in Bosnia.

Others were simply required to go back and forth due to the nature of their engagement. This was the case for Michael, whose mobility between the headquarters of his company and the production site in Bosnia is essential to his work. In the case of another respondent, Anna, it was revealed how company's strategies can comprise of strategic expansions to new consumer markets and therefore rely on transnationally mobile staff. Her situation requires her to liaise with the authorities and forge relationships with business partners. Faye's interview is insightful with regard to the necessity of physical co-presence for business related transnationalism. In the interview she emphasised how her presence is a vehicle to pressure the

relevant authorities to grant support to the company's export plans. She continued her reasoning: "So basically, we will visit our clients in the Philippines and it is better always in person to discuss what we mean". In Bagwell's (2015) terms, her engagement is mainly aiming at circulating a good, which was produced in Austria, in the Philippine market. This requires not only her physical mobility, but specifically her knowledge of institutional landscapes in the Philippines.

Another transnational activity requiring mobility is related to pursuing education and training. Richard also mentioned regularly travelling to India for attending trainings in order to follow up on the latest developments in Ayurvedic medicine. Norma, a performer in classic Indian dance who is now living in Austria, attends workshops in India and meets her former instructors to discuss her work and the means to professionally evolve.

On the other hand, there were examples of respondents who were employed in companies with business-related involvement in the country of origin but did not require any mobility. For Ezther, work is a way of staying professionally connected to the Ukraine, as she described – although she travels there exclusively for family reasons. However, her background serves as an important resource for her work, utilising her knowledge of the language and regional specifics relevant to operating an enterprise in the Ukraine.

Furthermore, we could identify cases in which a business was established in the country of origin prior to migration, which is now managed "at distance", as exemplified in the case of Amit, who moved to Austria for family reasons and left behind a flourishing business – comprising of restaurants and a tourist resort – back in India, which he now partly operates from Austria, shuttling back and forth on a seasonal basis.

Many of the voluntary projects were carried out within associations in Austria and do not necessarily require physical mobility, but rather relied on transnational networks. In charity campaigns, for example, the collected donations were transferred either directly to the people in need or to other institutions or to individuals whom the interview partners personally knew and trusted. However, sometimes interview partners in voluntary engagement are required to travel to carry out tasks such as networking or building trust between business or project partners.

4.2 Integration as Place-Making in a Transnational Setting

As presented in the introduction, we will discuss integration and transnationalism as two closely related social processes that, for individuals, involve making place(s) for themselves. As mentioned previously, all 35 respondents selected for this paper follow transnational lifestyles in various forms. We follow Erdal/Oeppen's (2013) notion that there is a need for a "pragmatic view" on the links between the processes of integration and transnationalism, thus not assuming a priori that there is a conflict between

lives in the country of origin and the country of destination. Following Ager/Strang (2008) and Erdal/Oeppen (2013), we analyse these negotiations of membership in two intersecting dimensions: (1) an institutional dimension and (2) a socio-cultural dimension. (1) The institutional dimension comprises of education, employment, housing and language. We will discuss these areas both in the sense of markers and means, taking into account of our respondents' agency in negotiating their place in a transnational setting structured by specific regimes that regulate access to social institutions. (2) The other dimension of making place we elicit in this report is the socio-cultural one. Borrowing from Erdal/Oppen (2013) and Ager/Strang (2008), we operationalise the negotiation of belonging in the following aspects: strategies of emotional attachment and detachment, the forming of (new) social networks, strategies to achieve political participation, and our respondent's assessment of safety and stability in the transnational setting.

Institutional Dimension

Education and Employment

Bommes structurally theorises individuals' inclusion in societal "functional domains", which are organised by a set of distinct rules. Their inclusion therefore depends on how these rules are set to accommodate for individuals to "comply with the conditions of these systems" (Bommes 2000, 10). He further expands on the idea that "their inclusion is based on their biography", or CV, which for instance includes individuals' history of education and employment (ibid.). As these "functional domains" are largely set in a national framework, the rules established hardly accommodate the transnational lifestyles as reflected in migrants' CVs, claims Bommes. These are therefore considered in deviation of institutional norms (ibid.). Thus, the amount of benefits, such as retirement, only reaches a level that provides sufficient livelihood if the individuals' entire employment trajectory was performed in the respective country. Having worked in another country or wanting to spend the retirement years elsewhere than in the said country is not foreseen in the realm of these institutional norms and places individuals at a disadvantage.

These are the structural conditions in education and employment that our respondents are facing. The interview partners in our sample are mostly highly educated and largely employed in well-paid jobs that require a high level of education, or are self-employed. Nevertheless, in both areas of education and employment our respondents have faced issues with recognition of CVs, navigating policies of residence and citizenship, as well as labour market access. Country of origin does not seem to make a difference in the issues faced. We have identified the following overlapping patterns across our sample.

Full (or almost full) CV in country of destination: Is applicable to those who migrated as children to Austria or were born in Austria. As these respondents migrated in the childhood phase of their life cycle,

they faced less or no issues of navigating recognition and other policies during their education and / or while finding work.

Education in country of origin and (official or unofficial) recognition of CV: Is applicable to those who completed their education in their country of origin and were able to transfer their CV to Austria and find a job. This was especially the case for Filipina nurses in our sample, who migrated within certain policy frameworks (see section 2). There are also those who did not achieve a formal recognition of their CV, and instead found a policy-employer circumstance in which the CVs validation did not come up as an issue. For instance, employment with International Organisations (IOs) and International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) offers the means to circumvent problems with formal recognition of degrees and experience precisely because employers expect international CVs.

Education in country of origin and non-recognition of CV: Is applicable to those who completed their education in their country of origin and were not able to transfer their CV to Austria. This circumstance is highly charged in terms of constraining policies. Individuals face difficulties in sourcing employment and face expiration of their visas if they cannot. Excluding those who found loopholes such as IOs, interlocutors responded by either changing professions, by studying again, or by accepting under-employment. Some were able to exit the spiral of de-skilled employment at a later date.

Migration for education: Is applicable to those who came to Austria with the purpose of obtaining education. This includes our interlocutors who are currently studying and who reported feeling pressured because the Austrian policy only allows limited working hours while studying, making it difficult to find a supportive employer and qualified employment. Furthermore, students from third countries only have half a year to find a job after graduating – otherwise their visa will expire. In this insecure situation, respondents often try to keep an open outlook about where they will live after completing their studies, which seems indicative of a particular life cycle-policy constellation. In our sample, we also had respondents who had overcome this difficult phase and established a life in Austria after studying, such as the case of Filipina nurses trained in Austria and supported by welcoming policy frameworks.

Migration for work and further education: Is applicable to those who came to Austria with the purpose of working and started education later on as a means to improve opportunities. Ruth, who is a nurse, trained to become a nurse instructor. Mona applied for a program aimed at entrepreneurs run by the Austrian Chamber of Commerce, in order to become self-employed as a photographer and an importer of Ukrainian wedding gowns:

> *Last year, I decided to create my own company and I felt that Austria really helps with this! I am really grateful that the state has given me knowledge on how to be an entrepreneur and I was paid for that.*

Her example demonstrates how using opportunities such as finding an opportunity and starting her own business allowed her to make a place for herself in Austria. As Mona's case shows, respondents' transnational engagement was often realized at a later stage of the migration trajectory, when the initial step of firstly entering paid employment had already been achieved.

