WP 3

STUDY ON THE LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION OF INTEGRATION / INTRODUCTION COURSES FOR NEWCOMERS

CASE STUDY INNSBRUCK / TYROL / AUSTRIA

by Christina Hollomey

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About the Project

While integration policies as such are not new, and in some countries date back to the 1980s and beyond, there have been important shifts in the debates on integration and in related re-configurations of integration policymaking in the past decade or so. One of the main recent trends is the linkage of integration policy with admission policy and the related focus on recent immigrants. A second trend is the increasing use of obligatory integration measures and integration conditions in admission policy, and third, integration policymaking is increasingly influenced by European developments, both through vertical (more or less binding regulations, directives etc.) and through horizontal processes (policy learning between states) of policy convergence.

An increasing number of EU Member States have, in fact, adopted integration related measures as part of their admission policy, while the impact of such measures on integration processes of immigrants is far less clear. In addition, Member States’ policies follow different, partly contradictory logics, in integration policy shifts by conceptualising (1) integration as rights based inclusion, (2) as a prerequisite for admission residence rights, with rights interpreted as conditional, and (3) integration as commitment to values and certain cultural traits of the host society.

The objective of PROSINT is to evaluate the impact of admission related integration policies on the integration of newcomers, to analyse the different logics underlying integration policymaking and to investigate the main target groups of compulsory and voluntary integration measures.

The project investigated different aspects of these questions along five distinct workpackages. These analysed (1) the European policy framework on migrant integration (WP1), (2) the different national policy frameworks for the integration of newcomers in the 9 countries covered by the research (WP2), the admission-integration nexus at the local level in studied in 13 localities across the 9 countries covered by the research (WP3), the perception and impacts of mandatory pre-arrival measures in four of the nine countries covered (WP4) and a methodologically oriented study of the impact of admission related integration measures (WP5).

The countries covered by the project were Austria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Apart from individual cases project reports generally cover the period until end of 2010.

For more information about the project visit http://research.icmpd.org/1429.html.
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I Introduction

This report describes the local landscape of integration programmes in the city of Innsbruck. It is one of two case study reports for Austria (Vienna and Innsbruck) prepared within the framework of work package 3 of the PROSINT project, covering altogether nine countries included in the PROSINT study (AT, CH, CZ, DE, ES, IT, NL, UK, SE).

The aim of this report is to show the evolution and nature of local integration policies and programmes, as well as the link to national level policies. National level policies on post- and pre-entry integration programmes are dealt with in two other work packages.

The case study report prepared under WP3 followed a common template elaborated by the work package coordinator and were designed for the purpose of writing a comparative report. Although country reports can also be read as standalone documents, the reports were not designed as such, but essentially as input for the comparative analysis. The research for this report was finalised in April 2011, i.e. just before the major amendments of the Settlement and Residence Act (Niederlassungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetz – NAG) passed Parliament and well before the entry into force of the new regulations introducing pre-entry language requirements (July 2011). Thus, the report does reflect the legal and policy framework before the 2011 alien law amendment.

This case study report is based on analysis of policy documents, a review of the existing literature on the subject, but mainly on interviews with experts, policy makers and practitioners at local level (see Annex). The report is structured into three main sections, starting with the evolution of a local integration policy landscape, and continuing with a mapping of integration courses and initiatives in the city of Innsbruck. Finally the impact of integration and immigration policies and selected programs on immigrant integration will be analysed, to the extent existing data allows.

I.1 Justification of the case study selection

Innsbruck was chosen as the second case study next to Vienna because the integration landscape shows some important differences to Vienna: the integration policy landscape compared to Vienna is rather new and much less institutionalised; the number of actors involved is manageable in numbers and the landscape is currently in transition. Although Tyrol was among the first federal states to develop an integration concept in 2003 (presented in 2006), the capital city of Innsbruck established an integration office only in 2010. Before that, integration projects were implemented by different city departments, but there was no coordination. Moreover, due to Tyrol’s geographical location at the borders with Italy and Germany, and due to the relative importance of the tourism industry, the demographic structure of the immigrant population is also different than that in Vienna (very high share of EU immigrants). Thus, a large and growing part of the foreign population is exempted from the federal integration requirement, the Integration Agreement (IA, Integrationsvereinbarung), which is mandatory for third country nationals.

As Innsbruck is the capital city of Tyrol, most of the Tyrolean NGOs, migrant counselling organisations and also migrant organisations are located in Innsbruck, as well as departments of the Federal state, and the local branch of the Austrian Integration Fund. Thus, federal, regional and local integration programs overlap and cannot be clearly separated.

1 Tiziana Caponio of the International and European Forum of Migration Research in Italy.
2 For a list of interview partners see the annex. If requested by the interview partner, the interviews were anonymised.
I.2 Some data on immigration in Tyrol

Innsbruck is the capital city of Tyrol, which is one of Austria’s nine federal states situated in the West of Austria at the borders to Germany and Italy. The largest economic sectors of Tyrol are industries and trade, tourism, and commerce (WKÖ Tirol 2010). Compared to the whole of Austria, Tyrol shows a faster population growth, has a lower unemployment rate and generally performs slightly better economically (IHS 2010, 1).

At the end of 2009 the Tyrolean resident population counted 706,873 persons, whereof 10.7% (75,732 persons) were foreigners (persons with non-Austrian citizenship) and 16.9% had a migration background. The share of foreign employees in the total number of employees in 2009 amounted to 14.8%, whereof more than half were men (WKÖ Tirol 2010). New immigration of foreigners accounted for 2,051 persons in 2009 (foreign net migration). Depicting some general characteristics of immigration to Tyrol, it is predominantly female (1,087 women and 964 men), young (the vast majority of immigrants is aged between 15 and 30 years), and dominated by internal EU migration (87% coming from another EU country). This also explains for the fact that since the 1990s the size of the total foreign resident population in Tyrol has been increasing, while the number of persons from the former Yugoslavian states and Turkey has been decreasing since about 2000/2001.

The city of Innsbruck has a population of slightly over 120,000 persons in 2011 and is one of the nine political districts of Tyrol. Compared to the whole of Tyrol, the share of foreigners living in Innsbruck is higher and amounts to 15.8%. Data on persons with migration background is not available for Innsbruck. The largest immigrant groups in Innsbruck are persons from former Yugoslavia (25% of the foreign resident population), followed by German (22%) and Turkish citizens (15%). Totally, migrants from other EU countries account for almost half (45%) of the total number of foreigners living in the city of Innsbruck. These immigration patterns are also a result of the economic structure of Tyrol, in particular the large tourism industry.

By contrast to the Tyrolean provincial government, which is dominated by the conservative Peoples Party (ÖVP), the local government of Innsbruck is made up by a coalition between an independent ÖVP-near grouping (Liste Für Innsbruck), the Social Democrats and the ÖVP. However, the ÖVP only comes as fourth-strongest player after the Greens Party. The city of Innsbruck is headed by the one and only female mayor of an Austrian federal state’s capital city, Ms. Christine Oppitz-Plörer.

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4 The value for Austria is 10.7% according to Statistics Austria (2010) Statistik des Bevölkerungsstandes.
5 Two thirds were first generation immigrants and one third second generation immigrants. "Migration background" is defined by country of birth and country of birth of the parents, according to Statistics Austria (2010) Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund nach Bundesländern (the data is based on the Mikrozensus Arbeitskräfteerhebung 2009).
6 In the state of Tyrol, the largest immigrant groups are German nationals, followed by persons from Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey.
II Local Migration-Integration Policy Frames - An overview

The local integration landscape of Innsbruck has recently undergone some substantial changes. In October 2009 the city of Innsbruck established an integration office (Integrationsstelle der Stadt Innsbruck) – basically a one-woman-department – within the municipal department for urban planning, development and integration.\(^8\) Before that, integration agendas were addressed selectively by some city departments, such as the department for children and youth with regard to education, but there was no coordinated city approach. Among the first activities of the city’s integration commissioner was the organization of a conference on integration in spring 2010. Before that, this conference had been annually organized by local NGOs since 2003 (the Caritas Integrationshaus and Initiative Minderheiten) and had become an important platform to discuss integration-relevant issues and integration policies. At the last NGO organised Integration Conference, the demand was formulated towards the city to take over the organisation of this event.\(^9\)

Ten years earlier, in the beginning of the 2000s the federal state of Tyrol started investing in a coordinated approach towards integration. Civil society organisations had initiated first integration activities even earlier, already in the 1980s. In 1985 the first NGO initiative to support and promote the rights of foreigners in Tyrol, the forerunner of today’s Center for Migrants in Tyrol (Zentrum für MigrantInnen Tirol, Zemit) was founded, followed by many others. Today, Tyrol has a very viable NGO scene concerned with issues of migration and integration of which most organizations are located in Innsbruck. Around the beginning of the new millennium, several NGOs working in the area of integration organised in the so-called Integrationsforum jointly with representatives of administrative bodies assembled in an integration platform, which was an important actor in demanding for regional and local integration policies.\(^10\) In 2001, the Tyrolean federal state parliament (Landtag) decided to establish an integration department at the level of the province (JUFF Integrationsreferat, now: Fachbereich Integration des Landes Tirol under the lead of Johann Gstir), and in 2002 an advisory committee on integration supporting the federal state parliament of Tyrol was introduced.

