

**INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH TO THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION
IN EUROPE FOR NIGERIAN SURVIVORS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING:
STRENGTHENING OPPORTUNITIES AND OVERCOMING HINDRANCES**

**RESEARCH
REPORT**

"In five years, I want to first be an independent woman. Secondly, I want to be good at speaking the language. In five years, I should be working. I should be able to have a car to myself. In five years, I pray to God to give me a man of my happiness. So, in five years, I want to be an independent woman. I want to be happy."

- Nigerian survivor of trafficking

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(ed.)



» **W**e want to extend our tremendous thanks to the 35 survivors of trafficking who made themselves available to us to be interviewed and shared their stories and their hearts with us. Their strength and courage continue to inspire us. Likewise, we are sincerely thankful to the 18 experts who allowed themselves to be interviewed and shared their knowledge and passion with us.

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More information on the European Union is available on the Internet (<https://europa.eu>).
More information on INTAP is available on the Internet (<https://intap-europe.eu>).

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Foreword

Since January 2019, I have enjoyed being kept up to date on the project “Intersectional approach to the process of integration in Europe for survivors of human trafficking (INTAP)”, which is co-financed by the European Commission. It is especially delightful to see this project successfully implementing its aims to improve the integration of Nigerian and Chinese survivors of human trafficking. Through this project, our communities have been made aware of the underlying themes associated with the integration of survivors from these backgrounds. Likewise, as network partners, we have been able to intensify our work on this subject. I am very proud of our cooperation partners - The Justice Project, SOLWODI Deutschland e.V., Herzwirk Wien, Associazione Comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII and the University of Eichstätt.

This research makes evident that survivors of human trafficking face overwhelming hindrances to their integration process. They are confronted with extreme traumatisation, often further triggered through encounters in refugee shelters, in the asylum process or court hearings. Intense fear of being injured or even killed by their traffickers plagues them, as well as threats to their family, which cause further emotional hindrances to integration.

The profound role a *Person of Trust* (often NGO social workers) can play in assisting toward integration has been illuminated. Such a person helps by supporting them both emotionally and practically, even by making referrals to other professionals. The Christian faith is also shown to give victims of human trafficking hope and enables them to concentrate on their children's up-bringing more effectively. It establishes focus and releases potential. It is crucial to stress the importance of shelters. The return of victims of human trafficking to a country wherein their exploitation took place must be prevented. Deportations to the country of origin enable the considerable risk of re-victimisation or even desolation!

In order to improve the integration of survivors of trafficking within the EU, it is necessary to provide specialised counselling centres for victims of human trafficking with improved financial support and to increase the number of state-run shelters for such vulnerable people.

I wish all project beneficiaries further energy and success in the accomplishment of our shared goals!

Yours sincerely,

Frank Heinrich, MdB
First Chairman Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel e.V.

Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel e.V. (literally translated: together against human trafficking) is an alliance of organisations, initiatives and individuals that are engaged in the issue of human trafficking in various ways. The taken measures generally pursue prevention and combating human trafficking, especially human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Hereby the alliance is actively engaged in intense public relations and educational work as well as supporting organisations offering victim support services. Further, it advocates for improved legal frameworks in Germany.

» CONTENTS

List of abbreviations	06
List of Tables	06
Executive Summary	07
1. Introduction	09
2. Literature Review	10
2.1 Intersectionality and Discrimination	10
2.2 Integration	13
2.3 Residency Issues and Criminal Prosecution	17
2.4 Accommodation	18
2.5 Health Access, Mental Health and Trauma	20
2.6 Motherhood	22
2.7 Spirituality	24
2.8 Community	26
3. Data Gathering	28
3.1 SoT and expert interviews	28
3.1.1 Access to SoTs	29
3.1.2 Access to experts	29
3.2 Focus Group Discussions	29
3.3 Field Visits	30
4. Data Analysis	31
4.1 Data analysis methods	31
4.1.1 Qualitative Content Analysis according to Mayring	31
4.1.2 Quantification of qualitative interview data	31
4.2 Limitations	32
4.3 Results	32

4.3.1 Residency issues	33
4.3.2 Accommodation	34
4.3.3 Education	38
4.3.4 Access to the labour market	41
4.3.5 Healthcare system	44
4.3.6 Motherhood	46
4.3.7 Spirituality	49
4.3.8 Community	51
4.3.9 Discrimination	52
4.3.10 Dreams and Visions	55
4.3.11 Actors	57
4.3.12 Person of Trust	59
4.3.13 Anxiety/ Fear	61
4.3.14 Integration	64
4.3.14.1 Recommendations	64
4.3.14.2 Opportunities	65
4.3.14.3 Hindrances	66
5. Discussion	69
5.1 Intersectionality	69
5.2 Integration	74
5.3 Person of Trust and Fear	82
6. Conclusion	88
Literature	89
Appendix	97

» LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDA	Asylum Information Database
AnKER Center	“Ankunfts-, Entscheidungs-, Rückführungszentrum (also Ankunft, Entscheidung- kommunale Verteilung und Rückkehr) – Initial reception centre where all actors of the asylum procedure and return are concentrated.” (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2019:6)
CEAS	Common European Asylum System
CRB	MAXQDA’s Code-Relations-Browser
EU	European Union
PTSD	Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
SoT	Survivor of Trafficking (In this research SoT refers to Nigerian women that have previously been identified by an NGO or other authority as victims/ survivors of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation.)

» LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 - Matrix of Oppression. Reconstructed by the authors. Source: Owen and Fox (n.d.) (cited from Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, Second Edition, Routledge, 2007)	10
Table 2 - Extended Matrix of Oppression. Own table. Brown and grey rows based on Owen and Fox (n.d.) (adjustments were made). Blue rows were added by the authors.	70
Graph 1 - Intersectionality – Structural categories & their interplay. Own graph.	12
Graph 2 - A conceptual Framework Defining core Domains of Integration. Reconstructed by the authors. Source: Ager and Strang 2008:170.	15
Graph 3 - Highest co-occurrences with integration/ opportunities. Own graph.	65
Graph 4 - Highest co-occurrences with integration/ hindrances. Own graph.	67
Graph 5 - Intersectionality – Structural categories & their interplay. Own graph.	73
Graph 6 - A conceptual Framework Defining core Domains of Integration. Reconstructed by the authors. Source: Ager and Strang 2008:170.	74
Graph 7 - Ambiguity of the different aspects of integration. Own graph.	83
Graph 8 - Interdependence of fear and Person of Trust in the integrational process. Own graph.	86

» EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This research report emerged from the INTAP project¹ funded by the European Commission. INTAP is short for *Intersectional approach to the process of integration in Europe for survivors of human trafficking*. With this, it aims to give answers to the central question of *how to strengthen opportunities and overcome hindrances to the process of integration in Europe for Nigerian survivors of human trafficking for sexual exploitation?*

Relevant literature was first reviewed in order to determine the current state of research and to specify the research object. Likewise, two field visits were carried out as well as qualitative interviews with Nigerian survivors of human trafficking, experts and two survivor focus groups.

This report provides an evaluation of the different aspects of integration and its hindrances and opportunities for Nigerian survivors. By providing answers, new light should be shed on the subject of integration and proposals for action to adapt existing integration measures toward a more victim-centred approach so that Nigerian survivors could find increased support.

A particularly prominent element of the research turned out to be the description of how a *Person of Trust* promotes integration and contrarily how fear hinders integration measures. The *Person of Trust*, often a specialised social worker, offers psycho-social support and links Nigerian survivors to relevant social and public services and thus guides them through their integration process. Constructs of fear relate especially to their experiences of trauma, the perceived danger of being re-discovered by their traffickers, and the supernatural violence belonging to the utilisation of African Traditional Religion (ATR), has a paralysing effect and thus counteracts integration.

The outcomes of this research recommend:

- More state funds for survivor-specialised social workers and safe housing.
- Unrestricted access to mental healthcare and illiterate-specific and mother-child friendly language and integration courses for survivors with and without a residence permit.
- EU Member States refrain from deporting survivors to another EU Member State (according to the Dublin III Regulation) and their home county Nigeria.
- Educating European host-societies through anti-racism projects and other Social Impact Projects that counteract general refugee hostility and create awareness for the value of intercultural competence.

¹<https://intap-europe.eu>



» 1. INTRODUCTION

The European Commission states that human trafficking² has a “detrimental effect on individuals, society, and the economy” and is a “gross violation of fundamental rights, and is explicitly prohibited under the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union” (European Commission 2016:2). Traffickers exploit their victim’s vulnerability (poverty, lack of access to education, ethnic conflicts, etc.) to gain a financial advantage. They rarely act alone, but act within a criminal organisation (organised crime). Traffickers are often related to one another within such criminal organisations, or they belong to the same ethnic group. Often, a criminal organisation is present in more than one country and thus facilitates international human trafficking. Relatedly, they often abuse already existing channels of irregular migration for their purposes and thus exploit asylum systems in the European Union (EU), which were created for humanitarian purposes. Unfortunately, in 2016, the EU stated that the number of prosecutions and convictions against such activity is “worryingly low” (Ibid.:10).

In Western and Southern Europe, human trafficking for sexual exploitation is by far the most prevalent form of trafficking: 65% of all detected victims of human trafficking were trafficked for sexual exploitation. 90% of those trafficked for sexual exploitation were women or girls (UNODC 2018). Statistical data for the period 2013-2014 shows that 35% of all victims detected in the EU were non-EU citizens. The top country of origin of these victims was Nigeria. (European Commission 2016:4) For this reason, the research focuses explicitly on the integration of Nigerian survivors. Throughout this report, Nigerian women who have previously been identified by an NGO or authority as victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation will be referred to as SoTs (Survivor(s) of Trafficking).

In order to improve the integration of SoTs in Europe, opportunities and hindrances in the integration process need to be identified to promote or counteract their effects. The research phase was initiated with a literature review and two field visits, one to a German reception centre and one to an Italian street where street prostitution takes place. The integration measures for SoTs were investigated through qualitative interviews conducted with two SoT focus groups, 35 SoTs and 18 experts. These interviews were analysed using Mayring’s qualitative content analysis.

Furthermore, this research included the concept of intersectionality, which was adapted to the case study of SoTs in order to enable a more holistic approach. Intersectionality applied to the support of SoTs considers “[...] how all facets of their identity interact, acknowledging that each person’s story and needs are unique.” (Napolitano 2017). Since “[I]ntegration’ is a chaotic concept: a word used by many but understood differently by most” (Robinson 1998, cited in Ager and Strang 2008:167), this research relied on Ager and Strang’s conceptual framework for integration in order to critically apply the elements of integration to the case study of SoTs. The centrepiece of this research, however, is the comprehensive presentation of the opportunities and hindrances that SoTs encounter in the integration process in Europe.

² Human trafficking is defined here according to the UN-Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (A/RES/55/25) (also known as the “Palermo Protocol”). This definition was also the basis for the EU Directive on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims (2011/36/EU).

» 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Intersectionality and Discrimination

Refugee women – such as Nigerian SoTs – face multiple forms of discrimination based on their gender, ethnicity and social origin (Antidiskriminierungsstelle des Bundes 2016). This point has been further evidenced in several studies (Campani 1993; Meidert and Rapp 2019; Rapp et al. 2019). A concept that well describes the complex situation of minority women is intersectionality. The concept originated from critical race feminism and was coined by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989). It provides a framework to make the experienced discrimination at a societal level understandable and, meanwhile, constitutes an integral part of women's and gender studies (Cooper 2016). The term is used to describe the interaction of different social identities/ sections, as well as, dealing with multiple and complex inequalities (Kóczé 2009).

Intersectionality can be understood differently – as theory, concept or heuristic instrument (Davis 2013). In this research report, intersectionality is used as an approach to enable the interpretation of the primary data collection results in a structured manner³. The approach is here understood to be formed of two components: the individual social categories and the interplay between them and how these form a person's identity. An analysis of the individual social categories enables to identify societal inequalities, e.g. by analysing the social category of gender; societal gender relations are made visible (Napolitano 2017). These alone can already determine stereotyping and exclusion (Kosnick 2013).

Table 1 - Matrix of Oppression Reconstructed by the authors. Source: Owen and Fox (n.d.) (cited from Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, Second Edition, Routledge, 2007)

SOCIAL IDENTITY CATEGORIES	PRIVILEGED SOCIAL GROUPS	BORDER SOCIAL GROUPS ↔	TARGETED SOCIAL GROUPS	ISM
RACE	WHITE PEOPLE	BIRACIAL PEOPLE (WHITE/LATINO, BLACK, ASIAN)	ASIAN, BLACK, LATINO, NATIVE PEOPLE	RACISM
SEX	BIO MEN	TRANSSEXUAL, INTERSEX PEOPLE	BIO WOMEN	SEXISM
GENDER	GENDER CONFORMING BIO MEN AND WOMEN	GENDER AMBIGUOUS BIO MEN AND WOMEN	TRANSGENDER, GENDERQUEER, INTERSEX PEOPLE	TRANSGENDER OPPRESSION
SEXUAL ORIENTATION	HETEROSEXUAL PEOPLE	BISEXUAL PEOPLE	LESBIANS, GAY MEN	HETEROSEXISM
CLASS	RICH, UPPER-CLASS PEOPLE	MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE	WORKING CLASS, POOR PEOPLE	CLASSISM
ABILITY/DISABILITY	TEMPORARILY/ABLEBODIED PEOPLE	PEOPLE WITH TEMPORARY DISABILITIES	PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES	ABLEISM
RELIGION	PROTESTANTS	ROMAN CATHOLIC (HISTORICALLY)	JEWS, MUSLIMS, HINDUS	RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION
AGE	ADULTS	YOUNG ADULTS	ELDERS, YOUNG PEOPLE	AGEISM/ADULTISM

³ See Chapter 4; Chapter 5.1.

Race is a concept historically created and constantly recreated by humans and does not represent biological categories. Adams et al. (2016) define it as a “system of advantage and disadvantage” where certain racialized groups are either advantaged or disadvantaged. Race is often confused with ethnicity. Whereas race relates to “physical features (skin tone, hair texture, eye colour, bone structure), ethnicity relates to nationality, region, ancestry, shared culture, and language.” (Ibid.:134)

Sex means the biologically (physical, hormonal and genetic) assigned sex. Infants are born with an assignable female or male sex, or they are born intersex, which means that male and female sex characteristics are combined. (Kessler and McKenna 1978, Kessler 1998, and Preves 2003 cited in Adams et al. 2016)

Gender refers to “socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women” (Ibid.: 184).

Sexual orientation describes a person’s “sexual and emotional attractions towards someone of the same sex (lesbian or gay), “opposite” sex (heterosexual), both sexes (bisexual), or any sex (queer/ pansexual).” (Ibid.: 185)

Class can be understood as “a relative social ranking based on income, wealth, education, status and power” (Leondar-Wright and Yeskel 2007 cited in Adams et al. 2016:213). Accordingly, classism is the assignment of value to people of a particular class.

Disability is understood “not as a state of someone’s body per se, but as a result of their interaction with the social environment” (Ibid.:299). Adams et al. (2016) exemplify this with a person who is not able to walk. In this case, not being able to walk is not a disability in itself. However, in a society that normalizes people who walk and abnormalizes people who do not walk, it is.

Religious oppression describes inequalities based on a person's membership to a specific religious group. In the U.S., this means the subordination of minority religious groups such as “Buddhists, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs, Native American spiritualities, and those who are atheists, agnostics, or freethinkers” (Ibid.:255). Who is subordinate to whom varies widely depending on which country is considered.

Ageism/ Adulthoodism means the oppression of young people and elders (Ibid.).

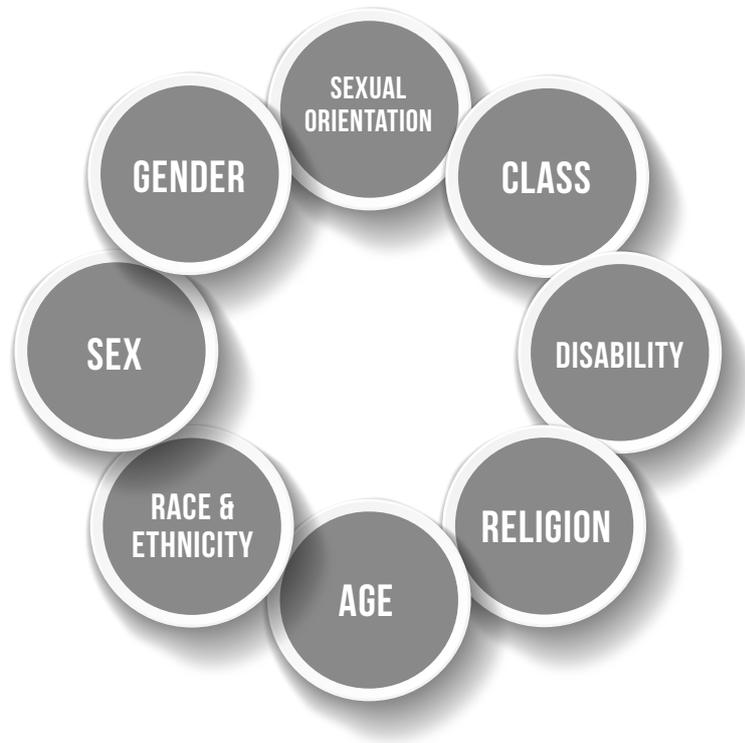
The individual sections are interlinked and form the person's identity (Lee and Piper 2013). In this instance, discrimination based on, e.g. gender, cannot be untangled and attached to a single cause. Power and inequality must, therefore, be looked at from different structural categories at the same time (Stubbs 2015). The second component of the intersectionality definition thus is the interplay between the individual structural categories, hence the intersections, which means junctions, axes, intersection points and overlaps (Walgenbach 2013). Crenshaw (1989) uses the metaphor of junctions in order to demonstrate how the intersections of the structural categories can lead to experiencing various forms of discrimination:

“The point is that Black women can experience discrimination in any number of ways and that the contradiction arises from our assumptions that their claims of exclusion must be unidirectional. Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow

in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination" (Ibid.:149).

This concept is further visualised in Graph 1.

Graph 1 - Intersectionality – Structural categories & their interplay. Own graph.



The structural categories and their interrelations are not built hierarchically but flexibly, implying that power and oppression can be experienced differently and based on various identities. Adusei-Poku (2012) demonstrates this idea through the following example: in the supermarket, the cashier speaks to a black woman in broken German, although her mother tongue is German. Then she is sexually harassed by her boss because she is 'so beautifully exotic'. In the first case, racist mental figures are at work, while in the second case, sexist alongside racist mental figures are evident (Ibid.).

A distinctive strength of an intersectional approach is that the situation and the structural categories of particular societal marginalised groups become more visible (Todres 2009). Further, as a heuristic tool, intersectionality enables a more holistic approach in supporting SoTs, as the approach enables one to "consider how all facets of their identity interact, acknowledging that each person's story and needs are unique" (Napolitano 2017). Intersectionality, thus, helps to avoid generalisations of the experience of victimisation and discrimination. A woman from a given Nigerian community having experienced human trafficking will perceive the violence suffered differently than, i.e. her neighbour, who is also a SoT.

2.2 Integration

The topic of integration of third-country nationals living in EU Member States has gained more importance in the European agenda in the last years (Agafitei and Juchno 2017). Even though a common and unifying definition for integration is often elusive, an operational definition can be found based on how the relevant stakeholders see 'successful' integration (Ager and Strang 2008).

The *European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals*, proposed by the European Commission (2011), is focused on actions aimed at increasing economic, social, cultural and political participation by migrants. Accordingly, it names the primary aspects of the integration process as employment, education, access to institutions, goods and services, and society in general. They also define integration as a two-way process of mutual accommodation by all migrants and by residents of the EU Member States. (European Commission 2011)

Although integration can be operationally defined by the way success is envisioned, concrete measures towards such success are generally lacking. Furthermore, not all migration experiences are the same, and the trauma some have experienced along the migration route, as well as the exploitation of sexual labour must inform the specific measures taken for integration assistance (The Council of the Baltic Sea States 2017).⁴ In other words, special consideration must be given to the integration measures taken to assist survivors of trafficking.

In recent years, the Nexus Institute, Washington D.C., starting from the field experiences of nine civil society organisations working within the framework of the Trafficking Victim (Re)integration Programme, used the following definition regarding the integration of SoTs:

"(Re)integration refers to the process of recovery and economic and social inclusion following a trafficking experience. This inclusion is multifaceted and must take place in social and economic arenas. It includes settlement in a safe and secure environment, access to a reasonable standard of living, mental and physical well-being, opportunities for personal and economic development and access to social and emotional support. In many cases, (re)integration will involve the return to the victim's family and/or community of origin. However, it may also involve integration in a new community or new country, depending on the needs and interests of the victim. A central aspect of successful (re)integration is that of empowerment, supporting victims to develop skills toward independence and self-sufficiency and to be actively involved in their recovery and (re)integration" (Surtees and Nexus Institute 2008:48, emphasis added).

The EU Anti-Trafficking Directive 2011/36/EU refers to what kind of support is required for survivors of trafficking (SoTs), stating that

"It is necessary for victims of trafficking in human beings to be able to exercise their rights effectively. Therefore, assistance and support should be available to them before, during and for an appropriate time after criminal proceedings. Member States should provide resources for victim assistance, support and protection which should include at least a minimum set of measures that are necessary to enable the victim to recover and escape from their traffickers" (Directive 2011/36/EU I(18))

⁴ Compares asylum seekers and refugees with survivors of trafficking as well as regular vs irregular migration.

As stated more explicitly in Art. 12 of the Council of Europe Convention on Action against Trafficking in Human Beings, Member States are not only expected to consider the SoT's safety and protection needs but also "adopt the rules under which *victims lawfully resident within its territory shall be authorised to have access to the labour market, to vocational training and education*" (Council of Europe 2005:6 emphasis added). Article 15 further states that Member States "shall adopt legislative or other measures as may be necessary to guarantee compensation for victims in accordance with the conditions under its internal law, for instance through the establishment of a fund for victim compensation or *measures or programmes aimed at social assistance and social integration of victims*, which could be funded by the assets resulting from the application of measures provided in Article 23" (Ibid.:8, emphasis added).

Despite these international requirements, there remains a significant shortage of programmes and services facilitating both recovery and integration of SoTs within destination countries (Polatside and Mujaj 2018; Van Selm 2013). Thankfully, more research is being conducted (e.g. Andreatta 2015; Meade 2015) and programmes are being developed (e.g. Grün et al. 2018; Meade 2015). These meagre advancements, however, still fall short in comparison to the vast scope of human trafficking and the number of SoTs in need of such support.

Furthermore, integration efforts for SoTs differ across Europe, in terms of programme methods and models, as Surtees finds in her research (Surtees and Nexus Institute 2008). Not all Member States see the need for special integration measures tailored to the needs of SoTs. Practically speaking, either victims of trafficking are handled as one group among other irregular migrants, being included in mainstream assistance programmes, or they are given the same assistance offered to victims/ survivors of other forms of domestic violence without regard to migration (Polatside and Mujaj 2018; Van Selm 2013; Surtees and Nexus Institute 2008).

Many experts agree that integration measures for SoTs should be gender-specific, and tailored to the individual needs of SoTs, depending on their age, the type of experienced exploitation, and on the environment in which integration should take place (Andreatta 2015; Polatside and Mujaj 2018; Van Selm 2013; Surtees and Nexus Institute 2008). The basis for this gender-specific approach is also found in the EU Directive on preventing and combating trafficking in human beings and protecting its victims, which states: "This Directive recognises the gender-specific phenomenon of trafficking and that *women and men are often trafficked for different purposes*. For this reason, assistance and support measures should also be *gender-specific* where appropriate" (Directive 2011/36/EU; emphasis added).

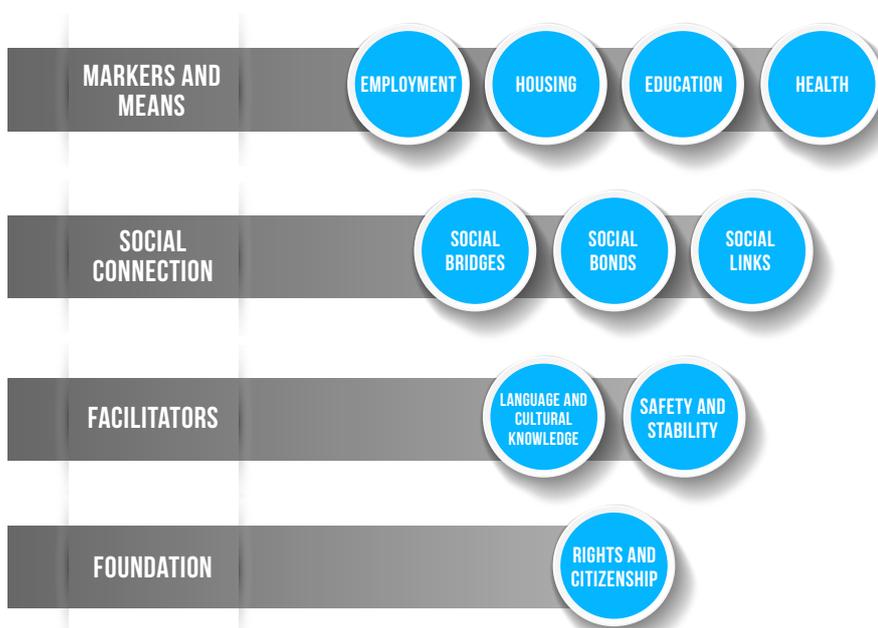
In the IOM comparative report on the integration of victims of trafficking in different European countries, Van Selm (2013) argues further that the starting point of a SoT within the destination country needs to be taken into consideration. Typically, the process of integration begins after a person's successful immigration has been accepted, meaning that they have been granted some residence title, allowing them to remain in the country. SoTs, on the other hand, have oftentimes entered and resided in the destination country through irregular means, sometimes even for many years, before they become identified. A SoT's first encounter with the destination society is usually with those involved in their trafficking or exploitation, or with citizens of the destination country who cannot or do not make any effort to assist the SoT in changing his/ her situation. As such, the SoT's first contact with the destination society is distorted, which sets their entire integration process off course.

Likewise, after a SoT is identified, they often continue in a pattern of dependency since their legal residence status is connected to their willingness to participate in criminal proceedings and is, therefore, initially short-term – at least in the case of third-country nationals (Van Selm 2013). In this phase of time, SoTs usually receive emergency shelter and assistance provided by victim support organisations. Nevertheless, even if their basic needs are met for the moment, their integration takes place in the shadow of limited residency rights, a compromised sense of security, low self-esteem due to their experience of exploitation, and limited or no healthy social connections (Andreatta 2015; Van Selm 2013).

Unfortunately, policymaking on trafficking seems built on the assumption that SoTs were not active participants in their (irregular) migration and are, therefore, only interested in returning to their country of origin once they have been liberated (Meade 2015; Van Selm 2013). SoTs are, therefore, primarily viewed as ‘instruments’ in the investigation and prosecution of traffickers. This instrumentality approach for criminal prosecution only accommodates for short-term protection and assistance compared to a victim-centred approach which considers SoTs to be entitled to long-term support (Jorge-Birol 2008; Van Selm 2013). Unfortunately, States often fail to recognise that a victim-centred approach, which affords more opportunity for successful integration, allows SoTs to become better potential witnesses as they are then more secure and their psychological capacity to testify are strengthened (Haynes 2004; Jorge-Birol 2008; Van Selm 2013). Consequentially, criminal lawsuits with SoTs who feel protected and empowered are more likely to become successful, which leads to more traffickers being identified, and trafficking networks dismantled (Jorge-Birol 2008).

Based on the reasons named above, one of the most significant forms of assistance which can be offered to SoTs is the successful application of integration measures. Ager and Strang (2008) provide a helpful conceptual framework to analyse the various elements that are often named when successful integration is described. This framework, presented in the graph below, helps to cluster certain activities and measures into larger ‘domains’ relating to the various ways integration is perceived. It also aids in bringing elements into dialogue with one another which are otherwise left separate by a dichotomising emphasis on either pragmatic measures or abstract learning. Furthermore, this framework highlights elements which are often overlooked in integration but are very relevant for measures used among SoTs.

Graph 2 - A conceptual Framework Defining core Domains of Integration. Reconstructed by the authors.
Source: Ager and Strang 2008:170.



On the left-hand side of the graphic, four 'domains' are listed which correspond to a number of specific measures. These domains themselves can be seen as moving from a pragmatic-descriptive relationship to the given measures (top) toward a more abstract relationship (bottom). *Markers and Means* describe fundamental concrete steps taken towards integration which are signs that advancement in the integration process is being made but also descriptive of the primary activities by which integration is accomplished. These measures, named as *Employment, Housing, Education, and Health*, are those most commonly recognised, although Ager and Strang point out that local field workers often miss the importance of healthcare (Ager and Strang 2008).⁵

Social Connection depicts the second domain, elaborating on measures which support the relational connectivity of a migrant to others in the host society (*Social Bridges*), to family and co-ethnic, co-religious, and co-national groups (*Social Bonds*), and to "structures of the state" (Ager and Strang 2008:178). This domain addresses the fact that successful integration involves a "two-way" accommodation, where space is made in the social life of both the host society and the migrant groups to meet with one another (Ager and Strang 2008:177). It also recognises the vital role that is played by family bonds and the connection to "like-ethnic groups" in assisting toward integration (Ager and Strang 2008:178).

The *Facilitators* domain identifies two essential barriers standing in the way of successful integration and addresses these by the *Language and Cultural Knowledge* and *Safety and Stability* measures. Even though language training is a well-known need and is often connected with practical educational measures, the acquisition of "broader cultural knowledge" is often left neglected (Ager and Strang 2008:182). In many cases, frustration within the integration process was deepened by a lack of understanding in cultural cues and their related expectations. Another often neglected hindrance is related to the concern for stability. Interviewed refugees made it clear that the *Safety and Stability* measure must take into consideration not only the more obvious needs of securing the physical safety of refugees but also the internal strife and the instability within refugee communities. Many of those interviewed considered the potential for 'verbal abuse' or discord as much of a concern as physical violence (Ager and Strang 2008:183).

The final domain, *Foundation*, relates to the diverse ways that the *Rights and Citizenship* measure is applied. One of the challenges to this domain is the disparity created by differing visions of nationhood. Even within the EU, there are many divergent approaches to how citizenship and its accompanying rights and responsibilities are applied, with the dominant models being "ethno-cultural political exclusion" and "pluralist political inclusion" (Faist 1995 cited in Ager and Strang 2008:174). The Ethno-cultural political exclusion model, as exemplified in Germany and Spain, reaches back towards a concept of assimilation, meaning refugees are to become indistinguishable from the host culture eventually. Pluralist political inclusion, however, allowing a multicultural view of integration, expects religious, ethnic, and cultural group formation within the host culture. Ager and Strang conclude that of paramount importance for the integration process is clarity from the state on its policy towards citizenship, nationhood and relatedly the rights and responsibilities of refugees.

As detailed above, the known literature on the subject has established the fact that SoTs are often in need of integration assistance. The measures taken need to utilise the available best practices but also orient themselves around the unique needs of SoTs. The conceptual framework provided by Ager and Strang is a helpful guide to identify the particular categories where

⁵ For more relevant details to this point, see Chapter 2.5.

the needs of SoTs both align and differ with other common needs in integration assistance among refugees.

2.3 Residency Issues and Criminal Prosecution

Issues related to residency are of particular importance for this research, as the trafficking and exploitation of Nigerian women take place within channels of irregular migration to the EU. Almost all SoTs eventually apply for asylum in one or more EU Member States. Frequently, applications are even made exploitatively, on the instruction of traffickers, as well as after the SoTs have escaped exploitation.

With the establishment of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS)⁶, the EU aims to install minimum standards for asylum in all EU Member States (European Asylum Support Office 2016). These uniform standards should be “consistent with the values and humanitarian tradition of the European Union” (Regulation 439/2010: recital 1). Since the beginning of the CEAS, tension existed between the ambitions of the EU to harmonise supranational asylum regulations and the still existing national differences in asylum procedures, integration possibilities, welfare policies and labour market opportunities in the Member States (Brekke and Brochmann 2014). These differences are one of the primary triggers of secondary migration within the EU. Secondary migration, in turn, leads to the frequent application of the Dublin III Regulation (Regulation (EU) 604/ 2013). Particularly notable are the numerous returnees from Germany to Italy. Based on the AIDA report, Germany is the top sender and top recipient of Dublin requests (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2019). However, AIDA has no data available for France and Italy.⁷

In comparison, Eurostat⁸ indicates that in 2018 Italy received 41,911 requests, which would mean that Italy is the top recipient among the EU Member States. It should be noted that only a fraction of the requests received leads to a return. The AIDA report about the first half of 2018 shows that Italy received 35,5% of Germany's outgoing requests (AIDA/ Bove 2019). Brekke and Brochmann (2014) studied the secondary migration from Eritrean migrants from Italy to Norway. They found that Eritrean migrants idealise the conditions for asylum seekers in the countries further north. The negative perceptions around the supply of social benefits and the perceived lack of economic prospects in Italy, as compared to the countries further north, stand out as the primary trigger for secondary migration.

Applying or reapplying for asylum in an EU Member State often means waiting. Brekke (2004) studied the effects waiting had on Swedish asylum seekers. Their uncertainty about how long the asylum-seeking process would take and about the actual outcome led to a lack of concentration in language classes, as well as, trouble sleeping. Asylum seekers experience the asylum-seeking process as “random”, “unjust” and hard to understand (Ibid. 2004:23), leading further to the unpleasant feeling of having no control over one's own life and future. Brekke describes one of his interviewees, an African asylum seeker in Sweden:

“He could not get started with his future. He had left his past behind, his future was blocked by the pending decision, and his present was in-between the two. He was in-between the life he had lived and the one he hoped to live in Sweden. But every time he tried to take control of his present and future, he was reminded that it was not in his power to do so.” (Ibid. 2004:25)

⁶ Today the CEAS consist of five primary Directives/Regulations: the revised Asylum Procedures Directive (Directive 2013/32/EU), the revised Reception Conditions Directive (Directive 2013/33/EU), the revised Qualification Directive (Directive 2011/95/EU), the revised Eurodac Regulation (Regulation (EU) 603/2013) and the revised Dublin Regulation (Regulation (EU) 604/ 2013).

⁷ The report includes data about the following countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Spain, Greece, Hungary, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Switzerland.

⁸ Eurostat Statistics Explained: Dublin statistics on countries responsible for asylum application, online (14.02.2020): https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statisticsexplained/index.php/Dublin_statistics_on_countries_responsible_for_asylum_application

He also noted that asylum-seekers tend to have a “double attitude” (Ibid. 2004:30) towards the possibility of forcible return to the EU Member State where they first applied for asylum or their home country. They deny the possibility that their case could be rejected, and they could be deported, and at the same time, they continuously think anxiously about precisely this possibility.

