

EU-Project “GEITONIES”

City Report

VIENNA

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A The City in Context

1 Policy background at the national level including a description of relevant policy and legislation pertaining to immigrant/cultural groups – changes over time and reasons for these changes

The local Viennese policy towards migrants is to a high degree determined by national legislation. Thus, an overview about the Austrian immigration policy since 1990 shall be given (Jandl & Kraler o.J., 2003; König & Perchinig 2005). During the 1990s in response to increasing immigration and to the growth of the Freedom Party (FPÖ), which called for “zero immigration,” the Austrian government initiated a series of legislative reforms. These covered all areas related to immigration, including entry, residence, employment, and asylum. In 1990, a quota for the employment of foreigners was introduced, defined as a maximum share of foreign workers in the total workforce. The quota was initially set at 10% and was lowered to 9% after Austria’s accession to the European Economic Area (EEA) in 1994, which in turn led to the exemption of immigrants from the EU/EEA from most immigration controls (Biffl 1998, 2000).

In 1992, a new Aliens Act tightened up regulations on the entry and residence of foreigners. A second law introduced in 1993, the Residence Act, established contingents for different categories of migrants. In contrast to the quota used for the issuing of work permits, the contingents for residence permits defined the absolute number of permits that would be issued in any single year.

In 1997 the Aliens Act merged the 1992 Aliens Act and the 1993 Residence Act into a single law. The aim of the reform was to promote the integration of aliens already present in Austria, in the place of new immigration. This concept was called “integration before immigration,” and the law became known as the “integration package” (Bauböck 1999). The most important factor introduced by the law was the principle of “successive” consolidation of residence in increments of five, eight, and 10 years. An immigrant with fully “consolidated residence,” that is, an immigrant continuously residing in Austria for 10 years, would have a legal status (except in terms of political rights) very similar to that of an Austrian citizen. Only convictions for major criminal offences would allow the state to take away the residence right of such a migrant. At the same time, new restrictions were imposed. This was particularly true regarding the employment rights of migrants who had arrived as family members, making them subject to a waiting period of eight years of continuous residence, later lowered to four years, at which point access to employment would be granted (Jandl & Kraler 2003).

Finally, a new Naturalization Act was passed in 1998 that retained the core elements of the previous regulations. These include the principle of “*ius sanguinis*” and a regular waiting period of 10 years for naturalization. The new law shifted the burden of proof to the individual immigrant, who now has to show that he or she is sufficiently integrated into Austrian society. Most importantly, the migrant has to prove that she or he is economically self-sufficient, that is, not in need of social assistance, and sufficiently proficient in German. Also, even minor criminal offenses now constitute reasons for denial of citizenship.

In contrast to the increasingly restrictive regulations for individual asylum applicants, Austria opened the door to thousands of war refugees from the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. Like other European states, Austria did so by instituting a special legal basis for the admission

and residence of conflict refugees outside the normal asylum procedures called “temporary protected status” (TPS). Between 1992 and 1995, a total of about 95,000 war refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina found shelter in Austria. Most were granted TPS and received official assistance. Due to an active government integration program, by July 1999 about 70,000 Bosnians had been provided with long-term residence permits and many had been absorbed by the Viennese labour market. Only about 10,000 people voluntarily returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina, while some 10,000 moved on to other countries.

The formation of a coalition government in January 2000 between the People’s Party (ÖVP) and the Freedom Party (FPÖ) brought a major political earthquake to Austria, with repercussions felt all over Europe. From the beginning, however, it was clear that the FPÖ would try to reform alien legislation, as immigration policy has long been one of its central campaign issues. Finally, in July 2002, Parliament adopted major amendments to the Aliens Act and the Asylum Law. In general, the reforms follow the line of earlier legislation, but introduce new regulations in three important areas (Bauböck & Perchinig 2003):

- First, labour immigration has been restricted mainly to key personnel, with a minimum wage requirement of around 2,000 per month for prospective migrants.
- Second, and in contrast to the first category of migrants, the employment of seasonal workers will be greatly facilitated by allowing such labourers in areas outside agriculture and tourism and extending the employment period to up to one year. Critics have argued that the new regulation may initiate a new guest worker regime, with thousands of foreign workers coming into Austria.
- Third, all new immigrants from non-EU third countries (plus those who have been living in Austria since 1998) are required to attend “integration courses” consisting mainly of language instruction and an introduction to fundamental legal, historical, and political aspects of Austria. Non-participation will lead to sanctions, both financial and legal, e.g., the denial of more secure residence titles. The ultimate fate of non-compliant foreigners could be expulsion from Austria.

In October 2002, the coalition government of the ÖVP and the FPÖ was dissolved. New elections for the national assembly were held at the end of November 2002, resulting in a resounding victory for the conservative ÖVP (42% of the vote, up 15% from the previous election). The right-wing FPÖ, meanwhile, lost almost two-thirds of its electorate and was reduced to 10% of the vote. After long negotiations with all the other parties in Parliament, the ÖVP formed another coalition government with the FPÖ in February 2003. In migration policy the principle of “integration before immigration” was endorsed by the government (Jandl & Kraler 2003).

In mid-2002, Austria expanded options for non-EU nationals to be employed for up to 12 months in non-seasonal industries, after which the worker is to return home for at least two months. This labour force program is aimed at nationals of EU accession countries. Foreign students were also permitted to work part time. Residence permits are given for a certain purpose (e.g. for students, self-employed) and will not be extended after the purpose is fulfilled. Some kinds of residence permits entitle to bring also spouses and children younger than 18 years, some do not. All kinds of residence permits are not limited by quota. People who want to immigrate because they intend to work in Austria have to be “key personnel”. All kinds of first applications for a settlement permit are limited by quota (except for third-country nationals who are family members of EU, EEA and Austrian citizens). Third-country nationals (except EU and EEA citizens) who want to live in Austria permanently require a settlement permit. In 2002 also a population register system was implemented in Austria which allows a more detailed description of migration processes and a differentiation of population by citizenship and country of birth. In offi-

cial statistics and surveys the item of migration is given more and more consideration (see Bauböck & Perchinig 2003).

Since January 1, 2003, non-EU foreigners with residence permits who want to permanently reside in Austria must sign an integration agreement setting out their obligation to acquire basic knowledge of the German language. They have been required to speak basic German or pay half of the cost of German language courses. Immigration is subject to a numerical limit, 8,050 in 2004, and the two major streams of newcomers are further categorized into key employees (2,200) and family reunification (5,500) and then assigned to Austria's nine provinces. Estimations about unauthorized foreigners in Austria are differing considerably (Jandl & Kraler 2003).

The federal debate on integration between 2003 and 2005 focused on the perceived failures of integration and deficits of immigrants leading to the formulation of an "integration agreement" as set out in the revised "Aliens Law 2002", forcing immigrants to participate in German courses. Austria's immigration policy can be characterized by some ambivalence manifested in measures that both welcome and restrict immigration. On the one hand, the growing discontent of large parts of the population with the high levels of immigration during the first part of the 1990s was met with policy proposals of "zero immigration". Consequently, traditional labour migration and family reunification programs were severely curtailed. At the same time, new measures were introduced that should ensure a better integration of immigrants. The introduction of the principle of consolidation of residence reduced status insecurity of migrants and enhanced their integration. Another positive, albeit limited, step taken by the government was the reduction of the waiting period for family members of migrants to gain access to the labour market. On the other hand, the government facilitated the recruitment and employment of seasonal labour. In addition, the government allowed individual federal states to conclude treaties with neighbouring countries under which they can determine the number of "commuting" foreigners and an additional number of key personnel (outside the national quota) from these countries.

People without an Austrian passport who do not come from an EU-country are largely excluded from the right of participation in decision-making, for example, in the workplace. Unlike in Germany, they cannot become members of works or factory committees. They are on the whole allowed only the active not the passive right to vote for such committees.

At the federal level the Austrian Integration Fund was founded in 2005 by the Ministry for the Interior replacing the former Fund for Refugees which had supported recognized refugees with their settlement process in Austria. Only then the renamed Fund started to take on the task to organize and support language tuition in the context of the "integration agreement" introduced in 2003. The competence was not – as opposed to the City of Vienna – integrated into the government structures.

The aliens' law reform of 2005 brought a range of additional restrictions on third country citizens and a tightening of the integration agreement. The residence reform was supported by the federal Social Democratic party.

The elections in October 2006 were won by the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ). The new Government consisting of ministers belonging to the SPÖ and to ÖVP was constituted in January 2007. As the government failed, new elections will be held on September 28, 2008. The immigration topic is now gaining increasing interest among the representatives of all major political parties.

The number of asylum-seekers has risen sharply after 2000, to 30,100 in 2001, 39,400 in 2002, and 32,400 in 2003, but decreased during the last years. Only 20 to 25% of the asylum seekers are recognized as refugees. Asylum laws were changed effective May 1, 2004 to require an initial decision on applications, which must be made at embassies and airports, within 72 hours of arrival

in Austria. In the past, many foreigners applied for asylum in Austria and then continued further west, abandoning their applications (Waldrauch & Çinar 2003).

The overwhelming majority of migratory workers in Austria have, and always did have, the worst paid jobs, men, for example, in construction, and women in cleaning. The concentration of certain groups in certain work areas is primarily a result of restricted access to Austrian labour markets for immigrants from non-EU-countries (Biffl 1998, 2000). For employees from the new EU-member states of Eastern Europe a transitional period was introduced in regard to access to the labour market of the former EU-member states. According to this, the “old EU member-states” can decide after 2 then 3 and then again after 3 more years, to what extent they want they want to open their labour market to the new EU citizens. Austria has already announced that it will make use of the full transitional period of seven years (i.e., until 2011).

Interesting in this connection is the so-called Services Directive for the liberalization of services in the EU-internal market which was adopted in February 2006 by the European Parliament. One of the most controversial points in the discussion was the so-called “country-of-origin principle” according to which the service-providers would be subject to the laws of their country of origin and not to those of the member state in which they were working. Shortly before the adoption of the Directive however the “country-of-origin principle” was stricken from the Directive and instead the principle was maintained that service providers would have to hold to all the regulations of the labor and wage law and all social laws of the country in which they provided their services.

2 The ideology underpinning the above and political and media discourse on integration/multiculturalism/immigration and related issues

The history of the Austrian “guest worker regime” demonstrates that temporary migration has a tendency to become permanent and has long-term implications for the size and composition of the country’s immigrant population. Some politicians, however, are reluctant to acknowledge that Austria is and since the 1960s has been a country of immigration and the share of foreign-born in the last census – reaching 12.5% – was higher than in the U.S. with around 11.1% (Lebhart 2003: 260). The official line more or less continues to be that Austria is not a traditional country of immigration, and recent immigration policies reflect that ambivalence. The consequence is that in reality Austrian society has become a profoundly diverse society but institutional capacity building has not developed accordingly. On the one hand, there is the curtailment of traditional labour migration and family reunification programs that followed public discontent over immigration in the early 1990s (Europaforum 2002). Added to the mix since that time are new integration measures, the country’s accession to the EU and its regime of more open borders, and the admission of thousands of temporary seasonal workers. Looking ahead, immigration appears likely to continue to capture the attention of both the public and policy makers for many decades. To create sustainable processes along this insight would need as a viable basis a major change in the self-definition of the country.

As homelessness, extreme deprivation of areas and other serious problems of integration of immigrants are successfully counteracted by the City Council there is only little controversial discourse about these topics. Before 2006 the Viennese Conservative party (ÖVP) often criticized that migrants did not have access to social housing, now the Freedom party on the contrary criticizes the admission of too many foreign citizens to the communal housing sector. Integration topics of much public interest are education problems in schools with high proportions of migrant children and the question of language acquisition of migrant children and women (Herzog-

Punzenberger 2003). Until the end of the 1990s local media were usually only temporarily interested in immigration matters when the results of some research projects were published or a case of extreme exploitation of tenants came to the public. During recent years the general interest of media and the public in all kind of migration matters was rising significantly especially in pre-election times.

The municipality of Vienna pursues an intensive media work for “integration”. The decision for diversity policy received mainly positive attention in local media. Since several years there is a special choice of pictures in all media of the City of Vienna. Photos and written texts refer to people with migration background and the city is careful that the subject of immigration is always “transported” in one or the other way. It is the city’s aim that immigration will become a kind of normality in public consciousness. During recent years it became usual that advertisements are also published in media which are written in the migrants’ mother languages. Also a general process of increasing professionalization of municipal information media took place (Europaforum 2002).

The Municipal Department No. 17 gives each support needed to other departments for example in editing their publications or in translation. Municipal Department No. 17 grants also financial support to two projects in the context of professional qualification. The first one wants to qualify mainstream journalists for the ethnic communities, the second one offers special training for migrants’ associations in the fields of public relations and media work. Municipal Department No. 17 has also initiated a round table with journalists of some native language media. The Department supports these journalists in their contacts to the municipality and it also supports the public relations work of the municipal departments in the local ethnic communities.

In the actual public discussion, there is some consensus about the necessity of public intervention into immigration matters. Thus, a variety of measures intervening into the immigration sphere are existent in Vienna. These measures concern urban planning, architecture, ecology, and last but not least, social policy. This is embedded in a continual broad discussion by the general public and among experts, as well as continuous information availability. This includes special research programmes and the distribution of their results by publications, presentations, and the regular publishing of immigration issues in the media. The clients of social housing, being migrants or non-migrants, are informed comprehensively and un-bureaucratically. There is also a lot of collaboration of the Municipality with non-governmental organisations. For intensifying the dialogue with non-governmental and governmental institutions in the field of anti-discrimination Municipal Department 17 participates regularly in a process of exchange of experiences.

Looking ahead, immigration appears likely to continue to capture the attention of both the public and policy makers for many decades (Nationaler Kontaktpunkt 2005).

3 Local Policy

Vienna has a long tradition of pursuing a policy of social equality. The city is constantly at work in developing measures aimed at reducing social disparities and segregation to the extent permitted by the scope of competence of the city and the financial situation. The social structure and its specific spatial concentrations are important indicators for any measures required for the development and advancement of the city. Integration should not only be an isolated theme but part of a concept to avoid segmentation. Important is the equal treatment in municipal and non-profit housing for inhabitants with migration background. One general goal which is relevant in the context of housing integration of immigrants can be found in the Urban Development Plan 2005 (STEP05):

“The city of Vienna has to take care to safeguard, stabilize and advance the quality of life in Vienna by ensuring equal opportunity for all inhabitants, taking into account the diverse living patterns, origins, social backgrounds and special needs of people with mobility handicaps and to enable them to live a meaningful life by assuring access to cultural life, to social, educational, healthcare and care for the aged facilities, to housing of sufficient size and quality, and to nature and recreational spaces, as well as to guarantee social security, personal safety and the protection of property, and to uphold social integration.”¹

In Vienna until now, there exists a corporatist form of social-democratic urban governance. Although Vienna is still a social-democratic governed city, the political-administrative system experienced some changes during recent years. These changes are challenged by increasing city competition, by the phenomenon of urban sprawl, by environmental challenges, by the task to fight social exclusion and poverty and last but not least by immigration. The traditional core of the political-administrative system in Vienna was built by a kind of universal hierarchical welfare state on a local level (Jessop 1994; Novy et al. 2001).

Since the 1970s there was a shift from government to governance which is a term for the flexibilization of the institutional organisation of the public sector and a “shift from welfare to workfare” (Jessop 1994). In Vienna a reorganisation of the political-administrative system with a focus on more horizontal and vertical integration of political structures took place. Simultaneously attempts were made to supplement the formal dimension of politics by informal rules and non-institutional forms of governing. The City Council established more open planning procedures and new participation processes. Competences were removed from the local government and shifted to public-private partnerships and private agencies. The involvement of private actors in the urban policies has been steadily increasing to accomplish flexibility, efficiency and competitiveness.²

Some of the main features of the political-administrative system of the metropolis are:³

- Vienna is in a unique position in Austria as it maintains the status both of a federal province (there are nine in Austria) and a municipality.
- The central organisational principles, which were implemented by the Social Democrats, are hierarchies and top-down decision-making. The City Councillors, currently 14, are part of the City Senate and politically responsible for specific areas (planning, environment, health, housing, traffic etc.). At the same time they are assigned heads of the departments of the City administration.
- The control of the local administration enabled the Social-Democrats to establish some kind of clientele relationships, e.g. by allocating public housing flats. As a consequence, the relationships between government and civil society were always a mixture of benevolence and co-optation leading to a lack of participatory culture in Vienna (Novy et al. 2001).
- Another central aspect of political culture in Vienna is the establishment of “social partnership”. This is a specific Austrian form of corporatism – a network consisting of the state and employees (unions, chamber of work), as well as the employers’ association (chamber of commerce, Federation of Austrian Industry). So we find a consensus oriented political culture, which tries to avoid extreme political and social conflicts.

¹ See <http://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/step/pdf/step05kurz-en.pdf>.

² In reality, such actions could not completely prevent a certain extent of increasing polarisation especially in spatial dimensions.

³ For further information on the organisation of the Vienna City administration see: <http://www.magwien.gv.at/english/organisation/>.

Although there is a steady rise in prosperity, there are spatial patterns revealing more dynamic and less dynamic parts of the city. Planners have an adequate set of instruments for influencing the developments to a certain extent. Policy areas such as employment and education, housing and social policy can also be supported by appropriate measures of the municipality. The level of education, which is an important indicator of social structure, is still on the rise in Vienna and indicates a high degree of competence in the areas of highly qualified employees and skilled workers.

On the political level, in Vienna, diversity policy is regarded as essential. The City of Vienna's integration policies have been aiming at achieving equal rights and chances in all spheres of life, social and economic, cultural and political. Thus a comprehensive set of measures were developed and implemented, among many others to ample support of voluntary and affordable language courses, labour market integration, information and support in the sphere of housing, conflict mediation at the regional level etc. The EU non-discrimination framework directive was adapted by the Law against Discrimination (ADG), the amendment of civil service law (1994) and the amendment of the law for contract workers 1995 (anti-discrimination amendment). The Viennese Law against Discrimination is banning discrimination of any kind because of racial, ethnic, religious, ideological or sexual orientation reasons. This law is valid for the sectors of social affairs, health, education, provision of public goods and service provision, including housing and self-employment, insofar these affairs are part of the regulation competence of the City of Vienna. The amendment to civil service law is banning any discrimination because of reasons cited above by officials or contract workers of the municipality. Offenses against these regulations are punished under civil service law and under the disciplinary law of the City of Vienna. Both laws are banning direct and indirect discrimination, nuisance, insults, attempts at intimidation as well as victimisation.

The Vienna Integration Fund was founded in 1992 and was given the task to lobby for the interests of immigrants and give expertise and consultation to the Vienna City government. In 1996 the Office for Integration Affairs of the City Council was established – a first step towards mainstreaming integration policies. A few years later Vienna developed its integration policy further towards the diversity approach emphasising the growing diversity of the Viennese population and its profits and merits for society. Controlled immigration and the socio-cultural diversity of the Viennese population have increasingly been regarded and depicted as a strength of the city. This approach is also supported by the Vienna Green Party.

Contrary to the situation in most Western European states, immigrants in Austria are still barred from active participation in local government politics. On the whole the integration policies in Vienna have been substantially differing from federal integration policies. An essential difference in their approach towards integration concerns political rights: An attempt was made in Vienna in December 2002 to introduce in the municipal districts the right to vote in local elections for immigrants who had had their main residence in Vienna for at least five years. The Federal Government brought an objection in February and so this resolution had to be backed up in April 2003 by an “override resolution”. Finally however it fell through altogether when an appeal to the Constitutional Court was brought jointly by the ÖVP (Austrian People's Party) and the FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria). The Court rescinded the “Immigrants' Right to Vote” on June 30, 2004 on the basis that Austrian citizenship was an absolutely necessary prerequisite of the right to vote. In the Netherlands, in Sweden, or Denmark immigrants can take part after some years residence in local and provincial elections (Bauböck & Perchinig 2003; Jandl & Kraler 2003).

Last not least the approach towards naturalisation differed widely since 2000 between the federal and the Viennese level. Vienna was strongly opposed to the move of the federal Christian-Democratic and BZÖ coalition's move toward a comprehensively restrictive reform of naturalisation which entered into force in March 2006. By comparison with the rest of Europe, the process

of becoming a citizen in Austria is also handled restrictively. Austrian citizenship is geared to the so-called “*ius sanguinis*”, the “law of blood”. In Austria, children born to foreigners therefore count automatically as foreigners “by extraction”. The situation is quite different, for example, in Great Britain, where the “*ius soli*” is in force, the “law of the soil”, according to which immigrants’ children born on British soil have a right to become citizens (Bauböck & Perchinig 2003; Jandl & Kraler 2003). Numerous recommendations have been made by the Council of Europe and the EU-Commission declaring support, in principle, for closer integration and equality for immigrants and members of “third states” in the EU member states. Austria is very much bringing up the rear in this matter within the European Union.

Anti-discrimination legislation was only introduced in 2004 on the federal and regional level in the process of implementing the EU “race directive” covering among other areas also access to public goods and services including housing.⁴ A direct discrimination of immigrants with third country citizenship was repealed 2006 by opening the social (public) housing sector. Thus, third country nationals who hold a long-term residence status EC (requirements are: a minimum legal residency period of 5 years, steady and sufficient income, no criminal record etc.) are no longer discriminated in any case (EUMC RAXEN network 2003).

The municipal department no. 17 for integration and diversity affairs was founded in July 2004 in order to develop integration measures further and assist the municipality in mainstreaming and adjusting its services to the needs of Vienna’s increasingly diverse population. In autumn 2004 the new Municipal Department for Integration and Diversity (MA 17) gradually took up work. It incorporated the staff and duties of the Vienna Integration Fund. Its activities were directed above all to providing language courses. The competence for integration and diversity affairs is now within the administrative unit for integration, women’s and consumers’ affairs. The team is multicultural and provides 23 different languages. Its mainstreaming tasks across all units are in the process of being developed and strengthened.⁵

With this new municipal department now in place integration and migration matters are more firmly embedded in the City Administration’s agenda. The department MA 17 is focused on preparing a sound basis for implementing and further developing Vienna’s integration and diversity policies. This includes, in particular, gaining better knowledge on migration circumstances, improving cultural sensitivity as well as recognizing and reducing access barriers in all spheres of life. The ultimate objective is to strengthen intercultural competencies for improved diversity management. The Integration of migrants will be facilitated by accompanying measures. MA 17 deals with conflict mediation and promotion of respectful and peaceful living together in neighbourhoods with high percentages of immigrant population. In practice this leads to difficulties regarding the congruence and timing of policies in that area. In the past mostly the topic of

⁴ Gleichbehandlungsgesetz und Änderung des BG über die Gleichbehandlung von Frau und Mann im Arbeitsleben, BGBl. I 66/2004, articles 38–40 (2nd section: Grundsätze für die Regelung der Gleichbehandlung ohne Unterschied der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit in sonstigen Bereichen) (<http://www.klagsverband.at/recht.php> – Recht: Bundesrecht); Wiener Gesetz zur Bekämpfung von Diskriminierung (Wr. Antidiskriminierungsgesetz), LGBl. 35/2004, 8th Sept 2004 (<http://www.wien.gv.at/recht/landesrecht-wien/landesgesetzblatt/jahrgang/2004/html/lg2004035.htm>); Stelle zur Bekämpfung von Diskriminierungen, Bedienstetenschutzbeauftragter: (<http://www.intern.magwien.gv.at/Bedienstetenschutz/Antidiskriminierung/index.html>).