In the end of 2002, the regional Department of Integration started to work on an integration framework for Tyrol (Integrationskonzept), which should be a basis for future regional integration measures. The framework was developed in cooperation of various stakeholders such as NGOs (in particular the Integrationsforum), experts, representatives of municipalities and migrant communities.\(^11\) Altogether, about 300 to 400 persons were involved. The process as such was considered very successful in terms of its role for raising awareness on the issue of integration among the various Tyrolean municipalities.\(^12\) The process was managed by a now renowned integration consultant, who was involved in the development of integration frameworks not only in Tyrol, but also in other Austrian federal states, as well as in Switzerland and Germany, and is currently working as a consultant for the city of Vienna. As a result, in 2006 the Department of Integration presented a policy paper titled "Integration WITH Immigrants in

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\(^9\) Presentation by Jussuf Windischer at the First Integration Conference of the City of Innsbruck, Innsbruck, 1st June 2010.


\(^11\) A general point of critique on the development process of so-called integration frameworks is the low participation of migrants, which might be due to a rejection of integration as a concept as such, and/or due to a general lack of migrants in key social positions (see for example ARGE MigrantInnenberatung 2005).

\(^12\) Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 21-24.
Tyrol” (*Integration MIT Zugewanderten in Tirol*) which depicts the understanding of integration by the federal state, and contains a list of recommended integration measures.\(^13\) Although understaffed and working with limited budgetary means, the Department of Integration of the federal state of Tyrol has become a well accepted and innovative actor since its establishment and a reference point for all municipal activities concerning integration matters.\(^14\)

The changes of local integration policies must be seen in the context of federal policy changes enforced by the Federal Ministry of Interior that takes care of all integration matters (together with security and general immigration policies). In 1997, the amendment to the aliens law considerably improved the legal status of long-term settled immigrants, and so allowed for proactive integration initiatives beyond mere legal counselling also by local organizations.\(^15\) In 2002, the first concerted federal integration measure, the so-called **Integration Agreement (Integrationsvereinbarung; IA)** was introduced by the Federal Government. The IA is a compulsory scheme requiring certain categories of newly arrived immigrants to pass an exam on German language and Austrian culture within five years after immigration. The “agreement” was revised and restricted in 2005, along with a general revision to the Austrian alien and asylum law, which were widely considered a restrictive turn of Austrian migration policies. A last restriction to the IA for the time being – German before immigration – was decided in 2010, when also the **National Action Plan on Integration (NAPI)** was introduced.

These federal changes have also impacted on the local integration landscape: The **Austrian Integration Fund (AIF; Österreichischer Integrationsfonds)**, implementing the IA under the auspices of the Ministry of Interior, operates five local branches, among them the **Integration Center Tyrol (Integrationszentrum Tirol)**. The Integration Center Tyrol was established in April 2008 as an information and counselling center for refugees and persons with subsidiary protection (ÖIF 2009, 24f). Currently, the center is trying to expand its sphere of competence also to migrants in general, as it officially supports the implementation of the IA and the National Action Plan on Integration.

### II.1 Understanding of integration and areas of integration

Regarding the aim of and target groups of integration measures, local approaches differ in various ways from the federal level. According to representative of the federal level, federal integration measures focus on newcomers who are low-skilled, and at the same time aim at managing immigration.\(^16\) By contrast, cities and municipalities have to find a way to deal pragmatically with the situation at hand and policies tend to be more integrative (see Moore 2004, Penninx 2006).\(^17\) According to the city’s integration department, the main interest of local integration policies is to avoid social or ethnic conflicts\(^18\) and to maintain social cohesion among the local resident population, irrespective of residence status, origin, qualification, or other categories.

“At the level of municipalities or cities, it is completely irrelevant what residence status a person has or how long she or he has already lived here. It is only relevant whether there are segregations, or whether one has the impression that one group is segregated, is excluded, excludes itself, and whether this implies a potential for conflict for the municipality?” (Interview with Johann Gstir, department of integration Tyrol, 46).

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\(^{14}\) See for example Interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, and interview with expert J2.

\(^{15}\) See Interview Expert G2.

\(^{16}\) Interview with expert F3, 49.

\(^{17}\) See also interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 35.

\(^{18}\) Interview with Notburga Troger, city of Innsbruck, 29.
Before this background, the link between admission and integration can be considered weak on local level. The link of federal integration policies with migration control and security issues is assessed critically by local experts:

“Things will only change if integration is no more considered a security issue, but becomes a concern of how to promote the resident population. Only then I assume that integration policy can become reasonable. But as long as integration initiatives are considered as security measure, or as a measure to say who is admitted to the country and who is not, then it is rather embarrassing.” (Interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 26).

There is consensus among the various stakeholders interviewed for this case study that integration is a cross-sectional matter (Querschnittsmaterie) and a “two-sided process” that involves “two” or “both” sides of society – migrants and non-migrants. However, there are significant variations in the detailed interpretation of the meaning of integration and the emphasis put on certain core principles.

The most influential actor in defining integration in Tyrol is certainly the Department of Integration of the federal state of Tyrol, which also guides the integration policy of the city of Innsbruck, that itself has abstained from developing a separate integration concept. In the above mentioned integration framework report integration is defined as processual, future-oriented and focused on potentials rather than on problems (Land Tirol, JUFF 2006, 13f). At the same time, with the principle of “fordern und fördern” (demand and support), the integration concept borrows from one of the guiding principles of the Ministry of the Interior that is also manifested in the Integration Agreement.

In the process of elaborating an integration framework, working groups elaborated specific measures in seven core areas of integration (Land Tirol, JUFF 2006):

1) education and school,
2) economy and labour market,
3) public administrations and security,
4) communal life, participation, and equality,
5) housing,
6) health and social affairs, and
7) leisure, culture, sports, and religion.

In the discussion process these core areas were slightly modified: Language acquisition was added as a separate area for which specific integration measures were proposed (reflecting also the federal focus on language). Also, the area of anti-discrimination was successfully claimed to be included in the report. Reference to security could no more be found in the concrete measures proposed. This marks a clear difference to the national understanding of integration depicted in the National Action Plan on Integration, which puts considerable emphasis on security (“constitutional state and values”) (MoI 2010, 24-27), and at the same time largely ignores the dimension of discrimination by the host society.

A major point of critique voiced by NGO representatives is that this processual and two-sided understanding of integration often remains on a conceptual level though, while actual policies would overemphasize migrants’ duty to adapt:

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19 See for example Interviews with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, and interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol.
20 See for example Interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 52.
21 Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 50.
"The slogan ‘demand and promote’ [fordern und fördern] is nice, but in practice there exists much more on the demand side". (Interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 52).

The "demand-side" is also reflected in the federal Integration Agreement, which foresees serious sanctions for those who do not manage to fulfil the requirements in time. At the same time, the current almost exclusive focus of Austrian integration policies on language acquisition, which, in extenuated form, is also found at a regional and local level, is criticized for not taking into account the processuality and multidimensionality of integration, as an NGO representative phrased it:

"You don’t decide for integration one day and the next day everything will be different, but integration is a process. And this process can be promoted through various measures – one of them is language acquisition." (Interview Expert J2, NGO, 63).