Related to these challenges, waiting for an asylum decision is associated with limited access to the national welfare system. Nickerson, Steel, Bryant, Brooks, and Silove (2011) studied the relationship between changes in visa statuses, psychological symptoms, and living difficulties amongst Mandeian refugees in Australia. They found that limited rights and limited access to services related to residency issues have a negative impact on mental health. Those migrants participating in their study who experienced a visa change from a temporary visa to a non-temporary residency status also experienced a reduction of PTSD and depression symptoms. The accompanying reduction in life difficulties also mediated improved mental health.

One of the most important events linked to an asylum decision is the asylum interview, either done by the national authority responsible for asylum or in court. In their study, Schock, Rosner and Knaevelsrud (2015) examined how asylum hearings influence the mental health of traumatised asylum seekers. They found that asylum hearings trigger post-traumatic intrusion. They point out that this might be caused by talking about the traumatic event, by the stress of waiting for the interview to begin and by the experience that the interviewer does not believe the migration story.

Moreover, victims of trafficking are often not only subject to asylum procedures but also criminal proceedings against their traffickers. Within the EU, victims of trafficking in human beings have the right to obtain a six-month valid residence permit with the possibility of renewal. Securing this residence permit depends to a large extent on the instrumentation for criminal proceedings; thus, the victim's cooperation and the breaking off of contact between the victim and the traffickers. The concrete implementation of this right varies from one Member State to another. (European Commission 2013) The prosecution usually includes at least one verbal complaint and a court hearing if the proceeding is not stopped beforehand. Numerous studies on the influence of criminal proceedings on the victims of violent crime show that there are both positive and negative effects in going through such proceedings. Testifying in court can not only provoke emotional stress but also be a re-traumatising experience for victims (Herman 2003; Koss 2000). The very idea of the court ceremony can trigger fear and anxiety in the victims (Calhoun and Resick 1981). Besides, participation in criminal proceedings can increase the self-blame of victims and lead to victims feeling accused by the justice system because they do not conform to the “ideal” victim (a form of secondary victimisation) (Schwöbel-Patel 2018; Bergin and Parsons 2010). On the other hand, criminal proceedings and especially the experience of seeing one's perpetrator punished can lead to satisfying feelings of retribution (Orth 2004) and thereby contribute to the empowerment of victims (Ford and Regoli 1992). For more information, readers are referred to Bergin and Parson's (2010) study on the impact of criminal justice involvement in victims' mental health.

2.4 Accommodation

One of the most fundamental concerns regarding the successful integration of asylum seekers⁹ in European countries is accommodation and how the accommodation system is managed,

⁹ This includes, therefore, Nigerian SoTs (see 2.2 Integration).

regulated, and its effect on their lived experiences (Willems et al. 2020; Soederberg 2019; Mendola and Busetta 2018). This section will give a brief description of the accommodation procedures in Germany and Italy as well as the condition and concerns related to accommodation.

In Germany, those applying for asylum at the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF) are immediately housed in an “initial reception centre” (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2019: 15). In this case, housing in the centre is not only a provision but also an obligation as “asylum seekers have no right to choose their place of residence” (Ibid.: 71).

“Asylum seekers are required to stay in the initial reception centre hosting the BAMF branch office where they lodge their application for a period up to six weeks, but not exceeding 6 months.” (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2018:63)¹⁰

Asylum seekers are distributed into one of the 16 Federal States in Germany based on a distribution system called “EASY”. This system considers the current capacity of an initial reception centre, the competence of a BAMF branch for the people group in question, and a quota system referred to as “Königsteiner Schlüssel” (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2019:19). In the height of refugee registration in Germany in 2015 and 2016, many reception centres had to expand their capacity rapidly, relying on larger “emergency” (*Notunterkünfte*) housing facilities, sometimes referred to as “camps” (*Massenlagern*).¹¹ These large facilities have often received criticism for their inadequacy to provide safety and the health concerns related to overcrowdedness (Soederberg 2019). The actual places offered under the category “initial reception centre” can be diverse and include arrival centres, special receiving centres, and transit centres (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2018:65).

The other two types of housing available to asylum seekers who are no longer under obligation to stay in the initial reception centres are “collective accommodation centres” and “decentralised accommodation” (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2019:80+77). Collective or communal accommodation centres (*Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte*) are available to asylum seekers in the same Federal State as their reception centre. These housing facilities are “common living spaces” and are generally smaller, offering better privacy and more independence (Soederberg 2019). Decentralised accommodation simply describes access that asylum seekers are given to the standard rental market, granting them the opportunity to rent a flat privately. Not all Federal States have the same regulations on the availability of decentralised accommodation. At any rate, such a law is often considered unrealistic since asylum seekers are often rejected in the rental market for various reasons (Ibid.:69). Soederberg (2019) considers the tough housing challenges for asylum seekers in Berlin and relates this more to the city's overall inadequate housing policy (referred to as Austerity Urbanism) than to the laws governing the housing of asylum seekers. In this regard, the Housing Europe lobby also stated, “We don't have a refugee crisis, we have a housing crisis” (Housing Europe 2016). The issues surrounding a general housing shortage in Germany inhibits opportunities for an ideal form of accommodation, private housing (Soederberg 2019)

Despite the challenges facing asylum seekers in the German accommodation system, the situation is much direr in Italy. AIDA estimated in 2017 that at least 10,000 persons were destitute outside of any reception facility. Furthermore, there were a significant number of unaccompanied children being either admitted into adult facilities without a parent or not being housed in a facility at all. Doctors without Borders also recognized an increasing number of cases of homelessness among Dublin returnees outside of Rome (de Donato and di Rado/ AIDA 2018:14-15).¹² The overall reception system was significantly overhauled in Italy in 2018,

¹⁰ Federal States are allowed to extend this time now to 24 months (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2018).

¹¹ This term is also used at times to criticise large collective accommodation centres which are seen to have lower accommodation standards (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2018:70).

¹² For further concerns over Dublin III returnee accommodation see de Danto and di Rado/ AIDA 2018:49.

establishing a more defined delineation between the reception system for asylum seekers and the beneficiaries of international protection (Bove/ AIDA 2019). Unfortunately, acceptance as a beneficiary of international protection has meant practically for many, that they no longer have access to first and emergency reception centres (CAS). In some cases, other forms of temporary housing were even demolished (Ibid.:144). The 2018 reform did create a new accommodation System for the Protection of Refugees and Unaccompanied Minors (SIPROIMI). This initiative, though addressing the vital concern of accommodation for disabled refugees and unaccompanied minors, does not replace the very concerning accommodation gap which has left many homeless and destitute (Ibid.:145).

Mendola and Busetta (2018) endeavoured to determine the scope and condition of the informal transitional settlements which have grown drastically over the past years in Italy. These settlements can range from being “shanty-towns,” “open air camps,” “tent cities,” to even the squatting of abandoned buildings in major Italian cities (Ibid.:481-482). Of the twenty-seven informal settlements evaluated, the majority had a dominant population of African origin, with five having a dominant Nigerian population (Ibid.:495). Eleven of these settlements lacked running water, fourteen had no electricity, twelve offered no shower facility, six lacked any indoor flushing toilet, four lacked structured shelter, and two settlements (one of which has over 500 inhabitants) even lacked access to drinkable water (Ibid.:496, taken from graph). The implications of these accommodations on the health of the inhabitants are extremely detrimental, and despite the generally young age of the inhabitants, health problems were widespread (Ibid.).

2.5 Healthcare Access, Mental Health and Trauma

Among the many issues explored by the academic community regarding the expanding number of refugees coming to Europe since 2015, access to healthcare continues to be a highly researched theme (O'Donnell et al. 2016; Arie 2015; Gunst et al. 2019; Gionakis and Ntetsika 2019). At the heart of the research are questions related to optimising care for those marginalised. Likewise, equity of access to healthcare within the EU is often considered. Fundamental to the challenge of healthcare access is the definition of access itself. Dixon Woods *et al.* have argued that the typical “utilisation” approach to access, where the receipt of care defines access, has not been helpful and a conceptualisation of access ought to begin with the dynamic of “candidacy” (Dixon-Woods et al. 2006:7). “Candidacy describes the ways in which people's eligibility for medical attention and intervention is jointly negotiated between individuals and health services” (Dixon-Woods et al. 2006:7). This concept of access acknowledges the significant work foundational to the recognition and apprehension of appropriate health services from the right professionals. To this end, many factors often determine the candidacy of individuals.

“[T]he setting and environment in which care takes place, situated activity, the dynamics of face-to-face activity, and aspects of self (gender), the typifications staff use in categorising people and diseases, availability of economic and other resources such as time, local pressures, and policy imperatives.” (Dixon-Woods et al. 2006:7)

The candidacy framework is especially helpful in recognising the vital role played by NGOs as they assist refugees in gaining access to healthcare since such groups can help negotiate the candidacy of their clients (Gunst et al. 2019:821). Among refugees in Greece, the list of hindrances relating to healthcare access included cultural, linguistic and healthcare expectations, navigation of the Greek health system, logistics and referral mechanisms, lack of continuity

among providers, and gaps in specialist provision (Gunst et al. 2019:822). Similar challenges were identified by further studies in other EU countries (Robila 2018).

The barriers hindering refugees generally and SoTs specifically to gain access to healthcare applies above all to the category of mental healthcare. Even though psychological assistance and counselling are part of the basic set of assistance Member States should provide to SoTs, it has often been detrimentally lacking (Gahleitner et al. 2018). Article 11(7) of the EU Directive requires Member States to “attend to victims with special needs, where those needs derive, in particular, from whether they are pregnant, their health, a disability, *a mental or psychological disorder they have, or a serious form of psychological, physical or sexual violence they have suffered*” (Directive 2011/36/EU, emphasis added).

Trafficking experiences are deeply traumatic, and many SoTs demonstrate several symptoms of complex traumatisation (Gahleitner et al. 2018). Likely symptoms of trauma are the repeated reliving of the traumatic events, either through involuntary images and thoughts or as flashbacks, the avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma (numbing), a persistent, exaggerated vigilance (hyper-arousal), the emergence of depression as well as concentration and sleep disorders. Other effects may include social behaviour disorders such as reduced communication, one’s ability to work, total emotional withdrawal, apathy, difficulties in establishing interpersonal relationships, severe psychosomatic illness and anxiety (Gahleitner et al. 2018; Gerschewski and Walsh 2009). SoTs themselves report a range of negative emotions, such as feeling stressed, overwhelmed, angry, irritable, sad and/ or depressed. Fear is a dominant emotion, often connected to being found and returned to their trafficker. Likewise, many SoTs suffer from feelings of shame related to their exploitation (Surtees and Nexus Institute 2008).

Unfortunately, long-term psychological assistance is not readily available to SoTs (Gahleitner et al. 2018; Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 2013). In some cases, SoTs staying in a shelter-based assistance programme have initial access to such care but subsequently, lose that access after they leave the shelter as the services are not extended to those outside the programme (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 2013). Beyond this, there are few psychologists or psychotherapists specialised in the treatment of sexually exploited SoTs. The researchers of the PRIMSA project believe that therapists or counsellors need to have an understanding of human trafficking and the traumatic effects of trafficking in order to prevent re-victimization, help SoTs effectively cope with their past experiences and empower them to be a resource in helping others (Sander 2018). In regards to the migrant background of many SoTs, psychological care needs to include intercultural competence, meaning service providers become familiar and show respect for the cultural and individual beliefs of their clients.

A related challenge to mental healthcare access for SoTs from a migrant background is the traditional concept of “therapy”. SoTs come from various cultures with differing ideas and attitudes toward health and illness. There can be a considerable stigma attached to mental health problems and psychological counselling or therapy, as exemplified in some instances with Nigerian SoTs (Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 2013; Sander 2018). The therapeutic milieu theory elaborates on a concept which helps consider the role psycho-social care relates to mental healthcare in this context (Mahoney et al. 2009). Negatively said, the theory details the concept that an hour of therapy every week can never have the same impact as everything else that happens in the life of the patient (Mahoney et al. 2009). Just as this theory demonstrates the limitations of traditional therapy, it likewise argues for the way recovery from trauma

can be experienced through a positive and supportive environment. Trust and steps towards recovery can take place in daily experiences and personal relationships. This theory is especially helpful to understand that therapy can happen in very low-threshold moments and encounters. Although it takes time for traumatised people to trust again and find restoration, the impact of counselling sessions and social interactions with other people, such as health centre staff, legal advisors or police officers should not be underestimated. Every small moment can count towards recovery. NGO staff and counsellors often do not recognise that their everyday interactions have a substantial impact on this process. They contribute towards the “therapy” of their clients, sometimes even in unexpected ways (Sander 2018).

2.6 Motherhood

The challenges facing SoT mothers are manifold. It has been observed that they not only experience a form of stigmatisation based on their residence status, ethnic origin or former involvement in prostitution but in their role as mothers as well (Anthias 2012). Likewise, the impact that trafficking has had on the children of Nigerian SoTs is evident. Often, children still live in the country of origin, separated from their mothers or they are born in transit or the host country, without the stability of secure accommodation. Furthermore, some of the children are a result of the sexual exploitation experienced during their trafficking situation. Most Nigerian SoTs are single mothers and no longer have the support of a larger family (Maleno Garzón et al. 2018). Despite these widely observed challenges, motherhood has also revealed some opportunities in the process of integration. This section reviews what opportunities and hindrances motherhood presents for the integration of SoTs according to the literature and through the critical tool of intersectionality.¹³ This tool is considered particularly helpful since not all evaluations of the issue as presented in the literature discuss the intersection of motherhood with other discriminatory experiences. This is also the case when the integration of SoT mothers within migration policies are in focus (i.e. lacking mother-child friendly places in refugee accommodations, motherhood being ignored in asylum decisions) (Vervliet et al. 2014).¹⁴

The literature identifies several challenges to the integration of SoTs uniquely resulting from motherhood. There is evidence showing that PTSD and traumatisation from trafficking can harm motherhood, in particular during or after pregnancy (Fisher, Acton, and Rowe 2018). Since obtaining access to adequate healthcare is a general challenge for refugees, the effects this has on motherhood are all the more significant, especially during or shortly after pregnancy.¹⁵ Khan-Zvornicanin (2018) has recently issued a report on the situation of pregnant refugee women in Germany in which it is stressed that in EU refugee studies, a gender-specific focus on sexual and reproductive health and their corresponding rights is lacking. Although there are some studies on migration and health in Germany, hardly any studies have been carried out on the health needs of pregnant refugee women or refugee women who have recently given birth (Ibid.). Within the framework of motherhood, it is also essential to take a look at the aspect of unwanted pregnancy as a hindrance to integration, especially since asylum-seeking women are at higher risk of experiencing unwanted pregnancies. As regards to unwanted pregnancies of Nigerian refugee women living in transit countries such as Morocco, Kastner (2007) finds that often pregnancies are the results of sexualised violence and abortions do not seem to be uncommon during their flight.

A further hindrance identified in the literature relates to education. Language courses are often unfit for mothers to participate in, especially if they are illiterate (Nieuwboer and van't

¹³ See Chapter 2.1 on Intersectionality and Discrimination.

¹⁴ The intersectionality tool is therefore applied to migrant policies in Europe relating to mothers without regard to the subset of whether the migrant was a survivor of trafficking. For the overlap between irregular migration, asylum-seeking and survivors of trafficking see 2.2 Integration.

¹⁵ See Chapter 2.5 on Healthcare Access, Mental Health, and Trauma

Rood 2016). Language geared towards the labour market is also hindered since access to kindergarten and nurseries are limited and financial constraints of SoTs negatively impact the access they have to childcare facilities (Vervliet et al. 2014). Additionally, limited financial means result in SoT mothers feeling that they are 'bad mothers', as they lack financial means of providing for essential goods for their children (Ibid.). Likewise, mothers with migrant backgrounds are seldom identified and incorporated as educational partners in parenting programmes in kindergarten or schools. Intercultural parental work is a newly identified research area, incorporating gender, class and cultural components and their framing for parenthood (Westphal 2014). Further research on intercultural parental work should include the distinct situation of Nigerian SoT mothers since the experience of trafficking adds another element. Maleno Garzón et al. (2018) performed interviews with SoT mothers living in four different European countries, including Germany. Their research found that Nigerian mothers also experienced mistreatment when they did not follow typical, European-style childrearing techniques but were instead self-reliant through the use of alternative childcare models (i.e. the help of other Nigerian mothers). One case study in Spain exposed the common practice of taking the young children of West African women who used irregular migration to enter the country (Ibid.). In this case, the child was considered to be neglected and was held by child protection services unless the woman agreed to participate in an integration course offered to victims of trafficking. The interviewed woman, "Mama Favour" struggled to relate to her debt and the accompanying fear of *juju* as a form of victimisation but rather as an agreed-upon debt which needed to simply be repaid (Ibid.:20). She eventually agreed to the required measures only in order to receive back her child. The damage caused by this action into the mother-daughter relationship, however, endured even after the separation was over:

"Favour [child] is mad at me. She used to say I had abandoned her. And she would tell me I don't speak Spanish, and she doesn't like English." (Ibid.:19, clarification added).

This issue is elaborated further by Rosell et al.:

"[s]tereotypical ideas of women as mothers also play a role [...], hindering the exercise of these women's right to family life and to be mothers. They are often not considered 'fit' to take care of children and, consequently, are deprived of custody of their children. For example, when women do not accept a reflection period (because they don't self-identify as trafficking victims or because they are afraid), children are often placed in childcare facilities or foster families by the authorities. Interpretation of the best interests of the child is often based on the stereotypical perception that a victim of trafficking for sexual exploitation cannot be a good mother, because she is seen as a 'prostitute'" (Rosell et al. 2018:15).

Related to this is the stigma of the '*anchor baby*', a term which conveys the idea that such women only become pregnant in order to remain in a given EU host country by receiving a residence status through the child (Maleno Garzón et al. 2018).

The literature suggests that programmes are being developed which focus on assisting mothers toward integration in order to reduce their social welfare dependency on the state (Westphal 2014). In Germany and Austria, there are a variety of existing projects that specifically target migrant women mothers in order to grant them access to the labour market or into a mother-tailored language course. Examples for such programmes are "*Ressourcen stärken - Zukunft sichern: Erwerbsperspektiven für Mütter mit Migrationshintergrund*"

(BMFSFJ 2013) and the Austrian project *"Mama lernt Deutsch"*¹⁶ (Stadt Wien n.d.). In the project *"Stadtteilmütter"/ "Neighbourhood Mothers"*, migrant mothers are trained as mentors to support other migrant mothers in their integration process and also to help in intercultural parenting matters (Europäische Kommission 2018).

The reviewed literature often overlooks how motherhood can be an opportunity for the integration of Nigerian SoTs. Evidence for such opportunities has become apparent in the children projects of the counselling NGO SOLWODI. The projects funded by the World Childhood Foundation, Globus Foundation, the Lower Saxony Lottery-Sports Foundation, and the Lotto Foundation Rhineland-Palatinate all have pointed to the fact that motherhood empowers SoTs towards integration. These benefits take place primarily through relevant contact with mothers from within the host society, leading to positive feelings and being open towards the future (Angelis and Wells n.d.; Vervliet et al. 2014:3,13). For this reason, this research aims at identifying the opportunities that motherhood offers through an intersectional approach applied to the integration of SoTs. To the intersectional approach applied to SoT mothers, Maleno Gerzón et al. rightly comments,

"[M]otherhood [...] must be enjoyed without discrimination and in conditions of equality, meaning that motherhood must not create disproportionate burdens on women because of their gender, race, ethnicity, immigration status, or any other condition. Therefore, for example, States [sic] must take all necessary measures to ensure that pregnancy and motherhood are not stigmatized or used as a basis to deny access to rights." (Maleno Gerzón et al. 2018:67)

2.7 Spirituality

African Traditional Religion and Trafficking

The abuse of religious belief has been identified as a significant factor within many cases of trafficking among Nigerian and other West African women (Ikeora 2016). This misuse of religion is not surprising as religion itself plays a significant role in nearly all African cultures. Some African scholars even say that there is no African person without an expression of religious belief (Awolalu 1976; Mbiti 1974). Within the African cultural expression, religion relates to every area and way of life. For this reason, culture and religion are often inextricably intertwined. Although Africa is a massive continent with many different cultures, most autochthon religions on the African continent show similarities in their belief system as well as in the religious practices (Awolalu 1976). This similarity of belief and practice is often referred to as African Traditional Religion (ATR).¹⁷ When attempting to define a very diverse and complex subject as "the whole of African religious phenomena," the brief description of ATR beliefs offered here will focus primarily on the cosmology related to how beliefs have been abused for the trafficking of Nigerian women (Oborji 2000; Ikeora 2016). Even though Africans generally believe in one benevolent God who is the creator of humanity and the universe, most traditions give equal if not more weight to the role of various intermediaries such as deities, ancestors, as well as rituals, medicines, and other spirit beings. The deities are seen as expressions of the high God's grace and each of these "force-beings" derives their life and power from God, especially to enforce justice and morality (Moscicke 2017; Idumwonyi and Ikhidero 2013, Akhilomen 2006).

The research done by IFRA Nigeria has helped examine the role that ATR beliefs related to deities play in the trafficking of women from Edo State (Diagboya 2019; Olufade 2019). Diagboya elaborates on the modus operandi of such beliefs and practices. An indispensable element to

¹⁶ Literally translated from German: "Mummy learns German".

¹⁷ Many have thus argued that African Traditional Religion is something more akin to a worldview than a particular religion (Eriksen 2007; Idumwonyi and Ikhidero 2013).

this ploy is the function of “oath taking temples” (Diagboya 2019:2). These locations function as both a place to worship the deity but also as a courtroom for traditional justice (Idumwonyi and Ikhidero 2013), meaning, the deity is consulted and invoked as a judge to “settle disputes” (Ikeora 2016:11). Though there are many different uses of ritual oaths, including appealing to deities to judge on criminal cases, one of its uses is in assuring that the debt being incurred is to be repaid on the threat of the deity's wrath. It is the ubiquitous nature of this process within “normal business deals” which makes the involvement of oath taking in trafficking such a powerful element to the web of exploitation (Diagboya 2019:15). Nigerian women who eventually find themselves in forced prostitution within the EU often begin their journey by entering into an emigration pact with a sponsor,¹⁸ to whom they have also obliged themselves to pay back in the form of a ritual oath before a deity. These practices are deeply embedded within the beliefs belonging to the ATR worldview.

Juju and the Utilisation of Fear

At the heart of the efficacy of the ritual-oath is both the spiritual power, often referred to as *juju*,¹⁹ and the fear related to its use (Idumwonyi and Ikhidero 2013; Ikeora 2016). *Juju* has often been challenging to define since it relates to diverse concepts and practices. Olufade, considering the empirical data, defines *juju* as “the utilisation of supernatural forces to impress on the natural” (Olufade 2019:5). Although the Will behind *juju* is the unseen spiritual being (deity or deified ancestor), the utilisation of this power is a malleable force in the hands of the priest. For this reason, *juju* can also refer to a physical object related to a ritual or even a hypostasized blessing or curse, sent to perform what was spoken (Olufade 2019). The relationship between the performed ritual oath and the effect of *juju* is undeniable, likewise between the power of *juju* and fear.

“They collected hair from my vagina in the shrine; they also asked me to cut my finger nails and submit to them; they told me that if I refused to obey the vow I was about to take, the items they had collected from me would help to prepare ‘juju’ that might either kill me or any member of my family whom I loved so much.” (Olufade 2019:6)

The above testimony demonstrates how traffickers have used both deep-seated beliefs, invasive tactics, and the raw fear of a supernatural Will to control the victim and ensure their compliance (Ikeora 2016). These women were willing to take the oath and travel to Europe because they could not foresee the consequences of their actions. The promise that the oath would be satisfied after paying the debt is initially an acceptable cost to escape their lack of prospects in their home country. After arrival in Europe, encounters with the *madam* and the experiences in prostitution, it eventually becomes clear that she will not be able to pay off the high debt as quickly and easily as hoped. Paralysing fear then becomes her experience when she refuses to engage in prostitution and thus breaks the *juju*-enforced oath (Dols García 2013; Olufade 2019).

Even if a woman succeeds in freeing herself from the *madam* or the traffickers, or if the police or other helpers can free her, she often remains psychologically bound by fear. This fear does not just go away on its own but remains, or even increases since being freed means a violation of her oath. This fear has such an impact that she may even mistrust the help system completely or quickly renounce her original statement (Lademann-Priemer 2009). This mistrust is further compounded by the fact that the police or other helpers rarely understanding and, therefore, do not sympathise with a genuine fear of *juju*. A common accusation made is that such fear is simply a ‘bogus’ claim to gain asylum (Ikeora 2016; Dols García 2013). Much of this two-sided

¹⁸ Commonly referred to as a *madam*.

¹⁹ The term *juju* is often interchangeable with ‘voodoo’, ‘woodoo’, ‘vodo’, ‘vudun’, and ‘vudu’ based on the similarities of the empirical data found in diverse literature (van der Watt and Kruger 2017).

mistrust is rooted in a significant gap which exists between a rational/ secular worldview prevailing in Europe and that of an African 'spiritual' worldview (Eriksen 2007). Critical scholarship has observed that since a 'spiritual' worldview attributes the causation of every negative experience to an adversarial spiritual power or a human spiritual manipulator,²⁰ fear of the spiritual 'other' is a common issue (Luehrmann 2013; Ikeora 2016; Agazue 2016; Bachmann 2017). Widespread fears of spiritual violence causing sickness, mental illness, and premature death do not, therefore, belong exclusively to the above-detailed *juju* power but likewise to a lived-in worldview, unquestioned through a shared experience and its interpretive paradigm (Ejizu 1991).

2.8 Community

The entire African way of life is deeply communal, and community is at the heart of even one's self-understanding. Ross claims that this relational sense of self stands in contrast from the autonomous and self-reliant individuality of the West, replacing the Cartesian credo with one of "we are, therefore I am" (Ross 2013).²¹ In other words, personhood is not defined by inherent qualities, rights, and capacities but rather in terms of status earned through fulfilling obligations, responsibilities and norms which give social importance (Michael 2013). Pato elaborates this point by saying,

"The underlying thinking here is that an individual is never born whole and fully human. The family, the clan, the community or the nation to which one belongs enables the individual to become a mature human person. A person is socialised and occasionally re-socialised and, in the process, given an identity, a place of belonging, human dignity and personhood." (Pato 1998:56).

Maturity in age is often related to the attainment of personhood. Likewise, one's role within the family and the capacity to take on further responsibility in the form of marriage and childbearing is a sign of attaining personhood. For this reason, the primary context of where personhood is attained is the family. Additionally, personal success in life, often defined by material prosperity, is eagerly sought after, not only for one's benefit and enjoyment but for the status it brings to one within the community and the benefits to the community. Theron and Theron (2013) produced a detailed research report, demonstrating how an Africentric 'family community' value system contributed significantly towards the resilience of poor youth in South Africa. This value system, which is founded on incredible solidarity, provided young people with both a sense of belonging and expectations and motivation for success. It is also important to note that the 'family community' extends beyond not only immediate blood relatives but also living relatives and includes those who are deceased. The entire community, both living and deceased, is responsible for providing support and for enforcing their expectations for the attainment of personhood (Mkhizi 2006; Menkiti 1984).

Despite the positive elements of the 'family community' approach and how it motivates and inspires members toward success, there are also noted concerns. Michael (2013) presents concrete examples of how this value system can have adverse effects. Since personhood and an honoured identity is interwoven with performance, a barren woman is thus further burdened, not only with the incapacity to bear children but also with a non-person status in the community; "she is not a woman" (Michael 2013:115). Another example is the pressure youth feel to get married simply based on the "respect, prestige, and personhood ascribed to the married individual"

²⁰ Often referred to as a witch or sorcerer.

²¹ Ross applies Mbiti's famous phrase, "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am" (Mbiti 1970:141) to the Western emphasis on individuality and thought.

(Michael 2013:116). Furthermore, there are examples that the pursuit of greatness could subsume time-honoured ethical standards in order to attain personhood. In one instance related to how married Nigerian women who made money from prostitution in Europe were handled, what would otherwise be considered *taboo*²² was declared to be allowed since it was justified as an action towards success (Osezua 2013). Such examples demonstrate the adjustable ethics around the pursuit of status and how this could potentially lead to corruption and furthermore, how such striving can be detrimental for the one pursuing personhood (Michael 2013).

The final consideration of community is given to dynamics surrounding African diaspora²³ communities within Europe, especially Christian communities. The significant trend of African Christian migrants establishing such communities within Europe continues to be noted (Gerloff 1992; Ter Haar 1998; Akyeampong 2000; Adogame 2013). Eriksen's monograph (2007) considers essential issues raised by examining the interaction of Christian African diasporic communities within European culture. As stated above, the African conceptualisation of community and personhood is significantly different from that of the West. Likewise, Chapter 2.7 Spirituality details other places of departure between the African spiritual worldview compared to the rational and secular view espoused by the majority of western Europeans. Eriksen relies on the concept of the "social imaginary" which, as borrowed from philosopher Charles Taylor is described as "the ways in which people imagine their social existence" (Taylor 2004 cited in Eriksen 2007:106). African Christian communities emerge in Europe as locations where a familiar social imaginary invite those into a community who would otherwise be living in isolation. This also applies to Nigerian SoTs, as such communities are potential locations for culturally relevant expressions of assistance (Dols García 2013).

²² A term used to describe an unacceptable practice in the eyes of the community which will be punished. The expectation of punishment is expected to come from the deified ancestors (Oborji 2000).

²³ Diaspora is a term used to describe the lived communities of a people group outside of their historical territory (Palmer 2000).

» 3. DATA GATHERING

This research used the United Nations' guidelines as an ethical basis for interviewing women victims of human trafficking. According to these guidelines, the interviews were carried out under the *“do no harm” principle*, and the safety of the interviewees was prioritised. (United Nations 2008)

The focus of the research was placed on qualitative interviews with SoTs and experts as well as two focus groups. More interviews were conducted with SoTs than with experts and both focus groups only comprised SoTs. These were deliberately given more weight in order to gain first-hand insights into their perspectives, personal situations and emotions (Boyce and Neale 2006) and in order to gain in-depth information on the issue of integration (McNamara 1999). Even though the expert interviews take second place, they still play a vital role. The expert interviews provide an insight into the specialist knowledge of practitioners working with SoTs (Döring and Bortz 2016). In addition to the interviews and focus groups, two field visits were conducted in order to gain a more in-depth picture of the SoTs' living environment.

3.1 SoT and expert interviews

Personal interviews were held with SoTs and experts. The semi-structured, problem-centred interviews were based on an interview guide with a list of open questions around different aspects of integration (Boyce and Neale 2006). Using the same guide for each interview ensured the comparability of the interviews with one another. However, the interview guide could be adjusted to fit the interview situation (Meuser and Nagel 1991). Adjustments could be made concerning wording, the order of questions, the addition of further questions and the omission of questions because they did not seem sensitive or appropriate to the situation (Boyce and Neale 2006). The interview guide for both types of interviews (SoTs and experts) was divided into nine different topics. These topics were developed out of the literature review and then further refined through the field visits and the focus group discussions. The SoT and expert interview guide covered seven topics, which were: 1. accommodation, 2. education/ language/ access to the labour market, 3. medical support, 4. gender-based violence, 5. motherhood and pregnancy, 6. (spiritual) community, 7. integration. Beyond these topics, the interview guide for SoTs and experts differed from one another in terms of the question's wording and that each group received two additional questions that were only suitable for the given interviewed group. With regards to the SoTs, the additional questions covered the topics 8. residency and 9. further issues, while the two additional questions for the experts included 8. professional background and 9. public partners. For each of the nine topics, different leading questions were given.

The interviews were conducted between May and October 2019 in different locations in Germany, Austria, and Italy. The primary language in the interviews was English; however, some interviews were conducted in German and Italian. The audio recordings of all personal interviews were transcribed afterwards with the help of the MAXQDA software (Version 2018.2). The German and Italian interviews were translated into English by the researchers conducting and transcribing the interviews. In addition, all transcripts were anonymised and masked. The researchers agreed on transcribing and masking rules beforehand.

Before the interviews, SoTs and experts were given an information sheet on the research. The researchers read it aloud to the SoTs since some of them were illiterate. All SoTs and experts signed a data-protection and consent form in order to ensure the knowledge and consent of the interviewees (United Nations 2008).

3.1.1 Access to SoTs

In the search for interviewees for the SoT interviews, all German NGOs from the network organisations *Gemeinsam gegen Menschenhandel e.V.* and *KOK Bundesweiter Koordinierungskreis gegen Menschenhandel e.V.* were contacted via E-Mail. This acquisition resulted in several interviews. Moreover, clients of all organisations involved in this research as well as clients from their partner organisations were contacted. In total, 35 SoT interviews were conducted with an average interview length of 40 minutes. The interviews took place in the offices of the participating organisations in Germany, Austria and Italy as well as in the offices of other counselling NGOs and private homes of the SoTs. All 35 SoTs were female Nigerians who were identified as victims of human trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation by an NGO and/ or social worker specialised in counselling this target group. 20 SoTs were legally resident in Germany, 10 in Italy and 5 in Austria.

3.1.2 Access to experts

The term expert is a relational status and depends on the research interest (Meuser and Nagel 1991). As the status of an expert for this project is linked to the research question, we defined an expert as professionals working with SoTs during their integrational process and researchers studying Nigerian SoTs. Interviews were conducted with eight social workers, two midwives, two psychologists, two pastors of African churches in Europe, one pediatric nurse, one doctor, one former policeman and one volunteer. In the search for experts, the organisations involved in this project contacted their local partners and associations. Along with this, networks to other experts were found through participating in international conferences on human trafficking. In total, 18 experts were interviewed with an average interview length of 45 minutes. 12 expert interviews were conducted in Germany, 5 in Italy and one in Austria.

3.2 Focus Group Discussions

The interview phase was initiated with two focus group discussions. One focus group with 5 SoTs participating was conducted in Karlsruhe, Germany and another with four SoTs participating in Modena, Italy.

Focus group discussions aim to gain data and insights in a moderated group setting that are based on the perception, attitudes, feelings, reflections and prior knowledge of the group of respondents on a specific topic (Cox, Higginbotham, and Burton 2006; Helfferich 2009; Kurz et al. 2009). In focus groups, those who are jointly involved in a specific complex of topics are to be interviewed. Both focus groups showed a certain homogeneity (Birn 2000) and heterogeneity (Aaker et al. 2012). All participant were SoTs. They differed in terms of residency status, housing situation, access to integration measures and country of residence. Some of them were mothers, some were pregnant and some neither. The differences allowed them to look at the topic of integration from different perspectives per the intersectional approach that this research applies.

In the run-up to the focus group discussion, a questionnaire on the topics of accommodation, education, access to the labour market, residence status, gender-based violence, medical care, maternity and pregnancy as well as spiritual communities was drafted based on the literature review and the experiences of the participating organisations. The focus group moderators were trained by an external consultant from the University Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. The essential stimulus was provided by a selection of pictures showing African women in different life situations in Europe. The participants were asked to choose an image that most appealed to them and then explain to the group how the selection was made. In this first round of talks, essential aspects of the integration of Nigerian SoTs in Europe could already be addressed. In the ensuing discussion, the given topics were deepened and if not yet named, were then brought into the discussion. The participants were encouraged to write their own speeches or to refer to the speeches of the other persons.