Housing

Housing is an integral part to making a place. Whether migrants can access both private and public housing – and in what kind of neighbourhoods – can be seen as a marker of integration. As a means of integration, housing literally provides a place: to eat, sleep, socialize, make one's own; in short, a home. One of our respondents, Ana, called it "the base of operations", pointing out the nodality of housing to the organisation of everyday life. In our interviews, housing was a particularly transnational topic. 12 out of the 35 respondents had inherited real estate, and another 10 had bought real estate or are developing real estate in the country of origin, while another 10 had not invested in housing, neither here nor there.[8]

When discussing first arriving in Austria and trying to find housing, our respondents grouped around two poles. One group stated they experienced challenges in finding housing and/or found themselves in precarious housing situations, contributing to an overall feeling of being out-of-place; the other group (and the majority of the respondents), accessed stable housing or support in finding housing. (1) Those who found themselves in precarious housing faced particularly distressing situations. The kind of opportunities housing provides are perhaps taken for granted once they are a given. Our respondent Rose, who as a child had fled the war in Bosnia with her family, knows this too well. During the interview, she remembered living for years with her family in a two-room-apartment with no financial resources to spare to buy furniture: "It was an ugly situation, an ugly time for me". (2) On the other side of the spectrum, many of our respondents experienced support by individuals (including relatives) and/or employers in finding housing, such as Michael**.** He had fled the war in Bosnia and had come to Upper Austria, where his new employer offered him private accommodation. Furthermore, transnational companies functioned as facilitators for making a place, as they were reported to pay for relocation costs and helped with bureaucratic issues.

Moving on from this initial moment of first obtaining housing, some of our respondents also talked about how they were planning further housing projects in Austria such as investing in property/real estate or

---

[8] Another caveat of these limitations in our interviews is that we cannot fully address the body of literature discussing the challenging processes of making place through a home transnationally as it is related to shifting notions of identity and belonging (Stefansson 2006; Halilovich 2013; Al-Ali/Koser 2002; Armbruster 2002).

gaining access to public housing. Our respondent Jonathan alluded to evolvement of social status through housing in his narrative.

> *In the beginning, I worked in a missionary house. (...) Then my wife got a company apartment from the hospital, then we rented a small apartment, then a public housing apartment, now I have a house in the 23rd district.*

From church housing to public housing to owning a house in an upper-middle-class district of the city, Jonathan narrates a Viennese housing trajectory of upward social mobility.

From the transnational perspective, like a number of other respondents, Jonathan also inherited a house and apartment in his country of origin, India. He lives there whenever he goes to India. Thus, Johnathan is a further example of how transnational housing does not necessarily lead to an either/or situation regarding investment in different localities. Whether real estate is inherited or proactively bought or rented in the country of origin, a recurring motive for our respondents could be identified: to stay connected by having a specific place to go back to, whenever one does go back. Our respondents' narratives on having their own place in the country of origin showed how making place transnationally does not work just through abstract belonging to the nation-state or other "imagined communities". Instead concrete local reference points are relevant. Our respondents' experiences also show that there is no simple duality between here and there, rather, there are often multiple localities which are meaningful constituents of home, as histories of displacement and migration were conducive to lives spread over several places.[9] Apart from the practical necessity of taking care of his property in Bosnia, Dominic also mentioned emotional attachments to this house – which he portrayed as a place of childhood memories. His approach exemplifies the complex relationship of making one's place subsequent to experiences of persecution, displacement and resettlement: "(...) it was important to me that the house was renovated. For me, it was important also (to have) somewhere I can return to, no matter if it is for two weeks, two months or two years or the rest of life."

Some respondents also thought of retiring in their country of origin, while others had to concede that they had given up on this idea. At the other end of the spectrum, a few respondents explicitly stated that they did not want to own housing in the country of origin. For instance, Dina does not want to claim any inheritance she might be entitled to in Bosnia, since she feels it belongs to those that currently live there.

---

[9] For more substantive discussions of these processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, see Halilovich (2013); Stefansson (2006).

<u>Language</u>

Ager and Strang discuss language as a "facilitator" of integration in relation to certain "barriers" (2008: 182-183). In our interpretation of their text, we take this to mean that language could serve as a means of integration. Since our questionnaire did not focus on the aspect of language as a barrier, for example in interactions with state institutions, we will instead focus on language as another marker and means of integration.

Upon arrival to Austria, learning the German language was another item on a long list of challenges for many of our respondents. It is not something that can be tackled instantly, but takes time and requires support. The life cycle stage of individuals plays an important role: For instance, our respondent Flora arrived in Austria as a small child and learned the language quite easily in kindergarten. Furthermore, our respondents were often supported in their first efforts either through individuals who engaged in informal language "tandems", and/or through institutionalized forms like language classes. There were however some reports of financial hurdles, since there are few subsidized offers. Another related factor is employment: When employment is quickly found, the new social contacts can also provide a platform to improve language skills. Conversely, proficiency in German language can also be a requirement for certain (white collar) jobs, adding to the challenges of first arrival. Finally, the negotiation of one's place with regard to language is inextricably linked to the policy framework and wider public discourse: knowledge of German language has increasingly become a compulsory precondition for third country nationals to resident permit extension, access to permanent residence and citizenship. The narratives of our respondents differ, depending on whether the language requirement was already applicable. Many of our respondents were aware of and positioned themselves in reference to political discourses, in which proficiency in German language is stylised as the ultimate indicator for failed or successful integration (de Cillia/Dorostkar 2014). Some emphasised the utmost importance of learning the language (having mastered it themselves), some expressed shame at not speaking the language well enough, others challenged the political discourse.

Most of our respondents highlighted the challenges associated with learning the language when they arrived. For instance Ezther almost gave up her plans to settle in Austria since she found the requirements she faced so tough:

> *I came to Austria, to Vienna. I went to (…) a German class first. But then I saw… it was only difficulties. It was difficult, first with the language. I didn't know any German at all. And I overestimated myself, I thought it would all be easy, first I will learn the language. (…) And with my diploma, which I will get instantly recognized (…) I was also not so diligent, because I had to work, too. (…) After a year, I was done. (…) Then I thought, I go back home.*

Ezther then met her later (Austrian) husband and decided to stay, after all. But the pressure of learning German as a requirement to residence extension, added to the challenges of getting her degree recognized had almost led her to give up.