The individualistic approach reflected in federal integration policies was rejected by many interviewees. By focusing on deficits and problems on the side of migrants, structural aspects such as the uncertain legal status of newly arrived migrants or discrimination by the majority population are overlooked. In this relation, anti-discrimination or anti-racism measures were generally considered a blind spot of current integration measures (see ARGE MigrantInnenberatung 2005). Disillusioned by the restrictive legal framework and the negative public and political debates on integration, one NGO representative refused to discuss on sustainable integration policies "without considering integration as a problem of poverty, discrimination, and the general framework conditions". The NGO platform Integrationsforum hence understands the core dimensions of integration to be equality, political participation and equal opportunities. Structural changes proposed by the interviewees that are needed to adapt to a new and diverse social reality were for example a harmonisation of residence and work rights, a facilitated nostrification process of foreign diplomas, as well as a more inclusive school and education system. However, NGO representatives stressed that also the self-perception of the majority population needs to become more inclusive and open to difference (e.g. appreciation of multilingualism). For the former head of the Integrationshaus of Innsbruck, Jussuf Windischer, integration thus means "inclusion". Integration can be considered successful, when migrants will be "represented in all domains of society", another representative of an NGO emphasized. Reflecting on what has happened in the field of integration so far, also the head of the Department of Integration admitted that so far there was a lack of emphasis on measures focusing on anti-discrimination or the majority society. However, without considering social exclusion, discrimination and xenophobia by the majority population, selective integration measures will not be effective. Also the city of Innsbruck considered it a major aim to develop intercultural competence among public administrations, although currently the city’s activities focus on intercultural dialogue.

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23 See for example interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck.
24 Interview Expert G2, 35.
26 Interview with expert I1, 45 and With Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 52.
27 Interview with With Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 35.
28 Interview with Expert J2, 74f.
29 Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 48-50.
30 Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 23.
II.2 Cooperation between actors and challenges ahead

With regard to cooperation between the local and federal level, regions and municipalities play an executive role in implementing the IA – the municipal or regional immigration departments (Bezirkshauptmannschaften) for example have to control whether the IA has been successfully fulfilled and decide whether the residence permit can be prolonged. Apart from that, they may voluntarily initiate complementary integration measures, but are not obliged to do so.31 Another link between cities and the federal government exists in the Austrian Association of Cities and Towns (Österreichischer Städtebund), a body representing the interests of cities towards the federal states and the federal government. The Association also established a committee for integration which is co-headed by the mayor of Innsbruck, Christine Oppitz-Plörer (management deputy).

The role of NGOs in the implementation of the IA is to provide German language courses in the framework of the IA. At the same time, NGO representatives pointed to the paradoxical situation that the federal government would cut funds for well-organised and successful local initiatives offering language courses, so happened to an award-winning women’s organization in Innsbruck in 2010 (see chapter on Language acquisition). In this context, concerns arose among NGOs as well as local policy makers that the federal government would increasingly re-shuffle funding and coordination from well-established local and regional structures to the newly established Integration Centers within the Austrian Integration Fund, instead of making use of potential synergies between established local expertise and federal funding structures.32

Generally, cooperation between the various stakeholders of Innsbruck’s integration landscape was assessed to be good and sympathetic. Civil society stakeholders especially appreciated the cooperation with the region’s Department of Integration, which despite limited resources would be able to set new impulses.33 The role of the newly established city’s integration office was still evaluated hesitantly due to a lack of experience, but respondents seemed not to expect “great miracles”, because of the limited budgetary resources available to the one-woman-department (130,000 EUR/2010).34 The city’s integration commissioner herself however emphasized, that the role of the integration office mainly lies in representing integration matters to the wider public, coordinating and promoting networking between the over 60 migrant associations of Innsbruck, as well as offering support to local initiatives through the general infrastructure of the city.35 Generally, the tense financial situation however was considered a major barrier to develop sustainable and comprehensive integration policies by all actors: “The scope of agency is strongly defined by the money”.36 Also with regard to the federal level, the interviewees stressed the need for a clear budget plan for the implementation of the NAPI.37

To improve cooperation and networking between the various public departments, as well as between civil society and public actors was considered a crucial future challenge by several interviewees, in particular by those at the intersection of local, regional and federal policies.38 To avoid reinventing the wheel with every new integration program, NGO representatives stressed that the expertise of NGOs should be stronger considered by policy makers before setting up new initiatives.39

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31 Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 31 and with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 46-50; see also the WP2 Prosint report (Hollomey/Wöger/Kraler 2011).
32 Interviews Expert I1, 65; Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 39.
33 See for example interview with expert J2, 60.
34 Interviews with experts J2 and G2, 52.
35 Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 22.
36 Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 20; see also Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 59.
37 See e.g. interview expert J2, 78.
38 See for example Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 69; Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 22; interview with expert F3, 94.
39 Interview Expert I1, 61.
At the same time, integration needs to be reified and discussed in a more positive way also at the highest political levels.\textsuperscript{40} Federal policies on integration were considered to be highly politicised,\textsuperscript{41} and to lack a clear commitment to the importance of immigration and integration and a consolidated and long-term political strategy, which is also reflected in the numerous and confusing legal changes to the alien law over the past years.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40} Interviews Expert F3, 61; A1, 43.

\textsuperscript{41} For example Jussuf Windischer situated a discursive turnaround already at the beginning of the 1990s under Haider (Freedom Party), which has not been substantially countered by any government so far.

\textsuperscript{42} See for example Interview Expert F3, 62.
The Local Integration Landscape - A mapping of integration / introduction courses

The main actors shaping the integration landscape of Innsbruck are, from the governmental side, the federal state of Tyrol, the various departments of the city of Innsbruck, the Labour Market Service Tyrol (AMS Tirol), the Integration Center Tyrol (part of AIF) and several civil society organizations including numerous migrant associations, most of them organized around Turkish, Kurdish, and Serbian-Bosnian-Croat communities. The migrant organizations, about 60 across Innsbruck, mainly engage in religious and cultural activities, but also organize German courses. Although manageable in numbers, NGOs in the area of immigrant integration cover a broad range of different topics and target groups, such as labour market-related counselling offered by the Center for Migrants Tyrol, intercultural trainings and qualification provided amongst others by the Verein Multikulturell, support for asylum seekers by the Caritas Integrationshaus and others (e.g. PsychTransKult), intercultural events organized by the Integrationsbüro, or the NGO Women from All Countries (Frauen aus allen Ländern) which offers specific services and support to migrant women and girls, to mention just the most important.

Main donors for NGO activities are the federal state of Tyrol, ministerial funding lines, and the city of Innsbruck. Another increasingly important line of funding since the late 1990s are EU projects, such as projects funded under EU MIDAS or EU EQUAL programme lines. A representative of an NGO however proposed that in light of the various changes to the alien legislation over the past years, NGO activities in future will have to focus increasingly on core NGO tasks, such as legal counselling in order to tackle the growing legal uncertainties regarding residence and employment of the foreign population.

As Innsbruck is also the capital city of the federal state of Tyrol, the scope of most of the actors goes beyond the city. In the following an overview of the most important programs shaping the integration landscape of Innsbruck will be characterised, without being comprehensive though. Most integration programs can be identified in the following four areas: language acquisition, employment-related measures, education and training, and intercultural dialogue.

In general, access to most of the programs is open to migrants without differentiating by their origin, length of stay, or residence status. However, the share of newcomers in language acquisition measures is certainly higher. This reflects the requirement for third country nationals to learn German under the Integration Agreement. Programs that link specifically to the situation of newcomers are still rare though.

Third country nationals, as compared to EU migrants, certainly constitute a main target group of integration programs. They are perceived to be comparatively lower-skilled and less integrated into the labour market (also due to labour market restrictions in the alien law), and thus to have a higher need for integration support than EU migrants. In this regard, women who come to the country via family reunification, and in particular Turkish women, were a specific group of concern identified by the interviewees, as their labour market integration was considered to be lowest. Generally, there seems to be a focus of official integration debates on the Turkish community. According to the former head of the Integrationshaus, Jussuf Windischer, this group of persons is faced with most prejudices and discrimination by the majority population, because it is considered most different (religion, gender roles, high level of community organization, etc.). Despite this focus, Mr. Windischer highlighted the need to adapt integration support measures to specific target groups: asylum seekers for example need very different reception

43 See Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 22.
44 Interview Expert G2, 44
45 See for example Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 57; interview with expert F3.
46 Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 47, referring also to labour market statistics; Interview with expert F3.
47 Interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 48.
measures, than persons who migrate “voluntarily”. A group that according to all interviewees deserves specific support is migrant children. To create equal opportunities for migrant and non-migrant children was considered a common goal of integration efforts.