The results of the focus group discussions mainly served to finalise the guidelines for the future interviews of SoTs and experts. These results were also used as data for the content analysis in the same way as the SoT and expert interview data.

3.3 Field Visits

Two field visits were carried out. One in a reception centre in Karlsruhe, Germany and the other one on a select street in Modena, Italy where prostitution takes place. These two sites were chosen based on the experiences of the five participating organisations since most Nigerian women work in street prostitution in either Italy, France or Spain and then flee to destination countries further north, for example, Germany. Most of those who have fled will then apply for asylum in the destination countries and first, stay in a reception centre like the one visited in Karlsruhe.

The purpose of the two field visits was to gain a more in-depth insight into the context of trafficking experienced by the SoTs, in order to prepare the interview guidelines for SoTs and experts that are based on the field visits, literature research and the two focus group discussions. The research team already began with a lot of field experience as three of the researchers themselves have worked with SoTs on a social work basis before starting the research project. However, seeing the diverse context of the exploitation and life situation of the SoTs depending on the host country helped to widen the overall perspective of the research team. The field visits were especially helpful for the researchers who did not have prior experience in social work.

» 4. DATA ANALYSIS

This Chapter describes the method of data analysis and presents the results. In Chapter 5, the data will be discussed against the research question, and the background of the state of research revealed in the literature.

4.1 Data analysis methods

In this research, the qualitative content analysis was done according to Mayring, and a simple quantification of the qualitative data was performed.

4.1.1 Qualitative Content Analysis according to Mayring

The interview data²⁴ was analysed using Mayring's qualitative content analysis.

Mayring's qualitative content analysis aims to work out systematic categories within qualitative data and to quantify them where possible and necessary. In research practice, this analysis is, therefore, often combined with elements of quantitative data analysis. (Döring and Bortz 2016) Mayring talks about "three fundamental forms of interpreting: summary, explication, and structuring"(Mayring 2014:63). The data is reduced by summarising (summary), ambiguous text passages are considered in context to understand them better (explication), and the material is finally structured according to predefined order criteria (structuring).

A codebook serves as predefined order criteria in this research. The first draft of the codebook was based on the interview guidelines²⁵ for SoTs and experts. All codes of the first draft are thus deductive codes. During the evaluation of the first six interviews, the codebook developed steadily and was continuously optimised within the research group. The researchers added both subcodes and inductive codes derived from the data. The resulting final codebook was then applied to all interviews (35 SoT interviews, 18 expert interview and two focus groups). The codebook and a description of each code are attached to the report (appendix 1 and 2).

The researchers used the MAXQDA software for transcribing as well as analysing. Code summaries of the principal codes, including their subcodes, are used to present the results²⁶.

4.1.2 Quantification of qualitative interview data

In addition to the qualitative analysis, there is a quantitative analysis element, so that one could describe this study as having a mixed research design.

The researchers agreed to encode text passages with all matching codes. Subcodes should always be preferred over principal codes in order to get a more accurate picture of the results. Most text passages were encoded with several codes (co-occurrences of codes). Each researcher decided at their discretion whether or not to encode a particular text passage with a particular code. The codes were used not only when the SoTs, experts or focus groups said something about it directly, but also when the researcher had the impression that the passage could be relevant to another code. For example, a SoT spoke about motherhood, and that motherhood prevents her from attending a language class. In this case, the researcher used the codes

²⁴ For further details about the data, see Chapter 3.1; Chapter 3.2.

²⁵ For Further information on the guidelines, see Chapter 3.1.

²⁶ See Chapter 4.3.

motherhood, language class and integration/ hindrance.

If the number of overlaps of specific codes is displayed, conclusions can be drawn about the relationship between these codes. The researchers used MAXQDA's Code-Relations-Browser (CRB) in order to display co-occurrences of codes. All codes are considered including and excluding subcodes, as well as the subcodes themselves. An exception is made for the subcodes, which involve further subcodes. These are only considered in a split form, which means excluding subcodes. All numbers are absolute numbers. The full tables are attached to the report (appendix 3-18).

4.2 Limitations

Some limitations of the approach in this research were identified.

First of all, it must be taken into account that the researchers are of Italian, Austrian and German origin. At the same time, the SoTs interviewed are of Nigerian origin, and, therefore, cultural and linguistic misunderstandings cannot be avoided entirely. All but one of the researchers have either been doing social work with Nigerian SoTs or research on this target group for several years and thus already have a precise experience-based cultural understanding.

Furthermore, some of the SoT interviews were conducted in Italian and some expert interviews in Italian and German. The researchers themselves translate the material into English. None of the researchers are trained translators, and consequently, translation errors cannot be circumvented entirely.

The researchers agreed orally at a meeting on some simple coding rules²⁷. In addition, after the development of the final codebook, one researcher coded an example interview and made it available to the other researchers as an orientation. Nevertheless, due to the size and spatial separation of the researchers, differences in the coding occurred. Perfect consistency is, hence, not fully guaranteed due to the international nature of the team (researchers based in Italy, Austria and Germany).

Last, the interviews were conducted without having a socio-demographic questionnaire filled out by SoTs or experts at the beginning. Therefore, the sample²⁸ cannot be presented in great detail.

4.3 Results

The following code summaries will present the central results of the data analysis: *residency issues, accommodation, education, access to the labour market, healthcare system, motherhood, spirituality, community, discrimination, dreams and visions, actors, Person of Trust, anxiety/ fear and integration.*

In each code summary, the codes with their corresponding subcodes will be listed shortly, and an overview of the quantified data is given: The Code-Relations-Browser (in the following CRB) shows co-occurrences of different codes and subcodes. With this analysis tool, it is possible to quantify overlaps between codes and quantify qualitative data. This quantification shows tendencies within one code and can support the qualitative analysis. At the beginning of each

²⁷ For further details on the coding rules, see Chapter 4.1.2.

²⁸ For further information on the sample, see Chapter 3.1.

code summary, an overview of co-occurrences of relevant codes is given. Detailed information and more precise links can be found in the relevant tables in the appendix. The qualitative data is analyzed afterwards, and central findings are highlighted at the end of each code summary.²⁹

4.3.1 Residency issues

Residency issues is a deductive code. The SoTs were asked where they are in their asylum process, who was or is still helping them, how they feel about it, and how it affects their daily life. The experts were not directly interviewed on residency issues but were asked what the biggest stumbling blocks on the path to integration are. Most experts also talk about residency issues at other points during the interview.

The following deductive subcodes resulted from these questions: *awaiting a decision, legal proceeding, waiting for deportation, residence permit, residence permit during criminal proceedings, international protection* and *differences between EU Member States*. The different types of residence permits: *residence permit during criminal proceedings* and *international protection* were differentiated due to a legal difference³⁰. However, SoTs and experts did not refer in detail to specific residence permits so that in the following are considered together as *residence permit*.

The CRB shows high co-occurrences of the codes *residency issues* and *integration/ opportunities* but even higher ones for *residency issues* and *integration/ hindrances*. Also, the code *anxiety/ fear* shows a high amount of overlaps with *residency issues*. These results indicate, that dependent on the outcome of, e.g. the asylum process, residency issues can be positive and an opportunity for integration or a hindrance for integration with an increased level of anxiety.³¹

Effect of Residency Issues on well-being

10 SoTs express their negative feelings when speaking about their current situation of waiting for a residence permit or when remembering the time before they received their residence permit. They express feeling sad, scared, stressed, tired, annoyed or depressed. One SoTs says:

"I was thinking at night. I would go to bed with tears soaked on my pillow." (S25). Another remembers that getting her permit was *"the end of [her] biggest challenge"* (S17).

Three SoTs stress that one big challenge during the asylum process is that it takes very long. One SoT points out how it challenges her to tell her story over and over again during the process. 7 SoTs mention that they pray for their residency issues: *"Everybody is praying for documents here."* (S18).

Several SoTs talk about certain advantages they have had since they received their residence permit or what they hoped to have once they have received it: to move freely in Europe (2 SoTs), to feel free (2 SoTs), to be able to work (5 SoTs), to feel integrated (3 SoTs) and to feel safe (1 SoT):

"You know when you have document in country you feel home. But when you don't have document you are still like a stranger. [...] because when you have document I'm feel like relaxing. I can work. I can move." (S18)

²⁹ For ease of reading, only numbers up to three, outside brackets, are written out in this chapter.

³⁰ See Chapter 2.3; see appendix 2.

³¹ For further information, see the full table in appendix 3.

One SoT also expresses her awareness that her residence permit needs to be extended at some point: „*If they give you document, and you did not work, they can call it back.*” (focus group 1).

Help

When talking about help during the asylum process, SoTs usually mention lawyers and social workers. 11 SoTs have a lawyer to help them, whereas two SoTs say that they do not work with a lawyer. During one focus group, SoTs mention that lawyers are costly. The role of NGOs is stressed in the context of the asylum process as 23 SoTs received or still receive help from NGO social workers: 17 SoTs by a social worker from a counselling NGO and 5 SoTs from an asylum counselling NGO social worker. Three SoTs also speak about the help of a social worker but do not specify him/ her in more detail. One SoT says that she has no one to help her. The cooperation with the lawyers is evaluated as positive and helpful by 10 SoTs and one focus group, except for the high lawyer's fees, about which one focus group complained. Likewise, cooperation with social workers is perceived as helpful by 23 SoTs.

Expert's opinion

5 Experts agree that a permit is required for integration. One expert evaluates that without a residence permit, SoTs cannot concentrate on the language course, integration course or vocational training. Two experts say that it gives SoTs a feeling of insecurity and uncertainty, which contributes to the trauma or symptoms of a post-traumatic stress disorder. Some also say that SoTs without a residence permit do not have access to important assistance, for example, therapy or certain integration offers: “[...] *they are just sitting around, being in their own memories, thinking about everything more and more over and not having the chance to really learn something else or do something else.*” (E8). One expert also stresses that a significant challenge for SoTs is to get their children, who are still in their home country, to come to Europe legally. Another stresses that deportation within Europe is very problematic because many SoTs are sent back to the European country where they first applied for asylum and ended up in the same city where they were exploited (Dublin Regulation).

Summary

In summary, not having a residence permit triggers negative feelings and sometimes even symptoms of a post-traumatic stress disorder in SoTs. Having a residence permit, however, enables integration for SoTs and grants access to health services and especially to the labour market. For SoTs, it seems to be very important to have a social worker who accompanies them throughout the process and inspires confidence.

4.3.2 Accommodation

Accommodation is a deductive code. SoTs were asked about their current living situation, how they got there, and how they lived before. SoTs were asked to describe the positive and negative aspects of their accommodation. In case only negative impressions were mentioned, SoTs were asked how they would like to be accommodated. Experts were asked to assess SoT's accommodation and which kind of accommodation they would suggest for SoTs.

The following further deductive subcodes resulted from these questions: *camp, reception centre, collective accommodation centre, safe house, family home, flat* and *other types of housing*. The subcode *camp* was again subdivided in *reception centre* and *collective accommodation centre*. Based on the fact that SoTs often referred to the reception centre and the collective

accommodation centres as “*camp*” and did not specify this term, these subcodes are considered together.

The CRB shows a high amount of overlap between the codes *accommodation* and *integration/hindrances*. Especially the subcodes *reception centre* and *camp* seem to influence this to a high degree. Also, due to the co-occurrence of codes, there is a high connection between *safe housing* and *counselling NGOs*.³²

Camp, reception centre and collective accommodation centre

Among interviewees camps are described as very bad and terrible by 5 SoTs, two experts and one focus group:

“Those big camps are devastating. There is, on the one hand, the lack of any personal privacy, which especially the victims of human trafficking or forced prostitution would probably need, in that situation. To be able to retreat sometime.” (E13)

Interviewees express feeling scared in the camp (1 SoT, 1 expert, 1 focus group) and two SoTs, 4 experts and one focus group describe the camp as not being safe. For two SoTs and 4 experts, the camps even portrays a danger to SoTs. One SoT describes her *madam* calling and 4 experts speak about the risks of SoTs of being re-trafficked in the camp:

“One problem is how you separate the perpetrators from the victims because for example in city A most of them are Nigerian and the government is putting all the Nigerians together and the result is that the perpetrators are now living together with their victims. But I don't know how to separate them, because sometimes we are not even sure if we don't have a *madam* in our office. So, that is an ongoing problem. So, sometimes they are perpetrators and victims at the same time. You need to protect them, but also separate them from other victims. But I don't know how this can be done.” (E9)

In the opinion of two SoTs and two experts, it is difficult to live in the camps, and both experts especially highlight the role of men in camps as a critical problem. Three SoTs, two experts and one focus group even speak about SoTs being harassed by men in the camps:

“In the reception centre are men: the way they look and the way they talk to me I don't like it because I will feel like embarrassing because they will say ‘ah you're a single girl'. They will like to be talking to me like what I don't like.” (S11)

One SoT describes a situation of sexual harassment, including violence towards her. Because of these reasons, one expert recommends employing only female security responsible for SoTs. One expert describes a positive example of a camp and their awareness towards the safety of women travelling alone, or in specific SoTs:

“So, in town A there is an extra container within the accommodation [...] a container only for women travelling alone. They share it, it's women from Ethiopia and Nigeria, [...] there is a security guard day and night. He is really sitting at the table right there. [...] the showers are locked, the toilets as well. You need a chip to get in. That is a good step.” (E14)

³² For further information, see the full table in appendix 4.

Other reasons why SoTs and experts perceive the camp as negative is the lack of cleanliness (2 SoTs, 2 experts), discrimination towards African women (2 SoTs) and difficulties for Nigerian SoTs with the food in the camp (3 SoTs, 1 expert, 1 focus group): *"Because I don't eat all these white people food."* (S8).

Being accommodated in a camp or reception centre can be especially precarious for pregnant SoTs and SoT mothers (1 SoT, 3 experts). Two demand more midwives to support SoTs in the camp. One pregnant SoT complains about not having access to the kitchen during the night to eat. One expert also refers to that topic and criticises the rationed food for pregnant women:

"I have fought for four years, that they get a little more food, what they are legally entitled to, by law, the need is higher with a pregnant woman and with a breastfeeding woman." (E6)

For two experts the camps are too decentralised for SoTs to get in contact with host country nationals and suggested more contact for better integration.

Two SoTs describe their experience in the camp as positive, and two SoTs and one focus group mention that they met their social worker in the camp, which is perceived as positive.

Safe House

Safe housing for SoTs is viewed as positive by 7 SoTs, two experts and two focus groups. Especially the fact that there are only women accommodated is seen as something good by 4 SoTs and one expert: *"The house is just women. You can do anything. You can wear shorts or something, you'll not be afraid there is a man who come and meet you."* (S11).

For five experts, safe houses are the best way to accommodate SoTs because it ensures their anonymity (3 experts) and separates them from potential perpetrators (1 expert): *"Also, maybe they should also be in anonymous houses, where nobody can find out the address."* (E9).

SoTs describe the positive effect of being accommodated in a safe house as feeling safe (1 SoT), comfortable (1 focus group) and having a place to calm down (2 SoTs). This positive effect on SoT's emotional stability and their integration is underlined by one SoT, who explain that since living in the safe house, she is free from nightmares. Additionally, three SoTs stress being happy about cooking their own food in the safe house.

The role of counselling NGOs, as mentioned through the results of the CRB is named by one focus group talking about their pleasant social workers in the safe house. Also, two SoTs describe the counselling NGO fighting for their transfer from the camp to the safe house.

One SoT talks negatively about having less freedom in the safe house in terms of her use of a smartphone.

Family home

In total, 7 SoTs and one focus group live or have lived in a family home. All of them speak positively about their time there. Two SoTs and one focus group even express their affection for their second families. One SoT speaks about having lived in a family home which helped her to calm down and prepared her to live alone.

One expert recommends a family home for SoTs as it offers more freedom than a safe house does. Another expert points out the lack of family homes and the high demand for more families.

Flat

In total, 6 SoTs talk about living in their own flat with their children. All of them assess being happy there, even though they also describe the bad conditions of their flats and hope to find a better place soon. Two experts and one focus group states that SoTs would feel most safe in their own flat.

However, three SoTs and three experts say that it is challenging for Nigerian SoTs to get a flat. Three SoTs and two experts even see help from others as necessary to find a flat and stress the dependency of SoTs in this area:

“Die *Kaution [deposit]* yes. I don't have the money. So, I was working in the churches and getting a payment to live, but this was not enough together to pay my *Kaution*. So, the husband of person A helped. He lent me 1000€ to pay down the deposit.” (S17)

Two SoTs and one expert see racism as a major reason for not getting accepted to rent a flat:

“With a client, I went to look for a flat with her son. She is a single parent. A single mother with a son from Nigeria, who already speaks quite good German, but of course doesn't understand everything. A black woman, has no chance to find an apartment or very little chance. Many landlords just reject this, and I believe that racism and discrimination simply take place and I believe that this is also a problem for Nigerian SoTs in particular.” (E2)

One SoT sees motherhood as her biggest challenge during her search for a flat:

“I started getting frustrated. [...] Maybe they want me to throw away my son, or my child because when they hear you have a child they said 'nein'. To me it's not normal, and some of them will say 'ok with the child there's no problem' but when it comes to like job center paying the money they said 'no', they don't want the job center.” (S3)

All 6 SoTs living in flats mention that they got their flat through help, as from NGOs (3 SoTs) and friends (2 SoTs). Also, 2 SoT's flats are paid by the government or by an NGO. One SoT even says that she had to move out because she could not afford the rent.

4 SoTs express their wishes to move with their children to their own place at some point.

Other types of housing

Three other types of housing that are described by interviewees is living in a mother-child-home (2 SoTs) with assigned social workers; in a monastery under church asylum (2 SoTs) and in an ambulant rehabilitation for people with mental disorders (1 SoT). Both SoTs, living in a mother-child-home, express their positive impression on the social workers taking care of them. In line with that, one expert proposes accommodations for SoTs to focus on having a 24/7 social worker around rather than security.

Further 6 experts express the necessity for special accommodations for SoTs. Three experts especially emphasize the increased need for safety for SoTs:

"I think it needs special shelters, where the protection is higher [...]. Perhaps even more developed than those that already exist in the other shelters. Smaller accommodations where there is less danger that you meet anyone from the human trafficking network or something like that. So, I would say it definitely needs something gender-specific maybe only for women for example." (E20)

Following this quote, 4 experts recommend shared flats for SoTs. Three experts suggest providing intensive care by social workers for SoTs living in these shared flats and one expert focuses on the community of SoTs and the support they can be for each other.

Summary

The way SoTs are accommodated has a significant impact on their recovery process and, relatedly, their integrational process. Especially living in a reception centre or a collective accommodation centre seems to represent a greater danger than help for the women. According to experts and SoTs, smaller and more protective accommodations such as safe houses, family homes or own apartments seem to be beneficial for SoTs and an opportunity for their integration.

4.3.3 Education

Education is a deductive code. The SoTs answered questions on whether they attend a language integration course or other educational measures. At the same time, experts were asked about the impacts of the educational backgrounds of SoTs on integration, particular challenges regarding their language acquisition, and how these challenges can be addressed.

The following deductive subcodes are based on the interview questionnaire: *integration courses*, *language*, *language courses*, *language problems/ illiteracy* and *other language measures*.

The CRB shows a high number of co-occurrences, where the codes illiteracy and integration/ hindrances overlap with one another. Based on this, illiteracy seems to hinder SoTs' integration to a great extent. Moreover, a high overlap also exists between the codes *language course* and both *integration/ hindrances* and *integration/ opportunities*. Likewise, high overlaps were found with the code language, reflecting the fundamental relationship between language and integration.³³

Integration course

A best practice example is mentioned by two experts describing preparatory integration programmes for women, having a positive impact on integration:

"We offer a preparatory integration programme for women. It's six months schooling programme with different focuses. It's about language acquisition, to learn the German language [...] but there is also a culture lesson for example. There we talk about how to deal with one's own culture [...] and how to get closer to the foreign culture so that it becomes less and less foreign." (E2)

Two SoTs talk about the positive impact of integration courses on their integration and one SoT positively notes that the integration courses helped to boost her self-confidence.

³³ For further information, see the full table in appendix 5.

Language and Language course

Language offers a key stepping stone for integration, as it not only opens the doors to the labour market, but to participate in society in general (13 SoT, 2 experts):

“Before I don’t know that a pharmacy is called Apotheke [...]. Now I know, and now I can express myself in German. [...] I feel so happy because I can speak it now. [...] I feel so happy being integrated because before I felt like, how do I speak this language, how do I read?” (S13).

Further, it enables the SoTs to communicate with the host society, authorities, and doctors (3 SoTs, 1 focus group). In particular, language courses are especially helpful for SoTs in their integration if they are accompanied by other offerings, such as financial assistance (2 SoTs, 2 experts) and government assisted childcare (2 SoTs, 3 experts):

“So, the integration measures I like [...] was sending them to a German school, where you have to pay a fee and they have like a kindergarten at the same time. And this is very unique. So, this is very good. Because it is always the problem: where do I put my child?” (E9)

Several SoTs find it helpful to have a mixture of German and English (e.g. being accompanied by an NGO to doctor appointments), where medical issues are discussed in both languages if doctors or medical personnel were unable to speak English (10 SoTs).

One of the biggest issues to integration in terms of attending language courses is illiteracy, described in the relevant subcode below. Another barrier to integration is lacking a residence permit in order to be able to attend a language course in the given host country (5 SoTs, 5 experts). In these cases, SoTs are demotivated to learn the host country language in the first place (1 expert). Further, experts and SoTs criticise that attending language courses are not financially covered (3 SoTs, 2 experts). In the case of mothers or pregnant women, they are also double-burdened in that their attendance of language class is restricted since childcare is lacking (5 SoTs, 6 experts, 1 focus group).

One SoT mentions that she could not continue her language course because of falling sick. Such situations impact their integration and their children’s upbringing, as SoTs remain unable to communicate with doctors and authorities in German on issues regarding them or their children (e.g. applying for child welfare benefits, registering for kindergarten) (13 SoTs, 1 expert, 1 focus group):

“[...] when they asked me in German and I answer in English, many people see this like discrimination. But now I found out that it’s the language barrier. It’s the communication between two people. You don’t understand me, and I don’t understand you and how can we communicate? When you speak German, you can express yourself. Nobody will mess up with you.” (S13)

Two experts see a problem that SoTs do not always seem to understand the importance of learning the host country language and its relevance for integration:

“Often the women aren’t aware of how important it is to learn the language, because you can come along well with English here in Germany. Most doctors speak English. Almost everything can be done with English. This pressure to learn the language is for Afghans or for Senegalese much higher.” (E13)

6 SoTs mention finding it challenging to learn the host country language, as they find the language difficult. Additionally, one expert and one SoT note that the motivation to self-study the host language is often absent. Many SoTs have problems concentrating due to their trauma (2 experts).³⁴

One expert reports that large class sizes are not adequate for Nigerian SoTs, as they instead need more individualised language support. Furthermore, language classes are often not gender-specific enough for the needs of women, even though gender-based themes could be very beneficial to integration, as this example shows:

“[...] they already have installed courses in the camp, kind of vocational trainings for men But I once I have talked with a female teacher [...] she said, one time there were no men participating. So, she [...] did something different than what was planned. She did something about hygiene with them. [...] That’s something you can talk about very well when it’s only women.” (E14)

Language problems and illiteracy

Many SoTs face language obstacles in their host country. Many Nigerian SoTs were not able to extensively attend school and never learnt how to learn (2 SoTs, 9 experts, 2 focus groups). As a consequence, many are illiterate. This proves especially problematic as many courses are not fit to meet the needs of illiterate individuals (2 experts):

“[...] in the AnkER-facilities, the women mostly visit in-house German classes from time to time. But they are very often not designed for illiterate people. They often require at least alphabetisation. Thus, what is needed is more courses for illiterate people.” (E13)

For integration, it proves beneficial to offer literacy courses before SoTs attend a language course. Offering different levels of German and other language courses based on the SoTs educational background and knowledge is equally beneficial to integration (1 expert).

Other educational measures

Several other educational measures are named as having a positive impact on integration. 5 SoTs positively refer to language courses offered by volunteers which are free of charge. Others mentioned in-house integration or language courses, where mothers or pregnant women are also able to attend such classes. Several SoTs and one expert also positively refer to the possibility of visiting a primary and/ or secondary school (1 SoT, 1 expert, 2 focus groups):

“Yes, I have the opportunity, so I study Primary school and Secondary school here in Italy [...]. I didn’t study in my country, but I study here in Italy. I have the certificate, that’s the best life for me to live.” (focus group 2)

Additionally, the education of their own children is looked at positively (1 SoT, 1 expert, 1 focus group):

³⁴ See subcode trauma within code summary healthcare system in Chapter 4.3.5.

"We are all adults here. We are not like this baby. Babies catch language quickly [...], because they are born here [...]. When they go out, when they hear people [...], they understand easily, quick." (focus group 1)

Summary

Education, in particular learning the language of the host community, is identified as being decisively crucial for integration. Although the experts and SoTs are aware of the chances, education offers to integration, many report on existing barriers, which one expert summarises as follows:

"First of all, they don't have access to the integration courses [...], because they don't have papers to stay. So, they are not allowed to participate. Then you have to find a language school, which is for free and open for everybody. And then you have, most of them have kids and then you have to find out how they can get [...] babysitting for their kids." (E9)

4.3.4 Access to the labour market

Access to the labour market is a deductive code. The SoTs answered questions on whether they have employment, the type of job they do, their experience in finding a job and their job satisfaction. At the same time, experts were asked about their opinion on the chances and perspectives of Nigerian SoTs on the labour market. The deductive code *employment* is based on the interview questionnaire. Three further inductive subcodes resulted from the answers of the interviewees: *job experience*, *internship* and *vocational training*.

The CRB shows a high co-occurrence of the codes *access to the labour market* and the subcodes *integration/ opportunities*, *integration/ hindrances* and *dreams and visions*. This overlap indicates that getting access to the labour market of the host country seems to be paramount. SoTs' integration is thus facilitated through their success in the labour market. The subcode *employment* also has a high amount of overlap with the codes *dreams and visions* and *integration/ opportunities*. Having a job seems to have a high value for SoTs and appears to be an opportunity for better integration.³⁵

Access to the labour market

SoTs experience both chances and hindrances to their integration according to their access to the labour market.

Employment

Some SoTs have access to the labour market and are, e.g. employed in making bags, as a cook in a restaurant, as a tailor, have a (Mini-)³⁶Job in cleaning (5 SoTs, 1 focus group). What proves helpful to this aspect of integration is having helpful employers (1 SoT). SoTs also can become self-employed, e.g. as a tailor by receiving a work grant. One expert observes how being (self-)employed can help SoTs to overcome their trauma:

"[...] the management of the trauma and the mourning process that the girl was carrying around and still is. In the meantime the girl has learnt the language, she has started a work, she has gained a work grant as a tailor, and she keeps taking the drugs that have been diminished for the moment and that result fundamental for her emotional stability. Somehow she has been able to start again." (E15)

³⁵ For further information, see the full table in appendix 6.

³⁶ This is a marginal part-time job in Germany, where you can earn up to 450€ a month alongside receiving social welfare benefits.

In one case example, one SoT was able to become self-employed with the help of an NGO, while she was pregnant with her second child. One SoT positively notes that having employment has helped her to pay for living costs. Further, having a job boosts the self-confidence of SoTs:

"I feel peace. [...] Nobody presses me, no pressure. It's like I'm my own boss in this place. So, I think to start with, for 20 hours, it's not bad. And there is still more job, new job coming. You know, for now, I'm doing 20 hours which I am ok with." (S17)

In a similar vein, one SoT states that having employment gives her the freedom of being independent of the welfare state.

One expert notes that integrating employment as a factor in individualised integration plans for SoTs leads to them having the motivation to reach their goal and to grasp the individual steps needed to achieve employment:

"[...] I think that you should sit down with the woman and put the procedure of asylum aside for a moment and say: What is the state right now? what do you want to do in Germany? And how can you achieve that? [...] And this should be divided up into individual steps, so that the women can understand: Why do I have to learn German? Why do I go to school? Why do I need childcare, for example? And does it make sense maybe to use contraception for now and don't have the next child right away but first of all manage the start into the career and postpone further family plans a little?" (E13)

Several SoTs and experts criticise the fact that SoTs are not allowed to work and hence do not have access to the labour market (5 SoTs, 3 experts, 1 focus group). One other expert mentions that SoTs also lack trust in potential employers due to their trafficking experience, while two SoTs mention facing racism in employment. Motherhood also poses an extra burden on mothers in finding employment, especially if the children are still very young or they have many children (4 SoTs, 1 expert). Further, one expert observes that some SoTs living with partners still perceive men as the primary source of income, leading SoT mothers to think that it is normal to stay at home: "*[...] this is quite difficult for them to understand. That this is not the norm in Germany anymore. Especially if you live in a big town, both need to work because of financial reasons.*" (E13). In other cases, access to the labour market is hindered, as their host country language skills are insufficient (2 SoTs).

Internship and job experiences

Having job experience and all relevant documents enable SoTs to access the labour market (1 SoT). It is beneficial if supporting local companies and employers are willing to give SoTs the possibility to do an internship in order to gain work experience for easier access to the labour market (6 SoTs):

"All these things also help. When they see that 'ah' in your spare time, maybe one or two hours you help in the old people house, or you help the catholic charity organization. You do some work or something like that, you know [...] it paves the way, that you are not idle [...]" (E20)

The SoTs gain work experience in restaurants, cooking and knitting. One SoT points out the fact that she was only able to gain work experience on the black market, due to residency restrictions. One SoT finds it helpful to have a friend look after her children or when her children would be cared for in school, while she can gain work experience

“So, during these good times when they are in the school, I am at work. When I’m done, I pick them up. On the weekends, because I also work on Sundays, my friend will be around to stay around them.” (S22)

One expert further critically raises the issue that SoTs are still not allowed to work, even if a potential employer would like to hire a Nigerian woman:

“[...] it often fails in the asylum processes. For example women who do not yet have a positive residence permit, who then do not get a work permit, that is where there might be a training place and the corresponding German language level has already been reached, but the possibility for training is not there, because no work permit has been issued by the Foreigners Authority.” (E2)

Some SoTs point out that they find it frustrating that the job experience they have gained in Nigeria - e.g. as a hairdresser - is not recognised in the host societies (4 SoTs):

“Most of us in Nigeria have skills right from Africa. Some of us are stylists, some of us are tailors, [...] fashion designers, artists [...] some of us are a mechanic too, most of us have a skill. So, when we come here, we are like a Baby that want to start over again and then abandoned what we been doing before.” (S22)

One other SoT remarks that she still does not have enough money, although being employed in a Minijob. The same SoT notes that some SoTs generally rely on social welfare benefits instead of looking for a Minijob and at least have some extra money and also gain work experience.

Vocational training

SoTs positively point out that they enjoy learning new skills such as using the sewing machine or cooking, while also learning the host country language in vocational training classes (2 SoTs, 1 Focus Group). One SoT finds it helpful that she now has an EU diploma, which is recognised across the EU:

“I have a certificate, also I have a proof of a quality education that I can show anywhere. The African education is not valued in Europe. So, when I have a Europe education and even if I go to any other European country, I have something to show: ‘Okay I can do this job because I have this qualification’. So, for me basically to feel integrated in the society, it’s just my education.” (S5)

One expert critically notes that in refugee camps, vocational training courses are only offered to men. One expert and one SoT recognise that pregnancy slows down the labour market integration, as SoTs, e.g. cannot be integrated into vocational training courses:

“[...] I see women who would actually be at a point where they would like to continue with learning the language and perhaps at some point start an education or looking for a job, but if they are pregnant then they are out again.” (E3)

Summary

Many SoTs and experts recognize the importance of having access to the labour market for the integration of SoTs. The interview results suggest that education and learning the host language should be followed by labour market integration as the second step for the integration into the host society. In particular, the focus groups shows that many SoTs want to find

employment as fashion designers, cleaners, midwives, tailors, hairdressers, or make-up artists in the host society, suggesting that this is a crucial goal for integration for many SoTs (2 focus groups).

4.3.5 Healthcare system

Healthcare system is a deductive code and participants were asked to talk about their health situation and how they deal with sickness and where to address their needs. The following deductive subcodes resulted from the questions: *medical support, doctor and hospital appointments, psychological support/ therapy, trauma* and *depression*. Under *psychosocial support*, two inductive subcodes *suicidal thoughts* and *insomnia* were added to the codebook.

The CRB shows a particularly noticeable amount of overlap between the code *trauma* and *integration/ hindrances*³⁷. This result indicates that trauma might hinder SoT's integration. Particularly noticeable here is the high overlap of *trauma* and *hindrances* for integration. Also, *psychological support/ therapy* seems to influence integration negatively and positively as it shows high co-occurrences with both codes: *integration/ hindrance* and *integration/ opportunities*.

Medical Support

Among SoTs' and experts' answers towards *medical support*, the biggest hindrance for SoTs to get access to medical services is their lack of understanding the healthcare system, e.g. how to make appointments, whom to address and the insurance system (8 SoTs, 2 experts, 1 focus group). From these misunderstandings, problems arise as in the following example:

"If I go to the pharmacy, I need to present the second card. But I didn't know. I thought it was just normal card, see? [...] the gap there was this: you know they write to them and give the information to health insurance and health insurance don't send to them. Health insurance send directly to us and we don't speak German." (S14)

Doctor and hospital appointments

Language barriers between SoTs and medical personnel pose another difficulty that was mentioned by 5 SoTs, 2 experts and one focus group. The communication problem, especially with nurses and administrative personnel, is the only criticism given by one SoT on the doctor and hospital appointments. Apart from this, 9 SoTs and one focus group are positive about the contact with doctors and hospitals, especially the fact that the treatments are mostly free is taken very positively by SoTs and differences to Nigeria were described.

The role of counselling NGOs and social workers can be considered a chance as 21 out of 36 SoTs speak about the help they received or still receive from social workers and NGOs in terms of explaining the system, helping to make appointments, accompanying SoTs to medical appointments and translating as in the following examples:

"They will explain everything what the doctors say, what they say that is happening and the drugs that I'm going to take. And I will not feel that I'm alone going to the doctor's place." (S10)

"Ja, she always goes with me to the doctor's appointments, because sometimes when I'm trying to explain to them they say that I did not understand, so I always call the lady." (S4)

³⁷ For further information, see the full table in appendix 7.

The role of social workers and NGOs in this regard is stressed by two SoTs who comment that they first let a social worker know when they feel sick.