⁵ See <http://www.wien.gv.at/integration/> (Website MA 17); <http://www.wien.gv.at/integration/pdf/broschuere-ma17.pdf> (Information about the MA 17, function and projects).

(lack of) access of most third-country citizens to Vienna's council housing and to other rights were debated. The legal basis for this distribution of competencies can be found in the Statutes of the Vienna Social Fund and in GEM ("Geschäftseinteilung für den Magistrat" = "legal basis and description for which department is in charge of which municipal affairs"). Furthermore the tasks of MA 17 include:

- proposing, promoting and implementing language courses and educational measures for migrants, especially with a view to settling newly arrived migrants;
- supporting integration-relevant measures, projects and initiatives;
- proposing and supporting model integration and diversity projects and measures initiated by the City of Vienna;
- cooperating with internal and external partners and migrants organisations in particular;
- monitoring and supporting developments and projects specific to integration in other provinces, at the federal, European, as well as the international level.

A further important body is the "Vienna Integration Conference" – a platform of more than 160 immigrant and counselling associations in the field of integration and antidiscrimination. It was first established in spring 1999 as a body to reshape and strengthen the cooperation among NGOs as well as the dialogue with the city. Within the process of re-structuring Vienna's integration policies and new division of tasks between the City of Vienna and NGOs active in the field of integration and antidiscrimination the new "Association Vienna Integration Conference – Office For Networking"⁶ was established as an independent association in 2004. The Association and its office is supported by the City of Vienna. As a model of self-organisation of immigrants it works as a "pressure group" in order to lobby for immigrant issues and raise intercultural awareness and sensibility. The WIK Integration Charta of September 2006 stresses equal rights and chances in all spheres of life, especially the labour market, and political rights as well as the importance of a public discourse free of prejudice and negative stereotyping, access of immigrants to this public discourse, fair election campaigning, fight and measures against social exclusion and poverty etc. discrimination in the housing market.⁷

Thus, the main services provided by the city or by organizations under the municipality's control which are relevant to people with a migration background are the following:

- Municipal Department No. 10 (Vienna Children's Day Care Centres)
- Municipal Department No. 11 (Youth and Family Welfare Office – MA 11 is responsible for the support of families and the protection of children and juveniles. At the same time, it offers comprehensive consultation as service facility for families offering parent-child centres and consultation facilities as well as protective and other institutions for children.
- Municipal Department No. 17 (Integration and Diversity): Services for migrants, promotion of projects relevant to integration and accompanying measures for residence (language training courses and education measures, low-threshold information); moreover, it serves as an interface between migrants' organisations, NGOs and the City of Vienna.

⁶ See <http://www.wik-vernetzungsbuero.at>.

⁷ For the concept and understanding of integration of migrant organizations in Vienna see WIK-Mission http://www.wik-Vernetzungsbuero.at/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=111&Itemid=00 WIK-Vernetzungsbüro: Integrations-Charta and Integrationsmodell, September 2006).

- Municipal Department No. 35 (Immigration, Citizenship and Registry Offices).
- Municipal Department No. 57 (Promotion and Co-ordination of Women's Issues) – It advocates a gender-balanced society – a society that offers women and men equal job and life opportunities. Important measures, for example, are facilities to protect women and girls from violence (battered women's shelters), emergency telephone service for women and girls and the promotion of women's projects.
- Enterprise "Vienna Hospital Association" (Association of public hospitals and geriatric centres in Vienna).
- Enterprise "Housing in Vienna" (Municipal housing as well as administration and maintenance of housing owned by the City of Vienna) as well as MA 50.
- Vienna's Social Fund: Vienna's Social Fund is a tool for the implementation of the city's social policy. The City has defined the following tasks for it: Improvement of health and health awareness among the Viennese population, support for persons in need with regard to basic needs including housing and work as well as medical, psychological and social consultation, treatment and care.

Of course, the list of organizations given above is not comprehensive of all services which are provided by the City of Vienna. It must be understood as a list of the main services because a complete list would be out of proportion.

In addition the City of Vienna also funds services for migrants in all fields or subsidise projects. This includes associations/projects of persons of a certain origin or belonging to a certain religious denomination even though this is not the majority of projects. In the field of integration or art/cultures there are more such projects that receive target-group-related subsidies. Special offers are available for families from abroad. Regional outlets of the Youth and Family Offices, as well as parent counselling centres offer interpreting services in Serbian, Croat, Bosnian and Turkish. A separate counselling centre for students from abroad has been established in the 15th district.

B Political and administrative structure of the city

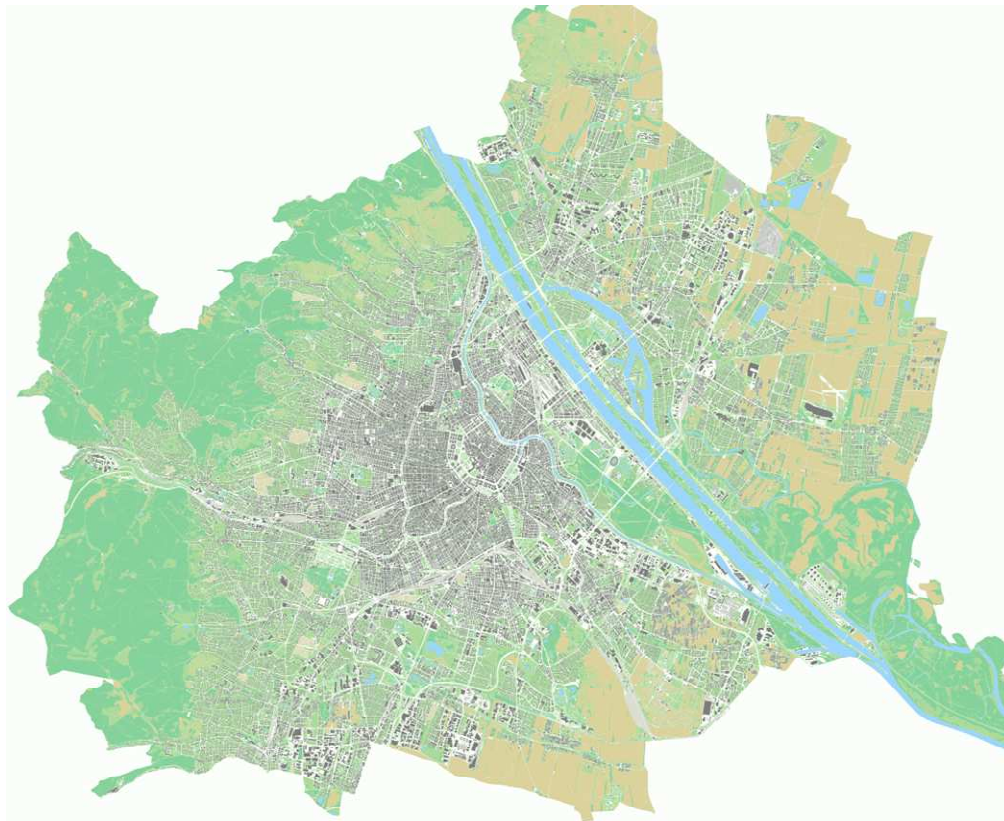
1 The territorial basis of the administrative structure of the city

Vienna is the capital and one of the nine federal states of Austria with a population of 1,651,437 (more than 2.2 million within the metropolitan area) in 2006. Vienna is by far the largest city in Austria as well as its cultural, economic and political centre. The city is composed of 23 districts. Legally, they are not districts in the sense of administrative bodies with explicit powers, but mere subdivisions of the city administration. The 23 districts are numbered for convenience in a roughly clockwise fashion starting in the city centre: 1. Innere Stadt, 2. Leopoldstadt, 3. Landstraße, 4. Wieden, 5. Margareten, 6. Mariahilf, 7. Neubau, 8. Josefstadt, 9. Alsergrund, 10. Favoriten, 11. Simmering, 12. Meidling, 13. Hietzing, 14. Penzing, 15. Rudolfshaus-Fünfhaus, 16. Ottakring, 17. Hernals, 18. Währing, 19. Döbling, 20. Brigittenau, 21. Floridsdorf, 22. Donaustadt and 23. Liesing.

Vienna is both a city and a federal province. The Mayor of Vienna thus is also the governor of a federal province, while the City Council also acts as a provincial diet, and the City Senate serves a double function as the City and Provincial Government. The Social-Democratic party has been dominating the Viennese local government since the 1920s. During the 19th and the early 20th

century Vienna expanded substantially as the suburbs and neighbouring municipalities were incorporated into the city's territory. These suburbs which became part of the city were to retain a certain degree of independence and received the status of municipal districts; what used to be municipal council bodies were turned into district bodies.

Map 1: The urban area of Vienna



Source: Municipality of Vienna.

Following a pilot project on decentralisation carried out in two of the larger municipal districts, the remaining 23 districts were decentralised in a second stage in 1987, in the course of which spheres of competence were substantially expanded and the municipal districts were allocated the task of budget administration. During a third stage in 1998, the scope of tasks and decision-making rights of the districts received further expansion. The municipal districts are not independent legal persons but remain part of the Municipality of Vienna. The district bodies are decentralised bodies of that municipality, a fact which is reflected in both the Mayor's and the District Council's right of inspection. Each municipal district has a district representation elected by the citizens of that district. The so-called District Council consists of 40 to 60 members and is responsible for all major concerns of the district, as well as for adopting the district's budget and approving its final balance. At the head of each district there is a District Chairman, who chairs the District Council, represents the district and supports the Mayor in district affairs. The District Chairman is elected by the District Council.

Map 2: Vienna’s 23 municipal districts



Source: ISR.

Map 3: Vienna’s 250 statistical districts



Source: ISR.

From the point of view of spatial statistics the whole urban area of Vienna is divided into

- 23 municipal districts: the district population ranges from a minimum of 17,056 to a maximum of 150,636.
- 250 (245 with inhabitants) statistical districts (so-called “Zählbezirke”): the population ranges from a minimum of 37 to a maximum of 20,724 with an average population number of 6,327.
- 1,364 (1,293 with inhabitants) statistical areas (“so-called “Zählgebiete” as the small-scaled census districts of Vienna): the population ranges for a minimum of 32 to a maximum of 15,752 with an average number of 1,199.
- 10,600 building blocks as the smallest spatial entities.

Statistical districts and statistical areas are the most important spatial classification units for mapping. The size and the socio-demographic characterization of statistical districts and statistical areas are differing very much from one to another. They are usually relatively small in the central districts but sometimes extremely large at the periphery. It is important to note, that a considerable part of the statistical districts are not merely artificial “statistical spaces” but are closely related either to historical-topographical quarters or to newly built-up areas at the urban fringe (see Lichtenberger et al. 1987: 144). Therefore all statistical districts not only bear names, but these names usually remember to historical settlement entities as old villages. Statistical areas are only classified by numerical numbers.

Map 4: Vienna’s 1,364 statistical areas



Source: ISR.

Neighbourhoods are no category in official statistics but according to the findings of social area analysis (Shevky & Bell 1955; Fassmann & Hatz 2004) neighbourhoods can be created in taking a

statistical area which is characterized by three dimensions of features: a social, a demographic and an ethnic dimension.

Photo 1: Vienna, the city and the inner districts



Source: www.foto-julius.at

2 The type of statistical information available based on nationality/national origin/ethnic origin available (foreign population classification criteria, time-series, available variables...) – years for which data is available

The main statistical basis for migration-related topics is the Austrian Census which is executed every ten years (1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001). From one Census to the other some variables, definitions and thus data structure has changed. Thus, even the Census data of 1991 and 2001 is not completely comparable concerning at least some variables. In Vienna the official Census is the single data source which provides data on a small spatial scale (Population and Dwelling Statistics) (Lebhart 2003; Statistik Austria 2001, 2002, 2006). Thus, the selection of variables on a spatial scale is very limited. There is also an important financial aspect which must be taken into consideration: The acquisition of data on the building block level is expensive because it must be bought separately in the form of special analyses after special analytical steps. Census data of statistical districts and statistical areas are available at a much cheaper rate.

Another relevant data source is the Central Population Register which is always kept up to date, but only contains a limited set of variables (e.g. address, sex, nationality, place of birth), and is therefore not that eligible for all migration-related questions.

Table 1: Data grid

		Spatial Units Available	No. of Spatial units comprise city/ functional urban area	Population	Availability	Dataset (ie census)	Years available	Frequency of data collection	Variables	Cross-tabulation with Ethnicity/ immigrant grp?	Additional Comments
	Vienna region	Metropolitan area, various definitions,									
Spatial Structure of City		municipal districts (1)	23	Max: 150,636 Min:17,056 Average:67,397							
		statistical districts (2)	245 with inhabitants	Max: 20,724 Min: 37 Average:6,327							
	Administrative levels within city: municipal districts, statistical districts, statistical areas	statistical areas (3)	1,293 with inhabitants	Max: 15,752 Min: 32 Average: 1,199							
Variables to classify immigrants/ ethnic groups	Citizenship	Vienna				Population register	2007				
	Place of birth	Vienna				Population register	2007				
	Citizenship	3			available	Census	2001, 1991	10 years			not all countries, only 20 selected or EU15/other foreigners, no EU 27
	Place of birth	3			available	Census	2001	10 years			not all countries, only 20 selected or EU15/other foreigners, no EU 27
	colloquial language	1			available	Census	2001, 1991	10 years			
	religion	3			available	Census	2001, 1991	10 years			

Indicators - Social Territorial Portrait of City	Persons Demographic structure	3			available	Census	2001, 1991	10 years	sex, age, marital status position in the household, household type, family type	for sex only	
	Household structure	3			available	Census	2001, 1991	10 years	highest qualifica- tion, population 15+	no	not all countries, only 20 se- lected or EU15/other foreign- ers, no EU 27
	Education	3			available	Census	2001, 1991	10 years	current position, subsistence	yes	
	Occupation	3			available	Census	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	Flats equipment category	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	usable floor space	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		by language	
	legal status	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	rent costs per sqm	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	period of completion	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	Buildings owner of the building	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years	owner type (private, public etc.)	no	
	citizenship of the owner	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	period of completion	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	number of flats	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years		no	
	usage of the building	3			available	Dwelling Statistics	2001, 1991	10 years	Classification of Constructions – CC	no	
	Housing Mobility data	comparison of the resident population 1991/2001, popula- tion development	3			available	Census	1991 and 2001		population 1991/2001, also ethnic groups	yes

Source: own compilation.

The list of variables which the Census provides is shown in Table 1. The variables are classified into three groups: (a) variables to classify immigrants and ethnic groups, (b) indicators for the socio-territorial portrait of the city and (c) housing mobility data. Most of the variables are available for 1991 as well as for 2001 so a time-related comparison is possible.

- (a) this group of variables include citizenship, place of birth, colloquial language and religion; citizenship and place of birth are available not for all sending-countries but for a selection of 20 only;
- (b) this is a category which includes variables which are related either to persons (e.g. demographic structure, household structure, occupation, education), to flats (equipment category, legal status and others) or to buildings (period of completion, number of flats, usage of the building etc). Demographic structure for example is mirrored in the variables sex, age and marital status;
- (c) this category enables us to make a comparison of the resident population 1991/2001 and provides information about the population development.

In the Viennese case it is of analytical relevance to differentiate between the classical guest workers (Turks and former Yugoslavs), EU-15-citizens and East-West migrants. The patterns of socio-spatial distribution of their housing areas are quite different.

Previously the basic criterion to classify foreigners in official statistics was their nationality (citizenship). Citizenship is a variable which is traditionally included in the Austrian Census. Rapidly increasing numbers of naturalizations made more differentiated categorizations necessary. Since Census 2001 also place of birth was adopted as an additional variable in official statistics. It is of special importance as it mirrors the extent of naturalization among the migrant population (Austrians with migration background). Official statistics do not account for an extended delineation of “migration background”, including birth country of parents, and hence make it possible to analyse data about the 2nd generation in a more comprehensive way (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003). Also, age at immigration and age at naturalization are lacking in the census, but were recently introduced in the micro-census. Concerning the census, country of birth has been included for the first time in the 2001 questionnaire.

Concepts such as “race” or “ethnicity” as used in the United States or in United Kingdom have no parallel in Austria. The term “foreigner” is still the key word in public debates, and “nationality” is the only characteristic that has been applied statistical, and this for a long time. Since naturalization numbers are climbing, the nationality criteria can be quite misleading, especially for some groups which have significantly changed their naturalization behaviours as a result of changes in the legal regulations in their home-country, such as for those with Turkish background.

Unfortunately there is a lack of comparable data from the previous censuses of 1981 and 1991. The census does not provide data about income, thus the social and economic status of the population must be analyzed on the basis of two other variables: level of education and labour market position. The proportion of self-employed is an indicator for the well-to-do, whereas the proportion of unskilled workers is an indicator for the local labour market underclass.

C Socio-territorial description of the city

1 Social characterisation of spatial units: factorial analysis

For executing the factorial analysis, different bundles of indicators for a socio-spatial differentiation of the city under consideration have been defined. Most of the variables are available for the city of Vienna, but some are missing. All of them have been derived from the last census that took place in 2001. The indicators could be classified into five groups. The following overview provides some basic information about which variables have been included in the analysis, how they have been operationalized as well as the shares of the different indicators on the level of the total city:

1. Indicators related to demographic structure:

- share of residents age below 15 years in the total population (14.7%)
- share of residents age 65 years and older in the total population (16.0%)
- share of single parent families among all families (20.5%)

2. Indicators related to socioeconomic structure:

- activity rate: share of economically active persons in the total population (45.1%)
- unemployment rate: share of unemployed persons in the whole economically active population (11.4%)
- share of unskilled and low skilled workers and their dependants in the total population (15.1%)
- share of highly skilled employed (with a university degree or something similar) and their dependants in the total population (9.6%)
- share of university graduates in the total population (8.9%)

3. Indicators related to ethnic structure

- share of citizens from former Yugoslavia in the total population (7.3%)
- share of Turkish citizens in the total population (2.5%)
- share of EU-15-citizens in the total population (1.6%)
- share of citizens of Eastern European countries (Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Romania) in the total population (1.7%)

4. Indicators related to built environment

- share of residents in social housing (28.4%)
- share of residents in owner occupied housing (18.2%)
- share of dwellings without basic amenities (8.3%)
- living rooms per resident

5. Indicator of development: population change between 1991 and 2001

From the list of variables above it is obvious that the analysis comes up with basically four groups of indicators determining the social differentiation of the population and the spatial differentiation of the urban area which are mirrored in Census data: demographic factors, indicators of social differentiation, indicators related to the ethnic structure, and indicators related to physical features of the housing stock.

According to Murdie (1969) the social indicators evolve a sectoral differentiation of the urban space. The demographic indicators are working according to a zonal-concentric pattern. It causes a de-mixing of the residential population of different ages and marital status. The ethnic indicators are responsible for a spatial “lumpying” (concentration) of the residential areas of the migrant population.⁸ This concentration is determined by the conditions of the local housing market as well as existing ethnic networks. In cities with a pronounced market-oriented development in the housing sector it is mainly the social factor, the economic position, which explains segregation. In Vienna legal protection of tenants and low rent politics indirectly made communal housing in Vienna an important part of the social overhead. As early as in the 1960s Vienna municipal socialism already aimed at advancing social urban design.

The spatial basis of reference is made up by the level of statistical districts. Originally, there are 250 of them, but 13 had to be excluded due the fact that they have little or no population or are dominated by other functions.

1.1. Spatial distribution of the indicators used on the level of statistical districts

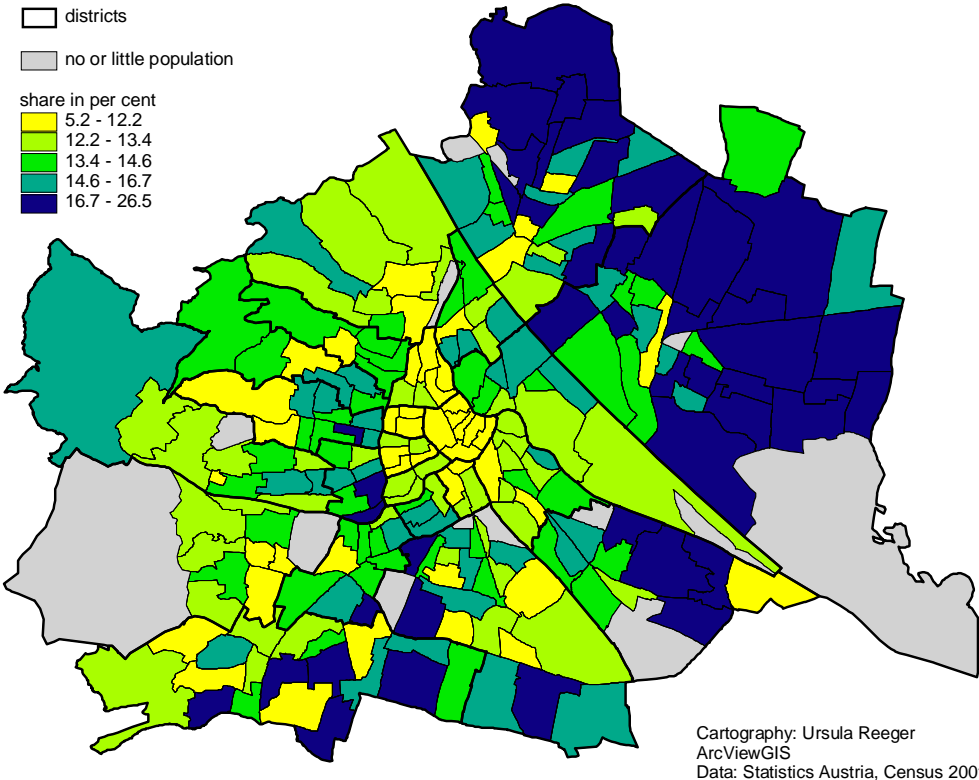
1.1.1 The demographic structure

Analyzing the demographic indicators it has to be stated that Vienna’s population was made considerable younger by immigration. Between 1991 and 2001 the proportion of population older than 60 years was reduced to 21.7%. During the same period of time the proportion of children younger than 15 years increased by 1% and was 14.7% in 2001. Furthermore it is interesting that both groups show an almost contradictory pattern of distribution over the city space. The highest proportions of children among the residential population can be found on the other side of the river Danube in the 21st and 22nd district in particular in the northern and north-eastern urban fringe (see map 5). Here statistical districts with proportions of even up to 26.5% children can be found. Those areas are dominated by newly built housing estates.