III.1 Language acquisition

III.1.1 Language courses offered in the context of the Integration Agreement (IA)

The IA obliges all immigrants from countries outside the EU to acquire German language skills at the A2 level (as of 2011 at B1 level). Exemptions are made among others for highly skilled persons who immigrate for the purpose of taking up employment (see national report). Although EU citizens may voluntarily attend German language courses, they do not receive any funding from the federal government. Although some interviewees also identified a need for language courses also among naturalised persons, the IA is not the adequate instrument to provide funding to this group, also because the state does not have any legal scope for introducing coercive measures with regard to Austrian citizens.

While immigrants may freely decide where and how they acquire the obligatory level of language skills, the AIF has certified selected language institutes that are entitled to offer so-called German-Integration Courses, tailored courses for persons who want to pass the IA. To complete the IA, migrants have to pass a standardised German exam (or equivalent) at one of the certified course providers or directly at the local branch of the AIF, in this case the Integration Center Tyrol in Innsbruck. Migrants may also choose to attend a course at a non-certified provider and then make the final exam at the AIF. In Tyrol, AIF courses are offered at 29 course places, out of which seven are located in the city of Innsbruck. The courses are mainly offered by renowned adult education institutes (e.g. Volkshochschule, BFI or WIFI), while only one NGO active in the field of integration in Innsbruck, the Verein Multikulturell, is AIF-certified. Currently only one certified institute, the Volkshochschule, offers alphabetisation courses, which would not cover the existing demand though.

The costs for the courses differ according to the provider. Generally, migrants have to pay the course costs themselves, while parts of the costs (50%) are reimbursed after successful and timely completion of the IA by the AIF to an extent of 300 course hours.

III.1.2 Courses offered by NGOs

As already mentioned, while persons under the IA have to pass a standardised final examination to fulfill the IA, they are free to attend a German course wherever they like, at one of the certified or a non-certified provider, or learn the language auto-didactically.

The Verein Multikulturell, an NGO working for migrants' integration, is one of the AIF-certified course providers. The NGO has decided to offer the IA-courses only in small group settings in order to provide for an opportunity to actively practice German. The NGO faces difficulties to

48 Ibid., 32.
49 Interview with Expert F3, 36.
51 Interview with representative of the AIF, 41: It has to be mentioned that since the introduction of pre-entry language tests, which entered into force in July 2011, alphabetisation courses in Austria are no more funded by the AIF.
52 A final school examination or equivalent is chargeable instead of the AIF examination.
balance the quality of the courses and the costs with the consequence, that it is even difficult to offer these courses cost-covering.\textsuperscript{53}

The NGO \textbf{Women from All Countries} (\textit{Frauen aus allen Ländern}), founded in 2002 in Innsbruck, has specialised on counselling, German courses, and a number of other events for migrant women and girls irrespective of origin, length of stay, or residence status. The services offered include German courses leading to the A2 level and alphabetization courses. The NGO identifies a general gap of courses meeting the specific situation of migrant women in Tyrol, as the women often have to combine child care duties, language learning, and work.\textsuperscript{54} Following this, the NGO has adapted the courses to the specific situation of migrant women, e.g. by adapting the time of the courses (before/after kindergarten or school) and offering free child care during all courses. Information on the courses is spread by internet, word of mouth, as well as networking with the city and other organisations. The courses follow a holistic approach that aims not only at transmitting language skills, but also knowledge important to manage daily life, which is presented by social workers during the courses. This is specifically important for women who immigrate to Austria as a spouse or family member. As a result of labour market restrictions in the first year after arrival, they would often be isolated in the beginning of their stay. Moreover, the organization aims to strengthen the self-consciousness of their clientele through language learning, as it enables them to communicate their strengths and skills they bring with them.\textsuperscript{55} Despite the fact that the NGO fills the significant gap of courses targeted on migrant women, was awarded a prize for its activities in 2010, and the number of course participants was continuously increasing, the Ministry of the Interior cut the entire funding for the NGO in 2010 (30,000 EUR meaning 13 out of 17 courses). As a result, the NGO struggled hard to be able to maintain its services at the same level even without ministerial funding.\textsuperscript{56}

NGO representatives highlighted that apart from funding of courses under the IA, the federal government provides no additional funding scheme for persons not covered by the IA: EU citizens for example would be free to attend the courses, but are not eligible for funding by the AIF. Other groups not eligible for funding under the IA, but with a perceived need for support in language acquisition were naturalised migrants, as well as long-term residents, in particular women. NGOs however faced difficulties to acquire funding for tailored course offers for these groups, especially due to the focus of federal level funding on newcomers. Moreover, the financial support for courses under the IA was considered insufficient by NGO staff: especially families would experience difficulties in paying even for parts of the course costs.\textsuperscript{57} A representative of the province also highlighted a lack of (federal as well as regional) funding for advanced German classes.\textsuperscript{58}

\section*{III.1.3 Complementary programs to the IA by the Federal state of Tyrol}

The Federal state of Tyrol in 2002 has introduced the program \textbf{Modell Tirol}, which basically is a funding scheme for German courses operated by the Department of Integration of the province. This is the only program by the department which offers funding to individuals. All migrants, who are not covered by any other funding scheme, may apply for the funding. In principle, these are all migrants who are exempted from the IA and who are not eligible for funding under an employment-related program (see AMS courses \textit{below}). The country of origin, length of stay or qualification of the applicant is not relevant. Required they have attended two thirds of the course, they receive 50\% reimbursement of the course costs, while it is not required to

\textsuperscript{53} Interview with representative of the Verein Multikulturell, 25.
\textsuperscript{54} Interview with representative of Frauen aus allen Ländern, 30.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{56} See \url{http://www.frauenausallenlaendern.org/wb/pages/dt/dt_aktuelles.php#a12} (17.2.2011).
\textsuperscript{57} Interviews with experts 11, 57; 12, 27 and 38
\textsuperscript{58} Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol.
successfully complete a course. Annually about 300 persons receive funding through the Modell Tirol, the majority are women. Similarly to courses funded by the AIF, the Modell Tirol mainly funds beginner’s classes (unto A2 level mainly). With regard to the countries of origin of the participants, most persons have Turkish background, followed by persons from the Yugoslav successor states, and then by persons from the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Women, who have not been enrolled in school before immigration or have only completed primary school, are considered specific target groups under this scheme. In both cases, promotion of migrant children at school represents a main goal. Language acquisition for women is considered important, because women shall be enabled to promote their children at school or generally to advance in the education system.

By contrast to the courses funded by the AIF, the program is voluntary, there is no limit to the number of course hours funded, and there is no need to prove successful completion of the course with a final examination. Rather, the program aims reaching as many persons as possible and thus is designed as a low-threshold program. Hence, there is no strict quality monitoring of the courses attended, but the program explicitly also encourages migrant organisations or mosque associations to organize German courses, and then reimburses parts of the course costs to the participants. Thus, the program intends to create positive incentives for persons who want to learn German, based on a principle of mutuality: the federal state offers the financial support, in turn “I also want to do something, so far as I manage.”

III.1.4 Other offers

The Country School Inspector of Tyrol offers special courses for migrant women with children in kindergarten and primary school in Innsbruck that take place parallel to the school or kindergarten hours. The program follows a successful Viennese initiative called "Mom learns German" (Mama lernt Deutsch). The courses not only offer language education, but also information on education, nutrition and health issues.

The AMS is another important provider of German language trainings for persons with access to the labour market who are currently unemployed or have left the school system without a final examination (see section Qualification and employment).