On the other hand, two of our respondents, Faye and Ruth, particularly stood out when talking about their positive experiences with learning German. During our interview, Ruth emphasised her joy of exploring the new language along with the new place she found herself in through the Filipina nurse recruitment:

> *1974. September or August (...) We arrive there and it is immeasurably beautiful, gorgeous! (...) The matron of the city hospital picked us up (...) She had worked for a long time in Africa and spoke English very well. (...) And then they said: >And the first few months, we will organize a German class.< (...)*

Later on, Ruth and her colleagues also met an Austrian couple, who kept inviting them for dinner, practiced German with them and encouraged them to read newspapers and books. In analysing the structural opportunities behind this positive experience of learning the language, one can take note of fairly generous policies, the provision of a language class by the employer, a forthcoming attitude by employers and help with initial translation, as well as a welcoming climate towards migrants overall.

Our respondents' narratives make it again possible to see integration as a social process that shares similarities with the social process of transnationalism. A number of our respondents shared their attempts to teach their children, who have grown up in Austria, the language(s) spoken in the country of origin. Dominic attached great importance to his children learning what he consciously refers to as the "family language" – Bosnian:

> *We talk (...) Bosnian at home. And it's important for our children to spend time in Bosnia, so they can engage with their cultural roots, to improve their proficiency in the family language and so that they can feel this scope of possibilities, in a way. And I hope that this multiculturalism and multilingualism can be of use to these children in their further life.*

Dominic did not see multilingualism as a conflict, or as diminishing opportunities for one of the two central places in his children's lives. Rather, as other respondents with children agree, he hoped that this is enriching for them.

Socio-Cultural Dimension

Integration and Transnational Belonging

In our interviews, we asked our interlocutors to share their feelings of belonging, for both country of origin and Austria. Feelings of belonging are unquestionably complex. At the same time, they are part of normative discourses. To a certain extent these are mobilized by both the country of destination (e.g.

through integration discourses) and by the country of origin, perhaps through the pursuit of mobilising its diaspora for engagement (Sinatti/Horst 2015).

In the case of our respondents' narratives, however, belonging is rarely constructed along ethnic or national lines. Rather, it involves feelings relating to the ability and circumstances in which one can make a place for oneself, both in the country of origin and in Austria. Since our sample consists of individuals who are particularly transnational, we will focus on how respondents negotiate their attachment and detachment to both the country of origin and Austria, or even beyond. Our respondents' narratives show that belonging is never singular, simple and fixed; it can change over time and is shaped by biography and life cycle stages. All respondents share the experience of having to negotiate attachments between country of origin and country of destination – emotionally and practically. Our interviews also show the ambivalence that belonging seems to always entail. During the interview, respondents sometimes changed perspectives on how they describe their feelings of belonging. We have identified five overlapping patterns that show variation in how transnational belonging is handled within specific circumstances.

I have the best of both worlds: In this most common type of narrative, respondents talked about their multiple attachments to country of origin and Austria or even beyond. It is notable that respondents seem to be at a certain point in their life cycle where they have already successfully established networks in Austria, as well as kept up – or at a later point, picked up again – networks in the country of origin. This outlook is the result of complex negotiation processes. For example, our respondent Rose grew up in Austria after she fled the war in Bosnia as a child with her family. She struggled to find a place for herself, but after living in Sarajevo as an adult for a few years and returning to Vienna, she has found a new resolve for what she perceived as a burdensome dilemma:

> *After I, how to say, after I resolved this (identity) crisis of mine (…). Because (…) the ways of living are somehow different here and there, and I find it very beautiful to be able to enjoy this. (…) but until I realized that for myself, this took a really long time. This is why I find it so positive and also an important aspect to have both, so I do not have to renounce any of it and can draw advantages out of both circles.*

Like Rose, respondents in this type of narrative emphasised combining the positive aspects of both contexts in their lives, having positive feelings towards both, and see their own biography of migration as a resource that they can deploy in both country of origin and Austria.

I stay rooted: These respondents emphasise attachment to country of origin and ambivalent attachment to Austria in their narratives. During an interview Jason compares India, his country of origin, and Austria:

> *I will go back to India again. When I see an Indian film, (…) there is always a happy end with community, happy, together. In Austria, a film ending is always awful and difficult because there is*

not happy end. Here, a family never lives together, there is always a separation after 5-10 years. The man has no family, no children.

In this narrative, Jason connected the ideal-type world of films with the real-world problems he has faced and is currently facing. He also mentioned that he has noticed people have a problem with his skin colour in Austria. Contrasting that, he claimed, "when I'm in India (…), I get a lot of respect and I feel like a king." Still, he also sees some advantages living in Austria. Later on in the interview, he mentioned how he gets tired of his Indian family during his visits, relativising his earlier idealization. Similar with some other respondents, his emotional attachment to the country of origin is strong, but he still does feel attachment, albeit an ambivalent one, to Austria.

I am made to feel like a foreigner: Replying to our questions about belonging, a large number of our respondents in their narratives negotiated negative feelings that they had gathered during their attempts to make a place for themselves in Austria, such as Jason. There were many more narratives like this: Alina for example has not felt like a "foreigner in a negative sense of the word", but only in Ukraine, she feels like she is "really perceived as a personality and not as someone coming from Ukraine, like in Austria".[10]

Furthermore, some of our respondents after having lived in Austria for a while, discovered that they also no longer fit in with their country of origin anymore. A respondent jokingly reported how her sister repeatedly told her she had become "too Austrian". A rather specific case of this pattern is Sabina, who has permanently returned to Bosnia after living in Austria. She is now a Bosniak living in Republika Srpska, and said that she "feels that you are a minority", indicating that, in some cases, home is not the place one can belong to, anymore. Flora is another respondent who lives in Austria. She talked of a strong urge to leave Austria because of the negative experiences she has had. She shared a sarcastic in-joke with her friends who are also of Bosnian background in Austria:

(In Bosnia), they always say: you are diaspora, you are different. (…) And here it's the same, here I am a migrant (laughs). (…) (W)e always say: >Yeah, we're no man's land. We can go nowhere. Neither here, nor there.<

---

[10] These respondents' experiences are also well reflected in the recent OECD report on Indicators of Immigrant Integration (2015). As concerns discrimination, a significant portion of the Austrian *foreign-born population* reported being part of a group that is discrimnated against on grounds of ethnicity, nationality or race (23%), which brings Austria in third place amongst OECD states after Greece (28%) and Latvia (25%). Even higher is the number amongst *foreigners* considering themselves part of an ethnic group that is discrimnated against (31%), where Austria has the second highest reported rate after Greece (41%). (OECD 2015: 218ff.)

However, many respondents later in the interview reported their efforts to relate differently to their notions of belonging, and search for the best in the different contexts.

The world is open: Some of our respondents, while also talking about attachment or detachment to country of origin and Austria, particularly emphasised that they are also happy to live elsewhere. This pattern is particularly connected to life cycle stages, as it was mostly associated with students who do not know whether they will find a job in Austria or will have to move back to the country of origin or onward. Thomas is a researcher who has lived in a number of countries before coming to Austria, constantly on the move from one job to the next. "We are forced to always go somewhere for a job. Sort of like a high educated precariat", he mused. He had no intentions of returning to Bosnia, his country of origin, and tried to avoid nostalgic feelings. "Home is where your Wi-Fi gets connected automatically", he added jokingly. Thomas shares this mobile life-world with his partner, who is equally bound to frequently move for employment, which seems to facilitate this mode of attachment.