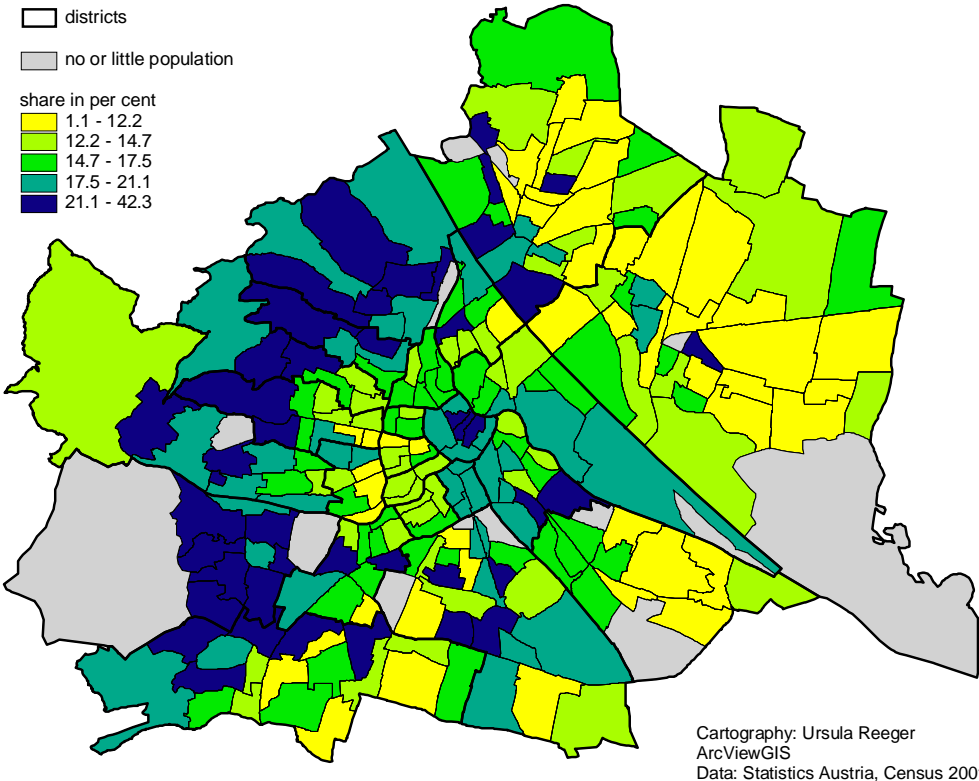
Contrary to this pattern is the spatial distribution of the older generation in the age of retirement. The population age over 65 years (see map 6) is concentrated in the western parts of the districts 14, 16, 17, 18 and 19 near the Vienna Woods. These urban areas are more sparsely built-up and here traditionally a more well-to-do population resides. A further area of higher concentrations of the older generation can be found in the 1st district as well as in adjacent areas of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th district where older people inhabit the Founder’s Period building stock which is here usually in a good condition of repair.

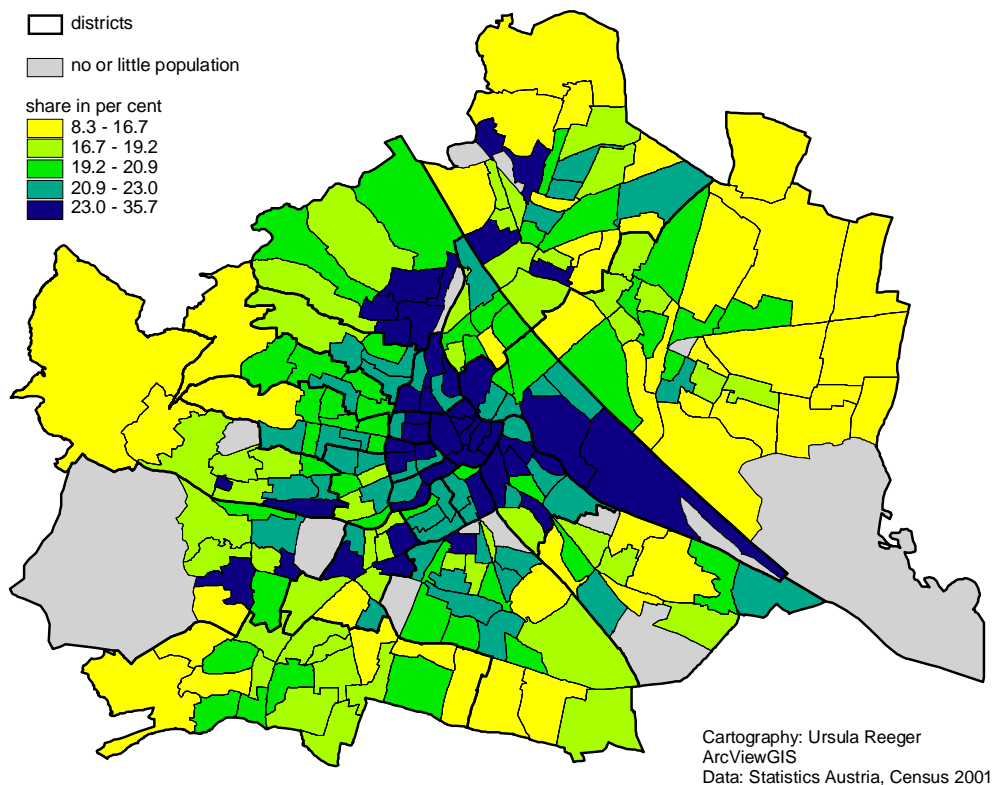
⁸ It must be noted, that the choice of variables is limited by Census 2001 data, so a range of other interesting variables, such as lifestyle variables, could not be included in the following analyses.

Map 5: Share of residents younger than 15 years in the total population 2001



Map 6: Share of residents aged 65 years and older in the total population, 2001



Map 7: Share of single parent families in all families, 2001

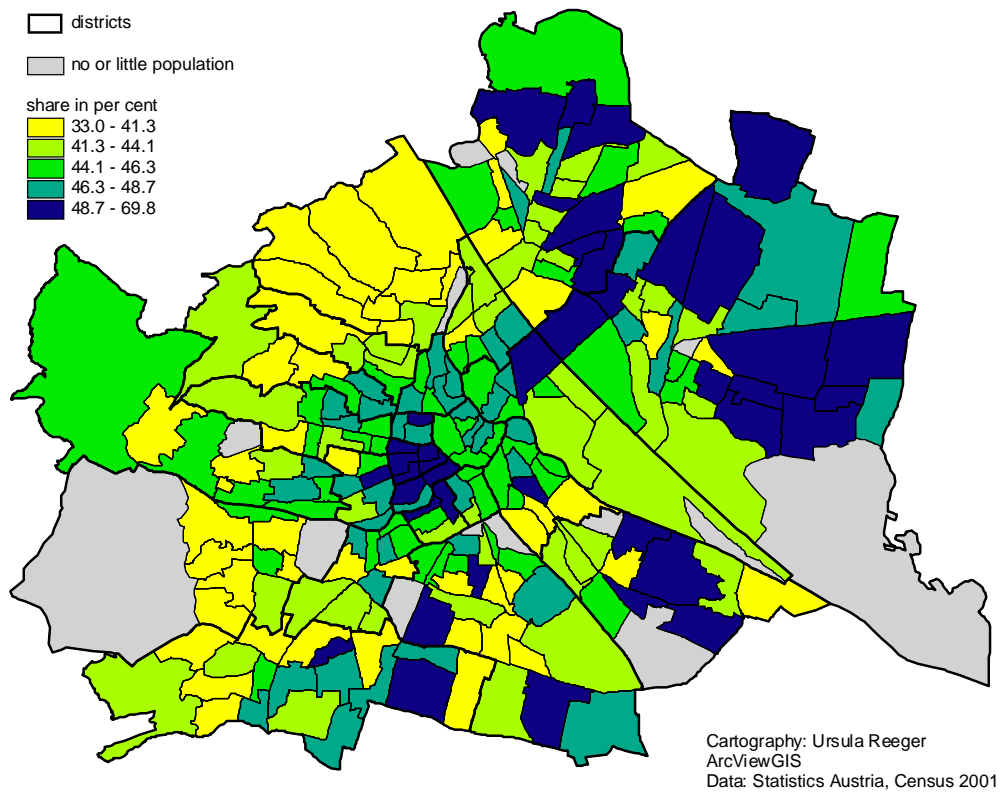
Single-parent households (see map 7) as the third demographic indicator show a pattern of spatial distribution which more resembles the distribution of the older generation than that of the children. Higher proportions of single parent households are a typical phenomenon of the inner city and the bordering inner districts where their share ranges above 20.9% and in many statistical districts even above 35.7%. Furthermore considerable shares of this group can be found in great parts of the 2nd district as well as in a lot of statistical units of the western districts 14, 16, 17 and 18 and in the working class district of Favoriten.

1.1.2 The socio-economic structure

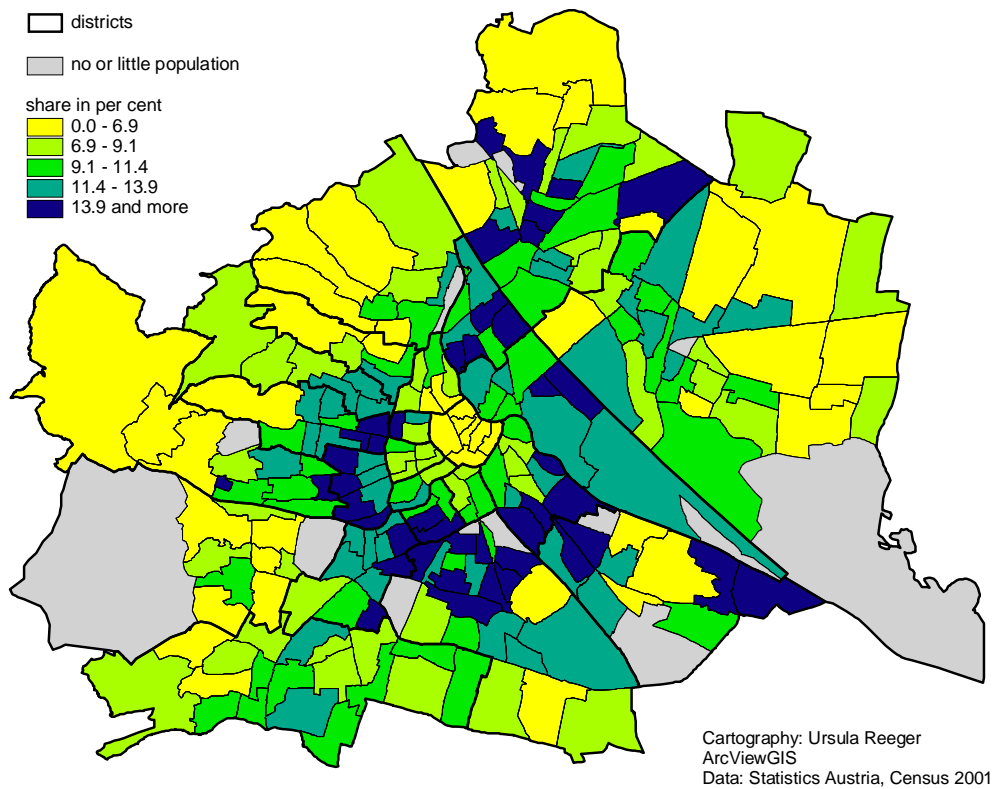
Taking a look at the indicators of socio-economic differentiation the share of economically active among the total population shows an interesting pattern of spatial distribution (see map 8). It is obvious that the proportion of this group is the highest in the districts 21 and 22 on the eastern side of river Danube. Here statistical districts with more than 48.7 and even up to 69.8 of economically active are concentrated. These areas are characterized by a younger population and a recently built housing stock. A second area of concentration of this group can be found in the more bourgeois inner districts in the west of the city centre. Additional statistical units with shares of up to 48.7% of economically active people are building a fringe around the 1st district.

A social and economically often marginalized and thus problematic group are the unemployed persons. Usually unemployment is a direct function of a lack of education and professional qualification but nowadays even persons with a good qualification are suffering from unemployment. Thus, it is not very surprising that the proportions of unemployed are usually higher in working class districts than in the housing areas off the well-to-do people (compare map 9). Here statistical districts with a share of more than 11.4% of unemployed population can frequently be found on the western side of the “Belt” as well as in the southern working class districts Favoriten and Simmering. In form of an irregularly pattern those spatial units are also spread over the districts on the Eastern side of river Danube.

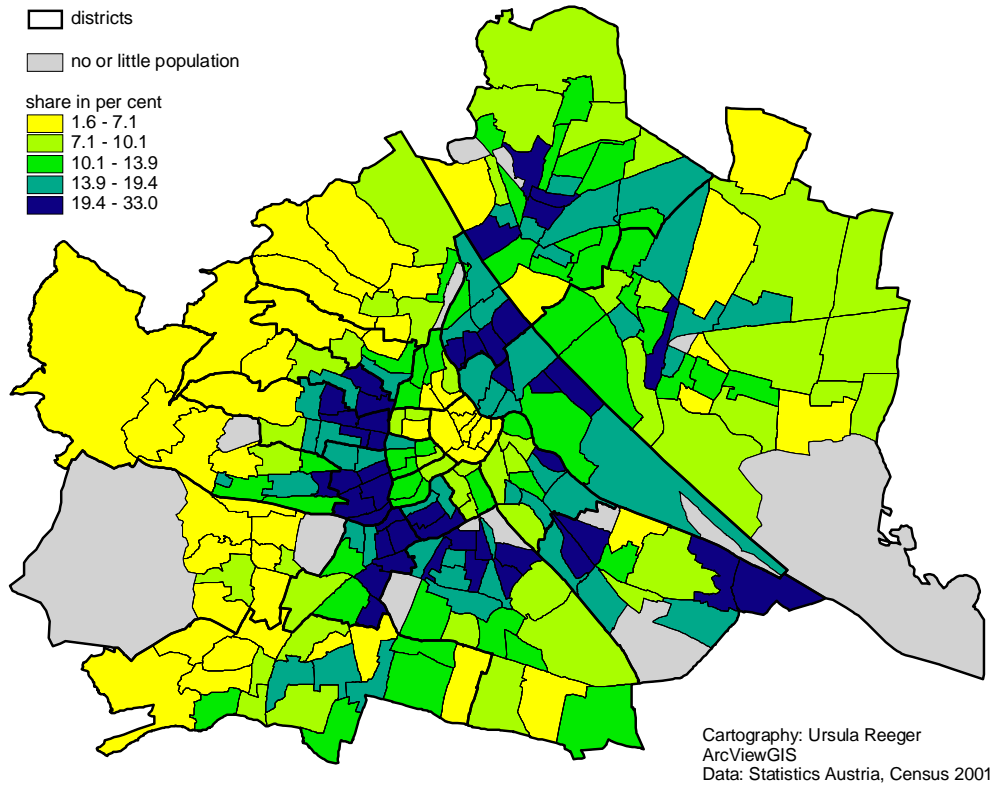
Map 8: Share of economically active persons in the total population, 2001



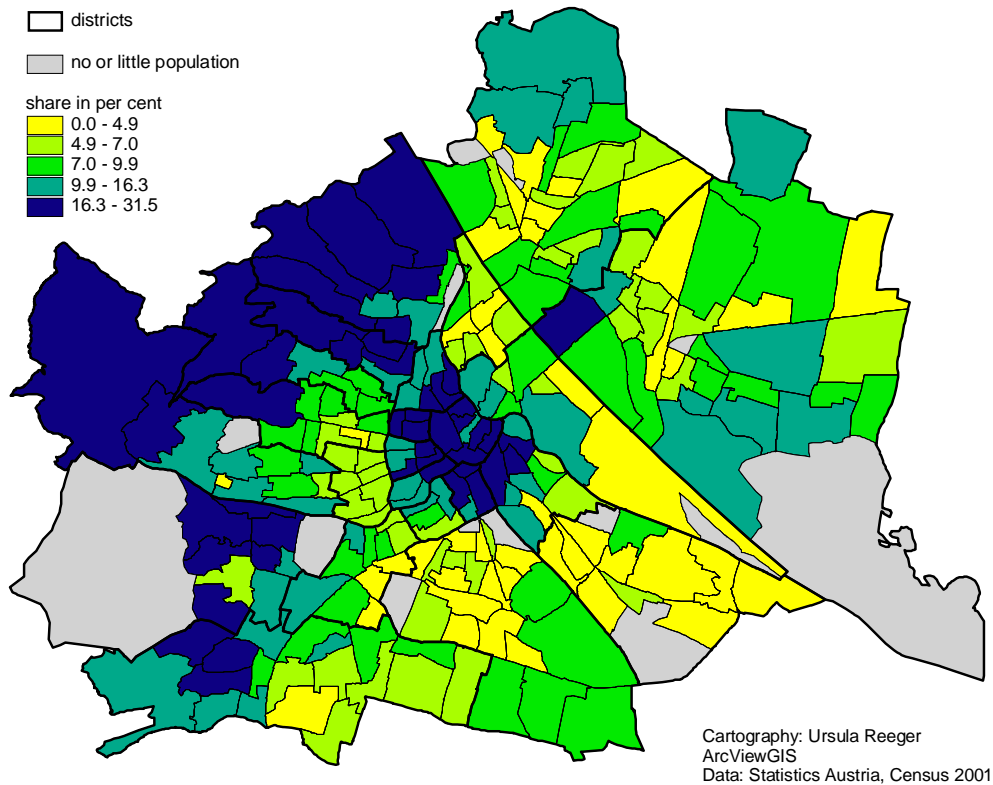
Map 9: Share of unemployed persons in the economically active population, 2001



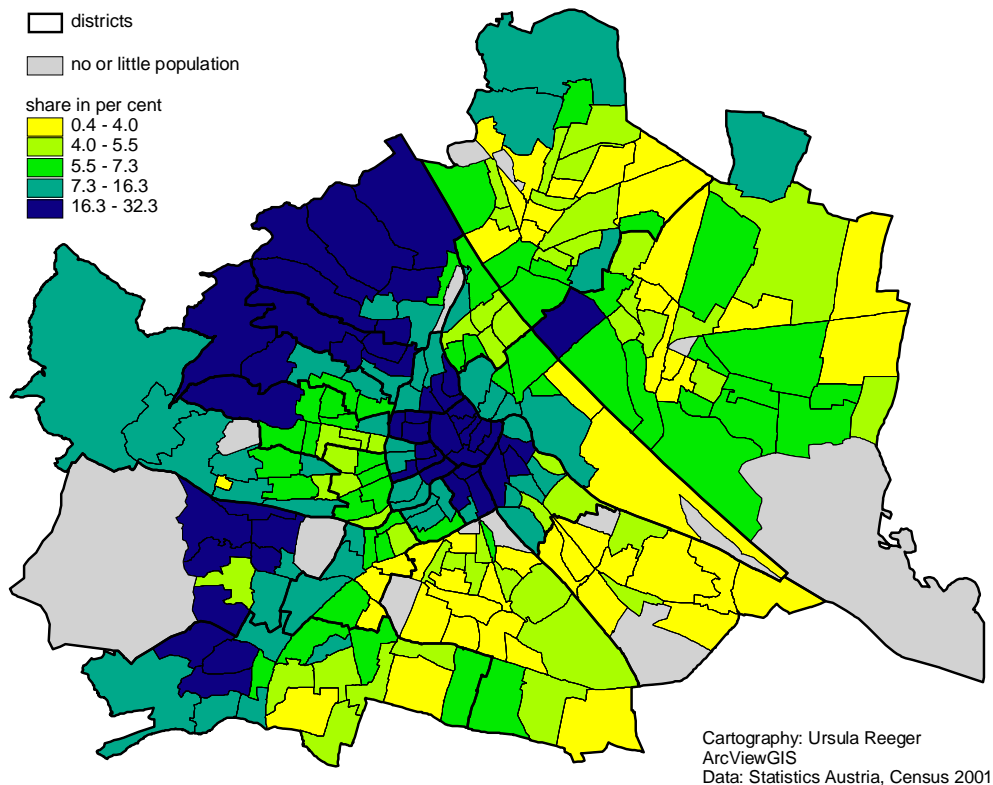
Map 10: Share of unskilled and low skilled workers and their dependents in the total population, 2001



Map 11: Share of highly skilled employed (with a university degree or something similar) and their dependents in the total population, 2001



Map 12: Share of university graduates in the total population, 2001



The unskilled and low-skilled workers represent exactly the social opposite to the highly-skilled category which is also mirrored in the different patterns of spatial distribution of these two categories in the urban space of Vienna. Unskilled workers usually have low incomes, are often also socially marginalized and don't have much political influence. They have to settle in districts with a lower housing attractiveness, with cheaper dwellings and usually worse connections of public transport. In Vienna the majority of unskilled workers are settled in a ring of statistical districts located around the inner city. High proportions of this social segment can also be found on the western side of the river Danube in the 20th and 2nd district, in the Eastern outer districts on the other side of the Danube and in the south-eastern district of Simmering (see map 10). In the south and in the east of the river Danube the newer urban satellites of social housing inhabited by families of the upper working class as well as of the lower middle classes, the majority of them with compulsory education, are concentrated. The pattern of distribution is completely contrary to that of the better educated.

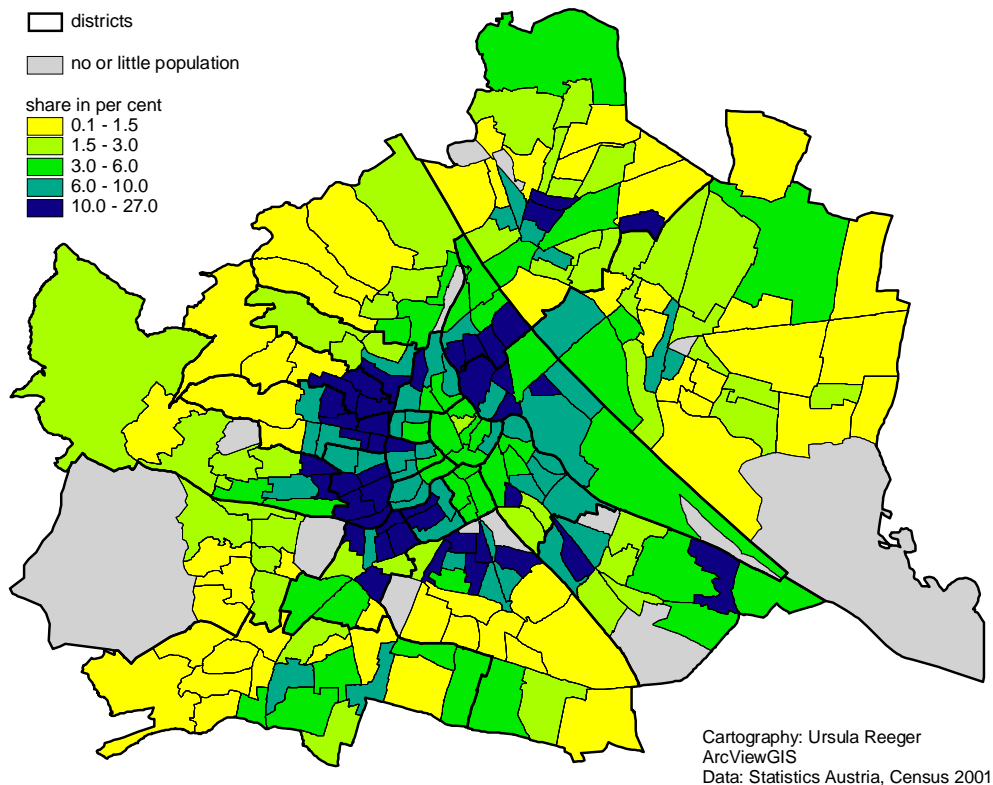
From the point of view of the socio-economic status the highly-skilled sub-group among the working force constitute the upper social level in society with a usually above-average income. The majority of them lives in the urban centre (1st district), in a fringe of well-to-do districts neighbouring the city centre and in the districts 13 to 19 at the western urban fringe (compare map 11). The western outskirts are characterized by a large „social mountain range“, representing the housing areas of the rich extending along the edge of the Vienna Woods. The level of education 2001 shows marked spatial variations with the districts 13, 18, and 19 as the “leading” areas. From STEP05 (Urban Development Plan Vienna 2005) one can learn, that the 1st, 13th and 19th districts are the leading spatial units by average income 2001.