Psychosocial support/ therapy

Concerning *psychosocial support/ therapy*, the majority of interviewed experts emphasize the importance of offering therapy to SoTs. Especially with regards to trauma, 14 out of 18 experts strongly recommend trauma therapy:

“There should be a psychologist. I think that is very important in order to cope with their problems around post-traumatic stress disorder and depression.” (E10)

“A process of psychological support, if not psychiatric support, must, in my opinion, be the basis for any project you want to undertake on this type of issue.” (E16)

Within SoT answers, there are three identifiable groups concerning therapy: 7 SoTs had been or are still in therapy, and all consider it as helpful for their recovery process. The second group of 6 SoTs answer that they are interested in therapy but did not have the chance so far. The last group, with also 6 SoTs, did not want to talk to a therapist. Three of them prefer talking to their social worker or a counselling NGO, and three SoTs would rather deal with it on their own. Among those who had not been to therapy, the given reasons are: no availability of therapists (3 SoTs), lacking offer of therapy (2 SoTs), and being too shy or afraid to accept or ask for therapy (2 SoTs): *“No never. I need a psychologist, but I never said it.”* (S37) The two latter reasons are only mentioned among SoTs living in Italy. Relatedly, 6 experts criticize the poor availability of therapists. Furthermore, one expert advises offering therapies in the mother tongue of SoTs.

Trauma, Insomnia and suicidal thoughts

Furthermore, five experts advise training practitioners in terms of *trauma* and trauma pedagogical skills since many lack the knowledge and skills of working with traumatized women: *“Therefore, I think that it is just, yes, they would need a little more trauma-sensitive training in the clinic. It is really missing there.”* (E14). Twelve experts highlight the harmful effects of trauma on SoTs' integration: seven mention the negative effect on integration and five on language acquisition based on SoTs tiredness and concentration issues related to trauma-based insomnia. These claims are supported by five SoTs talking about suffering from insomnia: *“Yeah, because for now, I don't sleep at night because of what happened. So, I went to the hospital to the doctor, and the doctor said I should go to the psychologist.”* (S7). Two SoTs even state that they were struggling with suicidal thoughts based on fear, traumatization or being rejected in asylum: *“I was rejected two times, and it was really hard for me that I thought of committing suicide, of killing myself.”* (S13).

Among SoTs' answers, trauma and accommodation can also be related as SoTs are looking for a safe environment to recover:

“I really just want to be alone, just being in a quiet place. But sometimes I just think what if I was to be in the camp or so. I would have not gotten this time because every one is busy and noise everywhere.” (S5)

Summary

Within the topic, healthcare system, the biggest challenges for the integration process of SoTs seem to be the understanding of the healthcare system, language problems and the effects of trauma on integration and language learning. Among the given answers and overlapping codes, the role of trustworthy relationships (e.g. social workers and counselling NGOs) and the potential of trauma therapy are considered to be the most significant opportunities for integration.

4.3.6 Motherhood

Motherhood is a deductive code. SoTs were asked if they have children and where their children live. They were also asked to assess how they felt being a mother in the host country, their pregnancy experience in the host country, whether being a mother/ pregnant helps them to get into contact with the host society, what activities they do with their children and how their daily life in the host society is affected by being a mother or an expectant mother. Experts were asked about the chances and hindrances motherhood offers to integration.

The following deductive codes are based on the interview questionnaire: *motherhood, pregnancy, single mothers, abortion and miscarriage* and *children in Nigeria*. Further inductive codes resulted from the answers of the interviewees: *sex education* and *mothers with partners*.

The CRB shows a high co-occurrence of the subcode *motherhood* and *integration/ opportunities* and *integration/ hindrances*. Further, the subcode *single mums* also showed a high amount of overlap with *integration/ opportunities* and *integration/ hindrances*. It seems as though motherhood and being a single mum, both poses chances and hindrances to integration; however, the overlaps with hindrances for integration is still somewhat higher³⁸.

Motherhood

The experts and SoTs see motherhood being two sides of the same coin as it relates to integration. On the one hand, motherhood offers an opportunity since it helps SoTs to become mentally stabilised (2 SoTs, 1 expert):

“I think, it is that those women are somehow forced for their children to survive and to cope with the problems, to see a future. If they see a child, they still see life in their lives [...]. It is giving them power somehow to see someone growing up. Many women tell me that it is the only thing why they continue.” (E10)

Motherhood gives them a form of normality (1 SoT, 1 expert), a daily structure (4 SoTs, 1 expert) and helps them to regain their joy in life (6 SoTs, 1 expert). It helps them to grow in self-confidence and to feel empowered (2 experts). Having a child requires dealing with extra bureaucratic issues (e.g. registering a child, applying for child welfare benefits, etc.) since mothers find themselves having to go to authorities and getting into contact with the child support system in the host country such as e.g. *Frühe Hilfen*³⁹ or NGO counsellors (2 SoTs, 1 expert). Some SoTs consider receiving child welfare benefits as supportive (4 SoTs, 1 focus group) and that the child receives healthcare (1 focus group). One SoT even mentions that she only got a flat because she is a mother, and two SoTs report receiving a residence permit because of their child.

Additionally, children act as bridges of contact, as mothers get into contact with parents from the host society, e.g. in toddler groups, kindergarten, sports clubs, summer festivities at school (9 SoTs, 4 experts). Parenting training in their mother tongue has also proven beneficial for

³⁸ For further information, see the full table in appendix 8.

³⁹ Early support centre.

the integration of Nigerian SoTs (2 experts). In particular, the children of SoTs will have the possibility to integrate, “[...] *because they grow up in this culture from the very beginning and because it is easier for them to learn the language and because they grasp the culture much more naturally.*” (E1).

On the other side of the coin, motherhood poses an obstacle to continued language classes, (further) education or attempting employment (2 experts). As mothers carry responsibility for their child, they are less flexible and find it more difficult to follow-up on their integration (2 SoTs). A further hindrance is that social welfare benefits do not fully cover the everyday needs of mother and child, preventing Nigerian SoTs from being able to participate in additional integration measures such as, e.g. mother-child sports courses (2 SoTs, 1 expert).

As a primary obstacle to integration, experts mention the lack of childcare available, in particular during language courses (5 experts) or due to a lack of kindergarten or day nursery places in the host society (6 experts)⁴⁰. Children of Nigerian SoTs cannot always go to kindergarten because they are in the asylum process (1 expert) or are forced to go to kindergarten in the refugee camps where there is no contact to parents and children of the host society (1 expert). In general, Nigerian SoTs lack a social safety net, in which somebody can look after their child(ren), which would be available in Nigeria (3 SoTs, 1 focus group). This lack often means that Nigerian SoTs are unable to follow up on their German language skills (1 focus group). It also implies that they cannot communicate with authorities (1 expert) or other parents during summer festivities at school (2 SoTs). One further challenge to integration is different child-raising techniques, a particularly difficult issue for SoTs (2 SoTs, 4 experts):

“A large topic for us is also child safeguarding because they are used to other educational methods, hitting⁴¹ is a topic [...] where I also notice, that they need assistance and it is not enough for them if we simply say that it is not allowed in Germany to hit your child, but they need assistance with other educational methods to learn how they can set limits for their children.” (E1)

Two respondents report on a naive view of what motherhood entails and how much responsibility having children is (1 SoT, 1 expert). Lacking child social welfare benefits also seems to be problematic for integration, as it can also risk the health of the child (2 experts):

“So, sometimes it is really the material things they need. Last time [...] one of my clients came and [...] she had a premature baby come one month early, and the clothes were way too big. And I saw that it can be dangerous because the baby can get wrapped in the clothes. But there was nobody telling her that this can be bad. And she had no other choice because these were the only clothes she had. So, we gave her some money and sent her to buy smaller baby clothes. And sometimes it is really simple. But it is always like: who is paying for it?” (E9)

Some women fear to go to social welfare offices, as there are rumours that the social services will take their child away (1 SoT, 1 expert, 1 focus group). One SoT mentions that it is more difficult to find a flat as a mother.

Single mother vs mothers in partnership and children in Nigeria

24 of the 35 interviewed SoTs are mothers, and one is expecting her first baby. One SoT has 4 children, 7 SoTs have three children, 7 two and 9 one child. Seven of the women have children also living in Nigeria. Two single women, not being mothers, also talk about motherhood in the

⁴⁰ See also code summary *education* in Chapter 4.3.3.

⁴¹ It must be stressed that not all Nigerian SoTs hit their child. Further, it must be pointed out that Nigerian SoTs were also struck as children and have not learned other child-raising techniques.

course of their interview. The majority of the mothers are single, while 7 have a partner. The following concerns are in particular raised as regards to single motherhood. These are amongst others: not having enough money to raise a child (1 expert), lacking a social network to babysit the child (1 SoT), not being able to visit language class, and kindergarten fees being too expensive (1 expert). Having a healthy relationship with a supportive partner can offer a chance for integration, as the partner can take care of the children (3 SoTs). Concerning the subcode *children in Nigeria*, a strong correlation exists with the subcode *family back home* under the code *community*.⁴²

Pregnancy

The aspect of pregnancy is considered both a positive and a negative factor for integration. On the positive side, during the pre-natal care, labour and post-natal care, SoTs come into contact with doctors, midwives and also the youth welfare office, which helps them to have positive experiences with people from the host society and to get to know the healthcare system of the given host society (4 SoTs, 2 experts):

“It helps to understand what is happening. With a baby you have to do many things. When you have them, you have to go to the hospital. When I don't have a baby, I don't go to the hospital. [...] You don't have to go to hospital[s], you don't have to go to many places. So, having a baby made me know more about society.” (S36)

On the negative side, there are still many persistent rumours that SoTs can stay in the host country when they get pregnant and give birth in the host country (4 experts). Two SoTs mention that pregnancy does not secure a residence permit. One of them mentions deportations, in which mothers are deported back to Nigeria with their children, showing that having children does not automatically lead to a secure residency (2 SoTs).

Further, some SoTs become regularly pregnant because they lack sex education (2 SoTs, 2 experts) or their partner expects them to get pregnant (1 expert). At some point in time, pregnant women naturally have to stop their language course or have to give up work, which hinders a smooth process for integration (5 SoTs, 1 expert). According to one expert, another problem is that contraception is not always free of charge for SoTs. These additional costs are a major challenge for SoTs in the asylum process.

Furthermore, SoTs often have problems communicating with midwives (1 expert). This problem is especially concerning given that labour and breastfeeding can be re-traumatising experiences, and hospital staff seem to lack training on trauma (2 SoTs).

Sex education

Regarding the inductive code of sex education, it offers positive implications for integration as Nigerian SoTs get to know their bodies, learn to decide if and when they want to get pregnant, and also get to know counselling NGOs such as *Pro Familia*⁴³ (1 SoT, 1 expert).

4 experts raise the concern that SoTs are in general lacking sex education and the finances for contraception, which can negatively impact integration:

“They are not like ‘every year a child’. [...] I think the fewest women, to be honest. But you always think it's that. It just happens because often, they don't understand contraception [...]. Or it is too expensive when they have to buy it. If they are outside of the region, they don't get it anymore. They immediately stop using contraception then.” (E14)

⁴² See also code summary *community* in Chapter 4.3.8.

⁴³ *Pro Familia* is the leading non-governmental service and consumer organisation for sexual and reproductive health and rights in Germany.

Abortion and miscarriage

Similar to the annotation in the literature review, the interview results show that abortions and miscarriages negatively impact integration, as they are associated with trauma and depression (1 expert). One expert in general notes that if women have had many abortions, human trafficking is suspected. Some SoTs also decide to abort because they do not want to be a single mum (1 expert).

Summary

Thus motherhood can be seen as a double-edged sword concerning integration. If SoTs being (expectant) mothers are supported adequately, the interview results show that motherhood can be a motivating factor for integration. The interview results suggest that SoT mothers push for the integration of their children rather than their own.

4.3.7 Spirituality

Spirituality is a deductive code. SoTs were asked whether they are religious and to which church they go. Also, they were asked if the church community helps them in their daily life, and if they have had experiences with juju in the past and how far these experiences still influence their daily life. Experts were asked about SoTs' spirituality, the role of (European and African) churches in integration and about how practitioners could promote the churches' positive role in integration.

The following further deductive codes resulted from these questions: *ATR (African Traditional Religion)* and *Christianity*. The researchers divided *Christianity* into the subcodes *European church* and *African church*. *European church* means any kind of Christian church in Europe that is not explicitly African. *African church* means any kind of African church in Europe⁴⁴.

The CRB shows high co-occurrences of the code *spirituality* with the subcode *integration/opportunities* as well as with *integration/hindrances*⁴⁵. Spirituality seems to portray a hindrance and opportunity for integration simultaneously. A closer look at the subcodes shows that there is a high amount of overlap between *integration/opportunities* and *Christianity (European church as well as African church)*. It can be concluded that SoTs' Christian faith, as well as the participation in European and African churches, promotes integration. Also, the codes *integration/hindrance* and *ATR* as well with *African churches*, are highly connected according to the CRB. It can be concluded that elements of *ATR*, as well as certain expressions of participation in African churches, hinders integration. It is noticeable that African churches are perceived here as both conducive and obstructive. The qualitative analysis provides further information.

Christianity

Fifteen SoTs and both focus groups share that they regularly visit an African church. Fifteen SoTs and both focus groups mention that they regularly visit a European church. Thirteen of those go to a Catholic church, one to a Free church and one does not specify. Three SoTs say that they regularly go to a church, but they do not specify whether it is an African or a European church. Two SoT explain that they do not attend any church. Three SoTs and both focus groups indicate that they listen to sermons and worship songs at home exclusively or alongside attending a church. One expert stresses that social workers should explain the topic of trauma to SoTs so that they do not wrongly interpret trauma and symptoms of PTSD with *ATR*. 8 experts say that faith can be a resource, a "[...] *valid instrument of support in a journey of great sorrow.*" (E18).

⁴⁴ Some of the African churches SoTs speak about as 'International church' are predominantly visited by Africans.

⁴⁵ For further information, see the full table in appendix 9.

African churches

*Positive effects of African churches*⁴⁶

Two SoTs say that going to an African church makes them feel 'at home'. Another two SoTs point out that the English gatherings make it possible for them to understand the message as compared to a German-speaking Church. One SoT explains how the style (clapping, dancing, praying, giving prayer points, talking to the pastor) is familiar to her. One SoT and both focus groups like to hear the word of God (the Bible) read on Sundays. Another SoT likes that in the community, she can talk about troubling issues. Two experts mention that African churches pray for SoTs to lose their fear of juju. The same two experts also say that some African churches offer social integration services to their church members which is also helpful for SoTs. One expert recalls an African church that partners with NGOs to assist SoTs. Three others agree that this kind of partnership would be beneficial more often.

*Negative effects of African churches*⁴⁷

One SoT, one focus group and seven experts, say that going to an African church and coming in contact with the church community brings the danger of being re-trafficked. One SoT and three experts agree that African churches do not support integration because it is only Africans and few host country nationals present in the community. One expert says that African churches should do more to support the integration of their members actively. One expert even says that African churches increase the fear of juju by spreading the idea that SoTs need deliverance: *"African churches in Germany are the places, where I think there, the Nigerians are in most danger and in their most comfort at the same time."* (E9) Two experts point out that social workers can help SoTs to distinguish what is helpful and what is harmful to them in regard to participation in African churches. Social workers could try to compensate for the adverse side effects of African churches by talking to SoTs about excessive Christian faith rituals and healthy spirituality.

European churches

Two SoTs receive help from a European church community, and two SoTs explain that they go to the Sunday services but are not in contact with anybody outside of that. One SoT says that she receives encouragement at church. Another one says she receives advice on how to raise her child. One SoT shares that her child has friends at church. One SoT says that she likes that European churches are not as noisy as African churches. Another one specifies that the language barrier is a problem because she does not understand most of what is being said during the service. One of the experts says that European churches are a chance for integration because SoTs come in contact with host-country nationals and it is a tool to learn the language. Another expert advises that European churches should offer more low-threshold services with English translation in order to become more attractive to SoTs.

ATR

Nine SoTs say that they are no longer afraid of elements of ATR because their Christian faith helps them: *"I'm not afraid of any juju. God is with me. God is my strength, is my helper."* (S34). 8 SoTs and one focus group, on the other hand, say that they are still afraid. They mainly mention the fear of a family member dying or being killed, the fear of being cursed, and nightmares. Three SoTs assess that they are not afraid but did not specify why. Another three SoTs do not want to talk about ATR at all. For one SoT, she is happy when she can be distracted and not be at home because then she will not think about ATR. 6 SoTs say that social workers talked to them about ATR or even prayed with them and since then they are less afraid. One SoT says

⁴⁶ Also see overlapping codes of *African church with integration/ opportunities* in appendix 9.

⁴⁷ Also see overlapping codes of *African church with integration/ hindrances* in appendix 9.

that she has no friends or close contacts with other Africans because of fear of ATR.

“The fear is in me. If I'm home and don't have anything to do. When I go to work in the morning, comeback in the afternoon, take care of baby, sleep, so I don't have time to think. So, I like to do something not to think.” (S36)

Summary

It can be concluded that faith, the Christian faith, is principally described as beneficial to SoTs in overcoming trauma and regaining strength and hope, which can support SoTs' integration. The role of African churches, in particular, is seen as ambiguous since it is familiar to SoTs but also relates SoTs to fear of unseen spiritual forces. The fear that is often associated with ATR represents a significant hindrance to integration.

4.3.8 Community

Community is a deductive code. SoTs were asked whether they are in contact with other Nigerians, whether they are a religious person and whether they go to church. Depending on their answers, related questions were asked. The experts were asked about the role of spirituality, of churches, and the family back home in the integration of SoTs. Depending on their answers, they were asked whether the matter is seen as a chance or a hindrance to integration and in how far practitioners can promote the positive community elements related to integration.

The following further deductive codes resulted from these questions: *Nigerian community*, *community of host-country nationals*, *church community* and *family back home*.

The CRB shows that *community of host-country nationals* shows a high amount of overlapping codes with *integration/ opportunities*⁴⁸. From this, one can deduce that the contact to host-country nationals is an opportunity for integration. The code *community of host-country nationals* also shows high co-occurrences with *integration/ hindrance*. Overlapping codes between *community of host-country nationals* and *discrimination/ racism* could explain that (see more details below).

African Community

24 SoTs and both focus groups mention that they have contact with other Africans (mostly Nigerians). Many of them (9 SoTs, 2 focus groups) say that they met these contacts in their accommodation. 5 SoTs mention that they now have a long-distance friendship to these contacts because either they or their contacts got transferred or moved to another city. They mainly stay in contact via online messages and phone calls. 12 SoTs and one focus group point out that their African contacts help them in life through babysitting (5 SoT, 1 focus group), getting in touch with counselling NGO (5 SoTs), asylum advice (2 SoTs), cooking when they are sick (1 SoT) and finding a flat (1 SoT). Three SoTs mention that they do not receive any help from their African contacts, and one of them justified this with the fact that they are also asylum seekers. It is also striking that 5 SoTs and one focus group mention that they mistrust their fellow countrymen/ countrywomen. They see them as untrustworthy because they could judge them for their past, tell others about what they shared with them, misguide them, be dangerous, or bring them back in contact with the traffickers. Three experts also point out that fellow African contacts could be dangerous for SoTs because they could bring them back in touch with the traffickers.

⁴⁸ For further information, see the full table in appendix 10.

Community of Host-Country Nationals

8 SoTs and one focus group say that they are in contact with people from their host society. Most of them met these contacts through their children (kindergarten, school). Two SoTs, one focus group and one expert say that language is the biggest hindrance when it comes to getting in touch with host-country nationals.

“Not I say they were not friendly, the people were friendly. But the challenge was the language. I really would have loved to communicate, and I believe they would have loved to communicate.” (S14)

One SoT and 4 experts mention racism as a hindrance to getting in touch. One SoT and three experts speak about cultural differences as a hindrance: *“The custom is different because is like they don’t understand blacks, we don’t understand them. I don’t have any Austrian friends but I would love to have.”* (S40)

Church Community

See all outcomes concerning church community in 4.2.1 Code summary *Spirituality*.

Family Back Home

When SoTs and experts were asked about the SoTs' families back home, three things stand out: SoTs children at home, regular remittances home and families threatened by traffickers. Three experts mention that having children back home in Nigeria, usually staying with relatives, is common for SoTs. Some are in touch, and some lost contact with them. All three experts consider this a hindrance for integration:

“The worst cases are where many women have a child in Nigeria somewhere. [...] we cannot ask them to integrate if they have a starving child in Nigeria. Or a sick child somewhere in hospital. Your brain is not working as a mother if you know your child is suffering there.” (E10)

Three experts also speak about SoTs sending money back home to their family and describe this as also being a hindrance for SoT's integration. Two experts further mention that SoTs told them about their family's back home being threatened by traffickers. For some, that was the reason for breaking off any contact with her families.

Summary

In summary, one can say that Nigerian SoTs have more contact with the African community than to the community of host-country nationals. The African community reflects opportunities because Africans help each other, but it also implies hindrances because of the potential danger to be re-trafficked. SoTs seem to seek contact with host-country nationals⁴⁹ but are hampered because of the language barrier and racism amongst host-country nationals.

4.3.9 Discrimination

Code Discrimination is a deductive code. SoTs were asked if they are treated differently from men in Europe in their opinion as women. Depending on their answers, SoTs were asked how does being a woman affect their life in Italy/ Germany/ Austria. They were also asked if they feel treated differently because of their skin colour. Experts were asked to detect the biggest stumbling blocks on the road to SoT's integration which frequently included comments on

⁴⁹ See code summary *dreams and visions* in Chapter 4.3.10.

discrimination.

The following further deductive subcodes resulted from these questions: *gender differences*, *stigmatisation of women in prostitution* and *racism*.

The CRB shows a high co-occurrence of the codes *discrimination* (including subcodes) and *integration/ hindrances*. Its high amount of overlap mainly explains this high result with the subcode *racism*. Furthermore, the code *accommodation* is very closely linked to *discrimination*.⁵⁰

Discrimination

In total, 12 SoTs and 4 experts say that there is no discrimination for SoTs in Germany, Austria and Italy. One SoT answers the question on discrimination with feeling left out in society, whereas she leads this back to a lack of language skills and missing communication. Two SoTs even speak about discrimination by other Nigerians, one of the two considers this related to different regions of origins in Nigeria. In order to diminish discrimination, one expert advises more equality, especially in the medical sector.

Gender differences

In the opinion of 10 SoTs, men and women are not treated differently in Europe. Whereas 8 SoTs and one focus group speak of being treated differently in a positive way as feeling favoured in comparison to men: “[...] *what I'm trying to say is that in the good side they protect women, they don't let the women get hurt. As in the government protects the women more than the men.*” (S36). 7 SoTs say that gender differences are an opportunity, especially in Germany: “*Yes. I think women is like a God. Women is like [...] precious to Germany.*” (S11).

In this context, two SoTs even advise giving men in Germany more respect and power. One expert also speaks about a specific role model of SoTs based on their Nigerian culture in which a man has a higher position than a woman.

Three SoTs speak about experiencing violence by men in Europe: one of these SoTs by the father of her child, one in the reception centre and the third one in Italy but without any specifics. In line with these, two SoTs describe the situation in Italy as difficult. Despite this, the rights of women in Europe are overall perceived positively as 6 SoTs describe feeling more respected than in Nigeria. One SoT also speaks about being poorly treated by other Africans in Europe.

In contrast to most SoTs, three experts advise more protection for SoTs and see separation from men in certain contexts such as language class (1 expert) and security personnel (1 expert) as beneficial for SoTs.

The stigmatisation of women in prostitution

Three SoTs, two experts and one focus group speak about the problem of stigmatization of women in prostitution. All mention that especially Nigerian women are seen as prostitutes due to their skin colour and clothes. Particularly in Italy, this type of discrimination seems to be an issue as all SoTs experiencing stigmatization lived in Italy (3 SoTs, 1 expert, 1 focus group):

“Maybe there will be some men they will look at you and they think that you are a prostitute because you stand on the street, and they like you, they will call you ‘come on, so that I can do anything with you’. But is not good. [...] especially now the way of dress now, maybe Italian men or African boys they think they are prostitutes. But I'm not, I just dress for a fashion.” (focus group 2)

⁵⁰ For further information, see the full table in appendix 11.

“When I lose the bus there is someone who has a car, who can give me a ride, but it is difficult to ask because if they see that I'm a woman, they think I am a prostitute. This is not right.” (S37)

Two experts also mention the issue of SoTs stigmatizing themselves and still accusing themselves of the past as hindrance for integration.

Racism

15 SoTs and one focus group speak about being treated differently because of their skin colour. Two of them feel disadvantaged in their schools, and one SoT feels that her colleagues do not like her because of her skin colour:

“I just stopped working there. The man there doesn't like black, we are too black. I suppose he doesn't give the reason because he doesn't want black to work there.” (S40)

Moreover, 5 SoTs explain that racism is their biggest stumbling in the job search. Two of them speak specifically about difficulties for blacks in the labour market in Austria.

Three SoTs say that they only experienced racism in refugee camps. 6 SoTs speak about not having difficulties with racism at all whereas two of these SoTs describe that their children are suffering from racism by other kids. Two SoTs mention a separation towards other parents in their children's' school according to their skin colour: *“All the black mothers, we sit together, we talk and something we are looking but the white also sit together.”* (S40). In agreement with this, one expert criticizes racism in Kindergarten and schools which hinders integration to a great extent.

Also, two SoTs describe being offended because of their skin colour, but both say that they ignore this behaviour: *“If they offend me, I would just walk on my own. I would not understand what they are saying.”* (S36).

Two SoTs describe the situation for SoTs in Germany as an opportunity for other European countries. 5 SoTs mention that they feel disliked in Austria because of their skin colour *“[...] Austria, they don't like black”* (S7), and 4 SoTs, one expert and one focus group mention that racism mainly prevents integration in Italy, as a consequence of politics.

Two SoTs themselves make a difference towards skin colour, and one of them calls to other SoTs: *“[...] my advice for them to love the people here also the white people.”* (S19).

There is also the case that two SoTs feel discriminated against due to racism, whereas this could be a misunderstanding or different interpretation of the situation.

“When we go to the tram [...] they don't want to stand up. And I don't want to make problem with them. I don't want; normally when they see a buggy they are supposed to stand up [...] It is a place for mothers. [...] They will just pretend they don't see, so there is a lot of racists.” (S39)

Five experts speak about racism in different parts of society, and three of them see racism as the biggest hindrance for the integration of SoTs. Three experts specifically speak about institutional racism, and one of them criticizes the racism in lawyers during legal procedures:

“Just because they probably have the order from their boss ‘every Nigerian you get rid of, is a plus’. The woman was coming to the foreigner’s office to extend her paper on the day of the expected delivery. And they didn’t extend it and wanted her to fill in a long form, even though it was obvious that she was under maternity protection.” (E9)

To encounter this institutional racism, one expert, for example, demands training for the police in terms of racism and how to treat SoTs appropriately.

Summary

According to participant’s answers, the issue of discrimination and especially racism is a significant stumbling block that portrays a hindrance for SoTs’ integration. It is clear from the responses of SoTs and experts that racism permeates many different areas, whether institutional or personal and should be addressed on different levels as the following quote summarises well:

“So I actually believe that racism and hostility towards refugees are the big issues, the big obstacles on all levels for women. No matter if it’s with the clerk, in any authority or if it’s on the asylum-political level or whether it is the neighbor or the landlord. I think that if there were less of it, I think it would be much easier for many women to integrate.” (E2)

4.3.10 Dreams and Visions

Code *dreams and visions* is a deductive code. SoTs were asked how they want their life to be in five years.

This question was not addressed to experts; however, when experts expressed wishes or dreams for SoTs and their life, it was coded as *dreams and visions*.

The Code-Relations-Browser shows a high rate of the code *dreams and visions* with *access to the labour market* and especially with the subcode *employment*. Also, through the co-occurrences of codes, *motherhood* and *education* show a strong connection to SoTs’ dreams and visions⁵¹.

Employment and education

In total 18 SoTs and both focus groups mention having a job as part of their wish for their lives in 5 years. The SoTs also stress the wish for education and training (10 SoTs, 1 focus group). Most of the SoTs even have a specific profession in their mind:

“I would like to succeed all my desires that I always desired before moving. It’s a secret wish, I want to become a doctor. But I know that this is a job for which is required a lot of study.” (35)

“My dream in Germany here is to study hard for my future and at the end to become a midwife” (focus group 2)

Motherhood and family life

In their interviews, 6 SoTs and one focus group talk about their dream for their children to have a better life:

⁵¹For further information, see the full table in appendix 12.

“So, the ones that I don't have, I want my daughter to have it, the kind of life I didn't have, I didn't live, I didn't afford in my life and I want my daughter to have it. So, this is the kind of life my baby to have, to study well, to go to good school, speak well and have a good future.” (focus group 2)

In line with that, two SoTs and one focus group express the wish of taking good care of their children in the future. Moreover, SoTs dream about getting married (6 SoTs) and to start a family (4 SoTs) within five years.

From the SoTs' answers concerning dreams and visions for the future, eleven dream of having a residence permit and three dream of speaking the host country's language appropriately. Two SoTs and two experts wish for better accommodations for SoTs in the future and both experts dream of shared flats for SoTs.

Another SoT dream was to do good things in their future (4 SoTs) and to be independent (2 SoTs, 1 focus group): *“So I want to be free, I want to be independent and later I would like to get married with a African men and have some children.”* (S33).

Three SoTs dream of being able to empower others and to change something in the world connected to their stories, especially in the context of social justice and faith:

“My dream should be like, I want to be someone that many women will relate. Someone that many women will call up to and say and ask me: how did you overcome this whole situation? What and how were you able to do and how did you succeed? This is my fight. And if I'm privileged to live here in Europe [...] believe me: Prostitution will go off the street, because I will try my best to fight. I will not sit back.” (S13)

“So, the picture that God gave to me: I am going to become an evangelist. To share with people what I have experienced, the trials I have faced. How single life, how it means to be single and serve God, you know, how. To many many other women, so many many [...] to go out there to the world and preach to the world out there.” (S17)

The following quotation sums up what has been said and expresses the dreams and visions of the women for their future:

“In five years, before five years, if I want to, in fact, I want to be an independent woman. I want to be an independent woman first. Secondly, I want to, in five years I should be able to be speaking the language, in five years I should be to be doing working for my self. In five years, I should be able to have my car to myself. In five years, I pray to God should give me a man of my happiness. In five years, I want to be independent women. I want to be happy.” (S3)

Summary

The majority of SoTs' dreams and visions are related to having a job and an education to sustain themselves and to afford a better life for their children. Beyond the care aspect, some women also pursued a higher goal, such as the empowerment of others and changing their environment.

4.3.11 Actors

Actors is an inductive code. During the interviews, the SoTs and experts refer to various actors. Some interview passages particularly refer to the role of certain actors as regards to integration. In the following, findings from interviews will be highlighted that explicitly are referred to as regards to chances and hindrances for integration.

The CRB shows a high co-occurrence of the actors *counselling NGOs* and *social worker* with the subcode *Person of Trust*. This overlap seems to be an indication that actors as Counselling NGOs and social workers are perceived by SoTs as a *Person of trust* or *Persons of Trust* are found among them. Also, both actors *counselling NGO* and *social worker* show a high amount of overlap with the subcode *integration/ opportunities*.⁵²

Chances for integration

Various references to counselling NGOs and social workers are made. In particular, these actors seem to offer chances to integration, as they act as *bridges for integration* (4 SoTs, experts, 1 focus group):

“I think the best or the best integration takes place when the woman is taken good care of and offered high-quality consultation from the beginning on. Hence if they are lucky to be accepted as a client of organisation A. That’s the case where I see the best chances. So, in a very, very intensive individual counselling. Without nothing works out.” (E13)

Further, they are noted as important actors by the interviewees, as they offer referral counselling and act as translators, e.g. during doctor appointments (4 SoTs, 2 experts):

“I don’t know this. I went to the police station to file a complaint. I don’t know how it works afterwards. If you need a translator, a lawyer, they prepare everything. The association simply tells me when I have to go to the police station, and I go there.” (S37)

Additionally, supportive public authorities are identified as important actors by one expert. In smaller municipalities, the interview findings seem to suggest that they can more easily offer chances to SoTs to integrate (1 SoT, 1 expert).

Hindrances to integration

One actor explicitly mentions SoTs’ *madam* as a hindrance to integration (1 expert, 1 focus group). The double-edged sword of the African churches and the Nigerian community in the host country is also mentioned as a potential hindrance to the integration of SoTs (4 SoTs):

“Ja, friends from Nigeria. So we live together, we were like making a group () together but (...) this people betrayed me so much, they hurt me so much.” (S13)

“I learned to distinguish. But I don’t have many friends. I have two or three Nigerian friends. Because I don’t want problems.” (S33)

“Sometimes you go to church, you even meet the worst people in the church.” (Focus Group 1)

⁵² For further information, see the full table in appendix 13.

“So, like the African churches in Germany are the places, where I think the victims of human trafficking are in most danger and in their most comfort at the same time. And that is the problem. They go there and they feel at home and they want to go there. But at the same time, they always have to be careful, who to talk to and whom to like.” (E9)

The interviewees also criticise how framework conditions within the host countries lead to negative implications for SoTs to receive support for integration. In particular, the lack of actors supporting SoTs in areas such as psycho-social counselling, therapy, and midwifery is stressed (1 SoT, 4 experts):

“[...] NGO's need more financial support in any case, because there are [...] simply many Nigerian SoT's that need support [...], but often there is far too little capacity. There are already counselling centres which simply have to refuse the women or cannot advise them at all, because there is too much demand and because there is not the capacity, that means it needs financial support actually, support from the state from the side of finance for this organisations.” (E2)

Further, many actors are not trained in gender-, trauma- and cultural-sensitivity sufficiently in order to meet the integration needs of SoTs (4 experts):

“[...] there should be more training for teachers, for social workers also in other social services, in hospitals. There should be trainings for doctors, if they give birth to a child. If they had to go to gynecologist, they should be trained on that topic human trafficking because many things are coming up there and I see that there is a lack of information. Everyone is shocked when they learn about it.” (E10)

Another problem mentioned by one expert is the lack of interest the public authorities have in the integration of SoTs.

Summary

Actors can be both decisive in the enabling or hindering of integration of SoTs. To summarise, the findings show that the role of actors in supporting SoTs to integrate, depends on the individual will of each actor SoTs come across within the integration process:

“I have the impression that cooperation with authorities often depends on the individual employees. There are also individual agencies, for example individual police departments. There are those who know us [counselling NGO] well and know that if they find a victim or believe they have identified one, they can contact us. They sometimes call us before an interrogation, sometimes not until afterwards but really try to cooperate with us. And then there are also authorities who bring us the women, put them outside the door and say: ‘Now you have to take care of her.’ [...] I would say that there is really room for improvement in many authorities. But there are also a few good, functioning cooperations. For example, we have a good relationship with many lawyers.” (E3)

4.3.12 Person of Trust

Person of Trust is an inductive code which is derived from the data. The following examples give indications that a *Person of Trust* and their effect on the integration process should be given more weight in this research:

(1) "If you have German friends one or two, who put you through, you can talk with them and then you don't have to be scared. Newly when I was in Germany, I was going somewhere in City A and Person A was there so it was not so difficult." (S21)

(2) "She [social worker] goes with me to the hospital, for medical test, for medical check-up, we go together. She went with me for my interview, she was there throughout my interview and I was so happy because I have somebody like a sister who accepted me."
(S13)

These quotes stress how meaningful and significant it is for SoTs to have a person they can talk to and help them with questions and daily tasks. The following quote indicates that specifically, the issue of trust is central within that relationship:

(3) "I found a nice family, the best family in all of Italy. It's difficult to find people to trust, to tell everything you have in your heart. I always talked to the family and they always helped me to think about what to do, they helped me for everything." (S37)

Based on these examples, the code *Person of Trust* was developed and added to the codebook.