I detach in order to attach: Some of our respondents highlighted detachment in their narratives. Our respondent Simona, for example, thinks that it is necessary to cut off ties or distance oneself from the country of origin when one arrives in the country of destination. When she arrived from the Philippines to Austria to study, she rarely talked to her family, did not travel back frequently and made a substantial effort to learn German quickly and form new social contacts. In Simona's narrative, we also noticed the importance she attaches to the emancipation from her father in her biography. While this process may have been implicit when she initially reduced ties upon arrival to Austria, it became clearer when she lived again with her family in the Philippines for half a year and found the gender and family norms to be difficult to abide by. After returning to Austria, especially since the birth of her son, she now reports feelings of wanting to combine the best of both worlds. Simona's interview thus again shows how strategies of attachment and detachment are used throughout different stages of the life cycle.

Social Networks

Finding new social contacts is an important part of place-making. Many of our respondents named finding new friends among the first things on their "list" when they arrived in Austria. Ager and Strang (2008: 177-181) distinguish between "social bonds (with family and co-ethnic, co-national, co-religious or other forms of group), social bridges (with other communities) and social links (with the structures of the state)". While we agree with Ager and Strang that social contacts are important, we are cautious about distinguishing between in-group and out-group relations, as in our view this runs the danger of reifying ideas of bounded communities and societies that can be clearly delineated. Our data does not allow the measuring of the social networks of our respondents in a quantitative way, for instance in terms of frequency of contacts. However, in our respondents' narratives, few actually identified themselves with a

"community", and this engagement, if given, hardly encompassed their whole life. Most respondents thus talked about individuals and their respective social networks that supported them, but not in ethnic terms.

Above, we discussed the large role employers play in providing support to our respondents in making a place in Austria. Many of our respondents pointed out that their new job was also the place where they made new social contacts. Mona emphasised that this step allowed her to make a place for herself in Austria: "When I got a job, I found some friends – then you feel yourself as at home." Like housing, the central role of social networks for making place may be taken for granted, once established. On the other hand, many respondents already had some social networks in place when they arrived, or at least some first points of connection.

Similar to the transnational dimension of housing, our respondents' stances on their networks bore a highly transnational component. Social contacts, particularly meeting family members and friends in the country of origin are listed as main drivers for mobility amongst our interview partners, although these relations may change over time and through distance, as some of our respondents report. Physical presence in the country of origin is often stated as critical for maintaining social relations and may also be connected to care obligations, especially if respondents were responsible for left-behind children or elderly parents. The quote from Sandra, who travels regularly to India underlined the role of physical co-presence for bonding: "(Me and my father) also phone, but the seeing (each other) is important, because you can build a different (kind of) contact."

Political Participation

One area our interlocutors repeatedly touched upon, but was not brought to academic attention by either Ager/Strang (2008) or Erdal/Oeppen (2013) is people's opportunities for political participation. Policies of citizenship and voting rights make it often difficult or impossible for migrants to engage in the democratic processes of both the country of origin and Austria. Common amongst all respondents is that citizenship is obviously an important structural factor that determines opportunities for (at least formal) political participation. For instance, India does not allow voting for citizens who live abroad – citizens either need to return to vote in India, or they cannot vote at all. Austria also does not allow voting based on residence in Austria; it bases formal voting rights on Austrian citizenship (and EU citizenship for local elections). The case of Joe illustrates issues arising regarding participation in political processes in Austria: "Unfortunately it's this way, for now, it will get better of course, but this will take time. Perhaps in 10, 15 years. But when you look at politics in Austria, there sure aren't a lot -vičs, and not too many -oğlus,[11]

---

[11] His quote is referring to common endings of names of the major migrant populations in Austria, ex-Yugoslavian and Turkish.

either". Currently in his perception, options available are limited to performing as an ethnic pawn mobilising an ethnic electorate, which he profoundly despises: "What can I do here, with my name? Nothing. Except if I refer to a certain community. (…) And then my name will be used for a certain party. So that people are interested in that party (…)."

Many of our respondents who are not in possession of Austrian citizenship did not let that stop them from politically participating in some form, taking up political activities in both the country of origin and Austria. Some of the examples have been delineated in section 4.1.1. on voluntary transnational engagement. Some aspects of this civic engagement were also aiming to change how our respondents' country of origin, or migrants in general, are represented in mainstream media or by politics in Austria.

Safety and Stability

Another factor listed in Ager and Strang's framework of integration is safety and stability. Especially when talking about advantages of living Austria, our respondents repeatedly listed safety and stability. For our respondents, a number of factors jointly constituted their notions of safety and stability, comprising of personal security and wellbeing, especially revolving around means available to maintain physical and mental integrity, as well as the possibility to rely on residence security and possibly access welfare.

Conversely, being made to feel like a foreigner or feeling blocked from political participation, which many respondents reported as an experience, can work as a strong impediment to feeling safe and stable. Our respondent Karla had some thoughts about the increase of right-wing extremism and its influence on migration discourse across Europe, which has strongly influenced her feelings of safety:

> *(T)he question of home depends so much, because the environment keeps on changing. And if we had a terrible situation in Europe, where everything goes in the right political spectrum, (…) and I don't feel comfortable anymore then I could leave! Hopefully before I am made to leave. But it is possible.*

It was the respondents in precarious residence situations who were referring to a feeling of personal insecurity, thus pointing to the relevance of stable residence permits: "(This agency) invents anything in order to prevent you from getting a normal visa", Alina voiced her frustration. Thus, the connection of the socio-cultural and the institutional dimension of place-making becomes particularly obvious. The factor of residence status is interlinked with employment, as residence permits are often dependent on being employed or being economically self-reliant. Christina's residence status is dependent on her employment at an IO which only offers one-year contracts. "It starts to bother me (…) that I don't have a long-term perspective", she reported. Her need for stability also has changed with the birth of her child, which brings to attention the relevance of life cycle. Moreover, employment, at least in the Austrian context, in turn

brings certain entitlements to welfare and other state infrastructure, which were also on the forefront of considerations of safety and stability for many respondents.

5. Conclusions

This report studied the links between migrants' integration and their transnational engagement. Accordingly, fieldwork aimed to identify respondents who are involved in practices of transnational engagement as well as actively mobile between their country of origin and country of destination. The study aimed to answer the following key questions: (1) Under what circumstances do migrants engage in transnational mobility? (2) What kind of transnational engagements are the respondents maintaining and why? (3) What kind of transfers is made? (4) What kind of relationship can be identified between transnationalism and integration?

To conclude, we will summarise the main results and will relate these to the theoretical framework proposed in our introduction, which adopted a wide notion of transnational engagement comprising of a range of economic and social processes and conceptualised integration processes as migrants' negotiate making their place in transnational settings.