Also higher education is usually but not always correlated with a higher income and offers the possibility to move to districts with a higher level of attractiveness. Thus, in Vienna most of uni-

versity graduates are concentrated in the city centre and in the neighbouring and traditional bourgeois districts 1, 4, 8, and 9 as well as in the “cottage” districts 18 and 19 in the western parts of Vienna’s urban space. Here the share of university graduates among the local population in many statistical districts ranges from 16.3 to even 32.3%. Map 12 shows that the patterns of spatial distribution of the highly-skilled and the university graduates are extremely similar.

1.1.3 The ethnic structure

Map 13: Share of nationals from former Yugoslavia in the total population, 2001

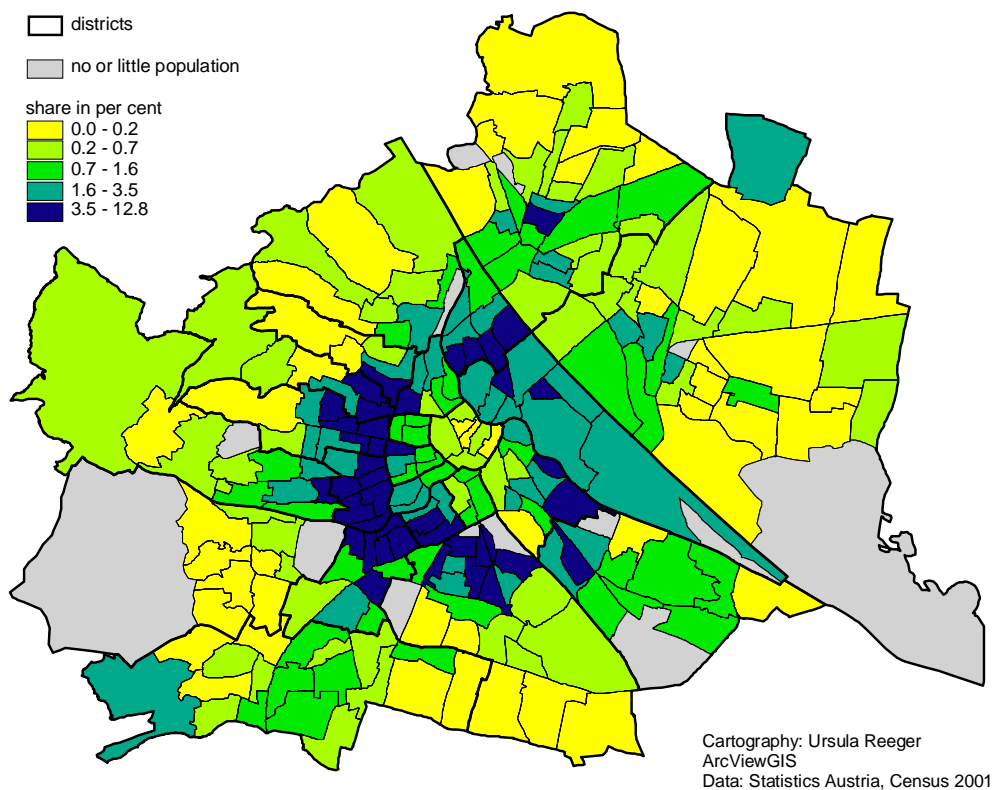


The indicators related to the ethnic structure show quite divergent patterns which depend on the social status of the migrant groups and their average position on the Viennese labour market. The residential areas of Turks and former Yugoslavs (classic “guest workers”) can be found in the densely built-up western districts (see maps 13 and 14). Here statistical units with up to 27% population from former Yugoslavia and up to 10.8% Turkish nationals constitute a pattern of increased density in the fringe of districts, which are since the 1970s the traditional areas of settlement of the guest worker population. Here the overwhelming majority of the citizens from the Republics of former Yugoslavia still live in housing areas where the housing stock is dominated by buildings from the Founder’s Period of the 19th century but is usually of a better quality than those where the Turkish immigrants have to reside. The districts on the Eastern side of the Danube are characterized by markedly lower proportions of population of Turkish or Balkan descent.

In 2001 about 25,000 migrants from the “old” EU-15 member states lived in Vienna. These elite migrants with the German citizens constituting the most numerous sub-group usually inhabit the Viennese middle and upper class districts and thus show a quite different socio-spatial pattern of residence than the former “guest workers” from Turkey and Serbia-Montenegro. The residential distribution of the migrants from the EU mirrors the average positions of this migrant group as the typical elite migrants. In particular the German labour migration to Austria was always nu-

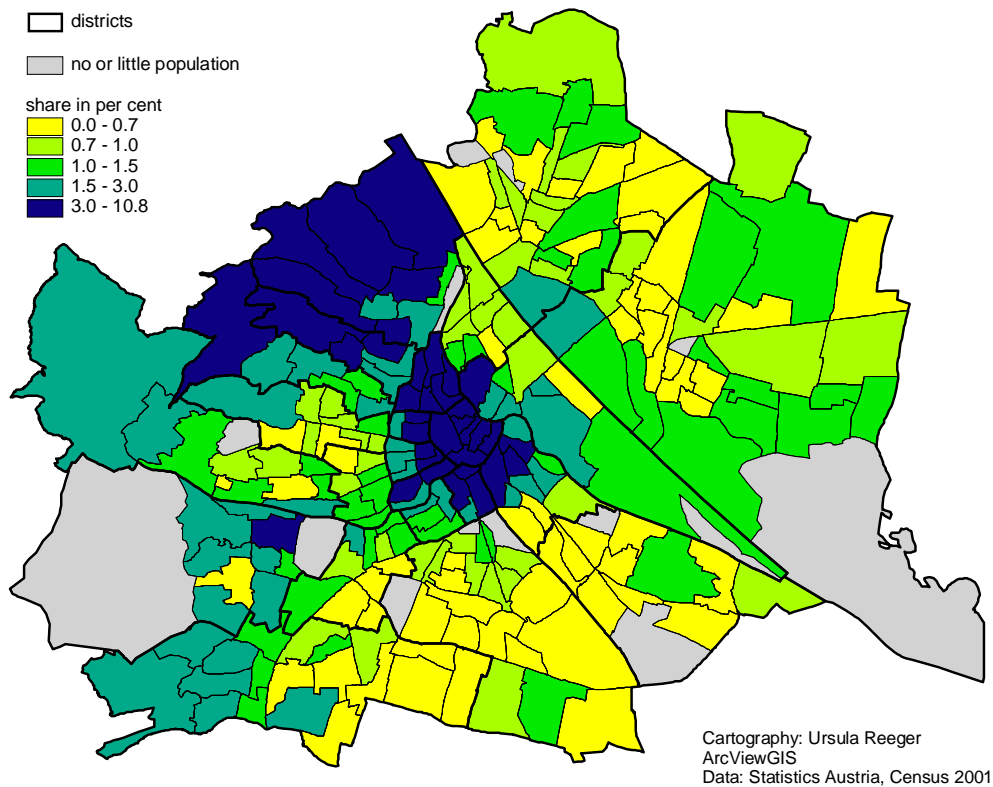
merically important consisting predominantly of highly qualified managers and experts. Speaking Western European or even the same language and sharing a common system of cultural values the integration of those immigrants into the Austrian housing market and society was always relatively free of frictions. Their privileged labour market position is mirrored in their housing market position and in their residential patterns too. One can see (compare map 15) that the Viennese EU community is concentrated in the city and in the neighbouring bourgeois inner districts as well as in the western periphery of Vienna where in a lot of statistical districts their share ranges from 3.0% to 10.8%. These western districts are called “cottage districts”, which are more sparsely populated and characterized by a housing stock consisting mainly of mansions and one family houses with gardens. These districts bordering the green resort of the “Vienna Woods” are the preferred housing areas of a population consisting of well-to-do Austrians and foreigners with a high socio-economic status and a smart standard of living.

Map 14: Share of Turkish nationals in the total population, 2001

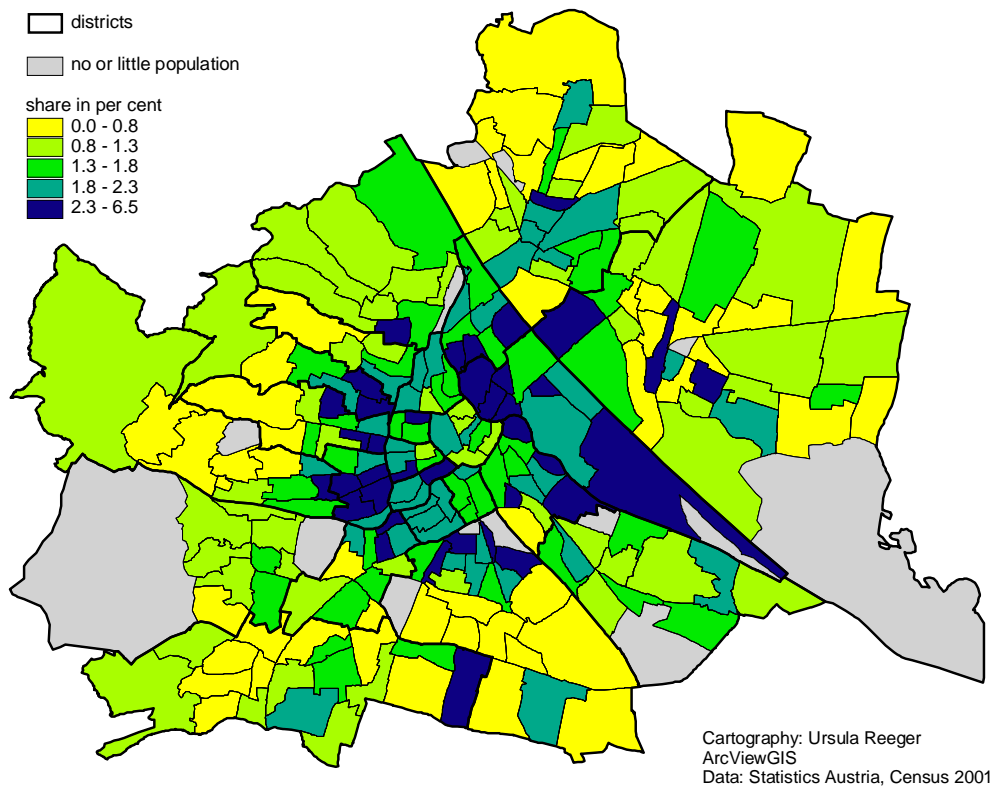


Map 16 shows the residential segregation patterns of the population from five selected Eastern European countries. In contrast to the guest workers the spatial concentration of these ethnolnational communities is weaker, though some concentrations tendencies in the fringe of working class districts are visible too. A difference can be found in the fact that the proportions of East-West immigrants on the spatial level of statistical districts are usually more moderate. The number of statistical units, where the population with an Eastern European descent is counting for more than 3.5% and up to 10.8% is relatively small. The fringe of working-class districts around the “Belt” where the concentrations of Turks and former Yugoslavs are the highest is the preferred housing area of the East-West migrants too. Thus, it is once again the Founder’s Period building stock which is of outstanding importance in integrating the East-West migration too into the segmented Viennese housing market. The main difference can be found in the lower levels of concentration. Statistical units with not more than 3.5% of Eastern Europeans among the local population are clearly dominating.

Map 15: Share of EU-15-nationals in the total population, 2001

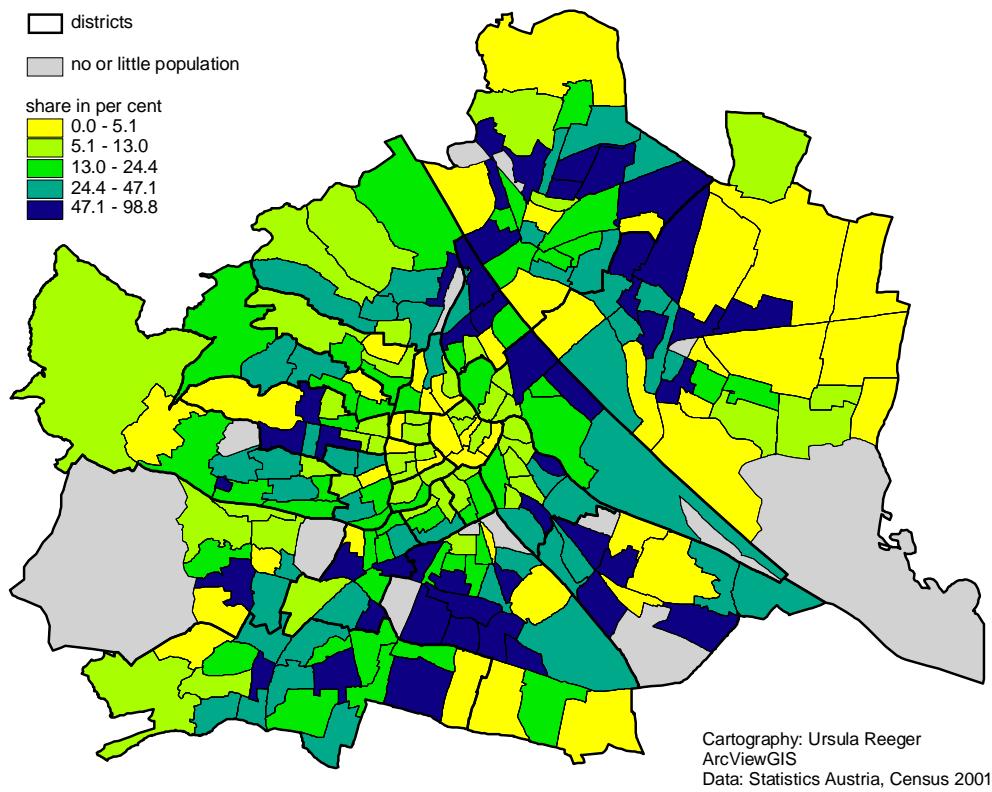


Map 16: Share of nationals from selected Eastern European countries (Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania) in the total population, 2001

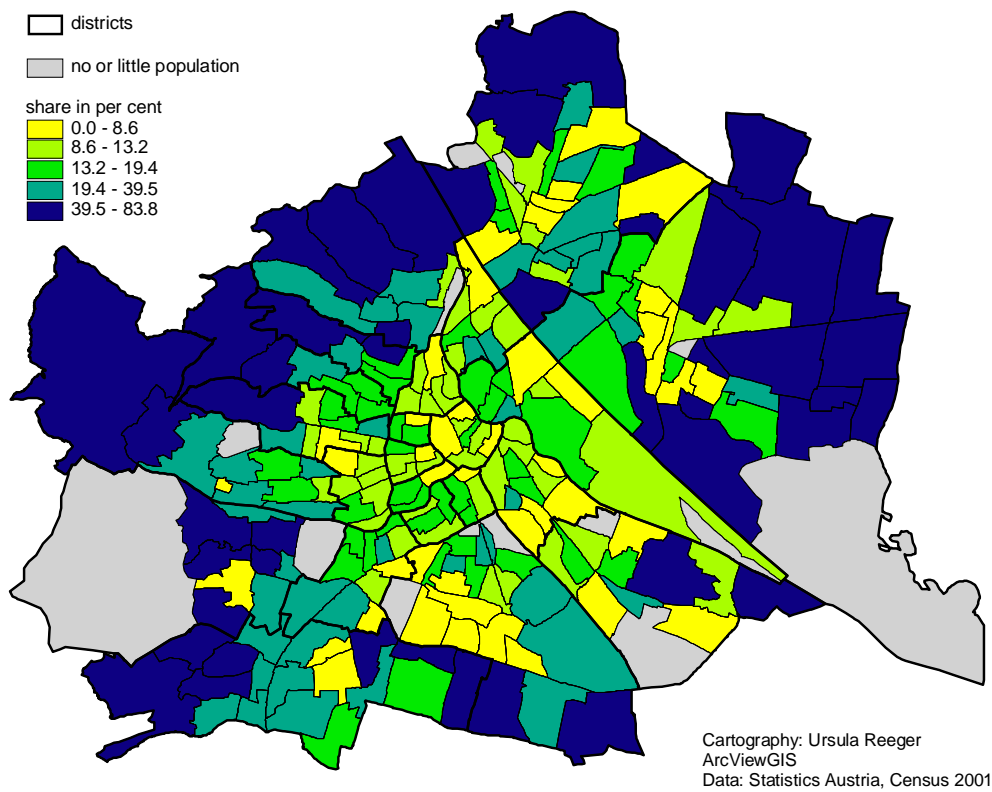


1.1.4 The housing structure and the developmental indicator

Map 17: Share of residents in social housing, 2001



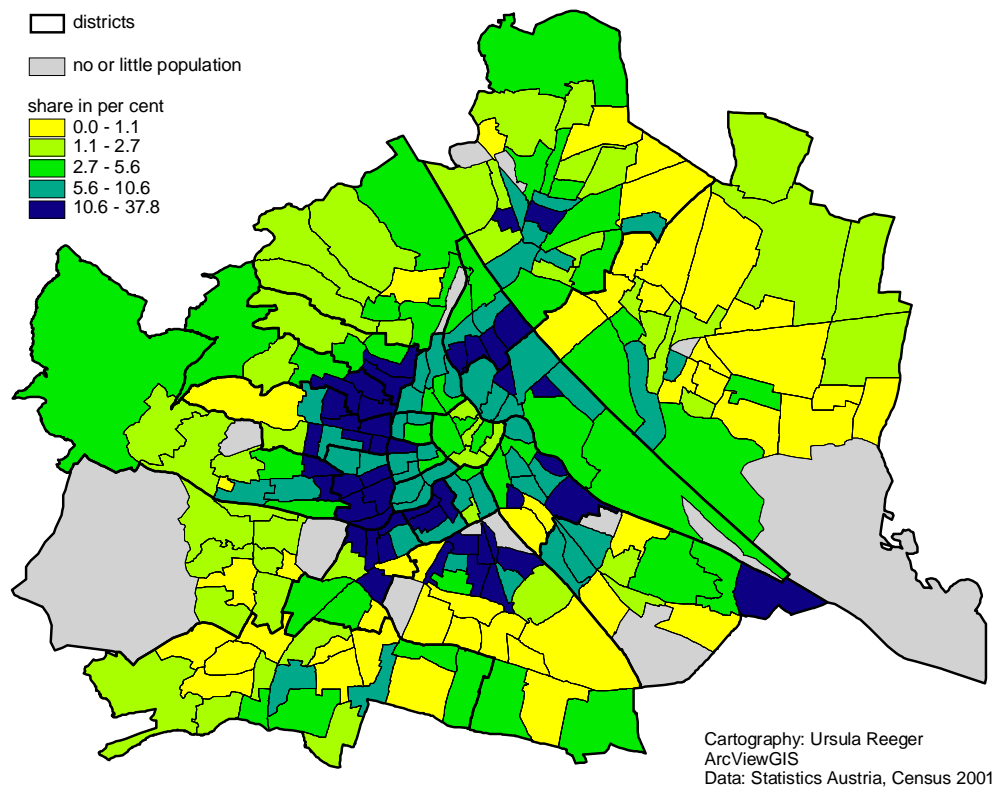
Map 18: Share of residents owning their home, 2001



Social housing is of considerable importance in Vienna as the communal stock consists of about 220,000 dwellings which are traditionally and because of electoral reasons distributed over the whole city space. Thus, the spatial pattern of communal housing is extremely disperse (see map 17). Statistical units with high proportions of residents in social housing (up to 98.8%) are usually absent in the bourgeois inner districts. They can frequently be found in the newly built-up areas at the urban fringe where big housing estates were erected since the 1970s. Thus, the 23rd, 10th and 11th district in the south of Vienna and the 21st and 22nd districts on the Eastern side of the Danube are those areas where extremely high concentrations of residents in communal housing can most frequently be found.

In Vienna owner-occupied dwellings are a phenomenon which is typical for the urban periphery, whereas in the densely built-up area rental housing is by far dominating. Thus, the patterns of distribution which are shown in map 18 the highest proportions of residents in owner-occupied dwellings in the western parts of the urban area, in the southwest and at the northeastern fringe. Here not only single- and two-family-houses can very frequently be found but also bigger housing estates of the 1980s and 1990s with owner-occupied dwellings. In those statistical districts the proportion of owner-occupied housing ranges between 39.5% and even 83.8%.

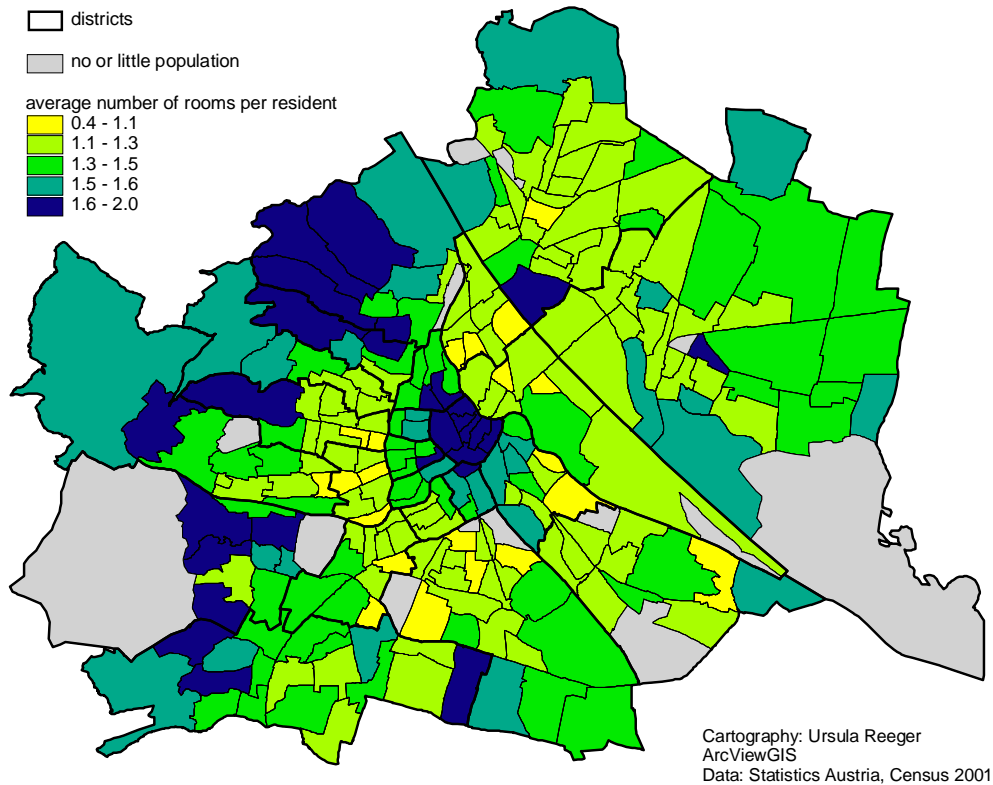
Map 19: Share of dwellings without basic amenities, 2001



An important physical indicator is the category of dwellings with so-called “sub-standard” equipment (see map 19) which equals the standard category D in Austria. This means that toilets and/or central heating are missing in those flats. Of course the absolute numbers of these dwellings are subjugated to a process of constant shrinking but as a matter of fact they are still typical for the housing “milieu” in many of the former working class districts. It is obvious that this stock dominates not only in the city centre but in the inner districts as well as in the old working class districts outside the “Belt” which were built-up during the late Founder’s Period and are traditionally quarters for migrants: until 1918 of Czech, Polish and Hungarian workers from the

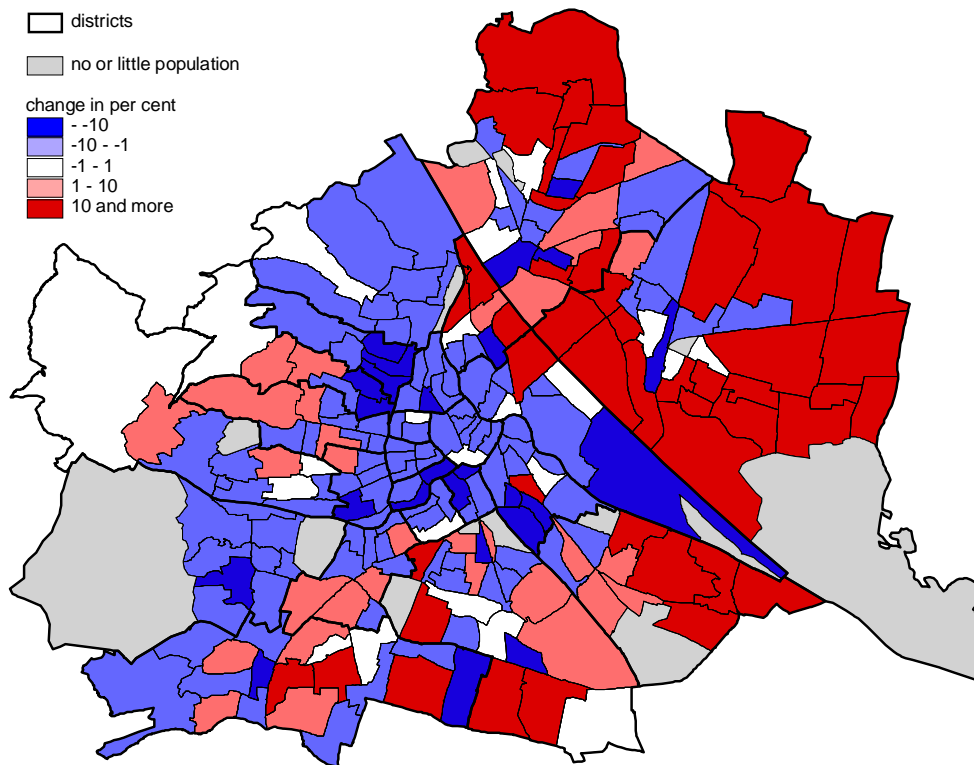
Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, since the 1970s the guest workers from former Yugoslavia and Turkey are concentrated there and now a very heterogeneous ethno-national mix of immigrants and Austrian households can be found here.