The CRB shows the amount of co-occurrences of relevant codes with *Person of Trust*. What is especially noteworthy is the high amount of overlap between *integration/ opportunities* and *Person of Trust*, which indicates that a *Person of Trust* has a positive influence on the SoTs' integration. Moreover, the overlapping codes indicate that this *Person of Trust* can be found among *counselling NGOs* and *social workers*.⁵³

As already shown in (3) "*I have somebody like a sister [...]*," a *Person of Trust* is often seen as a family member and can be given the role and tasks of a family. In total, 7 SoTs refer to these relationships in the context of family as in the following quote:

"She really helped me a lot and this woman, this couple I live with, I didn't pay one Euro to live there. So, until now, they are still standing like my parents." (S17)

In particular, the association of a *Person of Trust* with family members is related to the giving and receiving of advice as expressed in these quotes:

"If anything comes up or if I have a question, I call her [social worker] to ask." (S9)

"They look for family somewhere else. A woman recently asked us for advice regarding a personal question because normally she would have asked her family for advice. So sometimes we as social workers in the shelter are like family for the women." (E2)

The idea of a *Persons of Trust* as 'family replacements' and the opportunity this person provides for integration is especially highlighted in one expert interview:

⁵³ For further information, see the full table in appendix 14.

"[...] then the women will look for family replacement, for persons to fulfil this role. And I think that could be social workers. I think that could also be older Nigerian women, with whom they are in contact or someone else who somehow replaces the family. I think that way there is a higher chance that integration actually works." (E2)

According to this quote, trustworthy relationships in the host country can serve as a foundation for better integration. However, the difficulty SoTs have in trusting is expressed by 5 SoTs and two experts as in (3): *"It's difficult to find people to trust, to tell everything you have in your heart."* (S37). According to one expert, this lack of trust could even be connected to the difference in skin colour.⁵⁴

"First to trust a white person. So, they really need to learn again to trust. And to trust the right person. And then really come, discuss things and decisions with this one, they trust in." (E8)

Moving beyond how *Persons of Trust* are perceived by SoTs to who these persons are in terms of profession, 17 SoTs and one focus group talk about a social worker as their *Person of Trust* and 10 SoTs about a counselling NGO. As noteworthy outlier, three SoTs even express that their babies help them to begin trusting again, allowing the children of SoTs to be potential candidates as *Persons of Trust*.

Despite this outlier, the common function of a *Person of Trust* is most often a practical one. 23 SoTs and one focus group refer to the practical help given by their *Person of Trust*: *"[...] and if I need anything, I run to Counselling NGO, see people, they are still helping me."* (S4).

The SoTs mention especially practical help in connecting to doctor appointments and the asylum process.

The most striking feature of a *Person of Trust* is their capacity to connect the SoT to NGOs, doctors or other help services. This connecting role is expressed well in the following example in which a friend or a social worker (as *Persons of Trust*) connected the SoT to an NGO that concluded in having a positive impact on the SoT's life:

"[...] I met a friend called person A. She brought me to person B [social worker], so there she brought me, she brought me, she helped me to get to know person B." (S17)

"It was really tough. It was difficult until I found the Counselling NGO. Actually, how I got in contact with the Counselling NGO was a social worker in the camp." (S5)

A common personality trait of a *Person of Trust* according to 10 SoTs is their ability to easily talk to them: *"What I like most is feeling comfortable in expressing myself [...] each time I come here I feel like at my brother's place, I just let everything out."* (S23). Also, two SoTs and both focus groups describe their *Person of Trust* as nice and friendly:

"She [social worker] was very nice, she smiled when she met me she smiled. So, at the first time I was like 'ah this girl will be a lovely girl' because the way she talk she is so friendly, she is so politely, so I think that things will be fine with me, so I make appointment with her." (S11)#

⁵⁴ For further details, see code summary discrimination in Chapter 4.3.9.

One expert offers a description of how a *Person of Trust* supporting SoTs should be:

“[...] someone who gives me orientation, who gives me security. Someone with whom I have like a mirror in everyday life, who accompanies me. Someone with whom I have such a feeling of trust, where I can rest a little bit, I get orientation. That is super valuable.” (E 4).

This quote sums up the already mentioned functions of a *Person of Trust* as advice-giver, making someone feel safe and offering accompaniment in different situations such as medical appointments or asylum interviews.

Summary

A *Person of Trust* offers an essential opportunity for integration through their ability to help connect an SoT to various help organisations and other services. Moreover, the role of social workers and NGOs are often considered by SoTs to be of higher value than just a working relationship and instead are given the status of family. Relatedly, practical help is regarded by SoTs as an essential part of a trustful relationship. For this reason, hindrances to integration could relate to the lack of connection to a *Person of Trust*, as well as difficulties an SoT would have in trusting.

4.3.13 Anxiety/ Fear

Anxiety/ fear is an inductive code. Neither SoTs nor experts were asked directly about their anxiety and fear. The following examples indicate that anxiety and fear should be looked at in more detail and were, therefore, decisive in having the code *anxiety/ fear* added to the codebook:

[1] “I was so scared because of the Lady that brought me, which is my *madam*. Because I was so scared but ever since I got into the safe house, I'm safe.” (S9)

[2] “I met her when I came here. She talked to me about this human trafficking and she taught me a lot. But I was scared. I know her very well, she knows me. And I was scared, and she said: You don't need to be scared.” (S39)

[3] “So, he gave me a phone number of person A from Counselling NGO and we started communicating. At first, I never wanted to come, I was a little bit afraid like ‘ah, if this people can't help me’. She gave me a first appointment and I waved it off.” (S13)

The CRB shows an overlap between the codes *anxiety/ fear* and *integration/ hindrances*. One can conclude that anxiety and fear in SoTs' lives hinder integration to an extensive degree. There is also a high amount of overlap between *anxiety/ fear* and *spirituality/ ATR*, which indicates that ATR often contributes to SoT's fears.⁵⁵

Trafficker and ATR

Looking at the data, the most prominent issue in the field of *anxiety/ fear* is undoubtedly the fear of traffickers and ATR. 14 SoTs, 4 experts and one focus group talk about the fear of traffickers, persons connected to the trafficking network or deities associated with ATR. Most of them speak about the fear of being persecuted, hurt, killed or cursed by people or spirits. Besides the fear of experiencing this themselves, they also fear that their family members, including their children, will be affected in Nigeria.

⁵⁵ For further information, see the full table in appendix 15.

One SoT puts the fear of her trafficker into words by saying: "*She [the madam] said she will kill my mum, my father, my sister so I was very afraid.*" (focus group 2). Another SoT explains the fear of priests and deities associated with ATR:

"Because they took things from my body like my fingernails, my hair [referring to the oath taking ritual], I believe they can use it to hurt me because these things come out of my body." (S3)

One SoT explains that she could not talk about her trafficking past because of her fear of ATR:

"I know that I have messed up when I did not say the word that was eating me in my head. But it was really not my fault, it was because of the oath that I took. This is what was really eating me up and that is what was putting fear on me that I could not be able to say the real thing." (S6)

Residency issues

12 SoTs and two experts address the SoTs' constant fear of being deported or not getting a residence permit. One SoT also mentions the fear of not getting her residence permit extended. Both deportations to the home country and deportations to the European country in which an asylum application was previously filed were discussed (Dublin III Regulation). Two SoTs and one expert mention that the European country they might get deported to is the country where their exploitation has taken place: "*I'm always afraid of deportation.*" (S40). Three SoTs stress that deportation would be particularly bad for their children.

"If it will happen to me today, they take me back to my country, it will be only painful because I've shown my son a light, now you are taking him back to a darkness. Because light and darkness are not the same. This place is light. I've shown him a light, now he is going back to a darkness." (S3)

Two experts talk about how anxious SoTs are when they make a statement to the police or tell their story at asylum hearings or in court. They cite distrust of the authorities and re-traumatisation in retelling the story of trafficking as reasons for this fear.

Trauma/ PTSD

6 SoTs and 6 experts talk about trauma and PTSD in combination with anxiety and fear. They mainly talk about depression, stress, no peace of mind and symptoms such as tremors when triggered by something. Some of them explain that PTSD prevents them from focusing on language teaching or vocational training. The experts point out that professional trauma care is necessary:

"So, when I remember the past, sometimes I will just be crying. Like this week I wasn't myself thinking about my son in Nigeria. So, everything else makes me nervous. So, I will just be angry with everything around me. With myself. I think that is what I need therapy for. Because I really need therapy to calm myself down." (S26)

"The stress was too much. Then the pain and hours. Too much. That is why today sometimes I get nervous after I remember what I went through." (S26)

4 SoTs and two experts highlight nightmares as a major problem. SoTs see their traffickers or African deities associated with ATR in their dreams or they dream of being deported.

“Because in the nights I can't sleep, cannot slept. I'm scared. I am thinking so many things, because I know it was from the pressure from the lady [*madam*] and the people that booked appointments with me [when I was still working in prostitution].” (S21)

Safety Concerns in the Reception Centres

4 SoTs and 6 experts talk about security issues in reception centres. There is the fear of being found by the traffickers or meeting someone from the trafficking network. There is also the fear of being harassed by other asylum seekers in the camp. The 6 experts suggest safe housing as a helpful alternative.

Livelihood

4 SoTs speak about their fear of not having enough money to support themselves and their children. They also mention homelessness as the worst-case scenario.

“They said they don't have a place. I think they should improve in that because there are so many people on the streets that don't have a place to stay. There are unfortunate many people. So, I hope my situation does not come in that way [homelessness] because it is gonna be awful because of my two children.” (S39)

Motherhood

Two SoTs seem to be anxious about not being a good mother or the authorities removing their children from them because of child endangerment. Two experts confirm this by saying that they observe these fears in SoTs.

“Every time when I am depressed and my children are around me, I shout at them. Yeah because I don't want the government to take my children away from me. You understand? I want my children close to me, I want them around me, you understand? So, whenever I am depressed like this I am not ok. Because I am thinking a lot. I am thinking a lot.” (S39)

Illness

5 SoTs and one expert talk about illness as something that frightens SoTs. Either they are afraid of being sick just because of the disease, or they observe psychosomatic symptoms and are afraid of having a serious physical illness that could not be detected. Some also observe symptoms of PTSD and are afraid of becoming mentally ill or crazy. Others are afraid of being cursed, resulting in sickness, and some fear to lose the capacity to care for their children because of sickness.

Summary

Anxiety and fear pose a significant hindrance for SoTs to integrate. Especially the fear of being deported or the fear of being discovered by their former trafficker has a big impact on SoTs. The consequence of this fear is described in their being stressed or withdrawing themselves from help services. For these reasons, fear seems to be one of the most influential obstacles on the way towards integration.

4.3.14 Integration

Integration is a deductive code. All participants were asked what successful integration means to them, and SoTs were additionally asked about their recommendations for other Nigerian women newly arriving in Europe. The subcode *integration/ recommendations* resulted from this question and the two other subcodes *integration/ hindrances* and *integration/ opportunities* were derived from the research question.

The code *integration* and the subcode *integration/ recommendations* are only regarded as meaningful to the qualitative data; therefore, the double codings are disregarded⁵⁶.

Definition of Integration

Participants were asked to portray their understanding of the term *integration* and 5 experts, one SoT and both focus groups link *integration* to speaking the host countries' language. Also understanding the countries' system (1 SoT, 2 experts) and having a job (2 SoTs, 2 experts) are seen as signs of being integrated according to both SoTs and experts. In addition to responses in which the opinions of SoTs and experts were in agreement, there were also issues in which the responses differed from one another. Three SoTs define integration in terms of having a permit to stay in the country, whereas 6 experts define integration based on an SoT having an independent life in the host country.

Many SoTs do not clearly understand the term integration during the interviews, which is why only 6 SoTs attempt to define it.

4.3.14.1 Recommendations

The answers of SoTs and experts concerning *recommendations* were divided as SoTs' recommendations are addressed to other SoTs and experts mostly refer to politics, authorities and other practitioners working with SoTs.

In total, 12 SoTs recommend to other SoTs to look for help: for people to take care of them and 8 SoTs refer to organisations that actively help SoTs newly arriving in the EU. Moreover, 13 SoTs recommend learning the language, and 9 SoTs advise others to find a job. In terms of emotional behaviour, 6 SoTs recommend newly arriving women to be patient, and three warn other SoTs only to trust and follow certain people.

Similar to SoTs' recommendations concerning learning the language, 7 experts advise providing language classes for SoTs among which 2 experts especially stress the need for language classes with childcare included.

Experts also criticise the cooperation between different authorities and organisations and 6 experts call for better networking between actors: *"I think I talked enough. But I believe we must join forces for these situations of injustice in our city."* (E18).

Experts also focus on living conditions for SoTs and recommend safe and special accommodations for SoTs (7 experts) and one expert even suggests to only employ female staff to ensure this safety. In addition, 6 experts advise SoTs to receive trauma assistance, and two experts recommend trauma-sensitive training for practitioners. Finally, three experts call for the availability of more midwives for SoTs in camps and private accommodations.

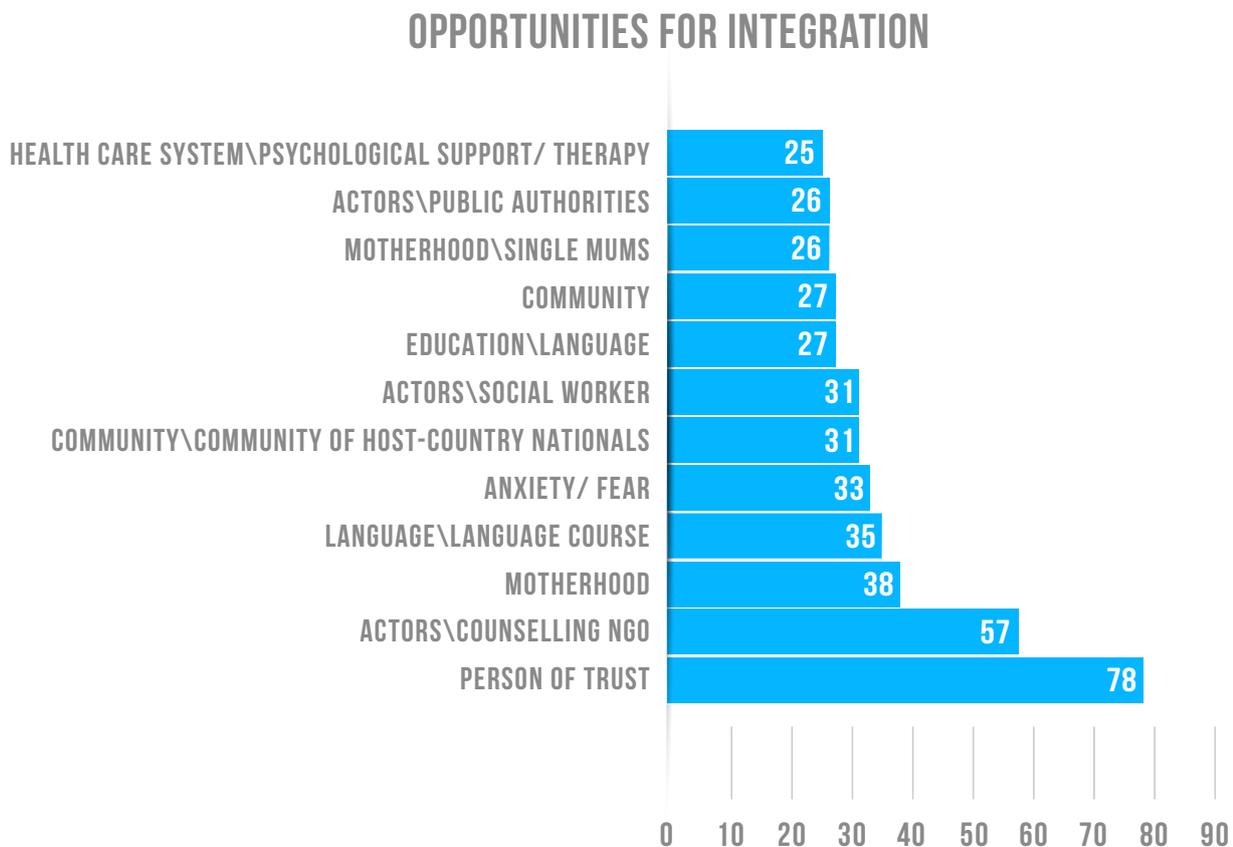
⁵⁶ For further information, see the full table in appendix 16.

4.3.14.2 Opportunities

The code *integration/ opportunities* shows co-occurrences with other codes in situations or conditions in which opportunities existed that supported or enabled SoTs' integration into the host countries' society.

The CRB shows the amount the co-occurrences of relevant codes with the subcode *integration/ opportunities*. Especially the high amount of overlap between the codes *Person of Trust* and *actors/ counselling NGOs* with opportunities for integration emphasizes the value of positive relationships for the integration of SoTs.⁵⁷ Based on the overlapping codes, the following graph portrays the greatest opportunities for SoT's integration.

Graph 3 - Highest co-occurrences with integration/ opportunities. Own graph.



Among SoTs' answers, the role of a *Person of Trust* and counselling NGOs are highlighted and seem to bear the most significant potential for SoTs' integration, which can also be derived from Graph 3. In total, the code *Person of Trust* shows 78 overlaps with opportunities for integration. Additionally, 17 SoTs talk about the positive impact of counselling NGOs in situations that are linked to integration: help in general (6 SoTs, 1expert), help during the asylum process (7 SoTs), accompaniment to appointments (4 SoTs) and help with translating in different situations (3 SoTs). Other situations in which the role of counselling NGOs is marked as an opportunity for SoTs' integration are among others: help in finding a job (2 SoTs) and looking for an apartment (2 SoTs).

⁵⁷For further information, see the full table in appendix 17.

In line with the role of NGOs, social workers are also considered as an opportunity for integration⁵⁸ as SoTs mention a social workers' accompaniment to appointments (3 SoTs), their practical help in everyday life (3 SoTs) and support during the asylum process (2 SoTs): "*I'm so lucky because I have so many good people around me: my social workers.*" (S3).

In addition to the role of official help services like NGOs and social workers, the effect of friendships and other trustful relationships is also emphasized by interviewees⁵⁹: in having someone for babysitting (3 SoTs) and accompaniment for appointments (3 SoTs). Moreover, 4 SoTs and one expert highlighted that these trustful relationships build the ground for SoTs to tell their stories and what happened in the past:

"I couldn't say it but the thing was really eating me up and it was making me crazy, but I couldn't tell it to anyone until I met my friend. It was one of my good friends here." (S6)

Having a job is essential for integration according to 12 SoTs, and two experts⁶⁰. Also, language learning and language classes are seen as cornerstone for being integrated (6 SoTs, 10 experts, 2 focus groups)⁶¹.

A granted asylum and the permit to stay in the country is for 4 SoTs and one expert the basis for integration: "*Yes, first and foremost of course residence permits are needed so that the women can integrate themselves at all.*" (E2).

As shown in Graph 3, motherhood also offers opportunities for integration as it is easier for SoTs to get in contact with host country nationals through their children (2 SoTs, 4 experts)⁶². When encountering psychological instability, three SoTs and 4 experts see psychotherapy as an opportunity for integration and one expert places focus on the opportunity of therapy in SoTs' mother tongue⁶³.

All in all, *integration/ opportunities* for SoTs is mostly connected to relationships and practical help. For experts, opportunities are more connected to structural and political issue as providing therapy and language classes.

4.3.14.3 Hindrances

The code *integration/ hindrances* shows co-occurrences with other codes in situations or conditions which hinder the integrational process for SoTs in their host countries.

The CRB shows overlap of relevant codes with hindrances for integration. Especially the high amount of overlap between the *codes anxiety/ fear* and *integration/ hindrances* implies that fear hinders SoT integration to a great extent⁶⁴. Based on the overlapping codes, the following graph portrays the biggest hindrances for SoT's integration.

⁵⁸ See overlapping codes *social worker* and *integration/ opportunities* in appendix 13; appendix 17.

⁵⁹ See code summary *Person of Trust* in Chapter 4.3.12.

⁶⁰ See overlapping codes *employment* and *integration/ opportunities* in appendix 6; appendix 17.

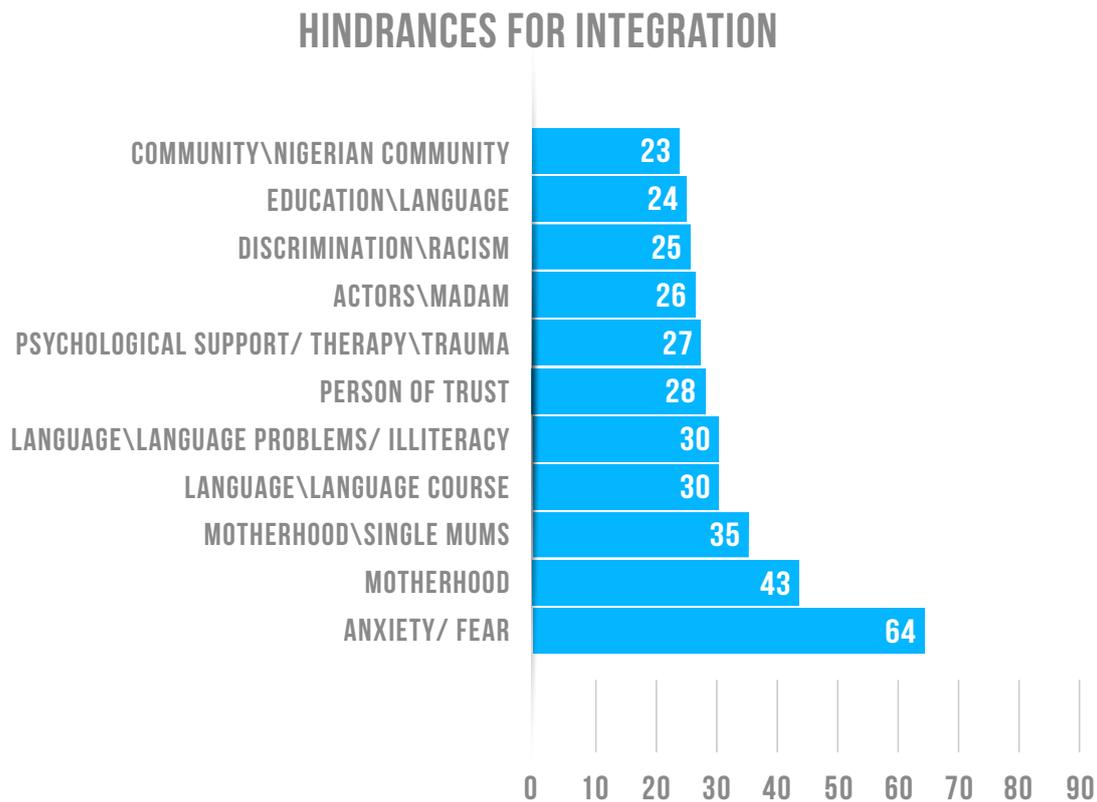
⁶¹ See overlapping codes *language, language course* and *integration/ opportunities* in appendix 5; appendix 17.

⁶² See overlapping codes *motherhood, single mum* and *integration/ opportunities* in appendix 8; appendix 17.

⁶³ See overlapping codes *therapy, trauma* and *integration/ opportunities* in appendix 7; appendix 17.

⁶⁴ For further information, see the full table in appendix 18.

Graph 4 - Highest co-occurrences with integration/ hindrances. Own graph.



Among the answers given by experts and SoTs, the role of anxiety/ fear is outlined: fear of being deported (7 SoTs, 4 experts), fear of the past trafficking experience (5 SoTs, 2 experts, 1 focus group), fear of the future in terms of residency issues and employment (1 SoT, 1 expert) and fear of having their children taken away (2 SoTs). The importance of the role of anxiety/ fear is also supported by Graph 4.

Concerning the effect of language and education on integration, 5 SoTs and 5 experts talk about the difficulties of learning a new language. 6 SoTs, 4 experts and both focus groups mention particular situations in which language issues pose a hindrance for integration⁶⁵: *“Not I say they were not friendly, the people were friendly. But the challenge was the language. I really would have loved to communicate, and I believe they would have loved to communicate.”* (S14). 4 experts see the SoT’s lack of educational background as a reason for language learning problems. Also, being a single mum seems to hinder integration through SoTs stopping language and educational programmes because of pregnancy and motherhood (3 SoTs, 6 experts, 1 focus group). Employment concerns are also related to pregnancy and motherhood as 6 SoTs assess their difficulties in finding a job compatible with being a mother⁶⁶.

Besides language barriers, trauma⁶⁷ and the general psychological instability of SoTs pose another hindrance for integration (9 SoTs, 4 experts) which cannot be adequately addressed due to lack of available therapists (1 SoT, 2 experts). This emotional instability also has adverse effects on the SoTs’ relationship with their *Persons of trust*:

“You must not raise your voice on people that are helping you. You shouldn’t raise your voice on them. No, there are here to help you. So, it is up to us to calm down for them to help us.” (S26)

⁶⁵ See overlapping codes *language course* and *illiteracy* in appendix 5; appendix 18.

⁶⁶ See overlapping codes *single mums* and *integration/ hindrances* in appendix 8; appendix 18.

⁶⁷ See overlapping codes *trauma* and *integration/ hindrances* in appendix 7; appendix 18.

The strain on this relationship makes access to assistance more difficult. Additionally, shame (4 SoTs) and mistrust (2 SoTs, 2 experts) also hinder SoTs:

“You never want to trust anybody especially not white people. You don't want to trust them, because you think if you ask German people for help, they will not help you. But that is not true.” (S21)

SoTs' stability is likewise affected by the stress caused by the asylum process (4 SoTs), and three SoTs express their insecurity about the lengthy visa process.

According to 7 SoTs and three experts, bad accommodations as in camps put a burden on SoTs. Connected to the situation in camps but also in society in general, racism is an issue that affected SoTs' integration (5 SoTs, 4 experts). Finally, the way African churches could hinder the integrational process of SoTs is outlined (2 SoTs, 4 experts)⁶⁸.

Summary

Within the topic *integration*, it is noticeable that SoTs and experts seem to have a different perspective on integration. Most SoTs recommend to other SoTs to find help whereas experts' advice is addressed to officials and politics. Both groups, however, agree on recommending learning the host countries' language.

Overall, anxiety/ fear seem to be the biggest hindrance to integration, and also, the language barrier hinders SoTs' integration to a great extent. A valuable way to confront these challenges and to support integration seem to be through a *Person of Trust* and trustful relationships to counselling NGOs, social workers and friends.

⁶⁸ See overlapping codes *ATR, African church* and *integration/ hindrances* in appendix 9; appendix 18.

» 5. DISCUSSION

In this Chapter, the results of this research are discussed against the background of the literature. The concept of intersectionality is first discussed (Chapter 5.1) and then Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework for integration (Chapter 5.2). Both concepts are then applied to the case study of female Nigerian survivors of sex trafficking (SoTs). Finally, the most striking opportunities and hindrances for the integration of SoTs are summarised and classified in the state of research (Chapter 5.3). In this context, the role that a *Person of Trust* plays in promoting integration, as well as the role of *fear* hindering integration, will be addressed.

When discussing the results of this research, reference is made to the detailed and partially quantified presentation of the results of this research in Chapter 4. The interview data consists of 35 survivor interviews, 18 expert interviews and two focus groups consisting of survivors.

When discussing literature, reference is made to the literature review in Chapter 2. If reference is given to a specific literature source, this is made clear in the text or in the footer.

5.1 Intersectionality

The results of this research⁶⁹ have contributed to the utilisation of intersectionality in the case study of female Nigerian SoTs and their situations in European host countries. It has shown how SoTs continue to be in precarious situations within the EU, while also presenting positive examples of how structural categories can benefit the integration process. As explained in Chapter 2.1, this research report takes an intersectional approach to integration to enable more holistic support of SoTs by considering "[...] how all facets of their identity interact, acknowledging that each person's story and needs are unique." (Napolitano 2017).

The research's results show how SoTs continue to be in difficult situations due to their ethnicity and race⁷⁰, sex and gender⁷¹, class⁷², and religion⁷³ (marked brown in Table 2). In the interviews conducted, there was no evidence of discrimination based on sexual orientation, dis/ability and age (marked grey in table 2). It is therefore assumed that these categories do not lead to more frequent or more extreme discrimination for SoTs than for the average population of a European host country. Three additional categories have been added - motherhood, social and economic experiences and migration status - on the basis of the findings in the literature review⁷⁴ and interview data⁷⁵ (marked blue in table 2).

⁶⁹ See Chapter 4.

⁷⁰ Ethnicity and Race can be illustrated through the code *racism* (Chapter 4.3.9).

⁷¹ Sex and Gender can be illustrated through the code *gender differences* (Chapter 4.3.9).

⁷² Class can be illustrated through the codes *education* (Chapter 4.3.3) and *access to the labour market* (Chapter 4.3.4).

⁷³ Religion can be illustrated through the code *spirituality* (Chapter 4.3.7).

⁷⁴ See Chapter 2.

⁷⁵ See Chapter 4.

Table 2 - Extended Matrix of Oppression. Own table. Brown and grey rows based on Owen and Fox (n.d.) (adjustments were made). Blue rows were added by the authors.

SOCIAL IDENTITY CATEGORIES	PRIVILEGED SOCIAL GROUPS	BORDER SOCIAL GROUPS ↔	TARGETED SOCIAL GROUPS	ISM
RACE	WHITE PEOPLE	BIRACIAL PEOPLE (WHITE/LATINO, BLACK, ASIAN)	ASIAN, BLACK, LATINO, NATIVE PEOPLE	RACISM
SEX	BIO MEN	TRANSEXUAL, INTERSEX PEOPLE	BIO WOMEN	SEXISM
GENDER	GENDER CONFORMING BIO MEN AND WOMEN	GENDER AMBIGUOUS BIO MEN AND WOMEN	TRANSGENDER, GENDERQUEER, INTERSEX PEOPLE	TRANSGENDER OPPRESSION
SEXUAL ORIENTATION	HETEROSEXUAL PEOPLE	BISEXUAL PEOPLE	LESBIANS, GAY MEN	HETEROSEXISM
CLASS	RICH, UPPER-CLASS PEOPLE	MIDDLE-CLASS PEOPLE	WORKING CLASS, POOR PEOPLE	CLASSISM
ABILITY/DISABILITY	TEMPORARILY/ABLEBODIED PEOPLE	PEOPLE WITH TEMPORARY DISABILITIES	PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES	ABLEISM
RELIGION (E.G. CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM, ATR)	CHRISTIANS	ROMAN CATHOLIC (HISTORICALLY)	JEWS, MUSLIMS, HINDUS	RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION
AGE	ADULTS	YOUNG ADULTS	ELDERS, YOUNG PEOPLE	AGEISM/ADULTISM
MOTHERHOOD	MOTHERS WITH PARTNERS HAVING A FUNCTIONING AND STABLE SOCIAL NETWORK	SINGLE MOTHERS & MOTHERS WITH PARTNERS HAVING A DYSFUNCTIONAL AND UNSTABLE SOCIAL NETWORK AND DEPENDING ON SOCIAL WELFARE SUPPORT	SINGLE MOTHERS HAVING NO SOCIAL NETWORK AND NO ACCESS TO SOCIAL WELFARE SUPPORT	MOTHERHOOD
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES	PEOPLE IN FAIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENTS	PEOPLE IN UNFAIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENTS	PEOPLE IN EXPLOITATIVE/ SLAVELIKE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENTS (E.G HUMAN TRAFFICKING, FORCED PROSTITUTION ETC.)	ABUSE/ EXPLOITATION
MIGRATION STATUS	NATIONALS WITHOUT MIGRATION BACKGROUND	NATIONALS WITH MIGRATION BACKGROUND AND PEOPLE WITH A LONGTERM RESIDENCE PERMIT	PEOPLE WITH A TEMPORARY RESIDENCE PERMIT OR NONE AT ALL	MIGRATION

Motherhood

From the interview results, it has become evident that in the context of SoTs, motherhood forms an additional identity. Being a mother, especially a single mother with no stable social network and no or limited access to welfare support, can lead to structural discrimination. The interviewees mainly spoke about how being a (single) mother prevents SoTs from finding a flat, attending language courses and vocational training and thus hinders access to the labour market. One SoT shares her experience of looking for a flat:

“Especially when you have children. [...] At first, they would tell you, ok come. [...] when you get there or when you tell them you have a child, some will tell you ‘nein’ and many of them said ‘nein, nein, nein’. ‘Nein’ to children. And it got to a point, I started getting frustrated. [...] Maybe they want me to throw away my son, or my child because when they hear you have a child they said ‘nein’.” (S3)

In addition, this research shows that SoTs know and apply very different ways of raising children due to their cultural background and experience (perceived) discrimination by European passers-by and authorities:

„The white people believe talking to a child makes a child understand perfectly. But sometimes just talking alone with your mouth without action does not make a child to understand things. [...] Sometimes my child would do somethings very wrong. Like two days ago [...] the boy was trying to ride his bicycle and my son was running after him and I'm trying to call him back he is not even hearing my voice and he was running to far from me and I was so scared like you know a car can be coming from the other way he will not know a child is running. [...] I was so scared, and I ran to him when I got to him, I hold him and I hit him. I told him don't do that again when I called your name, listen to me. But if a police officer saw me when I hit him, I will be in problem. [...] But it's my child. I love my child. I'm not going to mistreat my child. I'm not going to treat my child wrongly because I want the best for him. So, with all these things the challenge is sometimes they just see the mistake you make, and they take the mistake on you immediately, and they say they want to take your child from you. [...] If Germany wants to take my child, they have to kill me first before they take my child." (S3)

Social and Economic Experiences

SoTs face further discrimination based on their experiences in prostitution, as the discourses about and policies on prostitution have not fully considered the situation of migrant women in prostitution from an intersectional perspective (Nelson Butler 2013). This means that they are stigmatised on the basis of having experienced forced prostitution. Therefore, based on the interview results, an intersectional integration approach should also take into account the experiences SoTs had in prostitution and other abusive experiences they have had in their lives. These undoubtedly lead to a further structural identity category, having negative implications on their self-esteem:

“Maybe there will be some men they will look at you and they think that you are a prostitute because you stand on the street, and they like you, they will call you 'come on, so that I can do anything with you'. But is not good. [...] especially now the way of dress now, maybe Italian men or African boys they think they are prostitutes. But I'm not, I just dress for a fashion.” (focus group 2)

“Women that prostitute themselves are seen as someone who is not worth anything [...]. However, the prostitution, harshly said, is a problem that does not concern people. It's a problem that nobody cares about: a prostitute remains a prostitute for most people.” (E16)

This structural category communicates the fact that the abusive experiences SoTs have had leads to further negative effects on their well-being, damaging their concentration ability, social interactions, ability to trust and to make small and large life decisions:⁷⁶

“Like from the very early childhood [...] they were beaten, they were sold to someone and later forced to prostitution and they never really learnt what it really means to have a loving environment and to have a place where they can really learn and concentrate, where you are not punished for mistakes.” (E8)

⁷⁶ For further information, see Chapter 2; Chapter 4.