It is notable that the four groups who were studied experienced largely different migration conditions and migration trajectories in comparison to the immigration policy paradigm of "guest worker" policy, which dominated Austrian immigration policymaking from the early 1960s to the early 2000s. Bosnian immigration is composed of a comparatively small portion of "guest worker" recruitment from Yugoslavia in the 1970s, and mainly of refugee-movements from the Balkan wars as well as post-war migration. Channels different from the "guest worker" regime, in the sense that they offered long-term settlement perspectives and skill-based employment, recruited nurses from both South India and the Philippines. On the other end of the spectrum, another contingent of mainly male Indians was recruited to become newspaper vendors under restrictive labour regulations, creating a highly vulnerable group in terms of residence perspectives and employment. Migration from the Ukraine mainly commenced after the fall of the iron curtain and was primarily composed of family reunification and labour migration with an increasing share of student mobility. Whereas the legal conditions for regular migration have become progressively more oriented towards the highly skilled, the restructuring of the welfare state in Austria created a demand for (largely undocumented) domestic and care workers, which is partially supplied by well-trained Ukrainian migrants. The regime types at hand may thus best be summarised as (1) Providing *intended and unintended integration*, such as in the case of South Indian and Filipina nurses who

benefitted from a fairly supportive policy framework and Bosnian-Herzegovinian war refugees, for whom barriers to long term residence and employment were successively removed after the war. (2) North-Indian labour recruitment conversely illustrates a regime of *intended exclusion*, as does the example of undocumented migrants from Ukraine employed in domestic and care work. (3) In the past few decades, origin-specific niche recruitment has stopped. Overall, a *harmonisation of immigration patterns* for all groups under study can be noticed as of the 2000s, which is largely aligned with the recently installed paradigm of "chosen" migration. This resulted in more restrictive entry conditions for labour migrants, a rather selective family reunification regime and an increase in student mobility.

It is often assumed in political discourse that transnationalism and integration are mutually exclusive. As Erdal and Oeppen (2013) suggest, migrants' lived experience is more complex than an "either/or" situation (2013: 873). Following Erdal and Oeppen (2013), we thus proposed to see integration as a social process that shares many similarities with transnationalism, essentially revolving around "making a place for oneself" in a transnational setting. Following Bommes' (2000) argument on institutional biographies, we further argue that our respondents' agency is shaped by welfare, labour and migration regimes, which only selectively accommodate for our respondents' transnational lives. Our empirical analysis was conducted with the aid of Ager and Strang (2008), who propose to specifically address labour markets, housing, health services and education both as markers (expressions of) and means (resources for) of integration. In conclusion we would like to highlight aspects of place-making which were particularly characterized by our respondents' transnational setting: Respondents' difficulties in *employment and education* demonstrate how the Austrian state selectively accommodates for transnational migrants' biographies. *Housing* was represented as a particularly transnational issue. In the country of destination, housing was considered nodal to organising everyday life. Conversely, investment in different localities does not necessarily lead to an either/or situation in terms of place-making. Whether real estate is inherited or proactively bought or rented in the country of origin, a recurring motive for our respondents could be identified: to stay connected by having a specific place to go back to, whenever one does go back. *Language* was especially tackled in relation to dominant integration discourses in Austria. Respondents who emphasised their own or their children's multilingualism as a crucial resource challenged this discourse, which stylises German proficiency as a primordial indicator for successful or failed integration. Furthermore, the interviews showed the ambivalence that *belonging* seems to always entail. Belonging is strongly shaped by the structural dimension discussed above: Whether one can make a place for oneself through employment, education, housing or language also influences whether one feels like they belong. Furthermore, belonging can change over time and is shaped by biography and life cycle stages. Social *networks* were reported to be an important transnational characteristic and viewed as a vital asset in the

process of making a place both in localities in the country of destination and in the country of origin. Most respondents thus talked about individuals and their respective social networks that supported them, but not in ethnic terms. We would thus stress the importance of being cautious of over-emphasizing distinctions between in-group and out-group relations. This binary assumption in our view runs danger of reifying ideas of bounded communities instead of looking into actual meanings people ascribe to their transnational networks. From a transnational angle, achievement of secure residence status, access to welfare and the possibilities of and limitations to *political participation* in multiple contexts were mentioned as crucial issues to maintaining a sense of *safety and stability*.

In policy discourses, transnational engagement is often portrayed as a "triple win" situation "in which the countries of origin, as well as the countries of destination and the migrants themselves" benefit from the migrant's movement between the country of origin and of destination (Ambrosini 2014, similarly Sinatti/Horst 2014). Accordingly, individuals are expected to redirect resources to the homeland and encourage development, whereas structural conditions remain largely unacknowledged. Our wider notion of transnational engagement generated several insights which allowed the addressing of more nuanced perspectives on our respondents' concrete situatedness and mobility in transnational settings. We conclude with highlighting some empirical results relating to transnational engagement. (1) Analysing *motivations*, we found that some respondents set up businesses as a means to generate income, but also maintain that this is a way to safeguard their independence, maintain transnational social ties and realise their personal ambitions or household-related projects and positively contribute to the region's transformation. A major motive for voluntary and non-profit work was the goal of promoting social change, be it at a larger or smaller scale. This is particularly important in the case of political engagement. Finally, drastic incidents play a role. This became evident in the examples of collective remittances gathered in response to the Typhoon disaster in the Philippines or the devastation of whole regions in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to heavy floods, or the conflict which developed in Ukraine. (2) As our study shows at the individual level, transnational engagement is at times challenging and was also reported to provoke frustration and exhaustion. Not the least, it becomes challenging because the respective policy frameworks barely accommodate transnational practices, as the destination country's reception and settlement framework is mainly shaped by an implicit norm of immobile life. Despite these challenges, our material shows how transnational engagement simultaneously interjects into multiple localities comprising of interventions into Austrian society and the country of origin likewise, demonstrating the extent to which engagement indeed holds a truly transnational core far from either-or binaries. (3) Our expansion of transnational engagement beyond the scope of business related entrepreneurship allows us to conclude that our respondents' transnational engagements are at times numerous , connecting economic, social and political

projects. As time goes by and biographies evolve, engagements change, according to the resources available and the structural circumstances in which this engagement takes place. In order to cope with these sometimes challenging circumstances, our respondents developed a range of strategies and mobilize considerable resources to maintain their engagement. Strategies and resources that were reported range from initial capital required, mobilising others within transnational networks to become engaged or recruiting labour throughout transnational networks, establishing formal structures to pursue and stabilise concrete projects, the use of communication technology, and intangible inputs such as circulating ideas and new experiences. (4) As our analysis further indicates, mobility is necessary, but not indispensable to pursuing transnational engagement. Mobility especially plays a role for our respondents in order to stay professionally connected with the field of occupation. Mobility is also relevant to devices or goods that are to be imported to Austria, as well as to material and non-material resources, which are forming the core of the transnational project of our respondents. However, technologies, in particular social media and internet provide important means to engage "at a distance". Many respondents moreover referred to their family members and wider networks supporting them in managing tasks during their absence from the country of origin. It is important to emphasise that when asked about reasons for maintaining mobile lives, family reasons are described as the most central motive to maintain mobility. Despite regular contact via telephone, Skype or other social media, co-presence with family members and friends are an important means to emotionally bond and to cope with long distance relationships.