Map 20: Average number of rooms per resident, 2001



The indicator of the average number of rooms per resident provides us with precious information about the average size of the housing units. From map 20 it can be learned that the highest manifestations of this indicator are typical for the north-western and south-western cottage-districts with their single-family house as well as for the 1st district and some statistical areas bordering the city centre. Here big housing units from the late 19th century can frequently be found inhabited by one or two elderly people only. The average number of rooms per resident is the lowest in the traditional working class areas where in many statistical districts only 0.4 rooms are available per person.

The most dynamic indicator can be found in the population change within the decade 1991-2001 (see map 21). Population growth of considerable scale can in particular be found in the 21st and 22nd district with their recently built housing estates. Only in the older parts of both districts there are some statistical units with shrinking population. The city centre and the inner districts are characterized by a stagnating or even shrinking population. In the working-class areas as well as in parts of the cottage districts the picture is more inhomogeneous. For example at the southern fringe of the 11th and 10th districts statistical units with a positive population change dominate whereas in those parts near the city centre there are also areas with a shrinking population. Some statistical districts in the western parts of the districts 16, 17 and 18 are characterized by a positive quantitative development of the population whereas the densely built-up parts of those districts are on the stagnating side.

Map 21: Change in the population between 1991 and 2001

1.2. Bivariate correlations

The bivariate correlations provide us with some additional information about the interplay of the chosen variables. On the basis of these correlations it is possible to answer the question who lives together with whom in the same quarters and which variables are more independent in nature. It is not very surprising to learn that the strongest positive correlation (0.96) can be found between university graduates and high skilled employed, as both features that can be displayed in one and the same person. Low skilled workers, on the other hand, live together or are themselves nationals from former Yugoslavia (0.80) or Turkey (0.81), who live in areas with a higher proportion of badly equipped flats (0.75) that are also rather crowded (−0.85). Foreign low skilled workers usually constitute their own socio-ecological milieu. Their residential areas are quite different from those of the Viennese blue-collar workers and characterized by high proportions of dwellings of the category D (dwellings without central heating and inside toilet; sometimes even the water supply is outside). Viennese workers have much better chances for moving from traditional worker districts to other quarters and “better” socio-ecological contexts.

Immigrants from former Yugoslavia can often be found in the same housing areas as the selected Eastern Europeans (0.74). This also means that the latter group can often be found in dwellings of category D (0.63). Migrants from former Yugoslavia as well as Turks have to live in dwellings without basic amenities (0.94, 0.89). Furthermore it is obvious that there is a pronounced distance between children and elderly people (−0.72), which means that the housing areas of families with children differ from those of people having reached retirement age. Families with children usually reside more often in areas with newly built dwellings (positive correlation of 0.66 with population change between 1991 and 2001).

Table 2: Bivariate correlations

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
share of																
1 age group 0-14	-,72	-,36	,50	<i>-,13</i>	,18	-,30	-,43	<i>-,04</i>	<i>,04</i>	-,40	<i>-,00</i>	<i>,11</i>	<i>-,02</i>	<i>-,04</i>	-,38	,66
2 age group 65+	1	,31	-,81	<i>,02</i>	-,33	,26	,34	-,24	-,23	,27	-,32	<i>,14</i>	<i>,12</i>	-,21	,42	-,55
3 single parent families		1	-,23	,29	,18	,17	,36	<i>,17</i>	<i>,14</i>	,45	<i>,15</i>	,28	-,59	<i>,15</i>	<i>-,04</i>	-,48
4 economically active			1	-,37	<i>,07</i>	<i>,04</i>	<i>-,03</i>	,18	<i>,09</i>	<i>,01</i>	,38	-,39	<i>-,13</i>	<i>,11</i>	-,19	,56
5 unemployed				1	,69	-,58	-,48	,37	,42	-,38	,19	,49	-,34	,39	-,54	-,23
6 low skilled workers					1	-,65	-,55	,80	,81	-,41	,56	,26	-,50	,75	-,85	<i>-,15</i>
7 high skilled employees						1	,96	-,25	-,34	,84	<i>-,07</i>	-,54	,28	-,22	,78	<i>-,10</i>
8 university graduates							1	<i>-,16</i>	-,25	,92	<i>-,01</i>	-,49	<i>,14</i>	<i>-,15</i>	,76	-,23
9 former Yugoslavia								1	,88	<i>-,05</i>	,74	-,25	-,32	,94	-,55	-,26
10 Turkey									1	<i>-,14</i>	,62	<i>-,14</i>	-,31	,89	-,61	-,23
11 EU-15										1	<i>,09</i>	-,47	<i>,07</i>	<i>-,05</i>	,65	-,25
12 selected Eastern Europe											1	-,29	-,30	,63	-,41	<i>-,01</i>
13 residents in social housing												1	-,47	-,26	-,45	<i>-,08</i>
14 persons owning their home													1	-,24	,57	,19
15 flats without basic amenities														1	-,50	-,28
16 average number of rooms															1	<i>-,08</i>
17 population change 1991/01																1

bold: significant on the 0,01-level.

italic: significant on the 0,05-level.

Source: own calculation based on census data.

1.3. Factor analysis

In principle factor analysis looks at the direct bivariate effects and produces a reduction of correlations by means of some basic dimensions (= factors). These factors are artificial attributes and variables of their own. The following table contains 4 factors and shows the correlations between these and the initial variables:⁹

Table 3: Rotated component matrix

	components			
	1	2	3	4
age group 0-14	-,071	-,329	,794	-,047
age group 65+	-,262	,159	-,871	,009
single parent families	,131	,245	-,356	,823
economically active	,213	,213	,891	,019
unemployed	,342	-,613	-,346	,293
low skilled workers	,753	-,549	,043	,279
high skilled employees	-,175	,934	-,083	-,052
university graduates	-,095	,949	-,200	,097
former Yugoslavia	,971	-,080	-,007	,072
Turkey	,910	-,207	-,031	,062
EU-15	,018	,915	-,174	,186
selected Eastern Europe	,786	,116	,224	,154
residents in social housing	-,363	-,672	-,175	,554
persons owning their home	-,238	,184	-,092	-,877
flats without basic amenities	,947	-,090	-,064	,005
average number of rooms	-,484	,724	-,260	-,324
population change 1991/01	-,256	-,112	,784	-,215

Method: Principal components analysis, Varimax, Kaiser-Normalisation.

Source: own calculation based on census data.

The four factors that have been found out explain 86% of the total variance with the first factor being by far the strongest (see table 4).

Table 4: Explained total variance

components	own values at the beginning		
	total	% of variance	cumulated %
1	6,218	36,577	36,577
2	3,742	22,014	58,590
3	3,174	18,671	77,261
4	1,554	9,140	86,401

Method: Principal components analysis.

Source: own calculation based on census data.

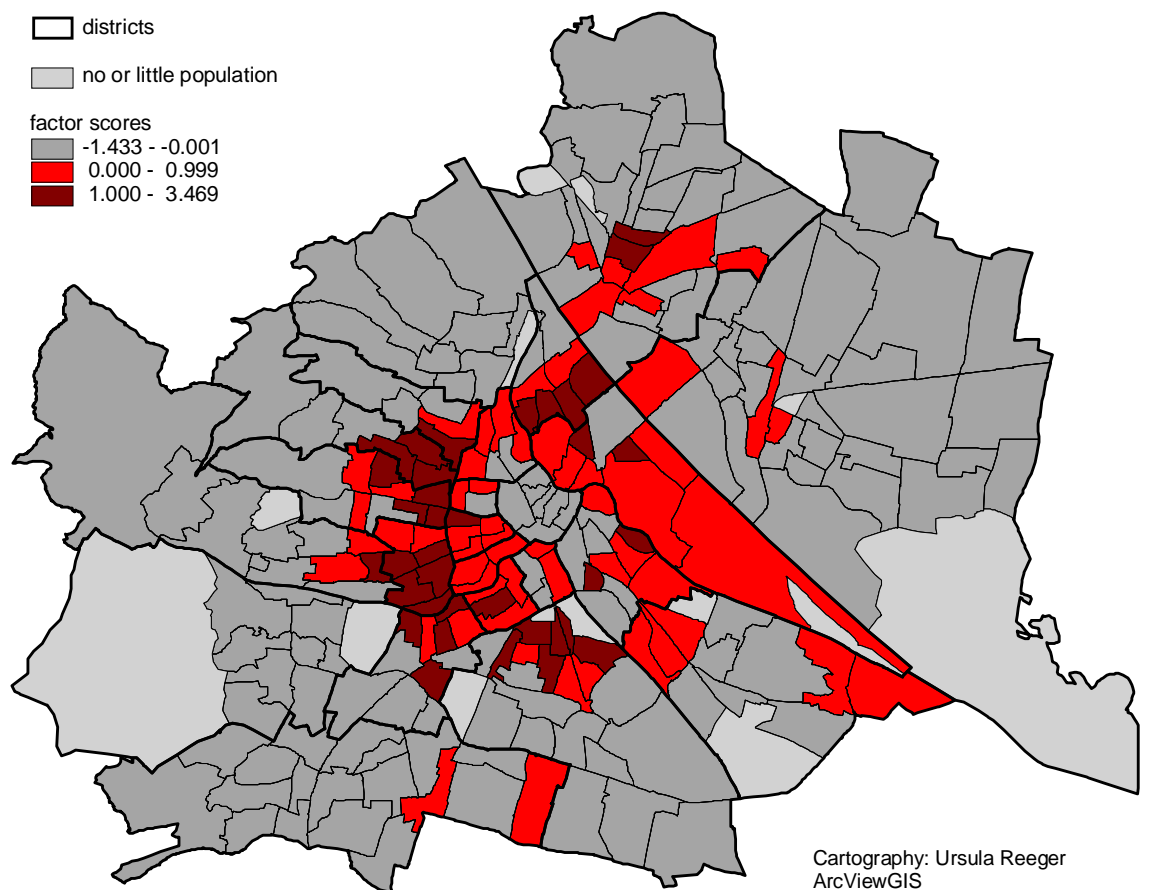
⁹ Also foregoing analyses (compare Lichtenberger et al. 1987; Fassmann & Hatz 2004) on the basis of multivariate factor analysis proved the relevance of four causal factors determining the socio-spatial differentiation of Vienna and the “de-mixing” of the population.

Factor 1: Guest worker factor

The first and strongest factors can be characterized as a mere segmentation of the urban space along citizenship lines. Foreign nationals coming from former Yugoslavia, Turkey and also – as their “successors” in labour migration and labour market hierarchy – nationals from Eastern Europe are very often low skilled workers and living in badly equipped flats. The correlation with social housing in this factor is negative as foreign nationals didn’t have access to this segment of the housing market until the 1st January 2006. The variable of unemployment plays a relevant role here, and the living space per person is modest compared with the better-off.

It is obvious (compare map 22) that the highest positive scores of this factor (1.000 to 3.469) can be found in the working class districts with their Founder’s Period rental housing stock in particular in the statistical units on the western side of the “Belt” in 15th, 16th and 17th district as well as in Favoriten and in large parts of Brigittenau. High positive factor loadings (up to 1.000) are also a feature of the adjacent statistical areas covering a connected zone in the 5th, 6th, 7th districts and large parts of the 2nd and 3rd districts. In the 21st district an accumulation of some spatial units with analogous factor loadings can be observed.

Map 22: Factor 1 – Guest worker factor



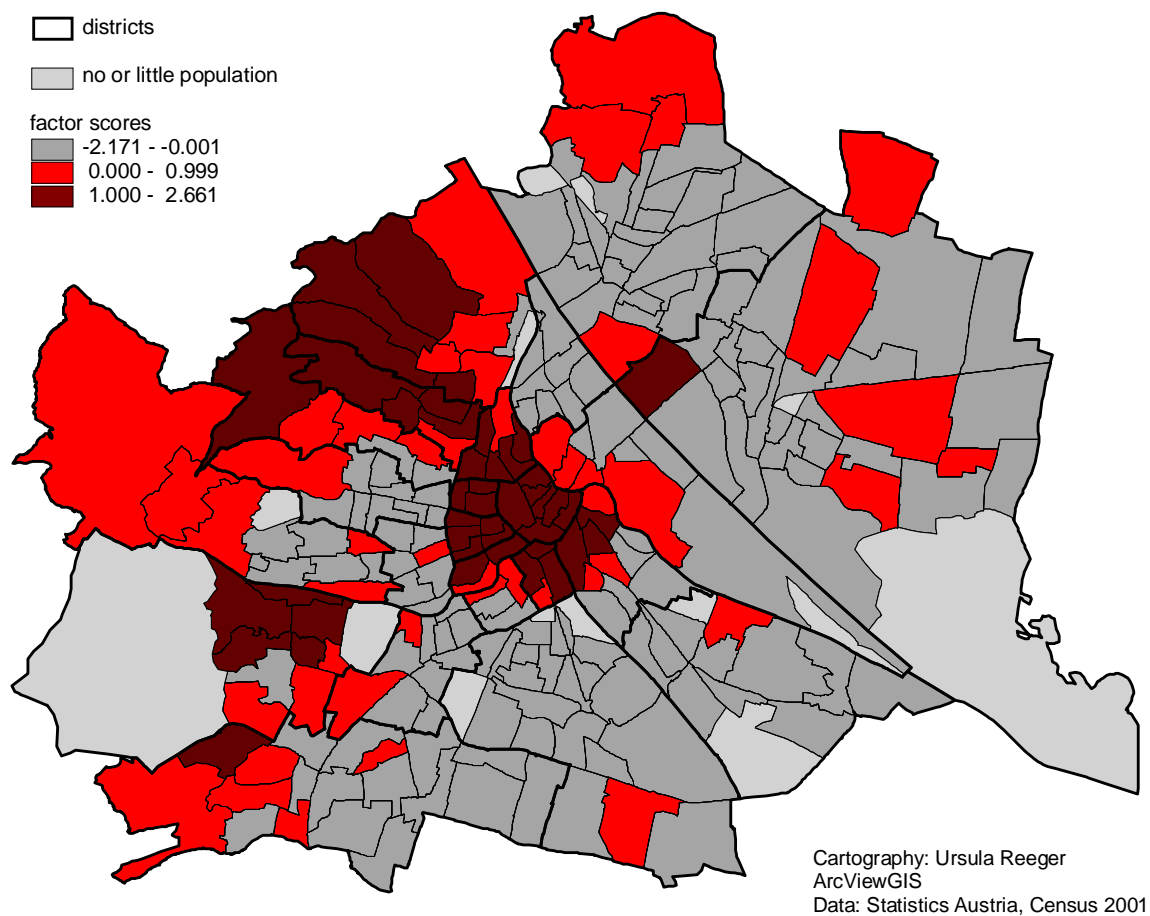
Factor 2: Socio-economic status

The second factor which is bound to socio-economic stratification could also be called “upper class factor” and shows strong positive loadings on the share of university graduates, the share of high skilled employed the average number of rooms and EU-15 nationals. With this factor, which measures social stratification, the city is divided into high and low class residential areas. There is

a strong negative correlation with children and there are further negative correlations with unemployment and the communal housing sector. A positive factor loading with people having reached retirement age is obvious.

From the spatial perspective the highest positive loadings (until 2.665) are a typical feature of the well-to-do western cottage areas in particular a fringe of statistical areas bordering the Vienna Woods in 17th, 18th and 19th district (map 23)t. A further large zone of high loadings covers the city centre and the bordering inner districts with their bourgeois population, a smaller accumulation of some statistical units with high positive factor loadings can be observed in the western part of the 14th district. Lower but also considerable loadings (up to 0.999) are covering a large area covering the western cottage districts and some parts of the urban area in the southwest.

Map 23: Factor 2 – Socio-economic status



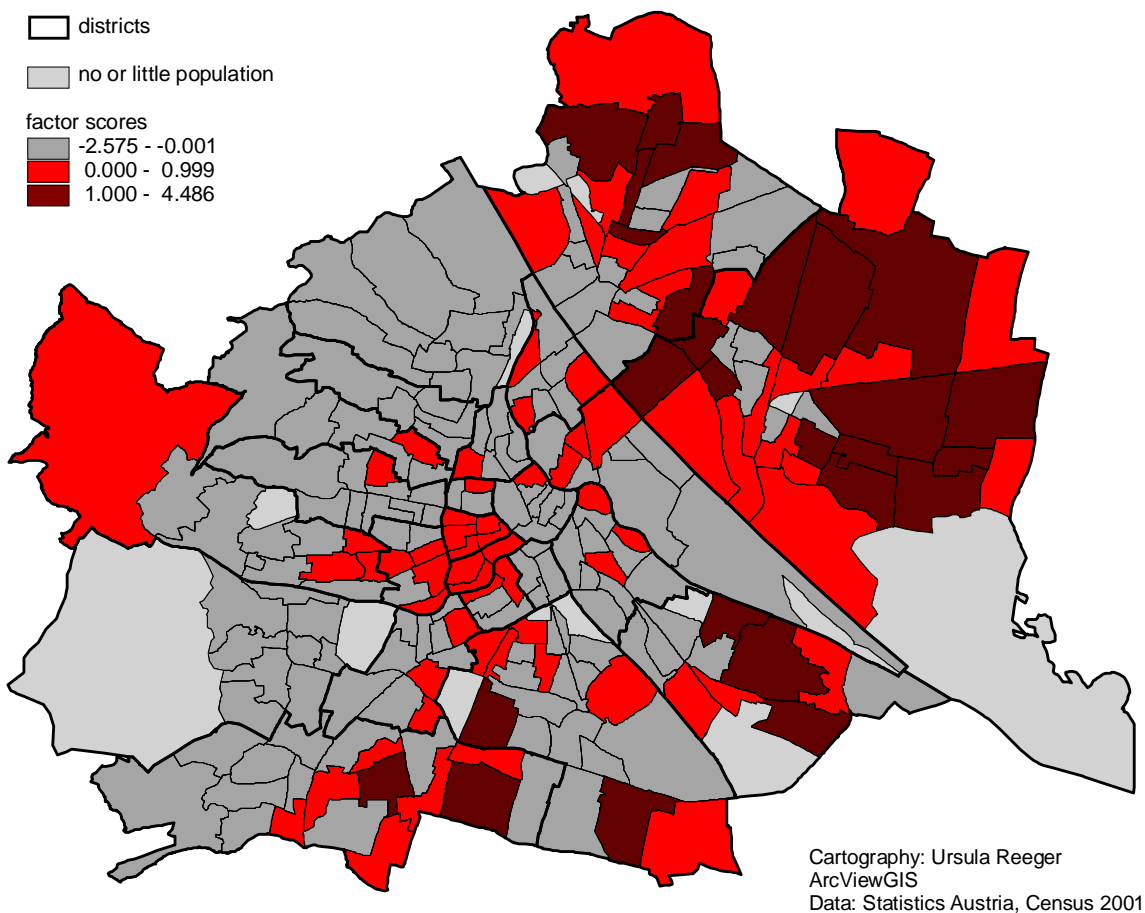
Factor 3: Demographic status

The third factor is one which is strongly connected to demographic variables. This factor is defined by high loadings of children (0.794), economically active persons (0.891) and population change (0.784) and a pronounced negative loading on the older generation (−0.871). This factor describes the de-mixing of different age-groups. Younger people and especially young families show different patterns of residential distribution than the older generation. Demographic de-mixing is more or less independent from a social and ethnic differentiation. The causal factors for this de-mixing can be found in the mechanisms of constructing new housing estates. The statistical districts are significantly shaped by the age of big housing estates. In newly built estates young families are the majority thus dominating the age structure of the statistical district as a whole. As

the buildings are growing by age the inhabitants are affected by simultaneous processes of ageing. These mechanisms can clearly be seen in the patterns of spatial distribution of factor 3 in map 24.

Factor 3 is particularly located in a broad zone in the urban expansion areas at the southern urban fringe in the 23rd districts but in particular on the other side of the Danube in the 21st and 22nd district. These areas are characterized by large new housing estates that gained considerable population between 1991 and 2001. Young couples and families moved into those newly built dwellings in the north-eastern part of Vienna, while the majority of elderly people stayed in their usual housing areas in the densely built-up areas of the inner districts (map 25).