This again makes them particularly vulnerable in comparison to other refugees:

“Because they are trafficked, they are under trauma. They need assistance [...]. So, I believe that they need safe houses more urgently [...] than any other refugee [...]. Because their case is different. [...] They were trafficked, people are after them.” (E20)

Migration Status

The literature review shows that other researchers had already identified migration status as an additional category (Amelina 2017; Robertson 2019). This research confirms that migration status has a significant impact on the life of SoTs and leads to (structural) discrimination, interrelating it with other categories and thus forming an additional identity category. Not having a residence permit often leads to restrictions such as not being able to participate in integration programmes, being banned from the labour market, or not being eligible for state funding of therapies.

“You know when you have document in country you feel home. But when you don't have document you are still like a stranger. [...] because when you have document I'm feel like relaxing. I can work. I can move.” (S18)

“First of all, they don't have access to the integration courses [...], because they don't have papers to stay. So, they are not allowed to participate. Then you have to find a language school, which is for free and open for everybody. And then you have, most of them have kids and then you have to find out how they can get [...] babysitting for their kids.” (E9)

An expert summarises it like this:

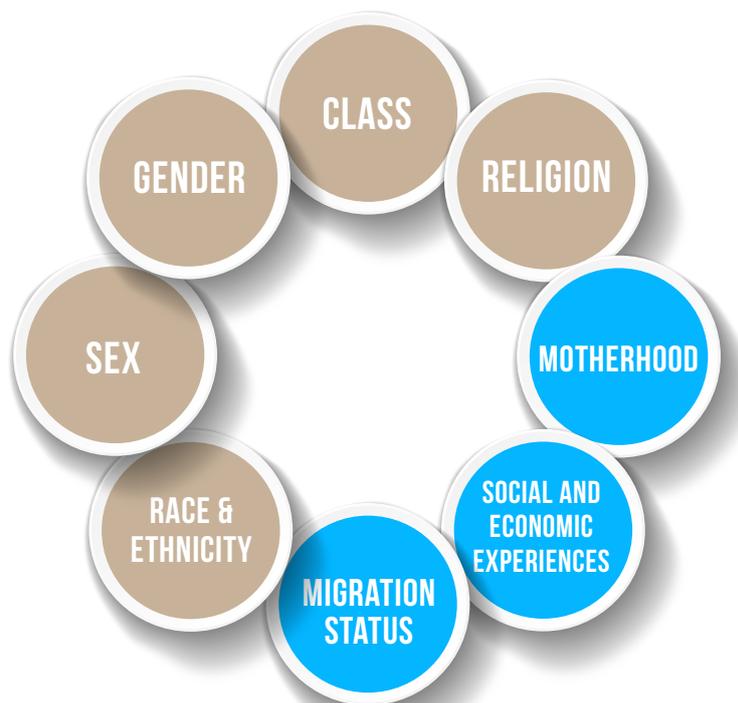
“First and foremost, of course residence permits are needed so that the women can integrate themselves at all.” (E2)

It must, of course, be borne in mind that the category Migration status is closely related to the categories Race, Class and Religion.

It is striking that some categories not only lead to discrimination but also have a positive influence on the life of SoTs and are conducive to integration as these identities give them a certain amount of power as noted in intersectional theory (Adusei-Poku 2012). This fact can be exemplified in the structural category of motherhood:

“I think, it is that those women are somehow forced for their children to survive and to cope with the problems, to see a future. If they see a child, they still see life in their lives [...]. It is giving them power somehow to see someone growing up. Many women tell me that it is the only thing why they continue.” (E10)

Graph 5 - Intersectionality - Structural categories & their interplay. Own graph.



The code analysis⁷⁷ shows that the identified structural categories are double-edged swords concerning integration. The results, therefore, suggest that Nigerian SoTs have varying identities based on individual experiences in their given structural categories, as visualised in Graph 5. Each structural category and its implications for integration needs to be assessed for each Nigerian SoT individually, assessing if a SoT's identity poses an oppressive or empowered identity. In the case of oppressive identities, these needs should be counteracted in order to enable integration. If a given structural category puts a SoT in an empowered position, this identity should be promoted, as it can act as a solid foundation for the integration of the SoT.

An intersectional approach to integration for Nigerian SoTs must, therefore, incorporate the aforementioned structural categories, understand their interplay and build on their power and oppression implications in order to provide for tailored integration programmes for SoTs (Lee and Piper 2013). This research report thus argues that an intersectional analysis needs to be incorporated to all integration activities for SoTs in order to provide for a holistic approach to integration in line with recent findings on the need for gender-specific measures in anti-trafficking policies and assistance (Rosell et al. 2018):

“It means more programs that consider the specific needs of individual survivors instead of putting them all together and assuming they need the same services on the path to recovery. Think of an intersectional approach in victim identification, where programs are designed for survivors who are poor, young, or from rural areas for example. For some survivors, [...] programs with educational and financial support programs might be better. For others, familial acceptance could be a prominent issue [...]. [T]hose survivors may prefer increased access to legal support.” (Napolitano 2017)

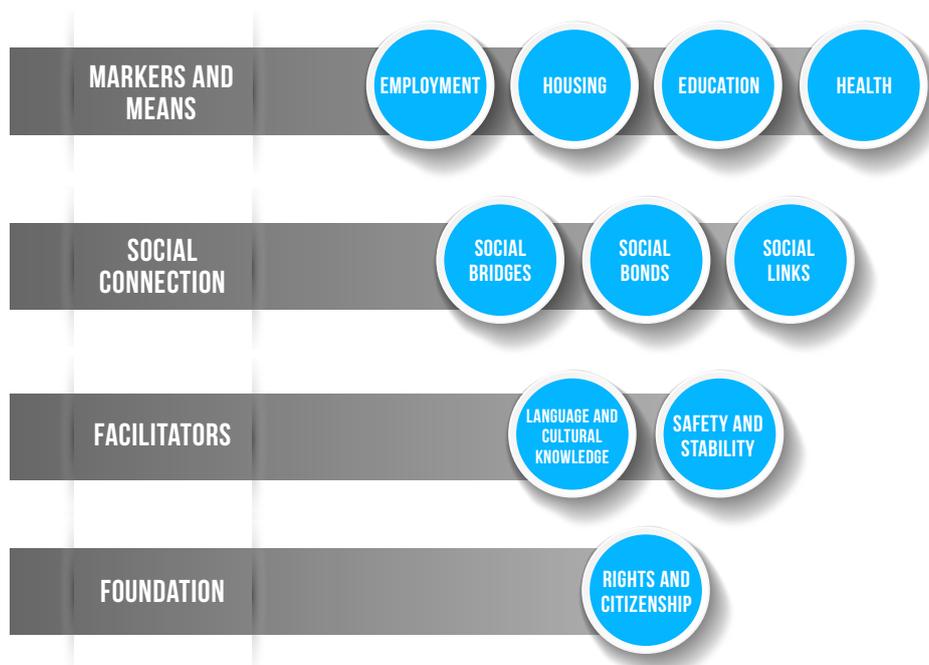
⁷⁷ See Chapter 4.

5.2 Integration

Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework links nine key domains of integration in order to provide a "tool to foster debate and definition regarding normative conceptions of integration in resettlement settings" (Ibid.:166). The results of this research⁷⁸ as well as the literature⁷⁹ are classified into these nine key domains, and the applicability of the concept to female Nigerian survivors of Sex Trafficking (SoTs) is examined.

Graph 6 - A conceptual Framework Defining core Domains of Integration. Reconstructed by the authors.

Source: Ager and Strang 2008:170.



Rights and Citizenship

According to Ager and Strang (2008), the domain *Rights and Citizenship* refers to the desire of refugees to have the same rights as host-country nationals (e.g. the right to work). This does not only influence the refugee's feeling of being integrated but also the way the host-society views and respects refugees. This domain is mainly shaped by the integration policy of the given host-country and is "the basis for full and equal engagement within society" (2008:176).

In European countries, the requirement for equal or at least very similar rights as the host-society is the possession of a short-term or long-term residence permit. This research's results⁸⁰ as well as literature⁸¹ show that delays in their residence permit leads to SoTs being emotionally unstable and hinders their ability to concentrate (e.g. on language class). On the other hand, having a residence permit leads SoTs to feel safe and integrated, granting them extended access to state-funded integration offers, no limitations on movement, and full access to health services (e.g. therapy) and the labour market:

"You know when you have document in country you feel home. But when you don't have document you are still like a stranger. [...] because when you have document I'm feel like relaxing, I can work. I can move." (S18)

⁷⁸ See Chapter 4.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 2.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 4.3.1.

⁸¹ See Chapter 2.3 (Brekke 2004; Nickerson, A., Steel, Z., Bryant, R., Brooks, R., and Silove, D. (2011); Schock, Rosner, and Knaevelsrud 2015).

Interviewed SoTs found both social work and legal advice from a lawyer helpful in meeting the challenges in this domain. The hurdles named above go beyond the uncertainty in the asylum procedure and its related impact on asylum seekers, to include the lack of transparency of the procedure itself and the associated feeling of losing control (Brekke 2004). Individual events in the process, such as the asylum interview can also be perceived as difficult or even retraumatizing (Schock, Rosner, and Knaevelsrud 2015).

The example of Germany shows that SoTs' *fears* are realistic. In 2018, 11,073 Nigerians applied for asylum in Germany. Of these, 76.2% were rejected at first instance⁸². (Kalkmann/ AIDA 2019) Legal action was taken in court against 53.6% of all first instance decisions (considering all asylum-seekers). Of all these appeals, 17.2% were decided in favour of the applicants. (BMI 2019) That means, at least in Germany, the chances for SoTs to get a residence permit are low as human trafficking experiences does not necessarily prompt the authorities to view the case differently. However, a missing residence permit does not immediately mean deportation, as deportations cannot always be carried out for various reasons (e.g. missing passport).

Language and Cultural Knowledge

The domain *Language and Cultural Knowledge* implies refugees' ability to speak the host country's language, as well as, the ability of service providers (e.g. hospitals) to provide translators or offer information material translated into relevant languages. It also refers to the two-way cultural understanding and adaptation between the host country and that of refugees.

The results of this research support the importance of this domain for integration. SoTs and experts stressed the vital role of language for integration, especially for the access to the labour market and in order to build up social connections with the host-society:

“Before I don't know that a pharmacy is called *Apotheke* [...]. Now I know, and now I can express myself in German. [...] I feel so happy because I can speak it now. [...] I feel so happy being integrated because before I felt like, how do I speak this language, how do I read?” (S13).

It is striking that many SoTs are illiterate and therefore, even translated information material does not help to overcome language barriers. For this reason, the accompaniment of a social worker to doctor's visits and other official appointments is often unavoidable, especially in the initial phase. It must also be assumed that language acquisition takes longer for illiterate people and requires special teaching methods.

Along with that, PTSD can reduce one's ability to concentrate and thus introduces still another hindrance to language acquisition for SoTs. Access to language courses is often severely restricted due to lack of residence permits and lengthy asylum procedures. If a place in a language course is available, motherhood often prevents participation because childcare is not available.

The fact that culture plays a role in the integration of SoTs is undeniable, as Nigerian culture is very different from any European culture. SoTs (especially those who cannot read) therefore, need social workers or other contact persons who can provide them with cultural knowledge: *“Like in Nigeria when you see somebody, you love to embrace the person, but in Germany you give the person hand.”* (S2) At this point, it must be noted that religion and spirituality is an integral part of any culture and African Traditional Religion (ATR) differs a lot from European

⁸² In 2018, 6,336 Nigerians applied for asylum in Italy. Of these, 69% were rejected at first instance. (AIDA/Bove 2019)

Christian spirituality⁸³. These cultural differences in the area of spirituality can lead to SoTs not feeling understood by authorities or the host-society. However, since SoTs often practice the Christian faith in addition to ATR, spirituality can also be a cultural commonality. For example, many interviewed SoTs spoke of regular visits to Catholic churches in the host country⁸⁴.

Safety and Stability

The domain *Safety and Stability*, on the one hand, refers to refugees' desire to be safe which means not to get into "trouble", not to experience "violence" and not to be "threatened" (Ager and Strang 2008:183-84). On the other hand, it refers to refugees' desire for a permanent home and permanent neighbours, instead of being transferred to another place several times because of asylum issues. In addition, a permanent home supports the adequate access and use of public services. (Ibid.)

SoTs and experts interviewed addressed the issue of insecurity in official refugee accommodations, especially in reception centres. One SoT spoke about sexual harassment in a reception centre:

"[...] because this guy tried to harass me for sex when I woke up. I went to the bathroom because is a public bathroom. I went to the bathroom to ease myself and I saw him, his dick was standing and he was begging me to come to his room to sleep with him and I said: 'You are crazy! What is wrong with you?' [...] Then he fought with me. He hit me so hard." (S13)

Another SoT spoke about her feeling uncomfortable living with men:

"In the reception centre are men: the way they look and the way they talk to me I don't like it because I will feel like embarrassing because they will say 'ah you're a single girl'. They will like to be talking to me like what I don't like." (S11)

For SoTs, the perceived insecurity from traffickers, ATR and their own countrywomen/ countryman was especially striking and specific. SoTs often get tracked, contacted and threatened by their traffickers (often referred to as *madam*) or other figures of the trafficking network after they have fled from their exploitation. The danger affects not only the SoTs themselves but also their family in Nigeria: "*She [the madam] said she will kill my mum, my father, my sister so I was very afraid.*" (focus group 2) The *fear* that fellow countrymen or countrywomen they meet in the shelter are connected to the human trafficking network and would betray them also came into play. Besides that, many interviewed SoTs were afraid of priests and deities associated with ATR to hurt them or their family. The power to do this will, according to ATR, be given to them because of the oath taken at the beginning of the trafficking;⁸⁵

"Because they took things from my body like my fingernails, my hair [referring to the oath taking ritual], I believe they can use it to hurt me because these things come out of my body." (S3)

Regarding the *fear* of ATR, SoTs kept talking about how Christian faith and prayer helps them to reduce the *fear* or even get rid of it completely: "*I'm not afraid of any juju. God is with me. God is my strength, is my helper.*" (S34) Three experts - one social worker and two Nigerian pastors of African Churches in Europe - spoke of *deliverance prayer* which they offer SoTs as a help. Several experts expressed the wish to expand the cooperation or at least the dialogue

⁸³ See Chapter 2.7.

⁸⁴ See Chapter 4.3.7.

⁸⁵ See Chapter 2.7; Chapter 4.3.7.

between NGOs specialised in trafficking victims and African churches in order to utilise that potential better.

Social Bonds, Social Bridges and Social Links

Ager and Strang (2008; referring to Putnam 1993 and Woolcock 1998) distinguish between the domains *Social Bonds*, *Social Bridges* and *Social Links* when it comes to social connections.

Social Bonds describes social connections with like-ethnic communities. That can be one's own family as well as people with the same or similar ethnicity, nationality or religion. These communities make it possible to "share cultural practices and maintain familiar patterns of relationships" (Ager and Strang 2008:178) and have a positive influence on refugee's mental health (Beiser 1993 cited in Ibid.).

This research's results show that many SoTs get in touch with like-ethnic communities through their official refugee accommodation and African churches. The interviewed SoTs talked about resulting friendships that give them emotional support as well as practical help (e.g. babysitting). Some SoTs reported that their friends are also SoTs. At the same time, these relationships also involve difficulties and dangers. The most prominent difficulty was the frequent loss of contact due to transfers. The most prominent danger was the possibility to get into contact with people associated with their trafficking network. The associated mistrust towards countryman/ countrywomen was also striking.

"African churches in Germany are the places, where I think there, the Nigerians are in most danger and in their most comfort at the same time." (E9)

Social Bridges means social connections with other communities, primarily the host-society. These connections can be developed as friendships or involve participating in joint activities, but also experienced in small encounters, such as just a friendly greeting. (Ibid.)

In this research, education programmes, employment, motherhood, European churches and non-refugee accommodations have proven to be particularly conducive to the development of Social Bridges. Contact with social workers from specialised counselling NGOs also falls into this category, since some SoTs described their social workers as very important contact persons or even as "friends". Culture differences (e.g. in spirituality and childbearing), the language barrier, as well as discrimination and racism, proved to be difficulties in this domain:

"Not I say they were not friendly, the people were friendly. But the challenge was the language. I really would have loved to communicate, and I believe they would have loved to communicate." (S14)

"The custom is different because is like they don't understand blacks, we don't understand them. I don't have any Austrian friends but I would love to have." (S40)

"All the black mothers, we sit together, we talk and something we are looking but the white also sit together." (S40).

In the SoT interviews, it was noticeable that SoTs often described or perceived unfriendliness as racism, although this could also be due to another category, for example, motherhood. This research report, therefore, applies an intersectional approach to the topic of discrimination (see Chapter 5.1).

Social Links refers to connections with “structures of the state, such as government services.” (Ibid.:181) Language barriers, refugee’s lack of understanding of the system and the lack of adjustment within the system to accommodate refugees (e.g. no provision of translated material) were identifiable challenges in this domain.

The results of this research confirmed all three challenges. Furthermore, it became clear that the enormous differences between the structure and function of the Nigerian government and any European government added to the language-related problems in this domain. Interviewed SoTs reported of social workers helping them to access government services:

“She made some photocopy of the paper, afterwards she gave me an appointment again. On the appointment, she asked me if I went to interview, I said no. I said no but they told me that very soon I will go to interview. So, she told me that before I go to the interview, once I receive the interview date, I should come and meet her so that she will teach me some things and make a rehearsal with me. So, I said okay. So, when I received the letter, I call her, [...] so she made an appointment for me to come and meet her in the office. So, when I met her so she read the paper so she told me that I should not worry. She will help me.” (S11)

Education and Employment

The domains *Education and Employment* include education, except language and integration courses, which belong to the domain *Language and Cultural Knowledge*, and any kind of legal employment. The domains *Education* and *Employment*, as well as the two following domains (*Housing* and *Health*) are the typically identified domains of integration.

Education (schooling, vocational training, further education) “provides skills and competencies in support of subsequent employment” (Ager and Strang 2008:172) and enables contact with the host-society. Employment promotes, among other things, economic independence, contact with the host-society, language acquisition and self-esteem (African Educational Trust 1998, Bloch 1999, Tomlinson and Egan 2002 cited in Ager and Strang 2008).

While a primary challenge for most SoTs is not the non-recognition of qualifications, as might be the case for other refugee groups, it is rather the lack of education and work experience in Nigeria before the trafficking took place. For SoTs, attending school could mean being a student for the first time in their lives, and integration into the labour market could mean not only integration into a new labour market but the very first integration into any labour market. Added to this is the increased difficulty of language acquisition due to illiteracy.

The most common answer to the question of future dreams in this research was the desire to be educated and employed. Most frequently, dream jobs of the interviewed SoTs were midwifery, geriatric nursing and cashiering. As these professions are partly understaffed in European countries, the employment of SoTs could arguably be an advantage for the host society.

“My dream in Germany here is to study hard for my future and at the end to become a midwife.” (focus group 2)

“In five years, before five years, if I want to, in fact, I want to be an independent woman. I want to be an independent woman first. Secondly, I want to, in five years I should be able to be speaking the language, in five years I should be to be doing working for myself.

In five years, I should be able to have my car to myself. In five years, I pray to God should give me a man of my happiness. In five years, I want to be independent women. I want to be happy." (S3)

The hindrance of not receiving a work permit due to lengthy asylum procedures and limited access to education programmes and the labour market due to motherhood constitute additional challenges in these two domains. Although their growth in the areas of education and employment may be limited, mothers tended to be motivated and committed to their child's development in precisely these areas:

"So, the ones that I don't have, I want my daughter to have it, the kind of life I didn't have, I didn't live, I didn't afford in my life and I want my daughter to have it. So, this is the kind of life my baby to have, to study well, to go to good school, speak well and have a good future." (focus group 2)

Housing

Housing is another classic domain considered in the context of integration; that housing has a major impact on the well-being of refugees, is beyond dispute. In Ager and Strang's (2008) research, however, refugees were not as concerned about the physical quality of their accommodation, but rather about the social and cultural implications, including contact with the like-ethnic community as well as with the host-society and the risks and benefits associated with them. Housing also has significant overlap with the domains *Social Bridges*, *Social Bonds*, *Social Links* and *Safety and Stability*.

This research's results show that SoTs perceive official refugee accommodations (often it was not clear whether they were talking about reception centres or collective accommodation centre) as predominantly negative. Five negative elements stood out in particular: uncleanliness, difficulties with European food (when not allowed to cook themselves), mother-child unfriendly accommodations, the *fear* of getting in contact with people from the trafficking network (danger of re-trafficking), and (sexual) harassment in the camps. For more information on the risks posed by traffickers and (sexual) harassment, read *Safety and Stability* above.

One interviewed expert spoke about women's shelters or women's quarters within large refugee centres as a solution:

"So, in town A there is an extra container within the accommodation [...] a container only for women travelling alone. They share it, it's women from Ethiopia and Nigeria, [...] there is a security guard day and night. He is really sitting at the table right there. [...] the showers are locked, the toilets as well. You need a chip to get in. That is a good step." (E14)

Some interviewed SoTs and experts spoke about anonymous safe houses specialised for female victims of human trafficking and run by NGOs as an appropriate accommodation for SoTs. For more information on NGO-run, safe houses and their influence on the well-being read *Health* below. However, it is also clear that these shelters are only a temporary solution, as anonymity also brings with it restrictions. For example, one SoT spoke about the limitations of smart-phone use. Basically, it became clear in this research that SoTs would like to have their own rented flat in the long term and that this would be a sense of achievement in the area of integration for them. However, finding an apartment is particularly difficult for them⁸⁶:

⁸⁶ Also confirmed by the literature, e.g.: Housing Europe 2016.

"I started getting frustrated. [...] Maybe they want me to throw away my son, or my child because when they hear you have a child they said 'nein'. To me it's not normal, and some of them will say 'ok with the child there's no problem' but when it comes to like job center paying the money they said 'no', they don't want the job center." (S3)

Health

The domain *Health* is seen as a "resource for active engagement in a new society" (Ager and Strang 2008:172). In addition, the successful use of the system itself is also seen as an integration success. The commissioning of health services leads to a link with an important government service and thus, hopefully, over time, to better knowledge of and trust in this service. Challenges in this area may include language barriers that impede communication with healthcare personnel, and misunderstandings of the system that lead to inappropriate use of the system. (Ibid.)

Both problems became apparent in this study. Many interviewed SoTs spoke about social workers who accompanied them to doctor's appointments for psycho-social support and as translators. However, they also expressed their wish to be able to attend these appointments themselves one day. It also became evident that some SoTs have difficulty understanding the difference between a hospital and a doctor's office or the different responsibilities.

This research's results as well as literature⁸⁷ shows that culture, too, can influence the use of the healthcare system. In the case of SoTs, especially spirituality, both ATR and Christianity, can lead to a denial of health services or very limited use of the system and, therefore, represent another challenge in this domain:

"[...] in particular when it was believed that only the spiritual aspect could solve the medical problem and therefore the girl did not follow the recommended therapies. [I gave medical attention to a SoT] with HIV infection, and [she] believed that the disease could only pass in a religious way or by praying, without taking the recommended therapies." (E18)

Besides that, the results as well as literature⁸⁸ confirm that SoTs have a particular need for (trauma-)therapy because of the trafficking experience. Added pressure from residence issues, housing and (unwanted) pregnancy/ motherhood or abortion can add to the trauma. Unfortunately, often no financial resources are available for such therapy, although the Member States are officially obliged to provide this assistance even to people without a residence permit (Directive 2011/36/EU: Article 11(7)). However, therapy is not the only thing that leads to recovery. A good environment and the influence of everyday interactions have a great influence on recovery too (Mahoney et al. 2009; Sander 2018). In this study, the connection between recovery and accommodation in NGO-run safe houses became clear:

"So, I think the house is very nice and the house is very big parlour. So, I think the NGO used to encourage, they encourage, so you make to learn and make you to be serious in life." (S11)

"I really like the safe house. Because in the safe house, there is privacy." (S10)

"But in the safe house, there is no man. You just want to be what you want to be. And if you don't understand anything you can ask the social worker. [...] Just open your heart when you open your heart they will know where to help you." (S10)

⁸⁷ See Chapter 2.7 (Gunst et al. 2019).

⁸⁸ Gahleitner et al. 2018; Gerschewski and Walsh 2009; Surtees and Nexus Institute 2008; Global Alliance Against Traffic in Women 2013; Sander 2018

“But ever since I go to safe house (...), I was very safe. I have no more bad dreams again.” (S9)

In summary, this research confirms that all nine domains are relevant for the integration of SoTs, as the interviewed SoTs and experts wished for SoTs' success in all these domains. The difficulties and resources of refugees identified by Ager and Strang (2008) have proven to apply to the integration for SoTs as well. This research identified difficulties specific to SoTs and not necessarily to all refugee groups: illiteracy, lack of education and work experience, women travelling alone, pregnancy/ motherhood, trauma/ PTSD, cultural differences, perceived physical and mental danger from traffickers and ATR, mistrust towards their own countryman/ countrywomen, small chances on a resident permit and discrimination by the host-society or other refugees. However, some of these related difficulties also presented opportunities, in particular pregnancy/ motherhood and cultural/ spiritual similarities.

The SoT-specific difficulties led to concrete proposals for action for policymakers, social workers and other practitioners in contact with SoTs and European host-societies:

Since the balance of specialised social workers and integration programmes tailored to SoTs is disproportionate to the number of SoTs (Polatside and Mujaj 2018; Van Selm 2013), more state funds ought to be released. SoT specialised social workers and NGOs should be trained not only in professional social work (includes knowledge about the national help system) but also in human trafficking as a criminal offence, trauma pedagogics, Nigerian culture (including spirituality) and European and national asylum and criminal law. This enables them to offer gender-specific, trauma-informed and culture-sensitive support which includes psycho-social support in the asylum process and criminal proceeding, pedagogical support alongside trauma therapy, culture education and preventive measures against re-victimisation.

Peer-to-peer mentoring is one of the increasingly popular ways of backing social work. For example, stable SoTs can help other SoTs who are less advanced in the integration process by accompanying them, for example, to doctor's appointments.

Funds need not only to be released for social workers but also for safe housing. Gender-specific, mother-child friendly and security-intense accommodations need to be available for all identified SoTs.

In the area of asylum policy, deportations of SoTs should be urgently avoided. Deportation according to the Dublin III Regulation, usually means being deported to the country where the sexual exploitation took place, and deportation to the home country means being deported to the country where the recruitment first took place. In both cases, there is a risk of re-victimisation and re-trafficking. In the case of deportation according to the Dublin III Regulation, e.g. to Italy, there is also a risk of homelessness (de Donato and di Rado/ AIDA 2018) while there is a risk of impoverishment in cases of deportations back to Nigeria.

In addition to refraining from deportations, access to mental healthcare (e.g. therapy) while waiting for an asylum decision ought to be expanded. Reducing or refraining from nation-wide transfers would also be helpful to prevent the break-off of valuable relationships (e.g. relationship with a social worker). Also, illiterate-specific and mother-child friendly language courses should be offered for SoTs with and without residence permits.

The *European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals*, proposed by the European Commission (2011), describes integration as a two-way process which means that not only refugees need to adapt but also the host-society (European Commission 2011). Social Impact Projects which target society or specific social groups such as youth, aim to increase the knowledge of society and shape its view or attitude on specific issues. Anti-racism projects or projects that counteract refugee hostility can help society to adapt to the new social structure.

Several experts interviewed expressed the wish to expand the cooperation or at least the dialogue between NGOs specialised in SoTs and African churches in order to enable African churches to promote integration better and to enable NGOs to work in a more culturally sensitive way.

5.3 Person of Trust and Fear

The case study⁸⁹ of this research on the integration of female Nigerian survivors of Sex Trafficking (SoTs) in German, Austrian and Italian host-societies contributes to a comprehensive presentation of the opportunities and hindrances that SoTs encounter in the integration process in Europe. The role of a *Person of Trust* that promotes integration and the role of fear⁹⁰ that hinders integration were particularly prominent.

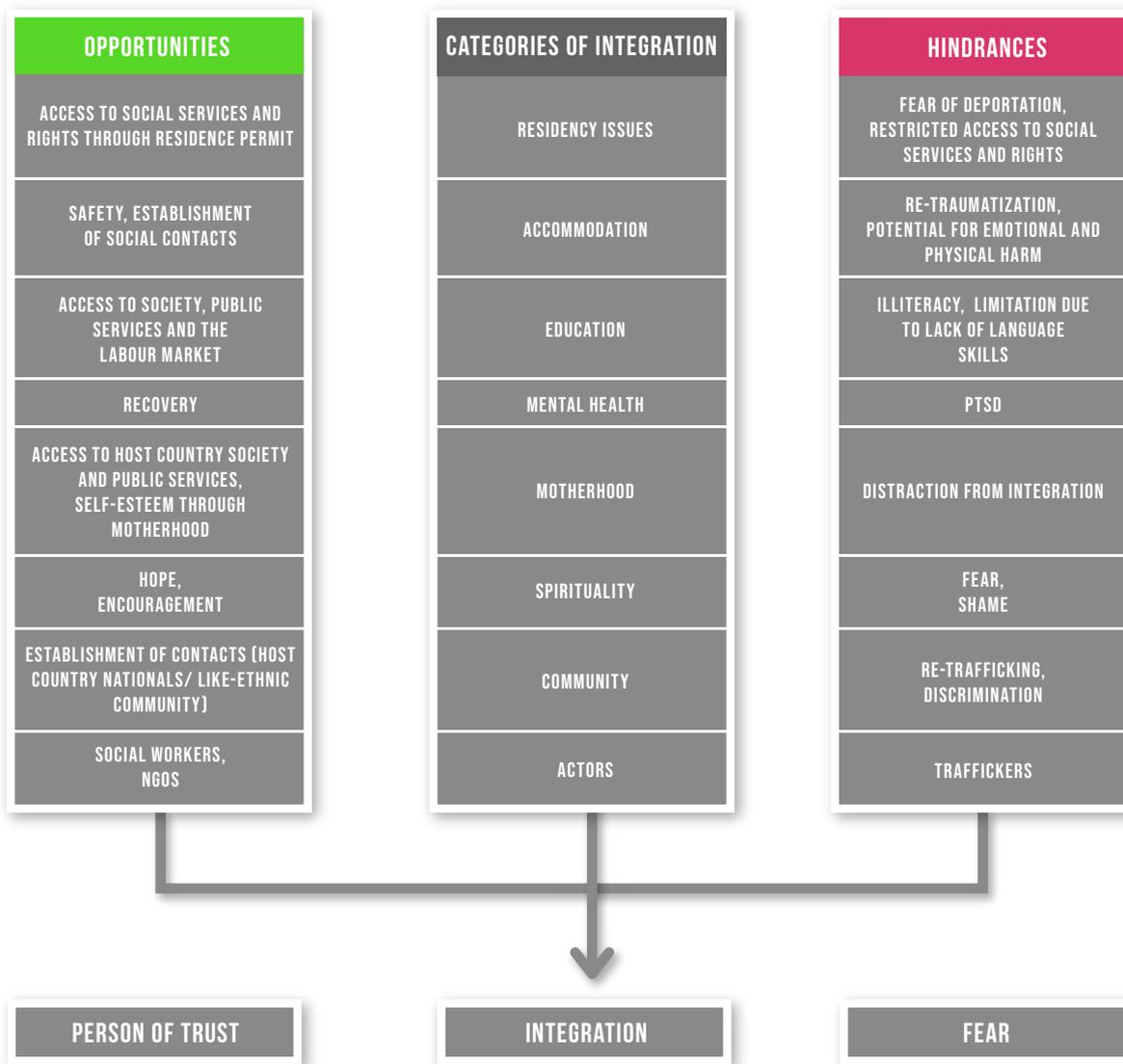
As already discussed in the previous Chapters⁹¹ the different aspects of integration bear opportunities and hindrances for SoTs and their integration into the host society. What especially stands out is that each of these aspects of integration (referred to as *categories*) plays an ambiguous role in the integration process of SoTs. The following graph illustrates this ambiguity.

⁸⁹ See Chapter 4.

⁹⁰ Based on the code *anxiety/ fear* in Chapter 4.3.13.

⁹¹ See Chapter 2; Chapter 4; Chapter 5.2.

Graph 7 - Ambiguity of the different aspects of integration. Own graph.



The different categories *residency issues*, *accommodation*, *education*, *mental health*, *motherhood*, *spirituality*, *community* and *actors* are considered neutral and are not classified as positive or negative. Within each category, however, opportunities and hindrances can be identified according to whether they are beneficial or obstructive for SoTs' integration. Furthermore, in line with the discussion of intersectionality⁹² and Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework⁹³, the different categories are interconnected, and their limits are fluid as they influence each other. *Residency issues*, for example, demonstrate this ambiguity as having a residence permit grants access for SoTs to social services and rights. With a residence permit, SoTs are allowed to work, to unrestrictedly participate in language⁹⁴ and integration courses and to receive other social benefits. All this portrays an opportunity for SoTs' integration as it builds a basis for further steps. However, *residency issues* also contribute to a lot of *fear* within SoTs, especially for those who are eligible for deportation. Moreover, without a residence permit, access to a lot of integration-promoting measures is not available for SoTs and hinders their integration.

⁹² See Chapter 2.1; Chapter 5.1.

⁹³ See Chapter 2.2; Chapter 5.2.

⁹⁴ See connection to category *education* in Graph 7.

The individual dynamics of the categories have already been discussed in Chapter 5.2 so that detailed information regarding ambiguity can be drawn from Graph 7.

All categories together result in integration which is also listed at the bottom of Graph 7. Within integration itself, a *Person of Trust* can be seen as the most significant opportunity and fear as the most influential hindrance for SoTs' integration⁹⁵.

A *Person of Trust* can be seen as a red thread running through the opportunities of the different categories within the integration process. A *Person of Trust* can be defined as someone in whom SoTs put their trust, a person who gives them a sense of security and provides advice and practical help. For most SoTs, a *Person of Trust* was found among social workers and NGOs, especially those working in the SoTs' accommodation. However, also, other women living together with SoTs in their accommodation or friends took on this role. Likewise, friends who fulfilled the *Person of Trust* role were found within churches, like-ethnic communities and also within the host-society. In some cases, even lawyers and other public actors were considered a *Person of Trust*, which indicates how significant of a role the subjective perception of SoTs plays in determining a Person of Trust. Motherhood or living in a safe house increased the chance for SoTs of finding such a *Person of Trust*, as the interaction and reliance upon social workers and other help was automatically higher.