Finally, integration and transnational engagement, as we conclude based on our respondents' experiences, are related to a careful balancing act in societies – at least in the Austrian case – which are not always welcoming and inclusive societal structures. We thus invite forthcoming research to address in more depth policies implemented in country of destination and the extent to which they accommodate transnational engagement. Ong's notion of the neoliberal self-managing and self-enterprising citizens points to the required self-management in transnational lives beyond entrepreneurial activity (2006: 14). The multi-sited character of transnational settings and the specific resources available to transnational migrants arguably provide a very specific and at times challenging context for subjects to pursue their endeavour of becoming "an entrepreneur of himself or herself".

Annex

Table 6: List of Interviews with Experts

Ukraine	Respondent		Date
1	UKR_1	Academic Expert Ukraine	13/09/2014
2	UKR_2	NGO Representative	23/10/2014
3	UKR_3	NGO Representative	23/08/2014
4	UKR_4	HR Expert	04/09/2014
Bosnia- Hercegovina	**Respondent**		**Date**
5	BiH_1	Academic Expert	30/07/2014
6	BiH_2	Academic Expert	18/09/2014
7	BiH_3	Diaspora Expert	07/08/2014
8	BiH_4	Diaspora Expert	20/08/2014
9	BiH_5	NGO Representative	10/11/2014
10	BiH_7	Federal State Administration Upper Austria, Migrant Community Expert	18/09/2014
11	BiH_8	Integration Officer of Major City in Austria	18/09/2014
12	BiH_9	NGO Representative	17/09/2014
Philippines	**Respondent**		**Date**
13	PHI_1	Academic Expert Philippines	26/08/2014
14	PHI_2	NGO Representative	21/08/2014
15	PHI_3	Philippine Embassy Representative	13/10/2014
India	**Respondent**		**Date**
16	IND_1	Diaspora Expert	07/07/2014
17	IND_2	Diaspora Expert	10/10/2014
18	IND_3	Vienna City Council Administration, Migration and Diversity Unit	23/09/2014
19	IND_4	NGO Representative, Asylum Expert	11/09/2014

Table 7: List of Interviews with Transnational Migrants

Id	Int. code	Interviewer	Place - 1	Place - 2	Method	Language	EU CoD	Ret	CoO	Sex	Age
34	BiH-1-1	Sanda	Gradiska	Home	Taped & notes	Bosnian	AT	Yes	BIH	M	30-49
65	BiH-1-2	Sanda	Gradiska	Workplace	Notes	Bosnian	AT	Yes	BIH	M	30-49
67	BiH-2-3	Sanda	Gradiska	Home	Notes	Bosnian	AT	Yes	BIH	F	50+
70	BiH-1-4	Sanda	Kozarac	Workplace	Taped & notes	Bosnian	AT	Yes	BIH	M	40-49
72	BiH-2-5	Sanda	Bosanska Gradiska	Home	Taped & notes	Bosnian	AT	Yes	BIH	F	40-49
78	BiH-1-6	Sanda	Kozarac/Prijedor	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Bosnian	AT	Yes	BIH	M	50+
80	BiH-2-7	Sanda	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Bosnian	AT	Yes	BIH	M	30-49
124	AT-UA-2-4	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Ukrainian	AT	No	UKR	F	30-49
125	AT-UA-1-5	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English, Ukrainian	AT	No	UKR	M	30-49
126	AT-UA-1-6	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Russian	AT	No	UKR	M	30-49
127	AT-UA-2-12	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Ukrainian	AT	No	UKR	F	19-29
128	AT-UA-1-11	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Ukrainian	AT	No	UKR	M	19-29
129	AT-UA-2-7	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Ukrainian	AT	No	UKR	F	30-49
134	AT-BiH-1-3	Tektas	Vienna	Other public places	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	30-49
136	AT-BiH-2-8	Tektas	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	40-49
137	AT-UA-2-20	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Ukrainian	AT	No	UKR	F	30-49
138	AT-BiH-1-9	Tektas	Vienna	Other public places	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	50+
140	AT-UA-1-21	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Russian	AT	No	UKR	M	40-49
142	AT-UA-1-22	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Ukrainian	AT	No	UKR	M	19-29
143	AT-BiH-2-5	Tektas	Vienna	Other public places	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
150	AT-UA-2-24	Nataliya	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	Russian	AT	No	UKR	F	30-49
152	AT-UA-2-1	Nataliya	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	Russian	AT	No	UKR	F	30-49
167	AT-UA-1-26	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	UKR	M	30-49
168	AT-BiH-1-27	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	19-29
169	AT-BiH-1-16	Damir	Gallneukirchen	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	30-49
206	AT-BiH-2-38	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
208	AT-BiH-2-18	Damir	Linz	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	40-49
209	AT-BiH-2-40	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
210	AT-BiH-2-19	Damir	Gallneukirchen	Home	Taped & notes	Bosnian	AT	No	BIH	F	50+
211	AT-BiH-1-10	Tektas	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	19-29
212	AT-BiH-2-13	Tektas	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
213	AT-IND-2-42	Alexandra	Internet - Skype	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	30-49
214	AT-BiH-1-14	Damir	Linz	Home	Taped & notes	Bosnian	AT	No	BIH	M	40-49

216	AT-PHI-1-41	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	M	50+
217	AT-BiH-1-15	Damir	Linz	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	30-49
218	AT-PHI-2-46	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	30-49
220	AT-PHI- 2-43	Jimy	Vienna	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	50+
221	AT-PHI-2-44	Alexandra	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	40-49
222	AT-BiH-2-45	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	30-49
223	AT-BiH-1-17	Damir	Wels	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	50+
224	AT-PHI-2-47	Katharina	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	50+
225	AT-BiH-1-51	Damir	Linz	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	30-49
226	AT-PHI-2-48	Katharina	Vienna	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	30-49
227	AT-IND-2-56	Alexandra	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	30-49
228	AT-IND-2-53	Jimy	Vienna	Home	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	50+
231	AT-IND-2-49	Jimy	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	30-49
234	AT-PHI-1-60	Alexandra	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	M	50+
235	AT-BiH-1-57	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	BIH	M	30-49
248	AT-IND-1-52	Jimy	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	M	30-49
249	AT-IND-2-61	Alexandra	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	40-49
254	AT-BiH-2-60	Alexandra	Vienna	Home	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	BIH	F	30-49
255	AT-BiH-2-30	Katharina	Linz	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
256	AT-BiH-1-31	Katharina	Linz	Home	Taped & notes	bosnian	AT	No	BIH	M	19-29
257	AT-BiH-2-32	Katharina	Linz	Home	Taped & notes	bosnian	AT	No	BIH	F	40-49
262	AT-BiH-2-33	Katharina	Linz	Home	Taped & notes	German / Bosnian	AT	No	BIH	F	30-49
263	AT-BiH-2-34	Katharina	Linz	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	40-49
264	AT-BiH-2-35	Katharina	Wels	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	19-29
265	AT-PHI-1-69	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	M	50+
269	AT-BiH-1-59	Katharina	Vienna	Skype/FB video call	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	50+
272	AT-PHI-1-70	Jimy	Vienna	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	M	40-49
290	AT-BiH-1-63	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	40-49
295	AT-PHI-2-74	Alexandra	Vienna	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	50+
296	AT-BiH-1-71	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	BIH	M	40-49
297	AT-IND-2-25	Jimy	Vienna	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	40-49
298	AT-IND-1-72	Jimy	Vienna	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	M	50+
299	AT-PHI-2-6	Alexandra	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	40-49
300	AT-IND-1-29	Jimy	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	M	40-49
301	AT-IND-1-50	Jimy	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	M	40-49