Map 24: Factor 3 – Demographic status

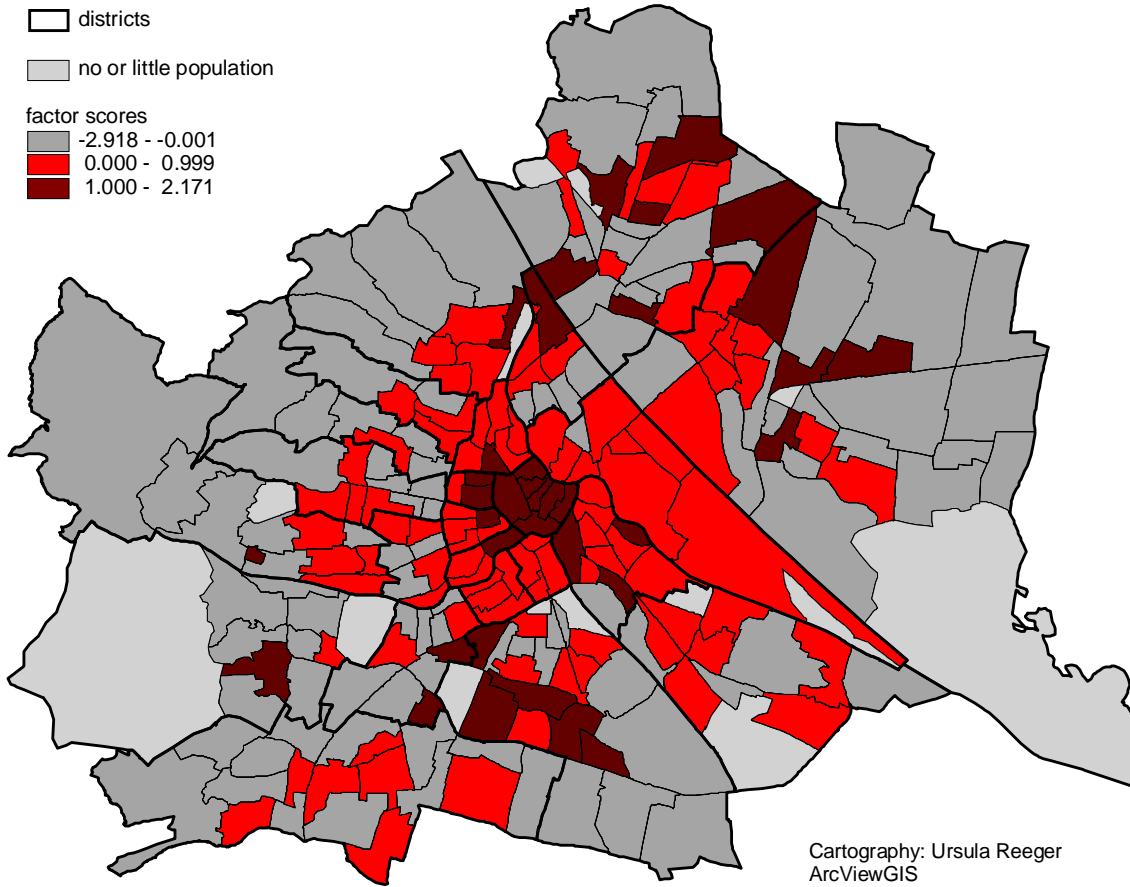


Factor 4: Social housing factor

This is a factor which is not only typical for Vienna but might even be unique for this city among European metropolises. Spread all over the city, this factor mirrors a typical picture of the distribution of social housing in Vienna. Single parent families also correlate strongly positive (0.823) with this factor, which is easy to explain, as this family type usually has a lower income and thus an easier access to social housing than other groups. A strong negative factor loading with owner-occupied housing (-0.877) is a further typical feature of communal housing.

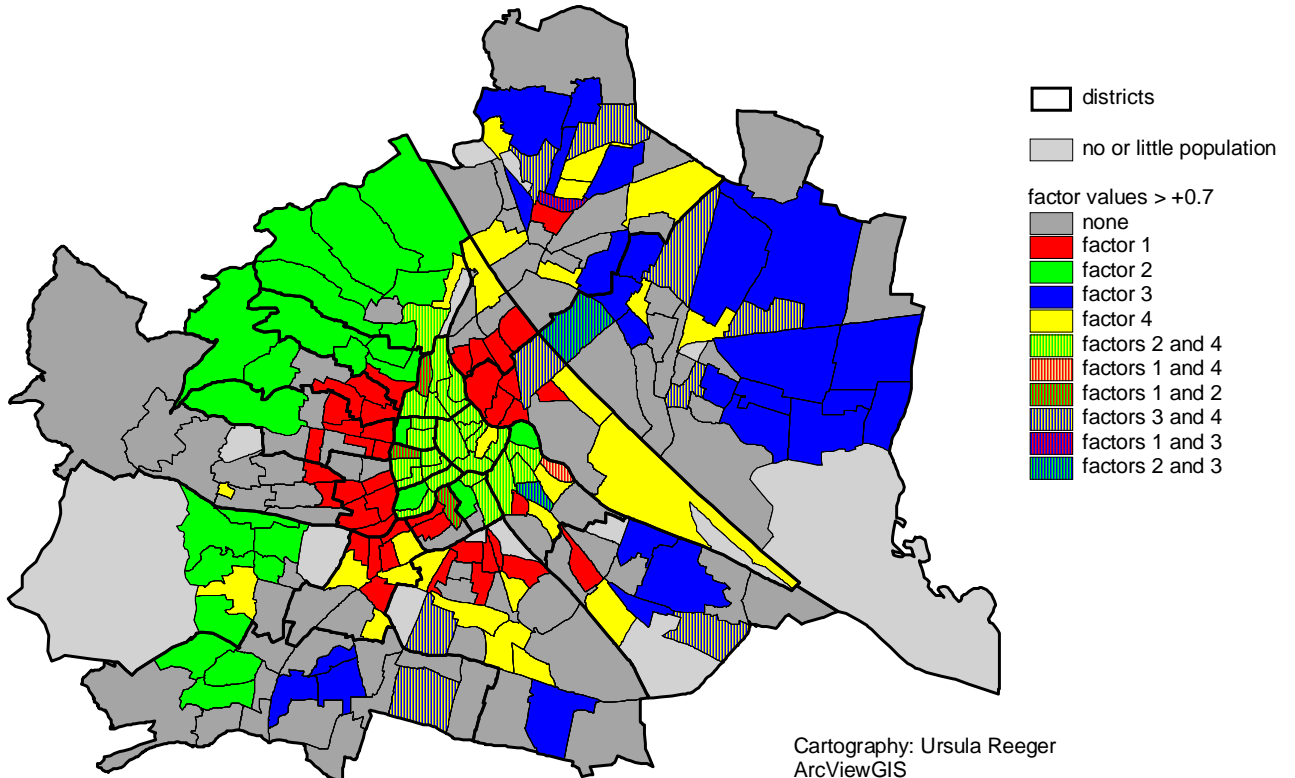
The pattern of spatial distribution of highly positive factor loadings shows concentrations in the inner districts as well as in the working class districts 2, 10 and 11. Some statistical units bordering the “Belt” are also characterized by highly positive loadings. The same has to be stated for the south-eastern and north-eastern urban fringe where not only co-operative housing but also big communal housing estates were built since the 1970s (see map 25).

Map 25: Factor 4 – Social housing factor



Cartography: Ursula Reeger
ArcViewGIS
Data: Statistics Austria, Census 2001

Map 26: Spatial distribution of the 4 factors and factor combinations in Vienna



Cartography: Ursula Reeger
ArcViewGIS
Data: Statistics Austria, Census 2001

Map 26 provides an overview about the spatial distribution patterns of all the four factors which could be identified in the foregoing analysis. The factor-specific distribution patterns have already been explained so only the factor combinations shall be analyzed there. A lot of areas can be identified in which 2 factors are overlapping each other. This is factor 2 and 4 in the city centre and in the whole fringe of the inner districts including the part of the 3rd district bordering the centre. This factor combination is the spatially most widespread one. The other factors show only more or less isolated statistical units where an overlapping takes place. The factors 1 and 2 in four areas in the inner districts, factor 1 and four in one area in the 3rd district, the factors 3 and 4 in a greater number of statistical units which are spread over the southern and north-eastern city space, the factors 1 and 3 in one isolated area in the 21st district and factors 2 and 3 in one spatial unit on the other side of the Danube.

2 Characterisation of migrant groups in the city (in comparison with the national population)

Official data show a strong tendency towards a spatial concentration of immigration. Labour immigration can rarely be found in rural regions far from metropolitan areas. As a result of the higher absorption capacity of the urban labour market, the majority of the migrants are concentrated in Vienna and in smaller towns within the Vienna agglomeration, where the labour market is able to absorb large numbers of migrants (Kaufmann 1992; Kohlbacher & Reeger 2000, 2003).

By the end of 2005, 1,651,137 people lived in Vienna, including 309,184 foreign nationals. This was a percentage of 18.7% of the entire population living in Vienna. More than 80% (i.e. 255,713 persons) of all foreign nationals living in Vienna come from European countries (incl. Turkey). 30,726 persons come from Asia, i.e. 9.9% of foreign nationals, 11,616 come from Africa (3.7%) and 6,761 (2.1%) persons come from America (North and South America). Migrants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia are the most numerous groups making up about 60% of all migrants in Vienna, third are migrants from Eastern European post-communist countries. Migrants from Germany, other EU (15) States and North America often are only temporary migrants, staying in Vienna in case of business or studies. With 76,666 persons, nationals of Serbia-Montenegro form the largest group (24.8%) of foreign nationals living in Vienna. The second-largest group of migrants accounting for 12.9% (39,901 persons) of foreign nationals living in Vienna come from Turkey, followed by Polish citizens with 7% (21,610 persons). Other large sending countries are with 6.6% (20,417 persons) Germany nationals, followed by Bosnia-Herzegovina with 5.8% (17,805 persons) and Croatia with 5.5% (16,915 persons), then Macedonia (7,340), Hungary (5,271), Romania (7,796) and Slovakia (6,360). In 2005 48,449 persons with a foreign citizenship immigrated and 24,830 emigrated. This made up a positive migration balance of +23,619. Citizens of EU member states already account for 24.2% (74,826) of foreign nationals living in Vienna.¹⁰

As compared to 2002, the number of German nationals has increased by more than 5,600 persons. The number of citizens coming from the new EU-member country Romania is also increasing. In 2002, for example, 4,882 Romanian nationals lived in Vienna and by the end of 2005, their number had increased to 7,796; with a percentage of 2.5% they are ranking 7th among all

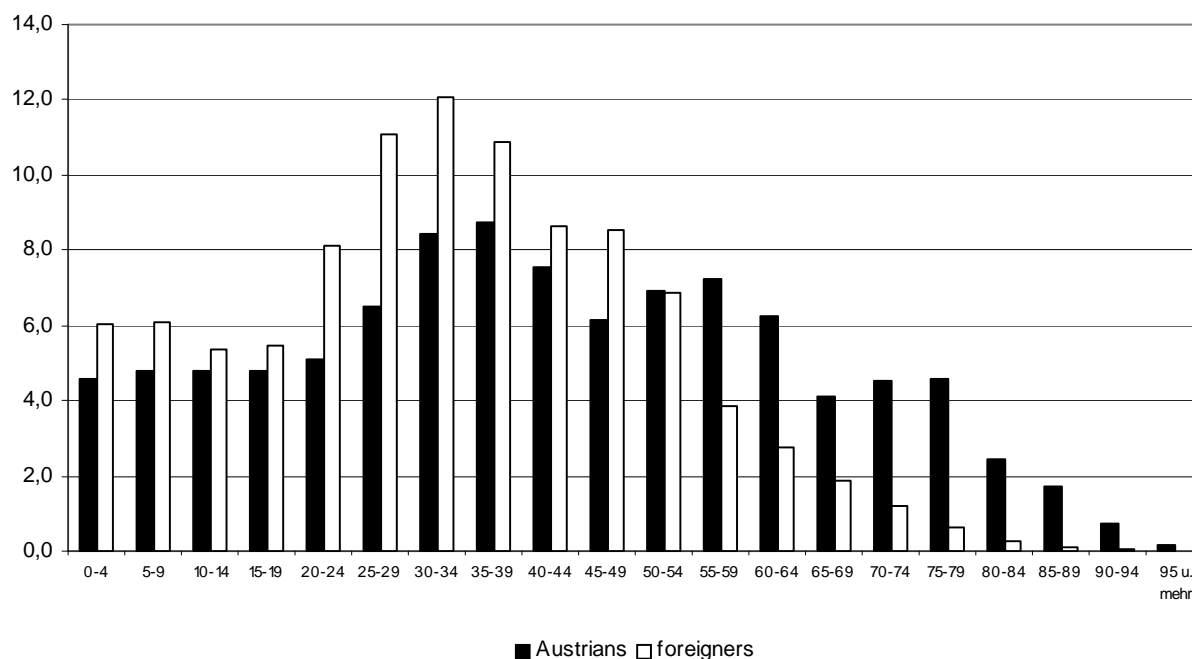
¹⁰ Compare: <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/bev-alter-staat.pdf> (inhabitants by age and citizenship 2001–2005); <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/bevbew-uebersicht.pdf> (immigration and emigration 1991–2005, Austrian and foreign persons); <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/ausland-staatsb.pdf> (foreign inhabitants 2001–2005 by citizenship).

foreign nationalities. African and Asian countries also play an important role as countries of origin of Vienna's migrants. With 3,240 persons, the Nigerian nationals are the largest African group, followed by the Egyptians with 3,240 persons. The most prominent Asian countries of origin are above all China (4,773), India (4,347); Iran (4,330) and the Philippines (2,468).

Of the whole residential population 1,183,834 (76.4%) were born in Austria, 41,772 (2.7%) in other European States (EU-15) and 324,517 (20.9%) elsewhere. 47.7% of the residential population are male 52.3% female. According to Census 2001 data 40.8% were single, 41.2% married, 10.4% divorced and 7.4% widowed. Actually some 22% of all inhabitants are older than 60 years. The number of young people below the age of 15 has risen by 6.3% in the period 1991 to 2001 in contrary to the overall trend in Austria (-0.2%). The reason is the high share of non-Austrian residents in the capital in comparison to the other federal provinces of Austria. The increase in females is higher than that in males. According to census data (2001) 407,976 family-households were living in Vienna. 67.2% or 274,162 of them were married couples, 12.3% or 50,174 lived in cohabitation, 17.2% or 70,166 families had a single mother and 3.3% or 13,474 families had a single father. There were 344,655 single households (44.7%), 232,607 households consisting of 2 persons (30.1%), 101,570 households with 3 persons (13.2%), 63,357 4-person-households (8.2%) and 28,894 households with 5 persons or more (3.7%). The average household size was 2.0 persons in 2001. From 1990 to the end of 2002 the number of housing units surged by 9.2% to 929,878.

While among the Austrian resident population the majority are women with 52.3%, it is the other way round with residents of foreign nationality. Even though the number of women has been slightly increasing because more of them have been joining their husbands in Vienna for some years, women of foreign nationality are still a clear minority with a percentage of 47.7%. This gender distribution clearly reflects the history of immigration. In the 1960s and 1970s there was primarily labour immigration, i.e. immigration of mostly men. Only as a consequence of more male work migrants settling down in a more permanent way, family members started to join them in the second half of 1970s. While in those groups of countries of origin, from which the majority of work migrants in Vienna traditionally come from, there are more men, the gender distribution of migrants from the Czech Republic and Slovakia is quite different. 64.3% of migrants from the Czech Republic and 63.7% of migrants from Slovakia are women. The percentage of women among immigrants from Turkey has clearly increased: While in 2001 the percentage of women amounted to 42.8%, it had already risen to 46.9% in 2005.

The structural consequences of immigration have been significant from the demographic and economic point of view. There are marked differences in the age structure of Austrians and migrants. The age structure of foreign residential population significantly differs from that of the Austrian population, since the foreign group is clearly younger than the native. As a matter of fact the majority of the labour migrants is young, male and highly educated (König & Hintermann 2003). Diagram 1 illustrates that the migrant population not only embraces significantly higher proportions of children and young people but there is also an exceptional overhang in the middle cohorts, that means in the main age of employment. 43.6% of foreign nationals are aged between 25 and 45 years but only 29.6% of the Austrian nationals belong to this age group. On the other hand, approximately 25.3% of Austrian nationals, but only 7.8% of the foreign population in the federal capital are over 60 years of age. This mirrors the socio-demographic selectivity of migration which stands in conformity with theoretical approaches. Immigration to Vienna is to a large extent labour migration of highly educated, flexible and extremely mobile people. The Austrian population contains a disproportionately high proportion of elderly people more than 6% being in the age between 60 and 64 years and above 9% in the age between 70 and 79. The rates of Austrians in the working age are also much lower than among foreign residents.

Figure 1: The differences in age structure of Austrians and foreign residents in Vienna, 2001

Sources: Census 2001, own calculations.

Table 5: Sex ratio among Austrians and foreign residents in Vienna, 2001

Nationality	Total	Men	Women	Proportion of women
Austria	1,301,859	599,801	702,058	53.9
Europe	211,870	111,142	100,728	47.5
Former Guest workers	152,577	81,944	70,633	46.3
Former Yugoslavia	113,458	59,575	53,883	47.5
Turkey	39,119	22,369	16,750	42.8
East-West Migration	26,921	13,424	13,497	50.1
Poland	13,648	7,356	6,292	46.1
EU-15	24,716	12,316	12,400	50.2
Germany	12,729	6,207	6,522	51.2
Other European Countries	7,656	3,458	4,198	54.8
Asia	21,242	11,555	9,687	45.6
North and South America	4,948	2,295	2,653	53.6
Africa	7,159	4,662	2,497	34.9
Australia	386	206	180	46.6
Unknown	2,659	1,683	976	36.7
Total	1,550,123	731,344	818,779	52.8

Sources: own calculations, census 2001.

There are also marked differences in the sex proportions among migrants of different origin. Table 5 shows that in the Austrian population of Vienna women constitute the majority with almost 54%. Immigration from European countries is usually labour migration but very heterogeneous concerning female participation. East-West migration as well as immigration from the EU-15 is characterized by a more or less balanced sex ratio. Among the guest workers the statis-

tical dominance of men is still a fact. It is the Turkish group in which the male overhang (57.2%) is especially marked. Among the former Yugoslavs men constitute a dominant proportion of 52.5%. There are marked variations in the presence of women in immigration from overseas countries. Among the Black Africans the proportion of women is extremely modest (35%) (Ebermann 2002). Migrants from Asian sending countries are to a higher proportion female (46%). Especially among the Chinese, the Philippines and the Indian sub-group from Kerala the numerical presence of women is important.

Table 6 compares the sex ratios of seven migrant groups in 2005. It is obvious that even within the category of East-West migration the gender ratios are quite different. Immigration from Slovakia and the Czech Republic is by far dominated by women, whereas Polish migration more a male phenomenon. In the former Yugoslavian case the lowest ratio of women can be observed in the Bosnian group whereas more than 47% of the Serbian citizens are of female gender.

Table 6: A selection of migrant groups by gender and citizenship, 2005

Citizenship	Men	Women	in %
Serbia and Montenegro	40,513	36,153	47.1
Turkey	21,173	18,728	46.9
Poland	11,673	9,937	45.9
Bosnia-Herzegovina	10,078	7,727	43.3
Croatia	9,231	7,684	45.4
Slovakia	2,306	4,054	63.7
Czech Republic	841	1,521	64.3

Source: MA 5.

Vienna is an economically important metropolis. It accounts for 27% of total added value generated in Austria, some 23% of all workplaces and some 25% of all employees. This makes Vienna the economic and job centre of Austria. Vienna has the highest level of economic development of all Austrian regions and holds a leading position in the European context. The economic structural change of the past decades has not only caused a steep decline in the number of jobs, especially in the secondary sector, but has also improved the quality of economic activity and enlarged the range of offerings. It is especially the secondary sector that is undergoing massive structural changes, as revealed by the decline in the robust consumer goods industry and the positive dynamic in the exporting industries such as electronics, automobile and vehicle manufacturing, machine engineering and the chemical industry. 2005 most employees could be found in public administration (138,559 or 18.3%).

The income level showed marked variations in the different districts. 2004 the average net-income varied from EUR 26,854 in the 1st district to EUR 15,025 in the 15th district. Also on top are the 13th (EUR 24,701) and the 19th district (EUR 22,875). Districts at the bottom are the 20th (EUR 15,783) and the 5th (EUR 16,484). Correspondingly are education and unemployment rates, with a variation from lower than 2.7% to higher than 7.8% in 2000, but also the concentration of foreign residents.

Vienna is the prosperous centre of a high wage economy which imports labour force from low wage economies in Austria's neighbouring countries in the southeast and east of Europe. Some sectors of the Viennese labour market in particular are completely dependent on migrant workers. It must not be neglected that the term "migrant" is used to describe a highly heterogeneous part of the Viennese population. Migrant women for example are ranging from sex-industry workers and legal or irregular migrant workers to top executives of international organizations. Among migrant men one can find top managers and famous scientists as well as newspaper-

sellers and construction workers. The heterogeneity of this group is the result of different reasons for migrating and differences in residential status, age, life stage, education, qualifications, income and social status as well as of cultural identity and religious affiliation.

Specific niches of the labour market are more or less “reserved” for migrants of specific ethno-national affiliation. Turkish women are doing cleaning jobs, Polish women are working in domestic services, big numbers of Philippine and Indian women can be found in health service, Egyptians and Bangladeshi are selling newspapers, Turkish and Polish men are well represented in the construction business and Chinese traditionally run restaurants. Not only the lack of information on the side of the migrants, but also the lack of awareness and sensitivity regarding the migrants’ background often lead to an absence of appropriate policies in the past (Fassmann, Kohlbacher & Reeger 1995).

The development and structure of the urban labour market not only reflects the structural change towards a service-oriented job center of regional and supra-regional importance (Biffl 1998, 2000), but also clearly illustrates the economic and social problems which are common for cities of this size and function (Fassmann, Kohlbacher & Reeger 2003):

- More than 80% of the labour force is employed in the tertiary sector.
- The level of qualification of employees is much higher in Vienna than the Austrian average.
- The share of non-Austrians in the employment rate in Vienna is about 9%, and some 30% of all non-Austrians required to have a work permit are employed in Vienna.
- Approximately 200,000 commuters come from the surrounding regions to Vienna. The distances covered have been growing steadily.
- Employment has been developing less dynamically in Vienna than in the Austrian average. An increase could be observed in the employment of women, which is due mainly to the larger number of jobs in the tertiary sector, a traditional female sector, and to the steep rise of part-time jobs.
- The level of unemployment is higher than in other regions in Austria and the unemployment rate among men is higher than among women. The labour market problem groups, e.g. migrants, are strongly affected by unemployment.

In 2005, 373,692 foreign nationals were gainfully employed in Austria, including 225,130 men and 148,553 women. Among 118,414 gainfully employed persons in Vienna 64,948 were men and 53,466 were women; this shows an increase in employed persons of foreign nationality of 3.5% over the previous year. The largest group by far, i.e. 27,805 persons, were employed in the service sector. Almost half of the persons of foreign nationality gainfully employed in Vienna in 2005, was employed in the following three sectors: Trade and repairs – 19,235 persons, construction business – 15,457, tourist accommodation and restaurant business – 13,366 persons. The number of employees with foreign nationality by sectors thus remains constant in long-term comparison. Only in the health, veterinary and social sectors with 6,013 gainfully employed persons the number was significantly higher than in the previous year with 5,440. The labour force potential of persons of foreign nationality increased in general. This increase both in the number of registered unemployed persons of foreign nationality (plus 8.6%) and in the number of gainfully employed persons (plus 3.5%) shows that this group of people is growing and increasingly hitting the labour market.¹¹

¹¹ See <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/unselbst-ausland.pdf> (employed migrants since 1995 by branches of trade); http://oi000004.host.inode.at/jb/tab_03.html (AMS, unemployment 2003, 2004, 2005 by States and sex and share of non-Austrians).