III.2 Education and training

One of the core areas of the city’s integration activities is the education sector. In the city of Innsbruck there are 27 public kindergartens and 34 primary and secondary schools. Asked for specific target groups of integration support measures, all actors interviewed agreed that children and their education would need specific support. But also the parents of migrant children were considered key to promote their children’s educational advancement. The first thematic focus of the city’s integration office for the year 2010 was future education perspectives for children and youth, in the course of which several programs were initiated in close cooperation with several other actors, such as the Department of Integration of Tyrol. The aim of related measures is to promote promoting equal opportunities between children of

59 Ibid., 31ff.
60 Ibid., 32; see also Hollomey 2008 on the role migrant women are assigned in integration measures.
61 Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 31ff.
62 Ibid., 39.
63 Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 26.
64 Ibid., 23.
different social, cultural and ethnic background already at the start of the education pathways. Thus, the programs generally target all children and not migrant children in particular.\(^{65}\)

In the city of Innsbruck, the department for children and youth services has initiated a number of programs to promote language skills of children (migrant and non-migrant) at kindergarten already since 2006. The city, and also the federal state, offers German courses by skilled trainers in the kindergarten. At the centre of these courses stands to maintain fun in learning a language.\(^{66}\)

Another project by the city’s integration office together with the Zukunftszentrum Tirol and the teacher training college has been initiated in December 2010. A three years pilot project aims at promoting individual strengths of teenagers, by coaching them individually for three years of lower secondary school. Individual strengths will be elaborated in a competences and skills profile, information of possible future career pathways presented, visits at university, as well as internships at companies organized.\(^{67}\)

The integration spokesperson of Innsbruck explained that in order to promote migrant children, also their parents have to be promoted. Since December 2010, in the context of the project "Talk to me and listen to me" (Sprich mit mir und hör mir zu) multilingual brochures are freely available in all child care centres in Tyrol and provide advice and exercises for parents on how to promote language acquisition and communication skills of their children. The project is implemented in cooperation between the city, the federal state, and the child care centres.\(^{68}\) In another program, parents of children with Turkish background specifically, are invited to an information event at the kindergarten, in which information on the Austrian education system and other practical information is presented with the help of a Turkish interpreter. This way, migrants should also be encouraged to participate in parents associations at school.\(^{69}\)

The Caritas Integrationshaus, one of the first NGO initiatives of Innsbruck, is a very active and innovative actor in the area of education too. The Integrationshaus is an integrative housing project mainly working with asylum seekers that is based on an inclusive idea of integration and society. The centre offers a multicultural toddlers group for the inhabitants of the centre, as well as for families from the neighbourhood, for children of asylum seekers, as well as for middle-class children. The group is led by a kindergarten pedagogue with migration background, which is almost unique in Tyrol.\(^{70}\)

Moreover, the Integrationshaus has organized a learning aid that currently accompanies about 40 children with migration background. To open up ideas and perspectives on future education pathways, the centre has organized the so-called "young university", an initiative supported by the city and the Federal state, in which migrant children visit university and are presented alternative professional models.\(^{71}\)

The former head of the Integrationshaus emphasized the crucial need to specifically promote migrant children and create equal opportunities between children with and without migration

\(^{65}\) Ibid.


\(^{69}\) Interview with Notburga Troger, 25.

\(^{70}\) Interview with Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 63.

\(^{71}\) Ibid., 60.
background. This would also promote the integration and identification of parents with the host society, as they would often wish for the best possible education for their children.\textsuperscript{72}

The \textbf{Migration Academy} of the \textit{Verein Multikulturell} offers intercultural and diversity trainings for migrants and practitioners working as pedagogues, youth leaders, policemen, social workers, or others. With these services, the NGO wants to close the gap of lacking intercultural competences and lack of multilingual staff in child care and education institutions, such as kindergarten and school.\textsuperscript{73}

\section*{III.3 Qualification and employment}

The Austrian Labour Market Service (AMS), operating under the auspices of the Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection, is the main actor offering employment-related programs and courses, including migrants with labour market access. However, the AMS also cooperates with a number of other actors, such as the city, the Federal state of Tyrol the Austrian Integration Fund and NGOs.

The target groups of the AMS-based courses in general are unemployed persons who have the right to work in Austria. Migrants constitute a major share of the general target group of AMS programs. Between 2008 and 2010 the average share of third country nationals registered with the AMS Tyrol in the total number of AMS clients amounted to 11.3\% or 2,102 persons on average per year.\textsuperscript{74} Although there is no exact data available on persons with migration background, it is estimated that 20\% of all AMS clients are migrants, according to a representative of AMS Tyrol.\textsuperscript{75} Despite these facts, migrants hardly represent a specific target group of the programs. Newcomers are only a target group of the courses if they are already entitled to access the labour market; family migrants in the first year after arrival, as well as asylum seekers are thus not eligible to participate in AMS programs.\textsuperscript{76}

AMS measures focus on three main areas: 1) Support for persons participating in an AMS course; 2) Qualification measures, such as orientation courses, apprenticeship trainings, or further training for employed persons; and 3) employment-related measures aiming at a (re)integration into the labour market or at securing a current place of employment.\textsuperscript{77} Course costs are fully covered by the AMS. Participants may receive additional support for the duration of the course, such as travel reimbursement, or co-financing for child care.

Persons with migration background constitute a rather recent target group of the AMS. The aim of related programs is to promote equal opportunities, anti-discrimination, and exploit the existing potentials of migrants, always according to the current labour market situation. For specific projects, the AMS cooperates with the federal state of Tyrol, with migrant counselling organizations, education institutes and teachers, and NGOs.\textsuperscript{78}

For the AMS Tyrol, among persons with migration background the labour-market integration of three groups raises specific concern: these are teenagers and young adults (15-24 year olds), women, as well as adult migrants. The number of teenagers who have not completed lower secondary school (Hautpschule), or who do not find a place for apprenticeship training\textsuperscript{80} is

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 62.
\item \textsuperscript{73} Interview with representative of the Verein Multikulturell, 21.
\item \textsuperscript{74} The majority of third country nationals enrolled in AMS programs was employed in low-skilled jobs in the catering and tourism sector, construction, and trade (Interview with representative of AMS Tyrol).
\item \textsuperscript{75} Interview with representative of AMS Tyrol, 1.
\item \textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 152-157.
\item \textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 2.
\item \textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 161.
\item \textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{80} Compared to the Austrian average, in Tyrol, a high share of teenagers decides to enter apprenticeship training after completion of compulsory schooling.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
specifically high among migrants. Especially migrant girls and young women would often leave the education and training system prematurely (see IHS 2010b). Related measures focus on early intervention programs at the transition of school, qualification and training and job. Measures include courses to complete lower secondary school, labour market-oriented training and qualification measures, and apprenticeship trainings.

With regard to adult migrants, this group of persons on average shows a low qualification profile. According to the head of the AMS department for the promotion of employees, the need to secure one’s livelihood in order not to lose the residence permit often prevails over long-term career planning and, together with complex nostrification procedures of foreign qualifications, fixates the low labour market position of migrants.81

III.3.1 German qualification

As a measure to promote the attainment of qualification of persons with low German language skills, the AMS offers German courses at a beginners and advanced level, which are completed with an exam that is also fully credited for the fulfilment of the Integration Agreement. 83% of all teenagers participating in the German courses are foreigners and 43% were female (IHS 2010a). The course concept combines job-related language training and development of soft skills and other knowledge relevant for job search (e.g. how to do a job application or a job interview). In courses for migrant teenagers specific emphasis is put on labour market-oriented training. According to the AMS Tyrol, this approach has proven very successful.82

III.3.2 Orientation, qualification and training

The AMS runs a specific career counselling service to teenagers with migration background that enables individually tailored counselling and support measures.83

A specific project targeting girls aged between 15 and 19, and migrant girls in particular, are the so-called Production Schools Tyrol (Produktionsschulen) of the AMS. The program aims at motivating young women with a difficult education history to enter apprenticeship training or continue with a higher school. The girls are offered a clearing, labour market-orientation and can develop professional skills under socio-pedagogical supervision. A special feature of this program is its low-threshold character, meaning that also girls who have not registered with the AMS before can participate in the program. Moreover, the young women can be supported through other funding for the duration of the program. The program is offered at two locations in Tyrol, one is Innsbruck.84