302	AT-UA-2-66	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	UKR	F	40-49
306	AT-PHI-2-39	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	English	AT	No	IND	F	50+
311	AT-BiH-1-64	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	M	30-49
313	AT-BiH-2-75	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
316	AT-IND-2-73	Jimy	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	30-49
324	AT-PHI-2-55	Jimy	Vienna	Home	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	50+
325	AT-BiH-2-37	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
326	AT-BiH-2-58	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	30-49
327	AT-BiH-2-67	Alexandra	Vienna	Cafes/restaurant	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	BIH	F	19-29
328	AT-IND-2-68	Jimy	Vienna	Home	Taped & notes	German, Malayalam	AT	No	IND	F	50+
329	AT-IND-1-71	Jimy	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	M	30-49
330	AT-IND-2-54	Jimy	Vienna	Workplace	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	50+
331	AT-PHI-2-23	Jimy	Vienna	Partner's offices/University	Notes	German	AT	No	IND	F	50+
333	AT-IND-1-36	Jimy	Vienna	Partner's offices/University	Taped & notes	German	AT	No	IND	M	30-49

References

Ager, Alastair/ Strang, Alison (2008): Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework. In: Journal of Refugee Studies 21 (2): 166-191.

Ajanovic, Edma (2010): Frauenemanzipation durch Migration? Bosnisch-herzegowinische Frauen und die Konsequenzen ihrer Flucht in den 1990er Jahren. Diploma Thesis: University of Vienna.

Al-Ali, Nadje/ Koser, Khalid (2002): Transnationalism, International Migration and Home. In: Al-Ali, Nadje/ Koser, Khalid (eds.) New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home. London and New York: Routledge: 1-14.

Ambrosini, Maurizio (2014): Migration and Transnational Commitment: Some Evidence from the Italian Case. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 40 (4): 619-637.

Armbruster, Heidi (2002): Homes In Crisis. Syrian Orthodox Christians in Turkey and Germany. In: Al-Ali, Nadje/ Koser, Khalid (eds.) New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home. London and New York: 17-33.

Bagwell, Susan (2015): Transnational Entrepreneurship amongst Vietnamese Businesses in London. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 41 (2): 329-349.

Bakewell, Oliver (2008): Research Beyond the Categories: The Importance of Policy Irrelevant Research into Forced Migration. In: Journal of Refugee Studies 21 (4): 432-453.

Bommes, Michael (2000): Migration und Lebenslauf: Aussiedler im nationalen Wohlfahrtsstaat. In: Sozialwissenschaften und Berufspraxis 23 (1): 9-28. http://nbn resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-37132. (Accessed: 01.07.2015).

Brzozowski, Jan/ Cucculelli, Marco/ Surdej, Aleksander (2014): Transnational Ties and Performance of Immigrant Entrepreneurs. The Role of Home Country Conditions. In: Entrepreneurship and Regional Development 26 (7-8): 546-573.

Castles, Stephen (2004): Why Migration Policies Fail. In: Ethnic and Racial Studies 27 (2): 205-227.

Castro Varela, Maria do Mar (2013): Ist Integration nötig? Eine Streitschrift von María do Mar Castro Varela. Soziale Arbeit kontrovers (SAk) 5. Verlag des Deutschen Vereins für öffentliche und private Fürsorge e.V. Berlin.

De Cillia, Rudolf/ Dorostkar, Niku (2014): Integration und/durch Sprache. In: Dahlvik, Julia/ Reinprech, Christoph/ Sievers, Wiebke (Eds.): Migration und Integration – wissenschaftliche Perspektiven aus Österreich. Jahrbuch 2/2013. Göttingen: 143-162.

Emirhafizović, Mirza (2013): Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Migrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina in Austria. In: Emirhafizović, Mirza/Ćosić, Emina/ Osmić, Amer/ Repovac-Pašić, Valida (eds.): Migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Biblitheka naučni projekti. Book IV: 11-22.

Erdal, Marta Bivand/ Oeppen, Ceri (2013): Migrant Balancing Acts: Understanding the Interactions between Integration and Transnationalism. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 39 (6): 867-884.

Fassmann, Heinz/ Fenzl, Heide-Marie (2003): Asyl und Flucht. In: Fassmann, Heinz/ Stacher, Irene (eds.): Österreichischer Migrations- und Integrationsbericht. Demographische Entwicklungen, sözioökonomische Strukturen, rechtliche Rahmenbedingungen. Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava: 284-304.

Fixl, Mathilde (2006): Fremdenfeindlichkeit und Rassismus in der österreichischen Tagespresse. Untersucht an der "Neuen Kronen Zeitung", "Die Presse" und "Salzburger Nachrichten". Diploma Thesis: University of Vienna.

Franz, Barbara (2005): Uprooted and Unwanted. Bosnian Refugees in Austria and the United States. Texas A&M University Press.

Fuchs, Bernhard (1998): Freundlich lächelnde Litfaßssäulen. Zeitungskolporteure-Typisierung und Realität. Wien (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Volkskunde der Universität Wien) Band 12.

Gendera, Sandra/ Haidinger, Bettina (n.d.): „Ich kann in Österreich als Putzfrau arbeiten. Vielen Dank, ja." Bedingungen der bezahlten Haushalts- und Pflegearbeit von Migrantinnen. http://www.grundrisse.net/grundrisse23/sandra_gendera_und_bettina_haidi.htm#_edn1 (Accessed: 01.07.2015).

Glick Schiller, Nina/ Salazar, Noel B. (2013): Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 39 (2): 183-200.

Ha, Kien Nghi (n.d.): Integration als Disziplinierungs- und Normalisierungsinstrument. Die kolonialisierenden Effekte des deutschen Integrationsregimes. http://www.rosalux.de/fileadmin/static/archiv_rlsbw/cms/files/ha_integrationsregime.pdf (Accessed: 01.07.2015).

Hadolt, Bernhard/ Herzog-Punzenberger, Barbara/ Sitz, Angelika/ Salem, Tanja/ Volf, Patrik (1999): Die Österreichische de facto-Aktion für Flüchtlinge aus Bosnien-Herzegowina 1992-1999. Eine Rahmenanalyse internationaler Flüchtlingspolitik unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Temporary Portection. Die österreichische de facto-Aktion, ihre praktische Umsetzung und begleitende Maßnahmen. Eine Skizze weiterer wissenschaftlicher Bearbeitungsmöglichkeiten insbesondere evaluativer Natur. Forschungsbericht Stadtplanung Wien.