The positive effect of a *Person of Trust* can be regarded as a comprehensive resource for SoTs' integration as it influences their everyday life, their emotional well-being and their access to social services. *Persons of Trust* influence the everyday life of SoTs to such an extent because they provide practical help such as babysitting, translating, or by giving practical advice. Further, a *Person of Trust* offers emotional stability and comfort to SoTs, which counteracts emotional stress. For this reason, a *Person of Trust* can take on the role of an everyday therapist and has a positive effect on the self-esteem of SoTs, which in turn has an effect on their integration (e.g. concentration in language class). Moreover, a *Person of Trust* increases the access a SoT has to social services by connecting SoTs to NGOs or directing and accompanying them to doctors' appointments. Additionally, a *Person of Trust* offers support in the search for a job, or a flat, areas where help is especially needed⁹⁶.

It is primarily this linking of SoTs to different help services as NGOs, social services and the host-culture itself that makes a *Person of Trust* the most significant opportunity for SoTs' integration. Through this linking function⁹⁷ they accompany the SoT's first steps toward integration. Further, through emotional support, they convey security to SoTs and promote their recovery. Even one SoT herself describes her wish or need for other women to have such a person that helps care for them:

"I think Nigerian women they need love and care. I would say they need love and care. I would want German people to please help. I know most of us are rude. Most of us are very rude. I know that. So, they should just try and help us and let the women have rest of mind." (S26)

In all of these points, a *Person of Trust* seems to drive and support the integration process as it benefits in all different categories of integration in Graph 7.

⁹⁵ See code summaries *integration/ opportunities* in Chapter 4.3.14.2 and *integration/ hindrances* in Chapter 4.3.14.3.

⁹⁶ See code summary *discrimination* in Chapter 4.3.9.

⁹⁷ See domain *Social Links* in the conceptual framework by Ager and Strang (2008) in Chapter 2.2; Chapter 5.2.

Fear, however, seems to be the biggest hindrance for SoTs' integration and can be seen as a red thread running through the hindrances of the different categories within integration⁹⁸. Essentially, all hindrances for SoTs' integration are connected to *fear*: fear of being deported, fear of being found by former traffickers and fear resulting from trauma.

Trauma in SoTs was caused mainly by past trafficking experiences manifested through the symptom of *fear*. *Fear* connected to nightmares leaves the effect that SoTs have insomnia, tiredness and even suicidal thoughts. Tiredness, in turn, influences SoTs' concentration on language learning and vocational training which further hinders their integration into the host society. Further, asylum hearings, court cases and other encounters in everyday life related to their insecure accommodations may trigger SoTs, which results in a high level of *fear* and even the risk of being re-traumatised. Re-traumatisation increases the chance of being more deeply triggered, which ultimately becomes a vicious cycle.

The SoT's past also haunts them through the *fear* of being discovered by the *madam* and other people associated with the trafficking network. Connected to this is the fear of the spiritual violence that would come upon them based on their broken oath within ATR⁹⁹. Relatedly, other religious standards lead to *fear* and shame within SoTs. *Fear* can arise by different aspects of community life, whether by the like-ethnic community as well as the host-society. Within the like-ethnic community, for example, SoT fears of being re-trafficked rises within African churches. Within the host-society, racism and hostility towards refugees¹⁰⁰ reinforces *fears* within SoTs of being unaccepted and complicates their access to integration. Also, being a mother can increase the level of *fear* within SoTs as pregnancies may result from trafficking and mark a reminder for SoTs of their trafficking experience. Apart from this, many SoTs' have a fear of not being good mothers for their children.

The negative effects of *fear* on SoTs and their integration process can be described as very profound. First of all, *fear* (mainly connected to trauma) causes emotional instability in SoTs. Emotional stability is necessary for integration as language learning and building new relationships requires much energy. Fear based on past abuses of trust, especially causes mistrust in SoTs towards other people and their motives. This mistrust leads SoTs to withdraw themselves from help and relationships, which hinders their access to integration:

"Because in the nights I can't sleep, cannot slept. I'm scared. I am thinking so many things, because I know it was from the pressure from the lady [*madam*] and the people that booked appointments with me [when I was still working in prostitution."
(S21)

Thus, *fear* seems to block and prevent integration to a high degree. Most of the hindrances for SoTs' integration in Graph 7 cause fear (e.g. possible deportation, *madam*) whereas some are caused by *fear* (e.g. lack of concentration).

What especially stands out is that the most significant opportunities and hindrances for SoT's integration are mainly connected to the cultural background of SoTs. A *Person of Trust* and its importance for SoTs can be drawn back to the Nigerian culture of collectivism in which social bonds are connected to identity (Ross 2013; Michael 2013)¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ See Graph 7.

⁹⁹ See Chapter 2.7.2 (Dols García 2013; Olufade 2019).

¹⁰⁰ See different aspects of discrimination in Chapter 5.1; Chapter 2.1.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 2.8.

For these reasons, such a *Person of Trust* is essential for decision making, for social identity and more. Also, fear as the biggest hindrance for SoT's integration is deeply rooted in SoTs' belief and strongly connected to ATR (Idumwonyi and Ikhidero 2013; Ikeora 2016) which makes it very difficult to counter this fear from a solely European perspective¹⁰². Nevertheless, it is crucial to address these *fears* in order to overcome their hindrances for integration. A *Person of Trust* can be seen as a significant solution to addressing these *fears*. As indicated above, a *Person of Trust* and fear are strongly connected. The relationship of both groupings, the biggest opportunities and the biggest hindrances for integration interplay are explained in detail in Graph 8.

Graph 8 - Interdependence of fear and Person of Trust in the integrational process. Own graph.



As already discussed, the integration process is highly influenced by the two factors *Person of Trust* and *fear* as both factors have far-reaching effects on SoTs' integration¹⁰³. Graph 8 summarises the key arguments from the discussion above. *Fear* in SoTs is fundamentally produced by ATR and *trafficking experiences* and increased by *racism* and *residency issues*. In countermeasure, the primary outcomes of a *Person of Trust* on SoTs are *access to help services* and *emotional stability*.

Graph 8 can also be understood as a process and illustrates the steps that SoTs make toward integration. The two first steps involve getting access to help services and achieving emotional stability. In order to reach this goal, the obstacle of *fear* needs to be overcome, which is mainly possible through a *Person of Trust*.

These two central factors in the integration process are, as can be seen in Graph 8, mutually dependent. This interdependency of *fear* and *Person of Trust* brings a new dynamic into the process of integration for SoTs. *Fear* itself can be addressed and decreased through a *Person of Trust*, but fear also puts a strain on a *Person of Trust* as it draws more time and energy from this person. Therefore, the higher the level of *fear* within SoTs, the greater the effort of a *Person of Trust* needs to be in order to compensate its adverse effects (e.g. emotional instability, withdrawal from social contacts).

¹⁰² See Chapter 2.7.

¹⁰³ See Graph 8.

In this model, there are three starting points to facilitate the integration process of SoTs:

(I) If the triggers for anxiety can be reduced, the burden of compensation from a *Person of Trust* would likewise decrease. In concrete terms, this would mean that if *racism*, challenges connected to *residency issues* and the effects of ATR and *trafficking experiences* can be diminished, a *Person of Trust* has more capacity to focus on supporting positive aspects of integration than overcoming these negative aspects. This connection is particularly important given the shortage of social workers (Polatside and Mujaj 2018; Van Selm 2013).

(II) If more *Persons of Trust* (e.g. social workers, volunteers) are available, there is the capacity to compensate for a higher level of *fear* in SoTs.

(III) If access to help services (e.g. social and public services) is improved and if emotional stability of SoTs can be adequately supported (e.g. through trauma therapy), a *Person of Trust* has more time and energy to respond to SoT's *fear*, as in (II).

Based on these assumptions, certain proposals for action can be concluded in order to strengthen opportunities and overcome hindrances for SoTs' integration. Proposals for action resulting from these findings are consistent with the ones in Chapter 5.2. Therefore, only proposals for action specifically concerning *Person of Trust* and fear will be stressed in the following¹⁰⁴.

In order to strengthen SoTs' opportunities for integration, the role of a *Person of Trust* needs to be supported. As already explained with Graph 8, this can be done through different approaches. First of all, more public funding is needed to employ more social workers or to financially support NGOs in order to provide enough potential *Persons of Trust*. It should be noted that of course not only trained social workers can fulfil the role of a *Person of Trust*, but also friends, volunteers or peers (SoTs who are further along in their integration process). Consequently, investment should also be made in peer-to-peer mentoring or other forms of mentoring programmes for SoTs. Another approach to support *Persons of Trust* is to make access to help services more low-threshold so that specialised assistance for SoTs is less needed and the workload for a *Person of Trust* is thereby reduced. A further way to achieve this is the expansion of language courses adapted to the needs of SoTs. On the one hand, improving language skills would make access to help services easier due to fewer communication difficulties. On the other hand, the demand for *Persons of Trust* would again be reduced, as less accompaniment and translation would be necessary.

In order to overcome hindrances for integration, SoTs' *fears* need to be counteracted. As mentioned above, this can be achieved by reducing factors that produce or increase *fear* in SoTs, as shown in Graph 8. On a practical level, more social impact projects are needed in order to respond to racism against SoTs. Moreover, changes in the asylum policy are needed to provide a residence permit for SoTs in order to reduce their fear of deportation and re-traumatisation during asylum and court hearings. To counteract fear as a result of an oath within ATR and past trafficking experience, more psychological assistance, especially trauma therapy, must be available. In addition, in order to support this process and achieve emotional stabilisation and recovery of SoTs, more funding is needed for safe housing.

Finally, in order to counteract *fear*, *Persons of Trust* must be supported, leading back to the actionable proposals named above, which supports the connections and dynamics shown in Graph 8.

¹⁰⁴ For further proposals for action, see Chapter 5.2.

» 6. CONCLUSION

“My dream should be like, I want to be someone that many women will relate. Someone that many women will call up to and say and ask me: how did you overcome this whole situation? What and how were you able to do and how did you succeed? This is my fight.” (S13)

This research report aims to give answers to the central question of *how to strengthen opportunities and overcome hindrances to the process of integration in Europe for Nigerian survivors of human trafficking for sexual exploitation*. In order to answer the research question, a literature review was done, and two field visits were conducted, one to a German reception centre and one to an Italian street where street prostitution takes place. Qualitative interviews were conducted with 2 SoT focus groups, 35 SoTs and 18 experts. The results were then further evaluated through the concept of intersectionality as well as Ager and Strang's (2008) conceptual framework for integration. The most prominent outcomes from the research were how a Person of Trust provides the foremost opportunity and how fear contributes to the primary hindrance to integration. The *Person of Trust* guides SoTs through their integration process by providing psycho-social support and establishing links with relevant social and public services. The *Person of Trust* is often social workers working at an NGO specialised in assisting victims of human trafficking or sexual violence. *Fear* as an identifiable element is often the product of experienced trauma, the perceived danger of being pursued by traffickers, and deities or persons related to the use of spiritual violence in ATR. This fear has a paralysing effect and thus, counteracts integration.

These results gave rise to various actionable proposals. The most important one seemed to be the need for more state funding for gender-specific and mother-child friendly safe housing and SoT-specialised social workers and NGOs. These professionally trained social workers should be informed about human trafficking as a criminal offence, trauma pedagogics, Nigerian culture (including spirituality) and European and national asylum and criminal law in order to provide gender-specific, trauma-informed and culture-sensitive assistance. Unhindered access to mental healthcare and illiterate-specific and mother-child friendly language and integration courses for SoTs with and without residence permits seemed to be lacking but are considered essential. Since one of the primary triggers for fear and anxiety related to being deported to another EU Member State (according to the Dublin III Regulation) or their home country Nigeria, EU Member States should refrain from deporting SoTs. Deportation back to another EU Member State often includes being sent back to the country where the exploitation first took place, and deportation back to Nigeria means being sent back to the country where the recruitment took place. In both cases, the risk of re-victimisation and re-trafficking is high, not to mention the risk of homelessness and impoverishment. Along with this, the EU Member States should release more funds for anti-racism and other Social Impact Projects in order to counteract refugee hostility in society to create more appreciation for intercultural competence.

Not only were proposals for action derived from the results, but some research gaps were also identified. The researchers are not aware of any longitudinal survey or panel study that considers the integration of Nigerian survivors of trafficking into an EU Member State. Also, the integration of children of survivors of trafficking (second-generation integration) is still mostly unexplored. More research on the influence of safe housing on the recovery of traumatised survivors would also be beneficial. Likewise, there is also a need for more research on Dublin Returns and Returns to Nigeria in order to explore the risks for SoTs and other potential methods of evading such risks if European asylum policies leading to deportations remain unchanged.

Based on the research, it is evident that the use of spiritual violence within ATR was profoundly negative, that the role of the Christian community was questionable, but that SoTs persisted in their utilisation of faith. Further academic research is recommended on how socio-pedagogical concepts could potentially help to encourage the resource-character of faith. Relatedly, dialogue and possible cooperation between African Churches in Europe and SoT-specialized NGOs could be further explored. Research on intercultural parental work should, in particular, focus on the distinct situation of Nigerian SoT mothers, since the experience of being trafficked can have severe implications on motherhood.

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Monochrome double exposure of african woman profile portrait with braids. AdobeStock_141923124: @ patronestaff - stock.adobe.com - Page 1/125

Silhouette einer sitzenden jungen Frau. AdobeStock_156930340: @ akf - stock.adobe.com - Page 8/9

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» APPENDIX

- Appendix 1 codebook
- Appendix 2 codebook description
- Appendix 3 code system residency issues
- Appendix 4 code system accommodation
- Appendix 5 code system education
- Appendix 6 code system access to the labour market
- Appendix 7 code system healthcare system
- Appendix 8 code system motherhood
- Appendix 9 code system spirituality
- Appendix 10 code system community
- Appendix 11 code system discrimination
- Appendix 12 code system dreams and visions
- Appendix 13 code system actors
- Appendix 14 code system person of trust
- Appendix 15 code system anxiety/ fear
- Appendix 16 code system integration
- Appendix 17 code system integration/ opportunity
- Appendix 18 code system integration/ hindrances

Appendix 1 codebook

		Codings
1.	residency issues	39
1.1	awaiting a decision	11
1.2	legal proceeding	22
1.3	waiting for deportation	14
1.4	residence permit	28
1.4.1	residence permit during criminal proceeding	18
1.4.2	international protection	12
1.5	differences between EU Member States	9
2.	accommodation	7
2.1	camp	20
2.1.1	reception centre	51
2.1.2	collective accommodation centre	15
2.2	safe house	39
2.3	family home	18
2.4	flat	37
2.5	other types of accommodation	23
3.	education	32
3.1	integration course	31
3.2	language	75
3.2.1	language course	104
3.2.2	other language measures	15
3.2.3	language problems/ illiteracy	49
4.	access to the labour market	13
4.1	employment	76
4.2	job experience	22
4.3	internship	10
4.4	vocational training	26
5.	health care system	8
5.1	medical support	42
5.1.1	doctor and hospital appointments	71
5.2	psychological support/ therapy	77
5.2.1	trauma	67
5.2.2	suicidal thoughts	6
5.2.3	insomnia	6
6.	motherhood	84
6.1	sex education	14
6.2	pregnancy	71
6.3	single mums	74
6.4	mothers with partners	26
6.5	abortion	2
6.6	miscarriage	1
6.7	children in Nigeria	17
6.8	family reunification	3
7.	spirituality	5
7.1	ATR	59
7.2	Christianity	64
7.2.1	European church	40
7.2.2	African church	62
8.	community	58
8.1	Nigerian community	68
8.2	community of host-country nationals	68
8.3	church community	43
8.4	family back home	24
9.	discrimination	5
9.1	gender differences	67
9.2	stigmatisation of women in prostitution	16
9.3	racism	46
10.	dreams and visions	104
11.	actors	37
11.1	madam	56
11.2	counselling NGO	174
11.3	asylum counselling NGO	38
11.4	social worker	75
11.5	customer	14
11.6	pastor	26
11.7	former SoT	15

11.8	public authorities	82
11.9	volunteer	14
11.10	midwife	11
11.11	lawyer	27
12.	person of trust	187
13.	anxiety/ fear	148
14.	integration	21
14.1	opportunities	335
14.2	recommendations	168
14.3	hindrances	333

Appendix 2 codebook description

1. residency issues

Everything that cannot be categorized under 1.1 - 1.5 but is related to residency issues.

1.1 awaiting a decision

An asylum seeker who is awaiting the decision of the "determining authority" (Directive 2013/32/EU; Article 2(f)) on his residency status.

1.2 legal proceeding

An asylum seeker who has filed an appeal against the negative decision of the determining authority and is now awaiting the decision of the court.

1.3 waiting for deportation

An asylum seeker who has not been granted a residence permit by either the determining authority or the court (in cases where a complaint has been filed) and who has not voluntarily agreed to leave the country. This asylum seeker is now waiting for deportation by the police.

1.4 residence permit

Any authorisation issued by a competent authority of an EU Member State allowing a third-country national to reside legally in its territory.

1.4.1 residence permit during criminal proceeding

A six-month valid residence permit granted to victims of human trafficking under certain conditions, for example, the necessity of investigations and cooperation of the victim with the authorities (European Union 2013).

1.4.2 international protection

Either refugee status or subsidiary protection status (Directive 2013/32/EU; Article 2 (f)-(h)).

1.5 differences between EU Member States

Any difference between EU member states that is linked to residence issues.

2. accommodation

Everything that cannot be categorized under 2.1 - 2.5 but is related to accommodation.

2.1 camp

An official refugee shelter. The terminology was based on its use by the inhabitants of official refugee shelters as observed by the researchers.

2.1.1 reception center

An official refugee accommodation which is intended in particular for newly arrived asylum seekers.

2.1.2 collective accommodation center

The official refugee accommodation for asylum seekers who continue to be housed after leaving the reception center.¹

¹ Due to the diversity of refugee accommodations between Germany, Italy and Austria and within these countries, it should be noted that some accommodations are difficult to assign clearly to one of the two categories mentioned here. In such cases, it is the responsibility of the coding researcher to classify the accommodations. In cases where an interviewee did not express themselves clearly, the upper category camp (2.1) was chosen. For more information, readers are referred to the country reports from the Asylum Information Database (AIDA).

2.2 safe house

A refugee accommodation for victims of human trafficking run by a counselling NGO.

2.3 family home

The home of a family associated with Associazione comunità Papa Giovanni XXIII (APG23) that shelters victims of human trafficking and other persons in need under the supervision of the APG23 supervisor for human trafficking.

2.4 flat

A flat or house rented or purchased by an asylum seeker or migrant.

2.5 other types of accommodation

This includes all accommodations that do not fit into any other category.

3. education

Everything that cannot be categorized under 3.1 - 3.2.3 but is related to education.

3.1 integration course

A course designed to help an asylum seeker or migrant to integrate into the host society. This course can be offered by a governmental institution or by an NGO.

3.2 language

This comprises everything that does not fit into the following three categories but is somehow related to language.

3.2.1 language course

A course aimed at teaching asylum seekers or migrants the official language of the host country. This course can be offered by a governmental institution or by an NGO.

3.2.2 other language measures

Low-threshold methods used to introduce someone to a language.

3.2.3 language problems/ illiteracy

Problems such as illiteracy, which make it difficult to learn a language.

4. access to the labour market

Everything that cannot be categorized under 4.1 - 4.5 but is related to access to the labour market.

4.1 employment

A legal employment, part-time or full-time. Small paid jobs within the official refugee accommodation (e.g. cleaning) are not included.

4.2 job experience

Employments and internships which lay in the past that took place either in the host country or in another country.

4.3 internship

Paid or unpaid opportunities to work in a profession for a limited period of time with the aim of gaining experience. Internships can be carried out as part of an integration programme.

4.4 vocational training

A training for a specific job. Participants received an official certificate at the end.

5. health care system

Everything that cannot be categorized under 5.1 - 5.2.1 but is related to the health care system.

5.1 medical support

All kinds of medical support that is not psychological.

5.1.1 doctor and hospital appointments

All appointments with the doctor or hospital. Hospital appointments can be short or longer stays.

5.2 psychological support/ therapy

Any professional psychological support or therapy, be it in an individual or group setting. It does not include pedagogical support.

5.2.1 trauma

Past traumas, (re)traumatising experiences in the present and symptoms of PTSD.

5.2.2 suicidal thoughts

Explicitly formulated suicidal thoughts.

5.2.3 insomnia

Diagnosed insomnia and occasionally occurring sleep disorders.

6. motherhood

Everything that cannot be categorized under 1.1 – 6.8 but is related to motherhood.

6.1 sex education

Sex education provided by social workers, midwives, doctors or other practitioners.

6.2 pregnancy

Doctor-diagnosed pregnancy.

6.3 single mums

SoT mothers without partner.

6.4 mothers with partners

SoT mothers with partner, either married or in a loose relationship.

6.5 abortion

An abortion carried out by a doctor.

6.6 miscarriage

A medically diagnosed miscarriage.

6.7 children in Nigeria

Biological children of SoTs resident in Nigeria.

6.8 family reunification

Family reunification according to COUNCIL DIRECTIVE 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification.

7. spirituality

Everything that cannot be categorized under 7.1 – 7.2.2 but is related to spirituality.

7.1 ATR

ATR means African Traditional Religion and is defined in chapter 2.x.

7.2 Christianity

Everything that is explicitly defined as Christian or refers to known Christian beliefs.

7.2.1 European church

All European Christian churches in Europe. This can include both national churches and independent churches.

7.2.2 African church

All African Christian churches in Europe. Some of these churches may describe themselves as international rather than African, but most of their visitors are from Sub-Saharan Africans.

8. community

Everything that cannot be categorized under 8.1 – 8.4 but is related to community.

8.1 Nigerian community

This refers to the Nigerian community in Europe. These can be asylum seekers, migrants with all kinds of long- or short-term residence permits and second-generation Nigerians.

8.2 community of host-country nationals

All nationals of the host country where the SoT is resident.

8.3 church community

People the SoTs met at the church.

8.4 family back home

The SoT's family members who still reside in Nigeria.

9. discrimination

Everything that cannot be categorized under 9.1 – 9.3 but is related to discrimination.

9.1 gender differences

Differences between men and women. Since neither SoTs nor experts talked about other genders, this is reduced to these two.

9.2 stigmatisation of women in prostitution

When SoTs are perceived by passers-by as prostitutes although they are not. This is particularly relevant in certain parts of Italy, as the Italian researchers participating in this study regularly hear from SoTs that they were asked to get into a car even though they were just walking down the street and no longer working in prostitution.

9.3 racism

Everything that is subjectively perceived² as racism.

10. dreams and visions

SoT's dreams and visions about the future.

11. actors

Everything that cannot be categorized under 11.1 – 11.11 but is related to actors.

11.1 madam

According to Ecpat et al. (2019), a madam is defined as the female person who enables the SoT to migrate from Nigeria to Europe and exploits the SoT financially.

11.2 counselling NGO

An NGO specialised in counselling survivors of human trafficking.

11.3 asylum counselling NGO

An NGO specialised in advising asylum seekers on their asylum procedure.

11.4 social worker

A professionally trained social worker or a person designated by SoTs or experts as a social worker.

11.5 customer

A person who buys sexual services from a prostitute or a person who is perceived by a SoT or expert as a potential customer.

11.6 pastor

The pastor of a European (see 7.2.1) or African church (see 7.2.3).

² Subjectively perceived by SoTs, experts or the coding researchers.

11.7 former SoT

A SoT that is perceived by the interviewed SoT as further advanced in the integration process and therefore acts as a role model or advisor.

11.8 public authorities

Authorities that are officially recognised by the state as authorities.

11.9 volunteer

A person who voluntarily helps asylum seekers or SoTs in cooperation with an NGO.

11.10 midwife

A professionally trained midwife or a person designated as a midwife by SoTs or experts.

11.11 lawyer

A professionally trained lawyer or a person designated as a lawyer by SoTs or experts.

12. person of trust

A person who is entrusted by a SoT and who offers comfort, advice or practical help of any kind.

13. anxiety/ fear

SoT's anxiety and fear.

14. Integration

Everything that cannot be categorized under 14.1 - 14.3 but is related to integration.

14.1 opportunities

Everything that promotes integration.

14.2 recommendations

Everything that SoTs or experts advise other SoTs for their integration process.

14.3 hindrances

Everything that hinders integration.

Appendix 3 code system residency issues

Codesystem	residency issues (including subcodes)	residency issues	awaiting a decision	legal proceeding	waiting for deportation	residence permit	residence permit during criminal proceeding	international protection	differences between EU Member States
accommodation (including subcodes)	16	6	1	1	3	4	0	1	0
accommodation	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\camp	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
camp\reception centre	4	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
camp\collective accommodation centre	3	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
accommodation\safe house	4	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
accommodation\family home	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
accommodation\flat	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
accommodation\other types of housing	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
education (including subcodes)	14	4	0	1	0	7	0	2	0
education	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
education\integration course	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
education\language	5	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
language\language course	3	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
language\other language measures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	16	3	0	0	0	8	0	5	0
access to the labour market	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0
access to the labour market\employment	10	3	0	0	0	5	0	2	0
access to the labour market\job experience	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\internship	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0
health care system (including subcodes)	16	4	1	2	5	3	0	0	1
health care system	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
health care system\medical support	4	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	5	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	28	4	2	3	3	10	2	3	1
motherhood	8	0	0	1	0	5	0	2	0
motherhood\sex education	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
motherhood\pregnancy	7	3	1	0	1	2	0	0	0
motherhood\single mums	7	1	1	2	1	0	1	1	0
motherhood\mothers with partners	4	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	7	2	1	3	1	0	0	0	0
spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \ATR	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \Christianity	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\European church	3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Christianity\African church	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
community (including subcodes)	11	3	2	0	1	3	1	1	0
community	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
community\Nigerian community	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
community\community of host-country nationals	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
community\church community	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
community\family back home	5	1	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	4	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\gender differences	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\racism	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
dreams and visions	10	3	0	1	0	0	2	3	1
actors (including subcodes)	93	15	2	14	13	15	21	2	11
actors	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
actors\madam	5	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
actors\counselling NGO	23	4	0	5	3	1	7	1	2
actors\asylum counselling NGO	7	1	0	1	1	3	1	0	0
actors\social worker	13	3	0	2	3	2	1	1	1
actors\customer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\pastor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\former SOT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\public authorities	25	3	0	1	2	5	9	0	5
actors\volunteer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\midwife	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\lawyer	18	0	2	5	2	3	3	0	3
person of trust	14	4	0	4	2	1	1	2	0
anxiety/ fear	36	13	2	7	7	4	2	0	1
integration (including subcodes)	104	25	6	14	12	17	14	9	7
integration	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
integration\opportunities	41	5	3	5	5	4	9	5	5
integration\recommendations	19	4	1	0	0	9	2	2	1
integration\hindrances	44	16	2	9	7	4	3	2	1

Appendix 4 code system accommodation

Codesystem	accommodation (including subcodes)	accommodation	camp	reception centre	collective accommodation centre	safe house	family home	flat	other types of housing
residency issues (including subcodes)	16	1	0	4	3	4	1	1	2
residency issues	6	1	0	3	0	2	0	0	0
residency issues\awaiting a decision	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
residency issues\waiting for deportation	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
residency issues\residence permit	4	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
education (including subcodes)	19	0	2	6	3	1	3	4	0
education	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
education\integration course	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
education\language	6	0	0	2	1	0	2	1	0
language\language course	9	0	2	4	1	0	1	1	0
language\other language measures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	9	1	0	1	1	0	2	3	1
access to the labour market	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
access to the labour market\employment	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
access to the labour market\job experience	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\internship	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	4	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
health care system (including subcodes)	22	0	5	6	1	3	2	0	5
health care system	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
health care system\medical support	5	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	8	0	1	3	1	1	0	0	2
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	6	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	2
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	3	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	54	2	6	20	4	3	4	11	4
motherhood	14	0	3	8	1	0	0	2	0
motherhood\sex education	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
motherhood\pregnancy	20	0	3	10	1	3	1	2	0
motherhood\single mums	14	2	0	1	1	0	2	4	4
motherhood\mothers with partners	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	8	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	0
spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \ATR	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \Christianity	4	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0
Christianity\European church	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\African church	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
community (including subcodes)	39	4	7	8	5	6	0	5	4
community	8	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	2
community\Nigerian community	17	1	3	4	3	2	0	2	2
community\community of host-country nationals	12	1	3	3	1	1	0	3	0
community\church community	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
community\family back home	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	28	2	1	7	3	1	3	7	4
discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\gender differences	8	0	1	5	1	0	1	0	0
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
discrimination\racism	6	0	0	2	1	0	0	3	0
dreams and visions	13	2	0	0	1	1	1	4	4
actors (including subcodes)	105	2	18	23	8	28	6	15	5
actors	8	0	4	2	0	1	0	0	1
actors\madam	14	2	2	3	1	4	0	1	1
actors\counselling NGO	30	0	2	6	0	14	5	3	0
actors\asylum counselling NGO	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	0
actors\social worker	16	0	3	3	5	2	0	1	2
actors\customer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\pastor	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\former SOT	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
actors\public authorities	18	0	3	3	2	5	1	4	0
actors\volunteer	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
actors\midwife	9	0	3	5	0	1	0	0	0
actors\lawyer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
person of trust	27	0	4	4	3	3	7	3	3
anxiety/ fear	26	3	2	8	2	4	1	1	5
integration (including subcodes)	114	4	20	27	13	11	5	20	14
integration	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
integration\opportunities	36	1	3	6	4	7	4	9	2
integration\recommendations	27	3	6	6	3	4	0	1	4
integration\hindrances	49	0	10	15	6	0	1	9	8

Appendix 5 code system education

Codesystem	education (including subcodes)	education	integration course	language	language course	other language measures	language problems/ illiteracy
residency issues (including subcodes)	14	2	1	5	3	0	3
residency issues	4	0	1	1	1	0	1
residency issues\awaiting a decision	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
residency issues\waiting for deportation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\residence permit	7	2	0	2	2	0	1
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	2	0	0	2	0	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	19	1	2	6	9	0	1
accommodation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\camp	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
camp\reception centre	6	0	0	2	4	0	0
camp\collective accommodation centre	3	0	1	1	1	0	0
accommodation\safe house	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
accommodation\family home	3	0	0	2	1	0	0
accommodation\flat	4	1	0	1	1	0	1
accommodation\other types of housing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	48	7	5	16	15	0	5
access to the labour market	9	1	1	2	3	0	2
access to the labour market\employment	20	5	0	9	6	0	0
access to the labour market\job experience	6	0	1	1	4	0	0
access to the labour market\internship	4	0	2	0	1	0	1
access to the labour market\vocational training	9	1	1	4	1	0	2
health care system (including subcodes)	57	9	4	17	12	0	15
health care system	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
health care system\medical support	8	1	0	3	2	0	2
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	20	1	0	7	2	0	10
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	12	3	1	3	4	0	1
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	15	4	3	4	3	0	1
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
motherhood (including subcodes)	68	16	3	12	30	2	5
motherhood	40	11	0	7	18	1	3
motherhood\sex education	7	3	0	2	2	0	0
motherhood\pregnancy	9	2	1	1	5	0	0
motherhood\single mums	10	0	1	2	4	1	2
motherhood\mothers with partners	2	0	1	0	1	0	0
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	14	2	1	5	3	0	3
spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \ATR	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
spirituality \Christianity	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\European church	4	0	0	4	0	0	0
Christianity\African church	8	1	1	1	3	0	2
community (including subcodes)	25	1	0	13	5	1	5
community	5	0	0	3	0	1	1
community\Nigerian community	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
community\community of host-country nationals	15	1	0	7	4	0	3
community\church community	3	0	0	2	0	0	1
community\family back home	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	6	0	0	1	3	0	2
discrimination	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
discrimination\gender differences	4	0	0	1	2	0	1
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\racism	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
dreams and visions	17	7	1	6	2	0	1
actor (including subcodes)	83	5	20	12	26	3	17
actors	8	0	0	2	4	0	2
actors\madam	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
actors\counselling NGO	39	1	14	6	10	2	6
actors\asylum counselling NGO	3	0	0	1	2	0	0
actors\social worker	8	1	1	0	2	0	4
actors\customer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\pastor	3	0	1	1	1	0	0
actors\former SOT	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
actors\public authorities	14	2	3	2	5	0	2
actors\volunteer	2	0	1	0	0	1	0
actors\midwife	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
actors\lawyer	2	1	0	0	0	0	1
person of trust	18	1	4	3	5	1	4
anxiety/ fear	8	2	1	2	2	0	1
integration (including subcodes)	270	32	21	75	87	11	44
integration	10	3	0	6	1	0	0
integration\opportunities	95	9	8	27	35	7	9
integration\recommendations	61	11	6	18	21	0	5
integration\hindrances	104	9	7	24	30	4	30

Appendix 6 code system access to the labour market

Codesystem	access to the labour market (including subcodes)	access to the labour market	employment	job experience	internship	vocational training
residency issues (including subcodes)	16	3	10	0	0	3
residency issues	3	0	3	0	0	0
residency issues\awaiting a decision	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\waiting for deportation	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\residence permit	8	2	5	0	0	1
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	5	1	2	0	0	2
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	9	1	3	0	1	4
accommodation	1	0	0	0	0	1
accommodation\camp	0	0	0	0	0	0
camp\reception centre	1	0	0	0	0	1
camp\collective accommodation centre	1	0	0	0	0	1
accommodation\safe house	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\family home	2	0	0	0	1	1
accommodation\flat	3	1	2	0	0	0
accommodation\other types of housing	1	0	1	0	0	0
education (including subcodes)	48	9	20	6	4	9
education	7	1	5	0	0	1
education\integration course	5	1	0	1	2	1
education\language	16	2	9	1	0	4
language\language course	15	3	6	4	1	1
language\other language measures	0	0	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	5	2	0	0	1	2
health care system (including subcodes)	7	2	2	2	0	1
health care system	0	0	0	0	0	0
health care system\medical support	2	2	0	0	0	0
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	1	0	0	0	0	1
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	2	0	1	1	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	2	0	1	1	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	0	0	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	30	5	15	0	0	10
motherhood	11	2	5	0	0	4
motherhood\sex education	4	1	2	0	0	1
motherhood\pregnancy	5	1	2	0	0	2
motherhood\single mums	6	1	3	0	0	2
motherhood\mothers with partners	4	0	3	0	0	1
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	1	0	1	0	0	0
spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \ATR	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \Christianity	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\European church	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\African church	1	0	1	0	0	0
community (including subcodes)	10	0	8	0	0	2
community	4	0	4	0	0	0
community\Nigerian community	1	0	0	0	0	1
community\community of host-country nationals	4	0	3	0	0	1
community\church community	0	0	0	0	0	0
community\family back home	1	0	1	0	0	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	8	1	3	3	0	1
discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\gender differences	2	0	1	0	0	1
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\racism	6	1	2	3	0	0
dreams and visions	43	0	32	5	0	6
actors (including subcodes)	22	5	8	2	2	5
actors	1	0	0	0	0	1
actors\madam	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\counselling NGO	11	2	6	1	1	1
actors\asylum counselling NGO	2	0	1	0	0	1
actors\social worker	1	1	0	0	0	0
actors\customer	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\pastor	2	1	0	1	0	0
actors\former SOT	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\public authorities	3	1	0	0	1	1
actors\volunteer	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\midwife	1	0	0	0	0	1
actors\lawyer	1	0	1	0	0	0
person of trust	10	1	5	2	0	2
anxiety/ fear	2	1	0	0	0	1
integration (including subcodes)	104	13	49	9	9	24
integration	4	0	3	0	0	1
integration\opportunities	46	2	20	5	8	11
integration\recommendations	24	3	15	2	0	4
integration\hindrances	30	8	11	2	1	8