A showcase project based on a joint cooperation between AMS, AIF and the Austrian Chamber of Commerce, is the program Mentoring for Migrants (Mentoring für MigrantInnen),85 which started in Vienna, and in 2009 was expanded to other Austrian regions. This program fills the gap of qualification measures for highly skilled migrants. Young migrants at the beginning of their career with a good knowledge of German and a completed degree (minimum: apprenticeship) may apply for this program. They are then assigned a personal coach – a so-called mentor – who her/himself is a successful entrepreneur or else. Together with the mentor

81 Interview with representative of AMS Tyrol, 144-150.
82 Ibid., 49.
83 Ibid., 61.
84 Ibid., 75, 105-109.
the young migrants can learn to make a career planning, improve their networking skills etc. The program is considered very successful.\textsuperscript{86}

Another Austrian-wide qualification and training program by the AMS, which targets adult migrants is the \textbf{business formation program (Unternehmensgründungsprogramm Tirol)} supporting migrants who want to open a business through individual coaching and information on the Austrian economy. The training is offered by persons who themselves have a migration background.\textsuperscript{87}

\section*{III.3.3 Cooperation with and services by NGOs}

According to an AMS representative, cooperation with NGOs is considered of specific importance in order to reach young women who have left the education system before completing compulsory school. Young women need specific counselling and services that take into account the multiple burdens they may experience as young unemployed migrant women and/or mothers.\textsuperscript{88}

The Innsbruck-based \textit{Center for Migrants in Tyrol} in cooperation with the AMS offers multilingual counselling on issues concerning the alien employment law, labour rights, and family and work for example. Female councillors offer counselling to girls and women in several languages. Due to the access conditions to AMS services (precondition: eligibility for unemployment benefits), most of the clients are living in Tyrol for a longer period of time already and come to the center in case of unemployment.

Apart from counselling, several NGOs implemented EU projects for the promotion of careers of migrants. To mention here is the project MIDAS by the Center for Migrants Tyrol, or the projects Join-in-a-job targeting young migrants, as well as ENTER – Adult Educational Development, which targeted adult migrants.

\section*{III.4 Information and counselling}

\subsection*{III.4.1 Legal and labour market counselling}

Still a core task of NGOs active in the field of immigrant integration is to provide legal and social counselling to migrants. Numerous changes to the alien law and hence, to immigration requirements over the past years (6 amendments within 2 years) have resulted in considerable legal uncertainties especially for new immigrants. Thus, NGOs still consider legal counselling one of their core tasks as residence security would constitute the most basic requirement for integration.\textsuperscript{89} The NGOs Women from All Countries, Center for Migrants Tyrol, and \textit{Verein Multikulturell} are among the main actors providing gender-sensitive and multilingual counselling on issues such as residence, work, housing, education, school, family issues and more. Women from All Countries offer a low-threshold \textbf{learning and counselling café}, an open meeting space for women and girls to practice German, network, but also to ask important questions to the present social workers.

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{86} See interview with Expert F3.
\textsuperscript{87} Interview with representative of AMS Tyrol, 77-82.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid., 136.
\textsuperscript{89} See e.g. Interview G2, 24.
\end{footnotesize}
III.4.2 Orientation programs for newcomers

Generally, specific services for newcomers only represent a small part of integration programs in Innsbruck, although recently awareness on the specific situation of newcomers and their need for orientation in the new society has risen and materialized in some projects.

The Verein Multikulturell started to offer specifically tailored information to newcomers in the course of the EIF-funded project Direkt – der Weg nach oben (Direct – the way up; http://www.migration.cc/direkt/). The program is implemented in six Tyrolean districts including Innsbruck and offers information on education and work in Austria, as well as information on major Austrian institutions in more general. Information is tailored to the participants’ needs and adapted to the place where they are living. Target group of this program are third country nationals, and especially women and young adults, who are considered to be amongst the most disadvantaged social groups. The project is of voluntary nature and aims at enabling immigrants to lead a self-determined life in Austria. Moreover, the project wants to create a welcoming and positive atmosphere among the new members of a local community. In interactive workshops all information necessary to manage life in Austria is presented and discussed.90

Starting in fall 2011, in Innsbruck all newcomers will be offered a welcome package including all relevant information on the city translated in the major migrant languages. In an introductory event the information will be presented and guidance offered to the new immigrants.91

A similar project was initiated by the city of Innsbruck. In so-called Welcome Walks (Willkommensspaziergänge) new residents are welcomed by a city’s official and visit major institutions and places that are important for daily life in a guided tour.92

III.5 Networking and awareness-raising

Among the first activities of the city’s integration office was the organization of several events that aimed at raising awareness on the issue of integration and diversity in the wider public, as well as strengthening the networking and knowledge among experts and practitioners working in the area of migration and integration. Among these events was the Integration Conference in June 2010, which already has a long tradition in Innsbruck and regularly brings together representatives of NGOs, political parties, public administrations, and experts.

Other activities to raise awareness on integration is the school project “human library”, in which migrants and refugees as “human books” tell their life stories to pupils in a library setting. The project wants to motivate teenagers to reflect on their own patterns of thinking and behaviour.93 Moreover, the city of Innsbruck since three years annually awards the prize of cultures (Preis der Kulturen), which is awarded to innovative social initiatives, such as the NGO Women from All Countries in 2009, and a project on sports as platform for integration and against exclusion in 2010.94 Moreover, in the context of the Football World Championship 2010, the city has organised an information spot on migration and integration, the so called integration dialogue tent directly at the place where the public viewing took place.95

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90 Interview with representative of Verein Multikulturell, 30.
91 Ibid., 30f.
92 Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 37f.
93 Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 33.
95 See also http://innsbruck.gv.at/io30/browse/Webseiten/Content/Medienservice/Pressearchiv/Jahr2010/Februar2010/Integrationstelle_de.xdoc (17.2.2011).
In 2011, the Department of Integration opened an exhibition with the title Vielfalt daheim in Tirol (Diversity at home in Tyrol) that aims to foster critical discussions on terms like home or identity and tries to portray immigration to Tyrol from multiple perspectives.\footnote{See: http://www.tirol.gv.at/themen/gesellschaft-und-soziales/integration/vielfaltintirol/ (17.2.2011).}

An initiative aiming at networking and knowledge management is the Information and Monitoring Center Tyrol (IMZ; \texttt{http://imz-tirol.at/}). The IMZ is a scientifically-based platform providing information and services in relation to integration which is hosted by the Center for Migrants Tyrol and the Department of Integration. The platform aims at becoming a permanent tool informing about actual developments in the field of migration and integration in Tyrol and so creating a basis for monitoring integration activities.

### III.6 Housing

In the area of housing, the city of Innsbruck (department for housing and urban planning) based on the evaluation of the atmosphere in three major apartment blocks, has trained several persons to become mediators in case of social or cultural conflicts.\footnote{Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 24.}
IV The (perceived) Impact of Integration / Introduction courses on Immigrants Integration Trajectories

To evaluate the impact of integration measures on immigrants’ integration is an only recently developing field and is linked to some basic difficulties. First, the interviewees highlighted, that a main obstacle to measure “successful integration” is the lack of a commonly shared understanding of integration among the various actors, as was pinpointed in the beginning of the report. To develop harmonized, comparable and workable indicators that are accepted by a broad range of actors thus was considered a major challenge for a future integration monitoring. Secondly, not all areas relevant for immigrant integration can be measured exactly, and adequate statistical data is not always available. This relates primarily to a lack of data on “migration background” (measured by citizenship, country of birth and country of birth of parents). The Austrian Labour Market Services AMS for example only enumerates data by citizenship, but cannot evaluate its programs according to the impact on naturalized migrants or second/third generation migrants. This sets limits to optimizing existing programs in future. Nevertheless, the AMS is currently the only actor that regularly and systematically evaluates its programs, although the results are limited with regard to the impact on migrants.

Another challenge relates to the limited resources available to NGOs, who, apart from client statistics, have no time or money to conduct a detailed monitoring of their services. Rather, individual success stories experienced in daily work and the acceptance of programs would tell about the success or failure of a service.

Before this background, initiatives to monitor integration programs are rare in Tyrol. The Integration and Monitoring Center Tyrol (IMZ) is the first Tyrolean initiative aiming at monitoring integration activities and processes in future. Although the platform is still young, first data on the development of immigration is already available at its website.