Haidinger, Bettina (2013): Hausfrau für zwei Länder sein. Zur Reproduktion des transnationalen Haushalts. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

Halilovic, Hariz (2013): Bosnian Austrians. Accidental Migrants in Trans-local and Cyber Spaces. In: Journal of Refugee Studies 26 (4): 524-541.

Hammond, Laura (2013): Somali Transnational Activism and Integration in the UK: Mutually Supporting Strategies. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 39 (6): 1001-1017.

Henning, Klaus (1992): Arbeiten und Wohnen in Wien. 20 Jahre Zuwanderer-Fonds. Wien (Zuwanderer-Fonds).

Hintermann, Christiane (1995): InderInnen in Wien. Eine neue Zuwanderungsgruppe zwischen Integration, Assimilation und Marginalität. Diploma-Thesis: University of Vienna.

Hintermann, Christiane (1997): InderInnen in Wien-zur Rekonstruktion der Zuwanderung einer „exotischen" MigrantInnengruppe. In: Hartmut Häußermann/Ingrid Oswald (eds.): Zuwanderung und Stadtentwicklung. Leviathan Sonderheft (17) 1997: 192-212.

Horvath, Brenda (2002): Sikhs in Wien. Aspekte des Wandels und der Diskriminierung als Folge der Migration. Diploma-Thesis: University of Vienna.

Hummel, Roman (1996): "Krone!", "Kurier!" Soziale Lage und rechtliche Stellung der Zeitungskolporteure. Unter Mitarbeit von Günther Löschnigg und Heinz Wittmann. Wien (Österreichischer Kunst- und Kulturverlag) = Neue Aspekte in Kultur und Kommunikationswissenschaften, Bd. 9.

ICMPD (forthcoming): MigrantInnen aus Bosnien und Herzegovina. In: Wolf, Franz (ed.): Zielland Österreich. Darstellung der Zuwanderung ausgewählter Migrantengruppen. Austrian Integration Fund.

Kirnbauer, Birgit (2010): Die Migration philippinischer Krankenpflegerinnen nach Österreich ab den 1970er Jahren. Diploma-Thesis: University of Vienna.

Kloosterman, R.C. (2010): Matching Opportunities with Resources: A Framework for Analysing (migrant) Entrepreneurship from a Mixed Embeddedness Perspective. In: Entrepreneurship and Regional Development (22: 1): 25-45

Lacroix, Thomas (2013): Collective Remittances and Integration. North African and North Indian Comparative Perspectives. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 39 (6): 1019-1035.

Levitt, Peggy/Lamba-Nieves, Deepak (2011): Social Remittances Revisited. In: Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 37 (1): 1-22.

Markanović, Maja (2010): Arbeitsmigration in postkolonialen Kontexten: Algerien/Frankreich und Österreich/Bosnia and Herzegovina im Vergleich. Diploma-Thesis: University of Vienna.

Marschnig, Barbara (2010): Migrationserfahrungen von philippinischen Pflegekräften in Vorarlberg und Wien. Diploma-Thesis, University of Vienna.

Matuschek, Helga (1985): Ausländerpolitik in Österreich 1962-1985. Der Kampf um und gegen die ausländische Arbeitskraft, in: Journal für Sozialforschung 25/2: 182-201.

Moser, Simone Ingrid (2006): Hindus in Wien zwischen Tradition und Moderne. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Kontinuität und Wandel von Religion in der Diaspora. Diploma-Thesis: University of Vienna.

Perchinig, Bernhard (2010): Ein langsamer Weg nach Europa. Österreichische (Arbeits)migrations- und Integrationspolitik seit 1945. In: Leibnitz Institut für Sozialwissenschaften/Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (eds.): Sozialwissenschaftlicher Fachinformationsdienst (SoFid) (1) 2010, Migration und ethnische Minderheiten, Mannheim (GESIS): 11-32.

Petry, Matthias (2008): Politik im Boulevard. Politikberichterstattung in Boulevardzeitungen. Eine vergleichende Analyse der Politikberichterstattung in Bild, Kronen Zeitung und Blick. Salzburg (Dr. Müller).

Polanyi, Karl (1944): The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of our Time. New York: Rinehart.

Portes, Alejandro (2003): Conclusion: Theoretical Convergencies and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism. In: International Migration Review 37 (3): 874-892.

Reiterer, Gisela (2003): The Filipino Community in Austria between Integration and Cultural Assertiveness. Paper prepared for ICAS 3, Third International Convention of Asia Scholars, Singapore, 19-22 August 2003.

Sayad, Abdelmalek (2004/1999): The Suffering of the Immigrant. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Sinatti, Giulia/ Horst, Cindy (2015): Migrants as Agents of Development: Diaspora Engagement Discourse and Practice in Europe. In: Ethnicities 15 (1): 134-152.

Schnapper, Dominique/ Shirinian, Lorne (1991): A Host Country of Immigrants that does not know Itself. In: Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies 1 (3): 353-363.

Schunck, Reinhard (2011): Immigration Integration, Transnational Activities and the Life Course. In: Wingens, Matthias/ Windzio, Michael/ de Valk, Helga/ Aybek, Can (eds.) A life-course Perspective on Migration and Integration. Heidelberg, New York: Springer: 249-282.

Statistik Austria (2015). Wanderungen mit dem Ausland (Außenwanderungen) 2005-2014 nach Staatsangehörigkeit.

http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/wanderungen/wanderungen_mit_dem_ausland_aussenwanderungen/index.html (accessed 2015/09/28)

Stefansson, Anders H. (2006): Homes in the Making: Property Restitution, Refugee Return, and Senses of Belonging in a Post-war Bosnian Town. In: International Migration 44 (3): 115-139.

Storti, Luca (2014): Being an Entrepreneur. Emergence and Structuring of two Immigrant Entrepreneur Groups. In: Entrepreneurship and Development 26 (7-8): 521-545.

Valenta, Marko/ Ramet, Sabrina P. (2011): Bosnian Migrants: An Introduction. In: Valenta, Marko/ Ramet, Sabrina P. (Eds.): The Bosnian Diaspora: Integration in Transnational Communities, Ashgate: 1-23.

Valentini, Peter (2000): Österreich. In: Trettner, Hannes (Hg.) (2000): Temporary Protection für bosnische Flüchtlinge in Europa. Länderberichte. Wien: Verlag Österreich: 27-154.

Waldrauch, Harald/ Sohler, Karin (2004): Migrantenorganisationen in der Großstadt. Entstehung, Strukturen und Aktivitäten am Beispiel Wien. Frankfurt am Main/New York (Campus).

Wingens, Matthias/ Windzio, Michael/ Valk, Helga de/ Aybek, Can (2011): The Sociological Life Course Approach and Research on Migration and Integration. In: Wingens, Matthias/ Windzio, Michael/ Valk, Helga de/ Aybek, Can (eds.) A life-course Perspective on Migration and Integration. Heidelberg, New York: Springer: 1-26.