An analysis of the numbers of gainfully employed persons by nationality comes to the result that these remained quite constant for the larger countries of origin, except for Germany. By far the largest group are nationals from the successor countries of former Yugoslavia with 54,841 persons, followed by 16,976 persons of Turkish nationality, 13,685 persons from the EU-15 as well as 6,464 persons from Poland, 3,852 from the Czech Republic and Slovakia, 2,398 from Hungary and 2,771 from Romania. According to information provided by the Labour Market Service Vienna on the number of gainfully employed foreign nationals who require a work permit, this upward trend in employment figures continues in 2006. The increase, however, is unevenly distributed among the various nationalities. Nowadays, only few new employees come from “classical” countries of origin. For persons from Serbia and Montenegro this increase was only 0.4%, 3.7% for nationals from Bosnia-Herzegovina, 5.6% for Croatia and 4.4% for Turkey. Statistics show significant growth rates for persons from Central and Eastern European countries: for Slovenia +11.3%, for Hungary +8.4%, for the Czech Republic +8.9%, for Slovakia +13.0%, for Bulgaria +10.4% and for Romania +14.8%.

Table 7: Foreign citizens and foreign born residents in Austria and in Vienna, 2001

	Nationality	Country of Birth
AUSTRIA		
Total number of residents	8,032,926	8,032,926
Austrian citizens	7,322,000	7,029,527
Foreign citizens	710,926	1,003,399
Foreign countries in %	8.8	12.5
VIENNA		
Total number of residents	1,550,123	1,550,123
Austrian citizens	1,301,859	1,183,834
Foreign citizens	248,264	366,289
Foreign countries in %	16.0	23.6

Sources: Census 2001, own calculations.

In 1991 two thirds of all foreign residents in Vienna came from former Yugoslavia and Turkey (Hammer 1994, 1999). According to the 2001 census, more than 730,000 (or 9.1%) of Austria’s about eight million inhabitants, were foreign residents. 62.8% of them came from the two traditional recruitment regions, Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey. Table 7 illustrates the quantitative relations between foreign born population and the stock of residents with foreign nationality in Austria and in Vienna. From 1985 to 2001 more than 254,000 migrants were naturalized. It is evident that in Vienna almost one fourth of the total population was born outside the Austrian borders. It is an interesting fact, that with a proportion of foreign born residents in 2001 reaching the level of 12.5% in Austria this was even higher than that of the United States (compare Jandl & Kraler 2003: 1).

With the beginning of war on the Balkan (an important push factor) in 1992 the numbers of Yugoslavs again increased. Because of the large stock of Yugoslavs living there already existing Yugoslav networks made it possible to absorb large numbers of them. As a statistical consequence the proportion of former Yugoslavs among the foreign population in Vienna increased sharply. Despite rising numbers of former Yugoslavs a decrease in the proportion of the “classical” guest workers from 66.7 to 61.5% within the decade is obvious. This decrease was mainly caused by a shrinking of the Turkish group. The rising tendency to become naturalized played an important role in the shrinking of this group. Labour migration from the former communist countries is still an important component of the Viennese migration scene. Their presence in the total foreign population rose to a proportion of 10.8% with the Poles as the numerically most

important national component. The stock of legally employed foreign workers from East-Central Europe was about 7,000 persons higher in 2001 compared with 1991. Vienna has the largest stock (in absolute numbers) of working power from the Viségrad-countries, whereas it is of negligible importance in the Western regions of Austria (Fassmann, Kohlbacher & Reeger 1995). It must be stressed that irregular employment is very frequent among this group so that official numbers only mirror a glimpse of the very complex East-West migration scene (König & Hintermann 2003).

Table 8: Resident population of non-Austrian nationality in Vienna 1991 and 2001 according to sending countries and regions

Nationality	abs.	1991		abs.	2001	
		%	in % of the total pop.		%	in % of total pop.
Former Guest workers	131,234	66.7	8.5	152,577	61.5	9.8
Former Yugoslavia	87,358	44.4	5.7	113,458	45.7	7.3
Turkey	43,876	22.3	2.8	39,119	15.7	2.5
East-West Migration ⁽¹⁾	19,746	10.0	1.3	26,921	10.8	1.7
Poland	11,056	5.6	0.7	13,648	5.5	0.9
EU	17,181	8.7	1.1	24,716	10.0	1.6
Germany	9,017	4.6	0.6	12,729	5.1	0.8
Others	28,491	14.5	1.8	44,050	17.7	2.8
Total foreign residents	196,652	100.0	12.8	248,264	100.0	16.0

(1) Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Romania.

Source: Census 1991 and 2001.

Immigration from the EU with the Germans as the most important group rose considerably in numbers. There was also a marked increase in the category of “others” including migrants from the Near East, Northern and Black Africa and South and East Asia as well. This heterogeneous category constituted 17.7% of the stock of foreign residents, thus being statistically more important in the capital than in the Austrian context. Obviously the stocks and flows have become more diverse. The former bifold structure of the foreign residential population consisting mainly of Yugoslavs and Turks has weakened (Fassmann, Kohlbacher & Reeger 2001).

Thus, for providing a further impression of the “migration scene” in Vienna Table 8 shows the numerical and proportional relations of the four most numerous migrant groups related to the whole immigrant population in the Austrian capital. Altogether, the four groups made up for 77% of all foreign citizens living in Vienna in 1991 and for 72% in the year 2001. In 2001 16.0% of the resident population of Vienna had a foreign citizenship, but about one fourth (23.6%) were born in a foreign country. The former Yugoslavs constitute the numerically most important group of immigrants in Vienna since the 1960s, the beginning of the guest worker migration. They constituted about 35% of the foreign population stock in 2001 and more than 8% of the whole Viennese population. In the decade from 1991 to 2001 their number again rose sharply not because of labour migration but because of quantitative considerable refugee migration from Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Kosovo. The Turks have also a 40 years’ history of labour migration to Vienna (Giffinger & Reeger 1997; Museum Vienna 2004). With about 44,000 persons in 1991 and more than 39,000 in 2001 they constituted the numerically second biggest immigrant group and a proportion of about 13% of the foreign population of the Austrian capital. Whereas migration from Germany to Austria has a long tradition, Polish migration is a relatively new phenomenon. During the 1980s political refugees from Poland came to Austria often via Hungary. Since the fall of the Iron Curtain transnational Polish labour migration is an important aspect of the

Austrian labour market (Pries 1997, 1999; Hintermann 2000). 6.8% of the foreign residential population of Vienna are Polish. Between 1991 and 2001 the proportions of former Yugoslavs and Germans among the whole foreign population slightly increased. During the same decade the proportion of the Polish community slightly decreased from 5.6 to 5.5%, whereas the percentage of the Turks was reduced from 22.3% to 15.8%.

Table 9: Former Yugoslavs, Germans, Poles and Turks in Vienna (1991 and 2001 compared)

	Citizenship 1991	Citizenship 2001	Place of birth 2001
total population	1,539,848	1,550,123	1,550,123
foreigners total	196,652	248,264	366,289
in %	12.8	16.0	23.6
Former Yugoslavia	87,358	113,458	127,290
in % of population	5.7	7.3	8.2
in % of foreigners	44.4	45.7	34.8
Germany	9,017	12,729	26,230
in % of population	0.6	0.8	1.7
in % of foreigners	4.6	5.1	7.2
Poland	11,056	13,648	24,917
in % of population	0.7	0.9	1.6
in % of foreigners	5.6	5.5	6.8
Turkey	43,876	39,119	47,321
in % of population	2.8	2.5	3.1
in % of foreigners	22.3	15.8	12.9

Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991 and 2001, own calculations.

The proportions of naturalizations show a considerable range of variations from one group to the other. Becoming an Austrian citizen is very prominent among the Germans and the Poles, among the Turks the proportion of naturalizations is lower but was increasing during recent years (see table 9). For taking the Poles as an illustrative example the number of people who were born in Poland was 2001 almost two times higher than the number of migrants with a Polish citizenship living in Vienna officially. Besides it must be emphasized that particularly in the Polish case the number of seasonal workers and temporary migrants working in Vienna illegally is extremely high. Thus, the exact numerical dimensions of the Viennese “Polonia” are unknown (Fassmann, Kohlbacher & Reeger 1995).

Among migrant groups of different origin there is a varying degree of concentration on Vienna as the focal point of migration depending on specific labour market chances and migration history (see table 10). Whereas only 17.8% of the Austrian citizens and an analogous proportion of the Germans are living in the capital it is the Poles and the Asians, both with more than 60%, who show an extreme concentration on the Viennese labour market. One half of the Black Africans are residing in Vienna as well as more than 40% of the East-West Migrants and people coming from the Americas. The guest workers, especially the Turks, moved, when a prosperous industry not only in the Eastern parts of Austria but also in the western (Vorarlberg) and southern regions (Styria) were searching for additional working force. In 2001 only 30.7% of the Turkish residential population was settled in Vienna. The proportion of Viennese Yugoslavs was slightly higher. Three fourth of the Residents of EU-origin are living outside the capital, preferring the amazing landscapes of the western parts of Austria. Among the Germans the concentration ratio in Vi-

enna is only 17.6%. Most of these people did not come to Austria for searching labour opportunities but have settled down for recreation (Fassmann & Münz 1995; Fassmann & Stacher 2003).

Table 10: Numerical presence and concentration ratios of migrant groups of different geographical origin in Vienna, 2001

Nationality	Number in Vienna	Number in Austria	Concentration ratio in Vienna
Austria	1,301,859	7,322,000	17.8
Europe	211,870	642,676	33.0
Former Guest workers	152,577	449,487	33.9
Former Yugoslavia	113,458	322,261	35.2
Turkey	39,119	127,226	30.7
East-West Migration	26,921	67,092	40.1
Poland	13,648	21,841	62.5
EU-15	24,716	106,173	23.3
Germany	12,729	72,218	17.6
Other Europe	7,656	19,924	38.4
Asia	21,242	35,271	60.2
North and South America	4,948	12,313	40.2
Africa	7,159	14,223	50.3
Australia, New Zealand	386	1,026	37.6
Unknown	2,659	5,417	49.1
Altogether	1,550,123	8,032,926	19.3

Sources: own calculations, census 2001.

D Ethnic geography of the city

1 The recent history of population settlement and migration to the city (including internal migration)

Though the self-image of Austria is still one of a non-immigration country, Austria has a long tradition of cultural diversity and integration policies because the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a multiethnic state. Usually this tradition was characterised by the assimilation of non-German speaking groups into the German speaking majority. During the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy large numbers of Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Polish migrants moved to the German speaking parts of the Habsburg Empire and especially to Vienna. Vienna's telephone directory is still a testimony to the immigration's impact of this era (Fassmann & Münz 1995; Kraler & Stacher 2002). After the Second World War great numbers of refugees and "displaced persons" were integrated in the Austrian population (Fassmann & Stacher 2003).

During the 1960s the so-called "guest workers" mainly from former Yugoslavia and Turkey covered the working force demand of the fast growing Austrian economy. The pull factors of this migration were an economic boom which led to a growing demand for labour and a shift in immigration policy. Like Germany and Switzerland Austria too began to forge bilateral agreements for the recruitment of guest workers (Museum Vienna 2004). They were originally temporary workers who came to Austria because of the effects of both, push- and pull-factors. The Austrian labour market attracted them with the pull factor of high wage levels, rural exodus, unemploy-

ment and low wages in the sending states created an important push factor. In 1964 an agreement with Turkey, in 1966 with Yugoslavia was signed and recruitment offices established. In 1973 227,000 guest workers worked and lived in Austria of whom the majority came from Yugoslavia. The guest worker migration of the 1960s and 1970s was not only an important facet of labour migration but had long-lasting effects on both the current composition of the foreign residential population and subsequent migration flows too (Lichtenberger 1984, 1995).

For decades, migration to Vienna was largely the result of an unplanned process but the history of the Austrian “guest worker regime” (Jandl & Kraler 2003) demonstrates that temporary migration has a tendency to become permanent and has long-term implications for the size and composition of the country’s immigrant population. Economic recession and the oil crisis of 1973 followed by the second oil shock in 1981 radically reduced the demand for foreign working force. As a consequence in 1985 the employment of guest workers was half the level of 1973. Other forms of migration – family reunification, short-time labour migration – became more important. By the late 1980s the numbers of clandestine migration and asylum migration rose (compare Fassmann & Münz 1994, 1995). Thus, until the 1980s most immigrants living in Vienna were labour searching “guest workers” from former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

In the early 1990s profound political and economic changes were transforming Europe and new integration measures have been introduced. During the 1990s migration to Austria and Vienna increased considerably. The fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria’s accession to the European Union brought more open borders, temporary migration and transnational mobility. The fall of the Iron Curtain made possible “new” East-West labour migration flows. A reshaping of the catchment areas of former distorted labour markets in Austria and in its neighbouring countries in the East took place (Fassmann & Hintermann 1999). A new wave of immigration followed with many East-West labour migrants moving from Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The Balkan Wars produced massive inflows of refugees from areas to Austria’s southeast. These flows came in addition to a rapidly rising number of asylum seekers (Heiss & Rathkolb 1995). At the same time an economic boom during the late 1980s created labor shortages in some sectors of the economy (for example in the construction business and in export-oriented industries) (Biffl 2000).

Thus, immigration to Vienna in the 1990s was mainly constituted by the following components:

- the labour migration from the former communist countries,
- refugees from former Yugoslavia,
- family unification of former guest workers,
- a sharply risen number of asylum seekers.

Table 11 shows a comparison of the increase of foreign residents in Austria and in Vienna in the decade between the last two censuses in absolute numbers and in proportions. It is obvious that Vienna is the main focus of immigration in Austria with a rise in the number of foreign residents of about 52,000 from 1991 census to 2001 census and a proportion of foreign residents of 16% in 2001. On the national level the increase in proportion was not as sharp as in the capital.

The causes of the increase in immigration can be found in push- as well as in pull-factors. Contemporary patterns and processes of real East-West migration to Vienna do not conform to the pattern of permanent migration which was typical for the 19th century’s migration flows (Morawska 1999) but rather represent a new form of mobility and circulation (Pries 1997, 1999): “[...] a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies. Their lives cut across national boundaries and bring two societies into a single social field. [...] We call this new conceptualization ‘transnationalism’” (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: 1). Some researchers have pointed out that “migration” may not be the most accurate term.

“Movement” or “mobility” may be more apt terms (Koser & Salt 1997). Thus intermittent and short-term patterns of movement are characterizing contemporary “migration” to an increasing extent. Transnational migration of Poles to Vienna (Fassmann et al. 1995) covers a wide range of individual lifestyles. Undoubtedly some of the Polish transmigrants will stay on, assimilating, in the classic sense. Others will engage in a kind of contested integration seeking to combine two ethnic and cultural spaces (a “life in two societies”, compare Lichtenberger 1984) while living in the receiving country for most of the time. For others, transnational mobility will be a permanent way of life either with dual citizenship or with one citizenship and a denizenship in another place.

Table 11: Austrian nationals and foreigners in Austria and in Vienna (1991 and 2001 compared)

	1991	2001
AUSTRIA		
Total number of residents	7,795,786	8,032,926
Foreign residents	517,690	710,926
Proportion of foreign residents	6.6	8.8
VIENNA		
Total number of residents	1,539,848	1,550,123
Foreign residents	196,652	248,264
Proportion of foreign residents	12.8	16.0

Sources: Census 1991 and 2001.

Today, there are, for example, also new forms of a female “servant migration” that recalls the “old” immigration of Bohemian cooks. Furthermore there are now more and more “commuter-migrants” and seasonal workers who are employed primarily in construction, in agriculture and in tourism. These “new” guest workers are for the most part finding jobs in the same areas as the migrants from the “old” guest worker-countries, and they, the “new” ones, are preferred by employers because of their greater flexibility and mobility as well as their willingness to work for the lowest wages. The “old” work-force has already been “proletarianized” and makes higher financial demands (Hintermann 2000).

During recent decades Vienna has increasingly become as ethnically and culturally diverse as many other big metropolises in the EU. Vienna’s population has become even more diverse in recent years as thousands of foreigners were naturalized. Migrants are no longer marginal groups but constitute an essential element of the local population. In 2005 286,907 foreigners were living in the Austrian capital which amounts to 17.6% of the overall population.

The heterogeneity of the immigrant population is mirrored in the confessional diversity of the residential population. The following bigger religious communities recognised by the State can be found (2005): the Roman-Catholic Church (1874) with 717,674 members, the Protestant Church Augsburg Confession (1874) (60,082), the Protestant Church Helvetic Confession (1874) (estimated 5,800), the Old Catholic Church (1877) (6,660), the Protestant Methodist Church in Austria (1951) (790), the Church of Jesus Christ of Saints of the Last Days (1955) (estimated 1,300), the Romanian Orthodox Church (1967) (approx. 2,500), the Russian Orthodox Church (1967) (approx. 1,200), the Serbian Orthodox Church (estimated 80,000), the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (approx. 15,000), the Greek Orthodox Church (approx. 10,000) the Armenian Apostolic Church (1972) (approx. 3,000), the New Apostolic Church (1975) (1,427), the Syrian Orthodox Church (1988) (approx. 3,000), the Israelite Culture Community (1874) (6,845), the Islamic Denomination (1912) (estimated 122,000) and the Austrian Buddhist Denomination (1983) (1,853).¹²

¹² The figures in brackets indicate the year of recognition by the state; the Estimates were done by Municipal Department No. 5 based on reports from 2003.

Table 12: The residential population of Vienna, 1980–2005

	total population	1980=100	Austrians abs.	Austrians 1980=100	foreign citizens abs.	foreign citizens 1980=100	share of foreigners
1980	1,535,145	100.0	1,424,405	100.0	110,740	100.0	7.2
1981	1,528,631	99.6	1,412,376	99.2	116,255	105.0	7.6
1982	1,510,634	98.4	1,399,450	98.2	111,184	100.4	7.4
1983	1,499,866	97.7	1,389,870	97.6	109,996	99.3	7.3
1984	1,494,874	97.4	1,381,875	97.0	112,999	102.0	7.6
1985	1,490,956	97.1	1,373,686	96.4	117,270	105.9	7.9
1986	1,485,484	96.8	1,366,157	95.9	119,327	107.8	8.0
1987	1,484,258	96.7	1,359,760	95.5	124,498	112.4	8.4
1988	1,485,777	96.8	1,350,020	94.8	135,757	122.6	9.1
1989	1,492,636	97.2	1,339,701	94.1	152,935	138.1	10.2
1990	1,502,772	97.9	1,330,837	93.4	171,935	155.3	11.4
1991	1,522,449	99.2	1,325,120	93.0	197,329	178.2	13.0
1992	1,537,523	100.2	1,320,648	92.7	216,875	195.8	14.1
1993	1,549,436	100.9	1,319,152	92.6	230,284	208.0	14.9
1994	1,542,667	100.5	1,311,953	92.1	230,714	208.3	15.0
1995	1,539,002	100.3	1,305,009	91.6	233,993	211.3	15.2
1996	1,542,191	100.5	1,305,758	91.7	236,433	213.5	15.3
1997	1,540,875	100.4	1,304,955	91.6	235,920	213.0	15.3
1998	1,542,252	100.5	1,303,518	91.5	238,734	215.6	15.5
1999	1,548,537	100.9	1,305,870	91.7	242,667	219.1	15.7
2000	1,553,956	101.2	1,306,287	91.7	247,669	223.6	15.9
2001	1,562,737	101.8	1,308,044	91.8	254,693	230.0	16.3
2002	1,583,814	103.2	1,314,932	92.3	268,882	242.8	17.0
2003	1,598,626	104.1	1,321,662	92.8	276,964	250.1	17.3
2004	1,626,440	105.9	1,333,084	93.6	293,356	264.9	18.0
2005	1,651,438	107.6	1,342,254	94.2	309,184	279.2	18.7

Sources: Statistik Austria – residential population according to population prognosis (Bevölkerungsfortschreibung 1980–2005); own calculations.

Table 12 shows the variations in the numbers and proportions of foreigners in the Viennese population from 1980 to 2005. A constant increase of the proportion of foreigners can be observed. The percentage rose from about 7 or 8% during the 1980s to proportions between 10 and 15% during the 1990s and reached its peak in 2005, when 18.7% of Vienna's population consisted of foreign nationals. The absolute numbers of foreigners in 2005 were three times higher than 1980, during the same time span the index rose up to 279,2. After a period of stagnations or even numerical decrease of the total population during the 1980s it was primarily the positive migration balance which caused an increase of Vienna's population since the 1990s (Fassmann & Münz 1995). And the positive demographic trend is still going on – Vienna is one of the very few Austrian federal provinces with rising numbers of children in schools and kindergartens (Fassmann & Stacher 2003).

Table 13: The foreign residential population in Vienna, 1981–2005

Nationality	1981	1991	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	in % of total foreign popula- tion 2005
“Guest worker”	78,297	131,234	153,428	157,214	155,540	157,090	159,557	51.6
Former Yugoslavia	58,587	87,358	114,811	117,395	115,348	117,362	119,656	38.7
Turkey	19,710	43,876	38,617	39,819	40,192	39,728	39,901	12.9
East-west-migration“	5,528	21,907	31,256	34,754	38,694	46,266	52,491	17.0
Poland	2,653	11,056	13,646	14,031	14,504	18,258	21,610	7.0
Hungary	1,117	3,539	4,149	4,428	4,621	4,941	5,271	1.7
Czech Republic ¹	753	2,619	1,839	2,012	2,114	2,224	2,362	0.8
Slovakia	-	-	3,300	3,927	4,448	5,427	6,360	2.1
Romania	350	2,532	3,809	4,882	6,109	6,961	7,796	2.5
GUS ²	417	1,357	2,096	2,495	3,331	4,366	4,741	1.5
Bulgaria	238	804	2,417	2,979	3,567	4,089	4,351	1.4
EU-15	-	-	26,243	28,531	30,947	34,178	37,776	12.2
Germany	6,374	9,017	13,398	14,759	16,014	18,094	20,417	6.6
other EU countries	-	-	12,845	13,772	14,933	16,084	17,359	5.6
Middle East, Northern Africa	3,909	7,179	8,313	8,698	8,789	8,629	8,542	2.8
Egypt	1,003	2,736	3,067	3,152	3,142	3,121	3,240	1.0
Iran	2,096	3,088	4,055	4,295	4,330	4,210	4,026	1.3
Israel	810	1,355	1,191	1,251	1,317	1,298	1,276	0.4
Asian Countries	2,770	6,694	10,129	11,778	12,914	13,623	14,463	4.7
India	624	2,008	3,778	4,219	4,347	4,425	4,615	1.5
Philippines	981	1,842	2,157	2,310	2,468	2,646	2,870	0.9
Japan	655	1,074	1,169	1,275	1,326	1,364	1,421	0.5
Peoples Republic of China	510	1,770	3,025	3,974	4,773	5,188	5,557	1.8
USA and Canada	2,218	2,600	3,096	3,235	3,378	3,562	3,827	1.2
Others	14,321	18,021	22,228	24,672	26,702	30,008	32,528	10.5
Foreign nationals total	113,417	196,652	254,693	268,882	276,964	293,356	309,184	100.0

Remarks: 1: 1981 and 1991 Czechoslovakia; 2: 1981 and 1991 Soviet Union.