At the level of the city of Innsbruck, no monitoring of integration programmes has been implemented so far. This is not surprising, as the establishment of the integration office only dates back to 2010. However, the integration spokesperson announced that a monitoring is being considered for the future in cooperation with experts and already existing initiatives, such as the IMZ.

Another initiative in the field of monitoring and evaluation is a mapping of integration programmes for third country nationals, presented by the Department of Integration of Tyrol at the end of 2009. The report aimed to monitor the implementation of the integration concept developed by the departments and lists all integration measures for third country nationals (except for asylum seekers and refugees) that have been adopted in Tyrol since the presentation of the integration framework report in 2006. The report shows that out of the 43 measures implemented, most programs related to language acquisition and education, while there is a gap of measures in the area of housing for example. While the report is useful for getting an overview over the kind of integration programs initiated, it does not entail a detailed analysis by

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98 Interview Expert F3, 53
99 Interviews Expert F3, 56; C2, 191. The Ministry of Interior has published integration indicators to monitor the implementation of the NAPI (Fassmann 2010), however, the indicators were also widely criticised by experts and practitioners.
100 Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 65.
101 Interview With Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 63.
102 http://imz-tirol.at/
103 Interview with Notburga Troger, City of Innsbruck, 60.
105 See also Interview with Johann Gstir, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 21f.
type of provider of the programs, funding sources, programme duration, etc, and so does not allow for a substantial evaluation of the existing programs.

IV.1  (Perceived) impact of immigration policies on integration

In the following, the perceptions of the interviewed experts and practitioners on the impact of selected programs and policies on integration processes of immigrants and the host society will be presented. A general point that was remarked by several respondents was that discussing the impact of individual programs is unsatisfactory without discussing the general policy and legal framework on immigrant integration. Generally, the interviewees observed an increasing complexity of the aliens legislation since 2005, which belongs to the most often changed bodies of law, as well as a continuous restriction of immigration conditions.

In the National Action Plan on Integration the federal government emphasizes the importance of securing one’s livelihood by own means, yet, at the same time the aliens law restricts access to the labour market for certain immigrant categories, such as family migrants, asylum seekers and students for example. In this context, a representative of the AMS Tyrol highlighted: „Employment-related integration is often delayed to the actual time of immigration“, which may also slow the integration process. To harmonize work and residence rights has long been a claim by many stakeholders and was also a central demand voiced in the interviews for this case study.

Reporting from the daily working experience, a legal councillor at an immigrant organization pointed to the adverse impact current immigration restrictions may have on the integration of those who are already living in Austria. For example, restrictions in the area of family reunification (e.g. annual quotas on the maximum number of family members allowed to immigrate, rising income requirements for the anchor person) have made family reunification almost impossible and/or result in long separation of families, a condition that is negatively impacting on integration. Statistics on counselling activities by the Center for Migrants Tyrol clearly show that the number of migrants seeking help on financial and income issues in the last year has grown significantly.

Moreover, migrants face increasing insecurity regarding their residence status: For example, the conditions to receive permanent residence have been aggravated over the past decade (e.g. the duration of validity was shortened, income requirements increased, German language proof required). This means, that despite of several years of residence in the country, a residence status may be withdrawn if a person does no more meet the immigration conditions. What is more, as of 2009, if a person fails to meet the deadline for prolongation of the residence permit for one day only, she or he is considered illegally resident, has to pay a fine of 1,000 EUR, and needs to file a new application for residence as a "newcomer".

These policies have increased the pressure on migrants and their families to maintain their current social status, and so also the dependency on the employer is aggravated. Existing inequalities, such as dequalification at the beginning of immigration, or the fact that migrant households are disproportionally affected by poverty, are fixated this way, because there is no

106 See Interview Expert F3.
107 Interview with representative of the AMS Tyrol, 14.
108 Interviews Expert H2, 49; G2, 36.
109 Interview with representative of the Center for Migrants Tyrol, 40.
110 Interviews Expert H2, 22; G2.
111 Interview Expert G2.
112 Interview Expert G2 referring to the EU SILC.
The effect of immigration policies can also be measured by existing immigration data: The number of immigrants from Turkey and the Yugoslav successor states and of naturalisations in Tyrol has significantly decreased over the past five years. This may satisfy proponents of the slogan "integration before new immigration". However, an expert highlighted that these trends are contradictory if applying a long-term perspective, saying that "we need immigration in order to maintain our social welfare state".

IV.2 (Perceived) impact of the Integration Agreement on integration

So far, there exists no evaluation of the Integration Agreement (see also national report). Although no exact data exists, the interviewees tried to assess the impact on the basis of their work experience and expertise. Overall, the impact of the German language courses was assessed positively: Learning the language would be a first step in the long process of integration and key to open up further possibilities. The head of the Department of Integration in this context stated that the IA has encouraged migrants to learn the language and created an entry point for beginning with language acquisition. The impact of the IA on women who are not working was considered especially positive by an AMS representative for example.

However, almost all interviewees stated that language alone cannot be equalled with integration, but the dimensions of economic, social, and structural integration and participation in society are equally important. To overestimate the role language plays for integration would contradict reality – in most of "classical migrant jobs" knowing German would not play a major role anyway. Moreover, many migrants face general living conditions that impair the language learning process, such as little social networks, no German-speaking colleagues, or residence insecurity. This in turn, would again negatively affect economic integration, and easily result in a vicious circle of exclusion.

As regards effects on persons who did not manage to fulfil the IA successfully, NGO experience indicates that rather than resulting in an expulsion, non-compliance with the IA may rather lead to a considerable increase of migrants who cannot obtain a permanent residence permit, but remain in a quasi-permanent status of temporary and thus more insecure residence.

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113 Interview Expert I1, 53. See also interviews with experts C2 and H2.
116 Interview with Expert F3, 79.
117 Interviews expert E2; H2, 33.
118 Interview with Johann Gstre, Fachbereich Integration Land Tirol, 60.
119 Interview with representative of the AMSTyrol.
120 Interviews Expert E2, 21; H2, 33, C2, 180f.
121 Interview Expert G2, 66f.
122 Interview Expert C2, 180f.
123 Interview with Expert I1, 55.
IV.2.1 Effectiveness of the Integration Agreement

The compulsory nature of the IA has been widely criticised by experts and NGOs. By contrast, a representative of the AIF did not consider the compulsory element as problematic. Given the crucial role language is assigned for successful integration, coercion would be necessary in order to ensure that really everyone learns German. As already mentioned, this principle does only apply to specific categories of immigrants (mainly low-skilled third country nationals). Moreover, the compulsory nature of the courses would even be empowering, especially for women who would otherwise not be able to attend a language class (because refused by their husbands and fathers, so the general argument). Turkish women are at the focus of this argument, while Bosnian women would be the “most eager” and not constitute a problematic group (see also national WP2 report).124

Course providers experienced the compulsory nature of the IA as a rather “medieval concept”125 and as an obstacle to learn the language freely, motivated and without any pressure. According to them, the obligation creates a negative feeling among immigrants and a considerable pressure right at the start of life in a new society.126

Furthermore, it is considered problematic that the IA requires one and the same exam for a group so diverse regarding education background, age, economic and legal situation.127 Especially persons literate in another sign language, and older persons would face serious difficulties in fulfilling the IA in due time. A representative of an NGO suggested finding alternative ways of measuring the success of language acquisition that manages to account for some of these main lines of difference.128

Moreover, persons who are working full time would find it specifically difficult to focus on a language course after a full working day.129 Thus, it would be important for employees to offer the courses during working hours.130 Interestingly, while the AIF in regard to programs for asylum seekers recognizes the need for having sufficient time and a solid financial basis as a precondition to learn the language successfully, these principles seem not to apply to those persons who have to fulfil the Integration Agreement. If implemented without taking main social and structural differences and contexts into account, the IA would become an instrument to prevent immigration rather than promote integration, as a language course provider warned.131

Another problem was highlighted in relation to the information policy with regard to the IA. Migrants receive first information on the IA by the immigration administrations when being issued the residence permit. However, given the fact that the template for the IA (which immigrants are supposed to sign upon issuance of the residence permit) is not translated into other languages, migrants would have to sign it without fully understanding its content.132 Thus, migrants would often start with the courses belatedly, because they were not fully aware of the conditions the IA foresees. Moreover, immigration administrations would often provide incorrect information to migrants, saying that they have to attend a course in order to receive a prolongation of their residence, although they may acquire German skills wherever and however they want.133