Appendix 7 code system healthcare system

Codesystem	health care system (including subcodes)	health care system	medical support	doctor and hospital appointments	psychological support/ trauma therapy	suicidal thoughts	insomnia
residency issues (including subcodes)	16	2	4	2	2	5	1
residency issues	4	1	0	0	1	2	0
residency issues\awaiting a decision	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	2	0	1	1	0	0	0
residency issues\waiting for deportation	5	0	1	1	0	2	1
residency issues\residence permit	3	1	1	0	1	0	0
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	22	0	5	8	6	3	0
accommodation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\camp	5	0	1	1	1	2	0
camp\reception centre	6	0	3	3	0	0	0
camp\collective accommodation centre	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
accommodation\safe house	3	0	0	1	1	1	0
accommodation\family home	2	0	0	0	2	0	0
accommodation\flat	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\other types of housing	5	0	1	2	2	0	0
education (including subcodes)	57	1	8	20	12	15	0
education	9	0	1	1	3	4	0
education\integration course	4	0	0	0	1	3	0
education\language	17	0	3	7	3	4	0
language\language course	12	1	2	2	4	3	0
language\other language measures	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	15	0	2	10	1	1	0
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	7	0	2	1	2	2	0
access to the labour market	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\employment	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
access to the labour market\job experience	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
access to the labour market\internship	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	65	1	19	15	11	16	1
motherhood	22	1	3	5	5	8	0
motherhood\sex education	4	0	2	1	0	1	0
motherhood\pregnancy	29	0	13	6	4	5	0
motherhood\single mums	2	0	0	1	0	0	1
motherhood\mothers with partners	4	0	0	2	1	1	0
motherhood\abortion	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	29	1	2	2	12	11	0
spirituality	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
spirituality \ATR	13	0	0	1	5	6	0
spirituality \Christianity	8	0	2	1	3	2	0
Christianity\European church	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
Christianity\African church	5	1	0	0	3	1	0
community (including subcodes)	18	2	1	4	8	3	0
community	4	0	0	2	1	1	0
community\Nigerian community	4	0	1	0	2	1	0
community\community of host-country nationals	5	1	0	1	2	1	0
community\church community	5	1	0	1	3	0	0
community\family back home	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	17	1	1	4	6	3	2
discrimination	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\gender differences	10	0	0	3	3	3	1
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	2	0	0	0	1	0	1
discrimination\racism	4	0	1	1	2	0	0
dreams and visions	7	1	3	1	1	0	1
actors (including subcodes)	154	5	31	34	49	30	2
actors	22	1	4	4	7	6	0
actors\madam	8	0	0	0	4	3	0
actors\counselling NGO	44	0	10	10	15	7	1
actors\asylum counselling NGO	7	0	4	3	0	0	0
actors\social worker	30	1	3	10	10	4	1
actors\customer	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
actors\pastor	4	2	0	0	2	0	0
actors\former SOT	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
actors\public authorities	24	1	7	3	6	7	0
actors\volunteer	4	0	0	0	3	1	0
actors\midwife	6	0	2	3	0	1	0
actors\lawyer	3	0	1	1	1	0	0
person of trust	47	2	5	18	12	6	3
anxiety/ fear	55	1	4	11	17	18	1
integration (including subcodes)	220	5	38	39	69	63	2
integration	2	0	0	0	1	1	0
integration\opportunities	84	3	14	20	25	18	2
integration\recommendations	55	2	11	4	21	17	0
integration\hindrances	79	0	13	15	22	27	0

Appendix 8 code system motherhood

Codesystem	motherhood (including subcodes)	motherhood sex education	pregnancy	single mums	mothers with partners	abortion	miscarriage	children in Nigeria	family reunification	
residency issues (including subcodes)	28	8	1	7	7	4	0	0	1	0
residency issues	4	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\awaiting a decision	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\waiting for deportation	3	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
residency issues\residence permit	10	5	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	0
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	54	14	2	20	14	4	0	0	0	0
accommodation	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\camp	6	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
camp\reception centre	20	8	1	10	1	0	0	0	0	0
camp\collective accommodation centre	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\safe house	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\family home	4	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0
accommodation\flat	11	2	0	2	4	3	0	0	0	0
accommodation\other types of housing	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
education (including subcodes)	68	40	7	9	10	2	0	0	0	0
education	16	11	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
education\integration course	3	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
education\language	12	7	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
language\language course	30	18	2	5	4	1	0	0	0	0
language\other language measures	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	5	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	30	11	4	5	6	4	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market	5	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\employment	15	5	2	2	3	3	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\job experience	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\internship	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	10	4	1	2	2	1	0	0	0	0
health care system (including subcodes)	65	22	4	29	2	4	2	1	1	0
health care system	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
health care system\medical support	19	3	2	13	0	0	1	0	0	0
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	15	5	1	6	1	2	0	0	0	0
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	11	5	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	0
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	16	8	1	5	0	1	0	1	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	10	5	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0
spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \ATR	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0
spirituality \Christianity	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\European church	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\African church	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
community (including subcodes)	70	30	4	17	11	4	0	0	4	0
community	11	3	0	3	2	3	0	0	0	0
community\Nigerian community	18	7	2	5	3	0	0	0	1	0
community\community of host-country nationals	28	17	2	4	5	0	0	0	0	0
community\church community	6	2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
community\family back home	7	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	32	15	1	3	7	3	0	0	2	1
discrimination	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\gender differences	15	3	1	2	3	3	0	0	2	1
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\racism	13	10	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
dreams and visions	26	9	1	1	9	2	0	0	4	0
actors (including subcodes)	132	52	5	40	19	10	0	0	5	1
actors	13	9	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\madam	8	1	0	3	2	0	0	0	2	0
actors\counselling NGO	38	11	1	13	5	5	0	0	2	1
actors\asylum counselling NGO	13	5	1	5	1	1	0	0	0	0
actors\social worker	9	2	0	3	3	1	0	0	0	0
actors\customer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\pastor	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\former SOT	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\public authorities	25	10	1	5	6	2	0	0	1	0
actors\volunteer	6	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
actors\midwife	10	6	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\lawyer	5	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
person of trust	34	12	0	5	12	4	0	0	1	0
anxiety/ fear	30	6	2	10	4	4	0	0	4	0
integration (including subcodes)	272	112	18	52	63	17	1	1	7	1
integration	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
integration\opportunities	100	38	4	24	26	6	1	0	1	0
integration\recommendations	49	26	8	12	2	1	0	0	0	0
integration\hindrances	118	43	6	16	35	10	0	1	6	1

Appendix 9 code system spirituality

Codesystem	spirituality (including subcodes)	spirituality	ATR	Christianity	European church	African church
residency issues (including subcodes)	7	0	1	1	3	2
residency issues	2	0	1	0	0	1
residency issues\awaiting a decision	1	0	0	0	1	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	3	0	0	1	1	1
residency issues\waiting for deportation	1	0	0	0	1	0
residency issues\residence permit	0	0	0	0	0	0
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	8	0	1	4	1	2
accommodation	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\camp	0	0	0	0	0	0
camp\reception centre	5	0	1	2	1	1
camp\collective accommodation centre	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\safe house	1	0	0	1	0	0
accommodation\family home	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\flat	2	0	0	1	0	1
accommodation\other types of housing	0	0	0	0	0	0
education (including subcodes)	14	0	1	1	4	8
education	2	0	0	1	0	1
education\integration course	1	0	0	0	0	1
education\language	5	0	0	0	4	1
language\language course	3	0	0	0	0	3
language\other language measures	0	0	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	3	0	1	0	0	2
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	1	0	0	0	0	1
access to the labour market	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\employment	1	0	0	0	0	1
access to the labour market\job experience	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\internship	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	0	0	0	0	0	0
health care system (including subcodes)	29	1	13	8	2	5
health care system	1	0	0	0	0	1
health care system\medical support	2	0	0	2	0	0
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	2	0	1	1	0	0
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	12	1	5	3	0	3
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	11	0	6	2	2	1
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	0	0	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	1	0	1	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	10	0	3	3	1	3
motherhood	5	0	0	1	1	3
motherhood\sex education	1	0	0	1	0	0
motherhood\pregnancy	2	0	2	0	0	0
motherhood\single mums	1	0	0	1	0	0
motherhood\mothers with partners	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	1	0	1	0	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	0	0	0	0	0	0
community (including subcodes)	70	2	8	14	21	25
community	5	0	0	2	2	1
community\Nigerian community	18	1	3	2	2	10
community\community of host-country nationals	8	0	3	2	2	1
community\church community	37	1	1	7	15	13
community\family back home	2	0	1	1	0	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	2	0	1	0	0	1
discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\gender differences	2	0	1	0	0	1
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	0	0	0	0	0	0
discrimination\racism	0	0	0	0	0	0
dreams and visions	3	0	0	3	0	0
actors (including subcodes)	85	0	26	20	9	30
actors	5	0	2	1	2	0
actors\madam	22	0	10	3	1	8
actors\counselling NGO	13	0	7	4	0	2
actors\asylum counselling NGO	1	0	0	0	0	1
actors\social worker	9	0	3	5	1	0
actors\customer	0	0	0	0	0	0
actors\pastor	25	0	1	6	3	15
actors\former SOT	3	0	2	1	0	0
actors\public authorities	4	0	1	0	0	3
actors\volunteer	1	0	0	0	0	1
actors\midwife	1	0	0	0	1	0
actors\lawyer	1	0	0	0	1	0
person of trust	22	0	7	5	2	8
anxiety/ fear	47	1	35	9	0	2
integration (including subcodes)	148	7	41	36	19	45
integration	2	0	0	1	1	0
integration\opportunities	65	4	12	21	10	18
integration\recommendations	28	1	8	9	3	7
integration\hindrances	53	2	21	5	5	20

Appendix 10 code system community

Codesystem	community (including subcodes)	community	Nigerian community	community of host-country nationals	church community	family back home
residency issues (including subcodes)	11	2	1	0	3	5
residency issues	3	0	1	0	1	1
residency issues\awaiting a decision	2	0	0	0	1	1
residency issues\legal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\waiting for deportation	1	0	0	0	1	0
residency issues\residence permit	3	0	0	0	0	3
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	1	1	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	1	1	0	0	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	39	8	17	12	0	2
accommodation	4	1	1	1	0	1
accommodation\camp	7	1	3	3	0	0
camp\reception centre	8	1	4	3	0	0
camp\collective accommodation centre	5	0	3	1	0	1
accommodation\safe house	6	3	2	1	0	0
accommodation\family home	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\flat	5	0	2	3	0	0
accommodation\other types of housing	4	2	2	0	0	0
education (including subcodes)	25	5	2	15	3	0
education	1	0	0	1	0	0
education\integration course	0	0	0	0	0	0
education\language	13	3	1	7	2	0
language\language course	5	0	1	4	0	0
language\other language measures	1	1	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	5	1	0	3	1	0
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	10	4	1	4	0	1
access to the labour market	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\employment	8	4	0	3	0	1
access to the labour market\job experience	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\internship	0	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	2	0	1	1	0	0
health care system (including subcodes)	18	4	4	5	5	0
health care system	2	0	0	1	1	0
health care system\medical support	1	0	1	0	0	0
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	4	2	0	1	1	0
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	8	1	2	2	3	0
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	3	1	1	1	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	0	0	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	70	11	18	28	6	7
motherhood	30	3	7	17	2	1
motherhood\sex education	4	0	2	2	0	0
motherhood\pregnancy	17	3	5	4	3	2
motherhood\single mums	11	2	3	5	1	0
motherhood\mothers with partners	4	3	0	0	0	1
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	4	0	1	0	0	3
motherhood\family reunification	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	70	5	18	8	37	2
spirituality	2	0	1	0	1	0
spirituality \ATR	8	0	3	3	1	1
spirituality \Christianity	14	2	2	2	7	1
Christianity\European church	21	2	2	2	15	0
Christianity\African church	25	1	10	1	13	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	32	4	7	14	1	6
discrimination	4	1	1	1	1	0
discrimination\gender differences	9	1	3	2	0	3
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	2	0	0	0	0	2
discrimination\racism	17	2	3	11	0	1
dreams and visions	9	5	1	1	0	2
actors (including subcodes)	93	17	31	18	14	13
actors	15	1	6	6	1	1
actors\madam	16	2	7	0	2	5
actors\counselling NGO	9	2	1	3	1	2
actors\asylum counselling NGO	4	2	1	0	0	1
actors\social worker	7	1	2	1	1	2
actors\customer	1	1	0	0	0	0
actors\pastor	11	1	2	0	8	0
actors\former SOT	11	4	4	2	0	1
actors\public authorities	9	1	5	2	0	1
actors\volunteer	2	1	0	1	0	0
actors\midwife	6	0	3	3	0	0
actors\lawyer	2	1	0	0	1	0
person of trust	42	13	11	8	7	3
anxiety/ fear	23	3	9	5	0	6
integration (including subcodes)	198	40	45	66	25	22
integration	5	1	1	3	0	0
integration\opportunities	88	27	12	31	14	4
integration\recommendations	36	5	9	14	3	5
integration\hindrances	69	7	23	18	8	13

Appendix 11 code system discrimination

Codesystem	discrimination (including subcodes)	discrimination	gender differences	stigmatisation of women in prostitution	racism
residency issues (including subcodes)	4	0	2	0	2
residency issues	2	0	1	0	1
residency issues\awaiting a decision	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\waiting for deportation	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\residence permit	1	0	0	0	1
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	0	0	0	0	0
residence permit\international protection	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	1	0	1	0	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	15	0	8	1	6
accommodation	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\camp	1	0	1	0	0
camp\reception centre	7	0	5	0	2
camp\collective accommodation centre	2	0	1	0	1
accommodation\safe house	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\family home	2	0	1	1	0
accommodation\flat	3	0	0	0	3
accommodation\other types of housing	0	0	0	0	0
education (including subcodes)	6	1	4	0	1
education	0	0	0	0	0
education\integration course	0	0	0	0	0
education\language	1	0	1	0	0
language\language course	3	0	2	0	1
language\other language measures	0	0	0	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	2	1	1	0	0
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	8	0	2	0	6
access to the labour market	1	0	0	0	1
access to the labour market\employment	3	0	1	0	2
access to the labour market\job experience	3	0	0	0	3
access to the labour market\internship	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	1	0	1	0	0
health care system (including subcodes)	17	1	10	2	4
health care system	1	1	0	0	0
health care system\medical support	1	0	0	0	1
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	4	0	3	0	1
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	6	0	3	1	2
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	3	0	3	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	2	0	1	1	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	32	1	15	3	13
motherhood	15	0	3	2	10
motherhood\sex education	1	0	1	0	0
motherhood\pregnancy	3	0	2	0	1
motherhood\single mums	7	1	3	1	2
motherhood\mothers with partners	3	0	3	0	0
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	2	0	2	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	1	0	1	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	2	0	2	0	0
spirituality	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \ATR	1	0	1	0	0
spirituality \Christianity	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\European church	0	0	0	0	0
Christianity\African church	1	0	1	0	0
community (including subcodes)	32	4	9	2	17
community	4	1	1	0	2
community\Nigerian community	7	1	3	0	3
community\community of host-country nationals	14	1	2	0	11
community\church community	1	1	0	0	0
community\family back home	6	0	3	2	1
dreams and visions	2	1	1	0	0
actors (including subcodes)	51	1	27	11	12
actors	4	0	2	1	1
actors\madam	7	0	5	2	0
actors\counselling NGO	9	0	4	1	4
actors\asylum counselling NGO	0	0	0	0	0
actors\social worker	4	0	3	0	1
actors\customer	17	0	10	6	1
actors\pastor	0	0	0	0	0
actors\former SOT	0	0	0	0	0
actors\public authorities	9	1	3	1	4
actors\volunteer	0	0	0	0	0
actors\midwife	0	0	0	0	0
actors\lawyer	1	0	0	0	1
person of trust	7	1	4	0	2
anxiety/ fear	19	1	9	5	4
integration (including subcodes)	90	1	36	11	42
integration	2	0	0	0	2
integration\opportunities	21	0	11	0	10
integration\recommendations	15	0	9	1	5
integration\hindrances	52	1	16	10	25

Appendix 12 code system dreams and visions

Codesystem	dreams and visions
residency issues (including subcodes)	10
residency issues	3
residency issues\awaiting a decision	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	1
residency issues\waiting for deportation	0
residency issues\residence permit	0
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	2
residence permit\international protection	3
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	1
accommodation (including subcodes)	13
accommodation	2
accommodation\camp	0
camp\reception centre	0
camp\collective accommodation centre	1
accommodation\safe house	1
accommodation\family home	1
accommodation\flat	4
accommodation\other types of housing	4
education (including subcodes)	17
education	7
education\integration course	1
education\language	6
language\language course	2
language\other language measures	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	1
access to the labour market	43
access to the labour market	0
access to the labour market\employment	32
access to the labour market\job experience	5
access to the labour market\internship	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	6
health care system	7
health care system	1
health care system\medical support	3
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	1
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	1
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	1
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	26
motherhood	9
motherhood\sex education	1
motherhood\pregnancy	1
motherhood\single mums	9
motherhood\mothers with partners	2
motherhood\abortion	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	4
motherhood\family reunification	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	3
spirituality	0
spirituality \ATR	0
spirituality \Christianity	3

Christianity\European church	0
Christianity\African church	0
community (including subcodes)	9
community	5
community\Nigerian community	1
community\community of host-country nationals	1
community\church community	0
community\family back home	2
discrimination (including subcodes)	2
discrimination	1
discrimination\gender differences	1
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	0
discrimination\racism	0
actors (including subcodes)	12
actors	0
actors\madam	2
actors\counselling NGO	4
actors\asylum counselling NGO	0
actors\social worker	1
actors\customer	0
actors\pastor	0
actors\former SOT	1
actors\public authorities	4
actors\volunteer	0
actors\midwife	0
actors\lawyer	0
person of trust	5
anxiety/ fear	5
integration (including subcodes)	22
integration	3
integration\opportunities	7
integration\recommendations	7
integration\hindrances	8

Appendix 13 code system actors

Codesystem	actors (including subcodes)	actors	madam	counselling NGO	asylum counselling	social NGO worker	customer	pastor	former SOT	public authorities	volunteer	midwife	lawyer
residency issues (including subcodes)	93	2	5	23	7	13	0	0	0	25	0	0	18
residency issues	15	0	4	4	1	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
residency issues\awaiting a decision	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
residency issues\legal proceeding	14	0	0	5	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	5
residency issues\waiting for deportation	13	1	1	3	1	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
residency issues\residence permit	15	1	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	3
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	21	0	0	7	1	1	0	0	0	9	0	0	3
residence permit\international protection	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	11	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	0	3
accommodation (including subcodes)	105	8	14	30	6	16	0	0	1	18	3	9	0
accommodation	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
accommodation\camp	18	4	2	2	1	3	0	0	0	3	0	3	0
camp\reception centre	23	2	3	6	0	3	0	0	0	3	1	5	0
camp\collective accommodation centre	8	0	1	0	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
accommodation\safe house	28	1	4	14	0	2	0	0	1	5	0	1	0
accommodation\family home	6	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
accommodation\flat	15	0	1	3	5	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	0
accommodation\other types of housing	5	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
education (including subcodes)	83	8	1	39	3	8	0	3	1	14	2	2	2
education	5	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	1
education\integration course	20	0	0	14	0	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	0
education\language	12	2	0	6	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0
language\language course	26	4	0	10	2	2	0	1	1	5	0	1	0
language\other language measures	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	17	2	1	6	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	1	1
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	22	1	0	11	2	1	0	2	0	3	0	1	1
access to the labour market	5	0	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
access to the labour market\employment	8	0	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
access to the labour market\job experience	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
access to the labour market\internship	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	5	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
health care system (including subcodes)	154	22	8	44	7	30	1	4	1	24	4	6	3
health care system	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
health care system\medical support	31	4	0	10	4	3	0	0	0	7	0	2	1
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	34	4	0	10	3	10	0	0	0	3	0	3	1
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	49	7	4	15	0	10	0	2	1	6	3	0	1
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	30	6	3	7	0	4	1	0	0	7	1	1	0
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood (including subcodes)	132	13	8	38	13	9	0	3	2	25	6	10	5
motherhood	52	9	1	11	5	2	0	3	1	10	2	6	2
motherhood\sex education	5	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
motherhood\pregnancy	40	3	3	13	5	3	0	0	1	5	2	4	1
motherhood\single mums	19	0	2	5	1	3	0	0	0	6	0	0	2
motherhood\mothers with partners	10	0	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
motherhood\abortion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	5	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
motherhood\family reunification	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	85	5	22	13	1	9	0	25	3	4	1	1	1
spirituality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
spirituality \ATR	26	2	10	7	0	3	0	1	2	1	0	0	0
spirituality \Christianity	20	1	3	4	0	5	0	6	1	0	0	0	0
Christianity\European church	9	2	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	1
Christianity\African church	30	0	8	2	1	0	0	15	0	3	1	0	0
community (including subcodes)	93	15	16	9	4	7	1	11	11	9	2	6	2
community	17	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	1	1	0	1
community\Nigerian community	31	6	7	1	1	2	0	2	4	5	0	3	0
community\community of host-country nationals	18	6	0	3	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	3	0
community\church community	14	1	2	1	0	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	1
community\family back home	13	1	5	2	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
discrimination (including subcodes)	51	4	7	9	0	4	17	0	0	9	0	0	1
discrimination	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
discrimination\gender differences	27	2	5	4	0	3	10	0	0	3	0	0	0
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	11	1	2	1	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	0
discrimination\racism	12	1	0	4	0	1	1	0	0	4	0	0	1
dreams and visions	12	0	2	4	0	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	0
person of trust	177	6	5	66	11	47	1	11	8	5	6	5	6
anxiety/ fear	76	6	22	11	7	10	1	0	6	11	0	0	2
integration (including subcodes)	418	41	41	100	32	55	8	18	11	73	11	11	17
integration	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
integration\opportunities	187	7	9	57	24	31	1	10	5	26	5	1	11
integration\recommendations	109	18	6	23	2	11	1	3	5	29	4	5	2
integration\hindrances	121	16	26	20	6	13	6	4	1	18	2	5	4

Appendix 14 code system person of trust

Codesystem	person of trust
residency issues (including subcodes)	
residency issues	4
residency issues\awaiting a decision	0
residency issues\legal proceeding	4
residency issues\waiting for deportation	2
residency issues\residence permit	1
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	1
residence permit\international protection	2
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	0
accommodation (including subcodes)	
accommodation	0
accommodation\camp	4
camp\reception centre	4
camp\collective accommodation centre	3
accommodation\safe house	3
accommodation\family home	7
accommodation\flat	3
accommodation\other types of housing	3
education (including subcodes)	
education	1
education\integration course	4
education\language	3
language\language course	5
language\other language measures	1
language\language problems/ illiteracy	4
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	
access to the labour market	1
access to the labour market\employment	5
access to the labour market\job experience	2
access to the labour market\internship	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	2
health care system (including subcodes)	
health care system	2
health care system\medical support	5
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	18
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	12
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	6
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	3
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	1
motherhood (including subcodes)	
motherhood	12
motherhood\sex education	0
motherhood\pregnancy	5
motherhood\single mums	12
motherhood\mothers with partners	4
motherhood\abortion	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	1
motherhood\family reunification	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	
spirituality	0
spirituality \ATR	7

spirituality \Christianity	5
Christianity\European church	2
Christianity\African church	8
community including subcodes	
community	13
community\Nigerian community	11
community\community of host-country nationals	8
community\church community	7
community\family back home	3
discrimination (including subcodes)	
discrimination	1
discrimination\gender differences	4
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	0
discrimination\racism	2
dreams and visions	5
actors (including subcodes)	
actors	6
actors\madam	5
actors\counselling NGO	66
actors\asylum counselling NGO	11
actors\social worker	47
actors\customer	1
actors\pastor	11
actors\former SOT	8
actors\public authorities	5
actors\volunteer	6
actors\midwife	5
actors\lawyer	6
anxiety/ fear	18
integration (including subcodes)	
integration	0
integration\opportunities	78
integration\recommendations	14
integration\hindrances	28

Appendix 15 code system anxiety/ fear

Codesystem	anxiety/ fear
residency issues (including subcodes)	36
residency issues	13
residency issues\awaiting a decision	2
residency issues\legal proceeding	7
residency issues\waiting for deportation	7
residency issues\residence permit	4
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	2
residence permit\international protection	0
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	1
accommodation (including subcodes)	26
accommodation	3
accommodation\camp	2
camp\reception centre	8
camp\collective accommodation centre	2
accommodation\safe house	4
accommodation\family home	1
accommodation\flat	1
accommodation\other types of housing	5
education (including subcodes)	8
education	2
education\integration course	1
education\language	2
language\language course	2
language\other language measures	0
language\language problems/ illiteracy	1
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	2
access to the labour market	1
access to the labour market\employment	0
access to the labour market\job experience	0
access to the labour market\internship	0
access to the labour market\vocational training	1
health care system (including subcodes)	55
health care system	1
health care system\medical support	4
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	11
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	17
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	18
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	1
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	3
motherhood (including subcodes)	30
motherhood	6
motherhood\sex education	2
motherhood\pregnancy	10
motherhood\single mums	4
motherhood\mothers with partners	4
motherhood\abortion	0
motherhood\miscarriage	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	4
motherhood\family reunification	0

spirituality (including subcodes)	47
spirituality	1
spirituality \ATR	35
spirituality \Christianity	9
Christianity\European church	0
Christianity\African church	2
community (including subcodes)	23
community	3
community\Nigerian community	9
community\community of host-country nationals	5
community\church community	0
community\family back home	6
discrimination (including subcodes)	19
discrimination	1
discrimination\gender differences	9
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	5
discrimination\racism	4
dreams and visions	5
actors (including subcodes)	76
actors	6
actors\madam	22
actors\counselling NGO	11
actors\asylum counselling NGO	7
actors\social worker	10
actors\customer	1
actors\pastor	0
actors\former SOT	6
actors\public authorities	11
actors\volunteer	0
actors\midwife	0
actors\lawyer	2
person of trust	18
integration (including subcodes)	114
integration	0
integration\opportunities	33
integration\recommendations	17
integration\hindrances	64

Appendix 16 code system integration

Codesystem	integration (including subcodes)	integration	opportunities	recommendations	hindrances
residency issues (including subcodes)					
residency issues	25	0	5	4	16
residency issues\awaiting a decision	6	0	3	1	2
residency issues\legal proceeding	14	0	5	0	9
residency issues\waiting for deportation	12	0	5	0	7
residency issues\residence permit	17	0	4	9	4
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	14	0	9	2	3
residence permit\international protection	9	0	5	2	2
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	7	0	5	1	1
accommodation (including subcodes)					
accommodation	4	0	1	3	0
accommodation\camp	20	1	3	6	10
camp\reception centre	27	0	6	6	15
camp\collective accommodation centre	13	0	4	3	6
accommodation\safe house	11	0	7	4	0
accommodation\family home	5	0	4	0	1
accommodation\flat	20	1	9	1	9
accommodation\other types of housing	14	0	2	4	8
education (including subcodes)					
education	32	3	9	11	9
education\integration course	21	0	8	6	7
education\language	75	6	27	18	24
language\language course	87	1	35	21	30
language\other language measures	11	0	7	0	4
language\language problems/ illiteracy	44	0	9	5	30
access to the labour market (including subcodes)					
access to the labour market	13	0	2	3	8
access to the labour market\employment	49	3	20	15	11
access to the labour market\job experience	9	0	5	2	2
access to the labour market\internship	9	0	8	0	1
access to the labour market\vocational training	24	1	11	4	8
health care system (including subcodes)					
health care system	5	0	3	2	0
health care system\medical support	38	0	14	11	13
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	39	0	20	4	15
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	69	1	25	21	22
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	63	1	18	17	27
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	2	0	2	0	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	4	0	2	0	2
motherhood (including subcodes)					
motherhood	112	5	38	26	43
motherhood\sex education	18	0	4	8	6
motherhood\pregnancy	52	0	24	12	16
motherhood\single mums	63	0	26	2	35
motherhood\mothers with partners	17	0	6	1	10
motherhood\abortion	1	0	1	0	0
motherhood\miscarriage	1	0	0	0	1
motherhood\children in Nigeria	7	0	1	0	6
motherhood\family reunification	1	0	0	0	1
spirituality (including subcodes)					
spirituality	7	0	4	1	2
spirituality \ATR	41	0	12	8	21
spirituality \Christianity	36	1	21	9	5
Christianity\European church	19	1	10	3	5
Christianity\African church	45	0	18	7	20
community (including subcodes)					
community	40	1	27	5	7
community\Nigerian community	45	1	12	9	23
community\community of host-country nationals	66	3	31	14	18
community\church community	25	0	14	3	8
community\family back home	22	0	4	5	13
discrimination (including subcodes)					
discrimination	1	0	0	0	1
discrimination\gender differences	36	0	11	9	16
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	11	0	0	1	10
discrimination\racism	42	2	10	5	25

dreams and visions	25	3	7	7	8
actors (including subcodes)					
actors	41	0	7	18	16
actors\madam	41	0	9	6	26
actors\counselling NGO	100	0	57	23	20
actors\asylum counselling NGO	32	0	24	2	6
actors\social worker	55	0	31	11	13
actors\customer	8	0	1	1	6
actors\pastor	18	1	10	3	4
actors\former SOT	11	0	5	5	1
actors\public authorities	73	0	26	29	18
actors\volunteer	11	0	5	4	2
actors\midwife	11	0	1	5	5
actors\lawyer	17	0	11	2	4
person of trust	120	0	78	14	28
anxiety/ fear	114	0	33	17	64

Appendix 17 code system integration/ opportunity

Codesystem	integration/ opportunities
residency issues (including subcodes)	41
residency issues	5
residency issues\awaiting a decision	3
residency issues\legal proceeding	5
residency issues\waiting for deportation	5
residency issues\residence permit	4
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	9
residence permit\international protection	5
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	5
accommodation (including subcodes)	36
accommodation	1
accommodation\camp	3
camp\reception centre	6
camp\collective accommodation centre	4
accommodation\safe house	7
accommodation\family home	4
accommodation\flat	9
accommodation\other types of housing	2
education (including subcodes)	95
education	9
education\integration course	8
education\language	27
language\language course	35
language\other language measures	7
language\language problems/ illiteracy	9
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	46
access to the labour market	2
access to the labour market\employment	20
access to the labour market\job experience	5
access to the labour market\internship	8
access to the labour market\vocational training	11
health care system (including subcodes)	84

health care system	3
health care system\medical support	14
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	20
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	25
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	18
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	2
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	2
motherhood (including subcodes)	100
motherhood	38
motherhood\sex education	4
motherhood\pregnancy	24
motherhood\single mums	26
motherhood\mothers with partners	6
motherhood\abortion	1
motherhood\miscarriage	0
motherhood\children in Nigeria	1
motherhood\family reunification	0
spirituality (including subcodes)	65
spirituality	4
spirituality \ATR	12
spirituality \Christianity	21
Christianity\European church	10
Christianity\African church	18
community (including subcodes)	88
community	27
community\Nigerian community	12
community\community of host-country nationals	31
community\church community	14
community\family back home	4
discrimination (including subcodes)	28
discrimination	0
discrimination\gender differences	11
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	0
discrimination\racism	10
dreams and visions	7
actors (including subcodes)	187
actors	7
actors\madam	9
actors\counselling NGO	57
actors\asylum counselling NGO	24
actors\social worker	31
actors\customer	1
actors\pastor	10
actors\former SOT	5
actors\public authorities	26
actors\volunteer	5
actors\midwife	1
actors\lawyer	11
person of trust	78
anxiety/ fear	33

Appendix 18 code system integration/ hindrances

Codesystem	integration/ hindrances
residency issues (including subcodes)	44
residency issues	16
residency issues\awaiting a decision	2
residency issues\legal proceeding	9
residency issues\waiting for deportation	7
residency issues\residence permit	4
residence permit\residence permit during criminal proceeding	3
residence permit\international protection	2
residency issues\differences between EU Member States	1
accommodation (including subcodes)	49
accommodation	0
accommodation\camp	10
camp\reception centre	15
camp\collective accommodation centre	6
accommodation\safe house	0
accommodation\family home	1
accommodation\flat	9
accommodation\other types of housing	8
education (including subcodes)	104
education	9
education\integration course	7
education\language	24
language\language course	30
language\other language measures	4
language\language problems/ illiteracy	30
access to the labour market (including subcodes)	30
access to the labour market	8
access to the labour market\employment	11
access to the labour market\job experience	2
access to the labour market\internship	1
access to the labour market\vocational training	8
health care system (including subcodes)	79
health care system	0
health care system\medical support	13
medical support\doctor and hospital appointments	15
health care system\psychological support/ therapy	22
psychological support/ therapy\trauma	27
psychological support/ therapy\suicidal thoughts	0
psychological support/ therapy\insomnia	2
motherhood (including subcodes)	118
motherhood	43
motherhood\sex education	6
motherhood\pregnancy	16
motherhood\single mums	35
motherhood\mothers with partners	10
motherhood\abortion	0
motherhood\miscarriage	1
motherhood\children in Nigeria	6
motherhood\family reunification	1

spirituality (including subcodes)	53
spirituality	2
spirituality \ATR	21
spirituality \Christianity	5
Christianity\European church	5
Christianity\African church	20
community (including subcodes)	69
community	7
community\Nigerian community	23
community\community of host-country nationals	18
community\church community	8
community\family back home	13
discrimination (including subcodes)	52
discrimination	1
discrimination\gender differences	16
discrimination\stigmatisation of women in prostitution	10
discrimination\racism	25
dreams and visions	8
actors (including subcodes)	121
actors	16
actors\madam	26
actors\counselling NGO	20
actors\asylum counselling NGO	6
actors\social worker	13
actors\customer	6
actors\pastor	4
actors\former SOT	1
actors\public authorities	18
actors\volunteer	2
actors\midwife	5
actors\lawyer	4
person of trust	28
anxiety/ fear	64