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124 Interview with representative of the AIF, 36f.
125 Interview With Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck.
126 See Interview expert J2.
127 Ibid.
128 Interview With Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck.
129 Interview Expert J2, 27.
130 Interview With Jussuf Windischer, Integrationshaus Innsbruck, 37.
131 Interview Expert J2, 51.
132 Interviews Expert J2, 29; I1.
133 Interview Expert I1, 37.
IV.2.2 Expected impact of policy changes: German before immigration

All interviewed experts were critical towards a renewed amendment of the IA, the envisaged requirement to acquire German language skills already before immigration. They highlighted that so far the Ministry of Interior has not presented any detailed concept for the funding of the courses, or the course infrastructure in the countries of origin. Significant efforts have been put in establishing an infrastructure for language courses under the IA in Austria, but comparable services do not exist in the countries of origin. The requirement would furthermore disadvantage especially persons from rural areas who would lack access to infrastructure and money to attend such courses. As a result, the new regulation is expected to become a new immigration barrier, especially for low-skilled persons. The expected impacts on family reunification were considered specifically problematic, as the requirement could contradict the right to family reunion as established in the EU Council Directive on the Right to Family Reunification.

IV.3 Impact of selected AMS programs

The AMS has ordered several external evaluations of its programs, especially in regard to teenagers and young adults who are considered the most important target group of AMS services (see IHS 2010a, IHS 2010b). However, as already mentioned above, the significance of these studies is limited with regard to persons with migrant background (first, second, and third generation immigrants), as the AMS so far only enumerates data by citizenship.

A report on the living and employment situation of teenagers with migration background in Tyrol (Biffl/Steinmayr/Wächter 2009) demonstrates that this group shows a higher share of persons without a completed secondary school degree or apprenticeship and is thus disadvantaged on the labour market. A main reason for leaving school prematurely was mobbing and discrimination at school (ibid., 5). The report concludes that this group would need specific assistance and targeted career counselling and orientation measures, while at the same time, measures would have to take into account the various social backgrounds of the teenagers.

An evaluation of employment-related measures to promote teenagers in Tyrol (IHS 2010a) conversely reports that there are relatively little measures specifically targeting teenagers with migration background, as well as for persons without completed secondary school certification, and young women. The number of teenagers (15-19 years) with non-Austrian citizenship in AMS-support measures only amounted to 11% between 2004 and 2008, while specific programs showed a high share of foreign teenagers (e.g. German qualification programs, inter-company apprenticeship training, integrated vocational qualification targeting teenagers from difficult social backgrounds).

However, data on the long-term success of the programs – defined as having found employment 12 months after the course completion – is not presented by citizenship, so the report does not indicate whether there are differences between migrant and non-migrant teenagers (IHS 2010a, 17).

Another evaluation of secondary school courses for teenagers who have missed out on school qualifications also presents data by migration background (data on native language enumerated by the course provider). The study shows that one year after the course teenagers with

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134 Interviews Expert J2, 41; F3, H2.
135 Ibid.
137 Interview Expert J2, 53f.
migration background and girls were on average less likely to have obtained a stable apprenticeship training (IHS 2010b, 45).

Similarly to the study by Biffl et al. (2009), the report concludes that there is a lack of support measures in specific Tyrolean regions, for specific groups such as teenagers with migration background, and of low-threshold measures that would compensate for the selection mechanisms implicit to the Austrian school system (IHS 2010a, 18).

IV.4 (Perceived) impact on the majority population and social cohesion

Generally, the interviewees identified a lack of measures targeting the majority population. However, the impact of general policies and discourses about migration and integration on the general atmosphere in the country was considered negative. Migrants and integration would predominantly be associated with negative headlines.

“Generally, when one is looking at society as a whole, migrants are not welcomed. Always aliens, no matter how long they live here” (Interview Expert H2, 36).

Exclusionary and racist attitudes by the majority population would result in a lack of identification with the country and a lack of motivation to learn the language or actively participate in society.\textsuperscript{130}

\textsuperscript{130} Interview Expert I1, 53.
V Conclusions

The local integration policy landscape in Innsbruck is currently in transition. On the basis of long-standing NGO initiatives in the area of immigrant integration, the first established in the 1980s, a process of institutionalising integration policies in the administrations of the federal state of Tyrol and the city of Innsbruck has started in 2000. With the establishment of a local branch of the Austrian Integration Fund operating under the MoI in 2008, also federal interests will be increasingly represented at local level in the future. This process is linked to shifting funding strategies by the MoI and local policy makers that is partly viewed critically by the local NGOs.

Although integration is commonly understood as a process and a matter that cross-cuts all different areas of society and social groupings, NGOs criticise that the understanding of integration applied in practice would too often be one-sided and one-dimensionally focusing on the deficits and duties of migrants. Conversely, structural changes to adapt society as a whole to a new and diverse social reality are still insufficient.

The research shows that local integration policies of Innsbruck and Tyrol follow different logics than federal integration policies in Austria; yet, they are not independent of these. Local integration policy frames tend to be more inclusive and oriented towards maintaining social peace among the local population, while federal policies are more exclusive with regard to the defined target groups, and their link to immigration control and selection purposes. Local integration policies and programs in Innsbruck generally target all migrant residents irrespective of length of stay or residence status. At the same time, and also influenced by the federal framework for the Integration Agreement, specific groups are considered as specifically “problematic” by local policy makers in regard to integration, such as low-skilled migrants or migrants at the margins of the labour market, women, and migrants of Turkish origin. These perceptions and definitions are not much different from the general focus of integration policies and discourses in Austria. Altogether, migrant children were considered the most important target group of integration measures at the local level, which is also reflected by several activities in the education sector initiated by NGOs and the city of Innsbruck. Also the focus of the activities in the first year of the city’s integration office was put on children and youth and their future education pathways. Newcomers by contrast do not constitute a main target group of local integration programs in Innsbruck, except for German language courses offered in the context of the federal integration agreement. The focus on newcomers in federal integration policies is being balanced in Tyrol by special programs for long-term settled migrants offered by the Federal state of Tyrol.

Regarding the local landscape of integration programs, there is a clear focus on programs for language acquisition, which can be explained by the federal policy framework (IA) and related funding opportunities. Another bulk of measures focuses on the education sector and children, while employment-related programs especially focus on teenagers, women, and adults with a low qualification profile. Generally, there is a lack of programs that take into account gender differences and the different social backgrounds of migrants. Measures targeting the majority population are still rare and mainly focus on rather symbolic programs in the area of intercultural dialogue for example, while anti-discrimination measures are largely missing.

By the local actors, the provision of funding for German courses under the IA is generally considered a positive measure. However, the compulsory nature of the IA, as well as its narrow focus only on certain categories of third country nationals is considered contradictory and not sustainable. In relation to the foreseen introduction of the requirement to learn German before immigration, all interviewed experts voiced concerns with regard to lacking infrastructure in the countries of origin that would result in considerable immigration barriers to the country. Moreover, the new regulation would contradict the right to family reunion established by the European Union. Driving such restrictive policies, Austria would become even more unattractive even for highly-skilled immigrants.
There is still a big gap with regard to data on the impact of integration policies or programs on immigrants' integration pathways. However, the perceived, and partly also measureable, impact of integration policies on immigrant integration was assessed to be contradictory. Increasing admission criteria would put more and more pressure on immigrants to comply with these criteria, and impair their participation in society as well as their identification with Austria as their host country.
References


List of interviews
The interviews were conducted between July 2010 and February 2011. The interviews were anonymised on request.
In total 11 interviews were conducted with representatives of
- the Integration Office of the city of Innsbruck (*Integrationsstelle Stadt Innsbruck*),
- the Department of Integration of the federal state of Tyrol (*Fachbereich Integration des Landes Tirol*),
- Labour Market Service Tyrol (AMS Tyrol),
- Chamber of Employees Tyrol (AK Tirol),
- a representative of the Austrian Integration Fund,
- as well as 5 representatives of four NGOs active in the field of immigrant integration in Innsbruck.