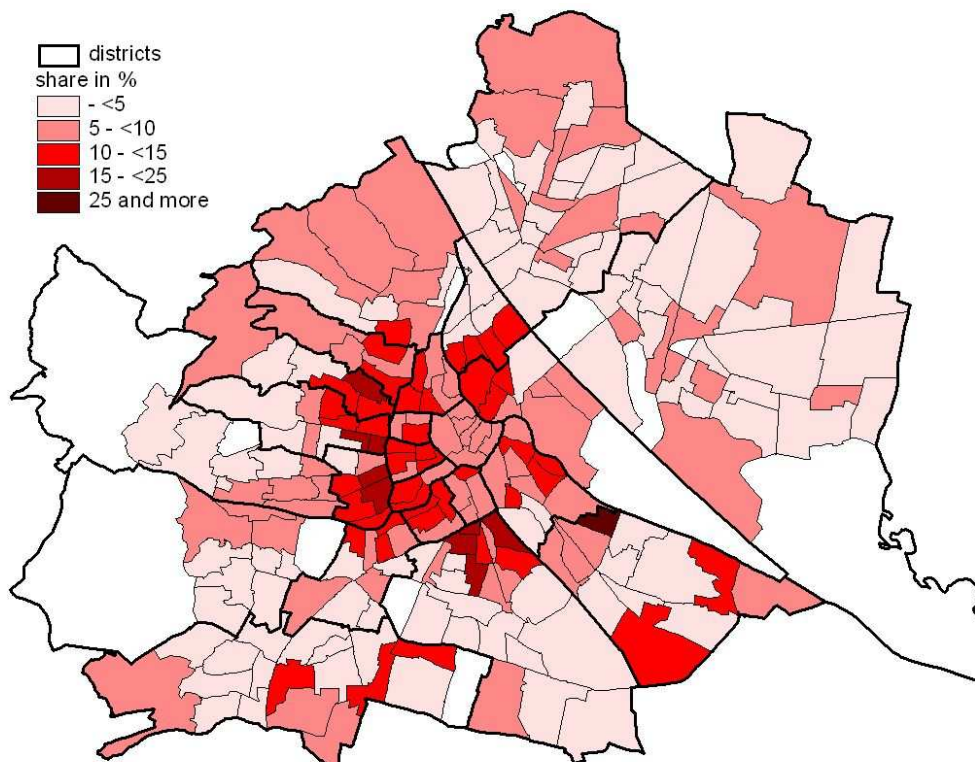
Source: 1981 and 1991: Census data, Statistik Austria; since 2001: Population Register.

In Table 13 the variations in the structure of the migrant population during the period 1981 to 2005 is shown. The most numerous group are the former guest workers who constituted 51.6% of the total foreign population in 2005. About 120,000 persons (38.7%) came from former Yugoslavia, about 40,000 (12.9%) were Turkish citizens. With more than 52,000 (17%) East-West migrants were another numerically important component of the immigrant population with the Poles as the greatest group. “Classy migrants” are mainly from Germany and North America and often are only temporary migrants e.g. in case of business or studies. 12.2% of the migrant stock of 2005 was EU-15 citizens, with the Germans as the traditionally most important sub-group. Migrants from Asia, Sub Saharan Africa, Latin America and from the Middle East still constitute numerically smaller groups but their numbers were significantly growing. For example the figure of immigrants from India rose from 624 in 1981 to 4,615 in 2005. In 2005 there were ten times more Chinese people living in Vienna than 1981 and about three times more Filipinos.

2 Geographical distribution of the ethnic population and a portrayal of changes in the ethnic geography of the city over the past two censuses

One can say that research into the spatial distribution patterns of minority ethnic groups has passed the stage of only calculating indices of dissimilarity. That research concentrates more and more on processes behind changing spatial patterns. In the following chapter not only a description of spatial patterns is given but also a profound analysis of the socio-spatial developments and their causal factors is provided (Bolt et al. 2006; Giffinger & Reeger 1997; Kaufmann 1999; Kohlbacher & Reeger 2002b). For a better general understanding of migration to Vienna we start with some information about the patterns of residential segregation in Vienna on the basis of official census data. Of course it is clear that ethnic minorities are groups with a high degree of internal differentiation according to social status, labour and housing market. Although in the following maps we still talk about “the” Turks, “the” Poles, etc., the differentiation within these groups with respect to housing conditions, spatial segregation, and housing preferences is enormous. Research into these differentiations is sometimes difficult because of the lack of data. We start with three maps showing how the residential areas of the foreign population changed during the decades from 1981 to 2001. The statistical spatial units which are relevant in official census are the levels of statistical districts and statistical areas or “parishes”. Thus, the residential patterns shown in the following maps are based on calculations referring to those statistical entities.

Map 27: Proportion of foreign residents in Vienna’s statistical districts, 1981



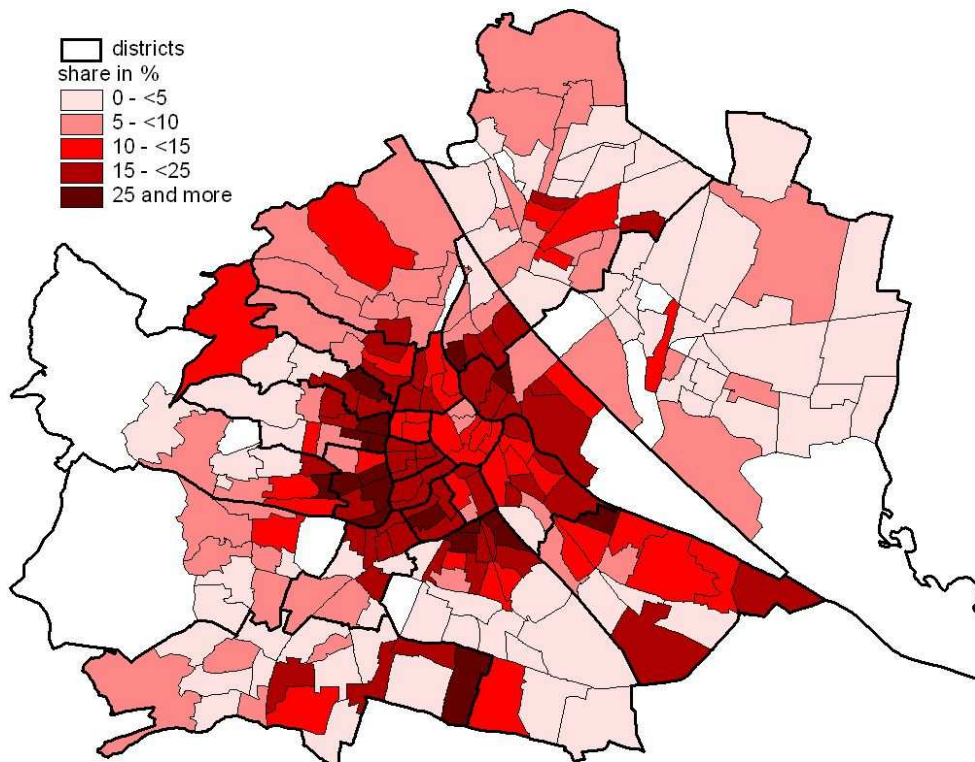
Source: Census 1981; cartography: U. Reeger.

In 1981 there were only very few statistical districts, where the proportion of foreign residents was higher than 15%. In most statistical units along the “Belt” it laid between 10 and 15% (see map 27). The immigration flow was rooted in the recruitment of workers from e.g. Turkey (an agreement was made 1964) and (former) Yugoslavia (recruitment agreement in 1966). These la-

bour migrants lived in low-cost quarters and their families did not emigrate with them promptly. The majority of the early guest workers did not inhabit dwellings in apartment houses but often lived in barracks belonging to the companies for which they worked. Extreme residential concentrations of guest workers were the consequence. Starting during the 1970s many guest workers left the mass accommodations searching for dwellings of their own where they could live together with their spouses and families. They mostly moved to the working-class districts (Mahidi & Vollmann 1999).

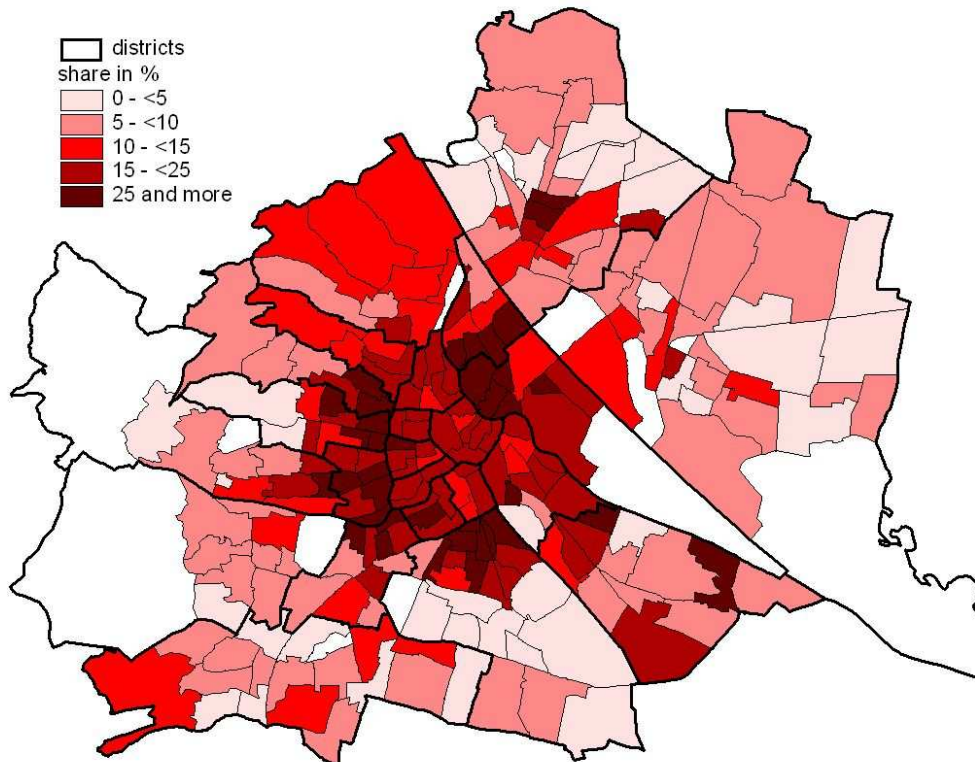
Urban decay of the building stock was a phenomenon to be found in the inner city of the Founders' Period. It was caused by a marked lack of reinvestments into the building stock. More than 40,000 buildings with 300,000 flats in Vienna were built during the Founders' Period. When comparing Vienna with other cities all over Europe, one found a unique mosaic of decaying and renewed buildings here next to each other. Due to the specific situation of the housing market in Vienna in the post-war period, there was no concentration in the field of real estate. Small private properties were the rule and remained so. A lack of transparency in the market furthered investments on a mostly random principle on three levels: that of flats, apartment houses and urban renewal areas.

Map 28: Proportion of foreign residents in Vienna's statistical districts, 1991



Source: Census 1991; cartography: U. Reeger.

In 1991 (see map 28) a fringe of statistical areas around the city centre and expanding in the old working-class districts was characterized by proportions of foreign population ranging from 15 to 25% and in an increasing number of spatial units even more than 25% of the residents were foreign citizens.

Map 29: Proportion of foreign residents in Vienna's statistical districts, 2001

Source: Census 2001; cartography: U. Reeger.

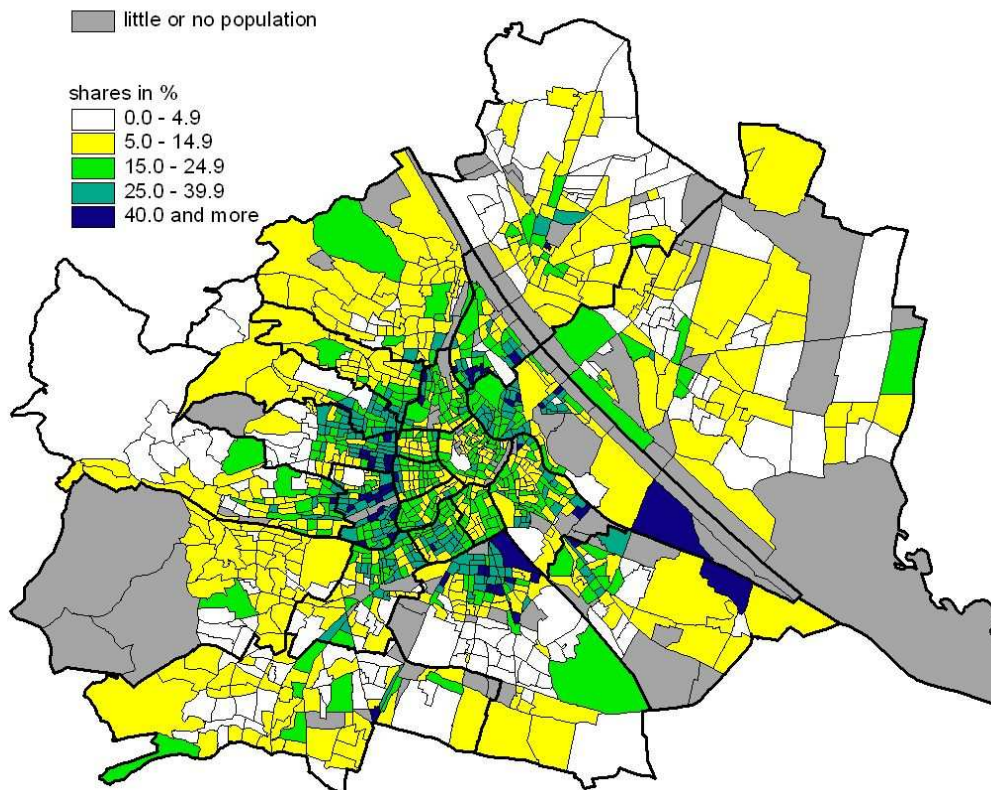
In 2001 (see map 29) the concentration process became even more pronounced. A lot of statistical areas in the inner districts as well as in the classical working-class districts became residential areas of an increasing and ethnic heterogeneous migrant population. In a lot of statistical areas in the 10th, 12th, 15th, 16th and 20th district the population with foreign citizenships represented more than 25% of the local residential population. Because of the rehabilitation of the built environment segregation has meanwhile risen mostly to remaining low-cost flats, which are nowadays more and more upgraded (Lichtenberger 1987, 1990).

Maps 30 and 31 are based on data on the smaller statistical scale of parishes showing a comparison of the residential distribution of foreign nationals and foreign-born residents both in 2001. On closer inspection segregation is concentrated on smaller units (statistical areas and districts). Segregated areas in Vienna are not the same as administrative districts but rather parts of districts which belong together in matters of housing (residential structures from the Founder's Period) and infrastructure. Foreign citizen settlement is especially visible in the districts on both sides of the street called the "Belt", a broad boulevard with an extremely high volume of traffic, air and noise pollution which is the border between the "inner" and the "outer" districts) that are dominated by an older private owned apartment housing stock from the "Founder's Period" (1860–1914)¹³ and by social rental housing. Segregation of ethnic minorities outcrops, but it is more often found on the level of blocks or houses than on a bigger geographical scale (see map 30). The citizens from traditional guest workers' states Turkey and former Yugoslavia concentrate in the blocks of flats in the western working class districts, which directly border to the middle-class neighbourhoods. In the old working class districts 10, 12, 15, 16, 17 there are many statistical areas with proportions of more than 25% or even more than 40% of foreign citizens. In the par-

¹³ In Vienna more than one third of the actual total housing stock was built during the Founder's Period.

ishes in the centre-near districts 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 and 4, the proportion of foreign residents is usually below 25%. The fabric of the buildings from the 19th century offer often badly equipped flatlets and accordingly low rents. As Vienna's housing market as a whole is characterized by a shortage of affordable dwellings in the rental sector it is not easy for immigrants to gain a foothold on it even in these quarters (Bockstefl et al. 1996; Mahidi & Vollmann 1999).

Map 30: Proportion of foreign citizens among the resident population, 2001

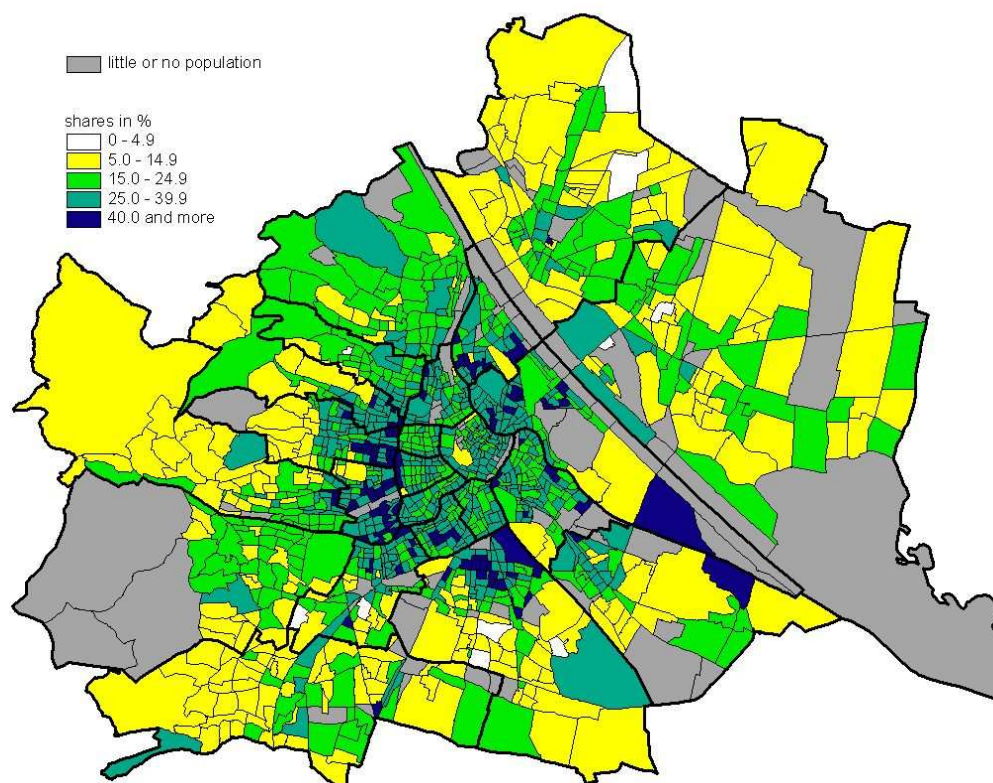


Source: Census Data; Cartography: Ursula Reeger.

Migrant population can also be found in the cottage areas of “Währing” and “Döbling” (18th and 19th district) in the northwest of Vienna's urban space, where the foreign elites have settled in the villa of these exclusive residential districts. The immigrants from member states of the European Union prefer good addresses in these western suburbs or directly in the historic old town. So far those population groups coming from former COMECON-states do not follow a clear urban concentration pattern.

On the other hand the 13th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd districts show a spatial concentration of residents with Austrian citizenship (residents with a migration background represent about 10% or lower) (see map 31). A difference exists between EU (15) citizens (especially Germans) and other foreign citizens. EU (15) citizens live in many cases in districts near the inner city and the 13th and 19th district.

The role of suburban areas in Vienna is quite different from other European agglomerations where those areas are potential problem neighbourhoods in the fragmented city. In Vienna suburban areas did not assume certain negative properties of the city, especially those associated with increasing density or growing interdependence with the core city. In the future investigation is necessary how the specific location, structure, and endowment of these areas present risks for the future, and what suburban areas can do to adjust to such changes (Paal 2003).

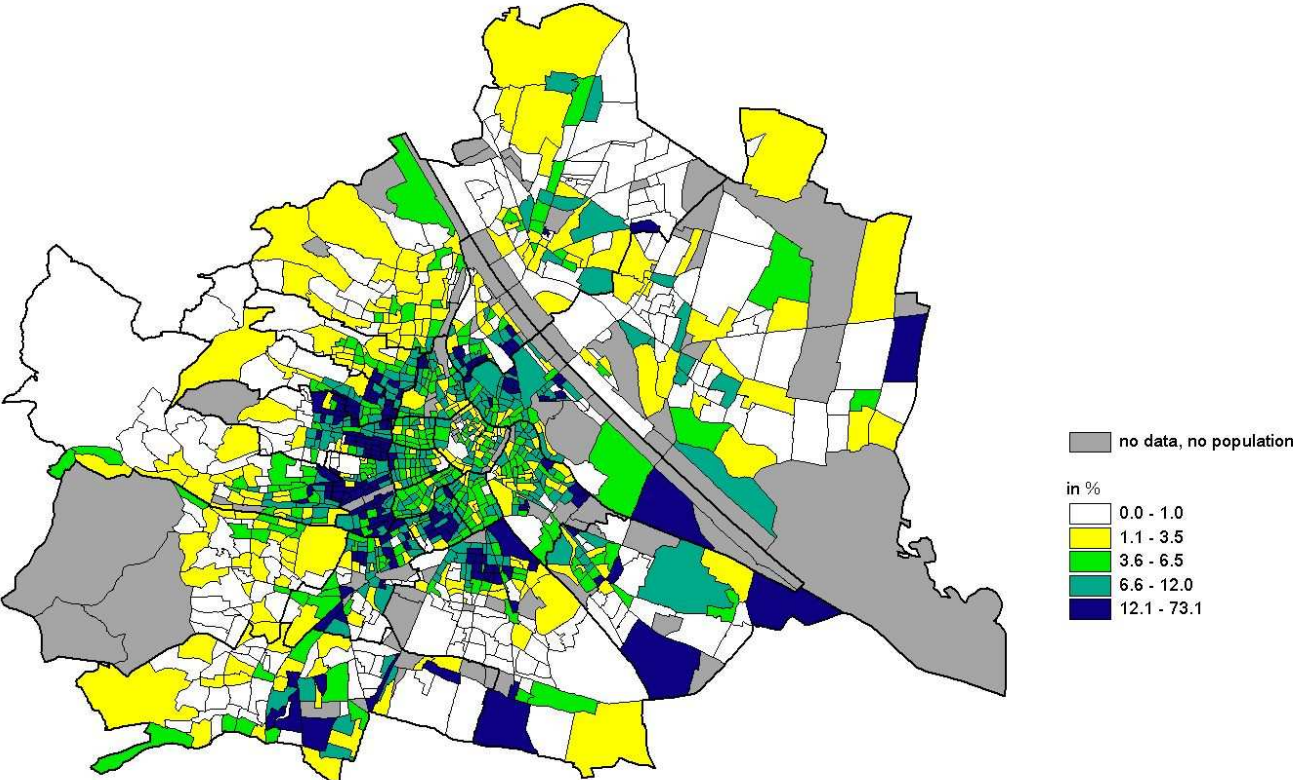
Map 31: Proportion of foreign-born residents, 2001

Source: Census Data; Cartography: Ursula Reeger.

Because of a strong tendency towards naturalization during recent years the foreign population is considerably less numerous than the foreign-born residents. The population with migration background is concentrated in the working-class districts in the “Belt”-zone. In the inner districts local concentrations of naturalized migrants of even 39.9% are observable in a fringe of parishes outside the 1st district. The highest concentrations are typical for the districts Hernals, Ottakring, Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, Meidling and Favoriten and in the North of the urban area in the 2nd and 20th district. Here the proportion of the residential population which was born abroad is in some parishes more than 40%. The residential areas of the foreign-born residents show a tendency of concentration in the Founder’s period building stock on both sides of the “Belt”. The highest residential concentration can be seen in a Western fringe of areas in the districts 18, 17, 16, 15, 12 and in the 10th district in the south of the urban space. Many parishes in this fringe of immigration are characterized by a proportion of migrant population of more than 40%. Here the concentration pattern of the immigrant population is more diverse than in the case of non Austrian citizens.

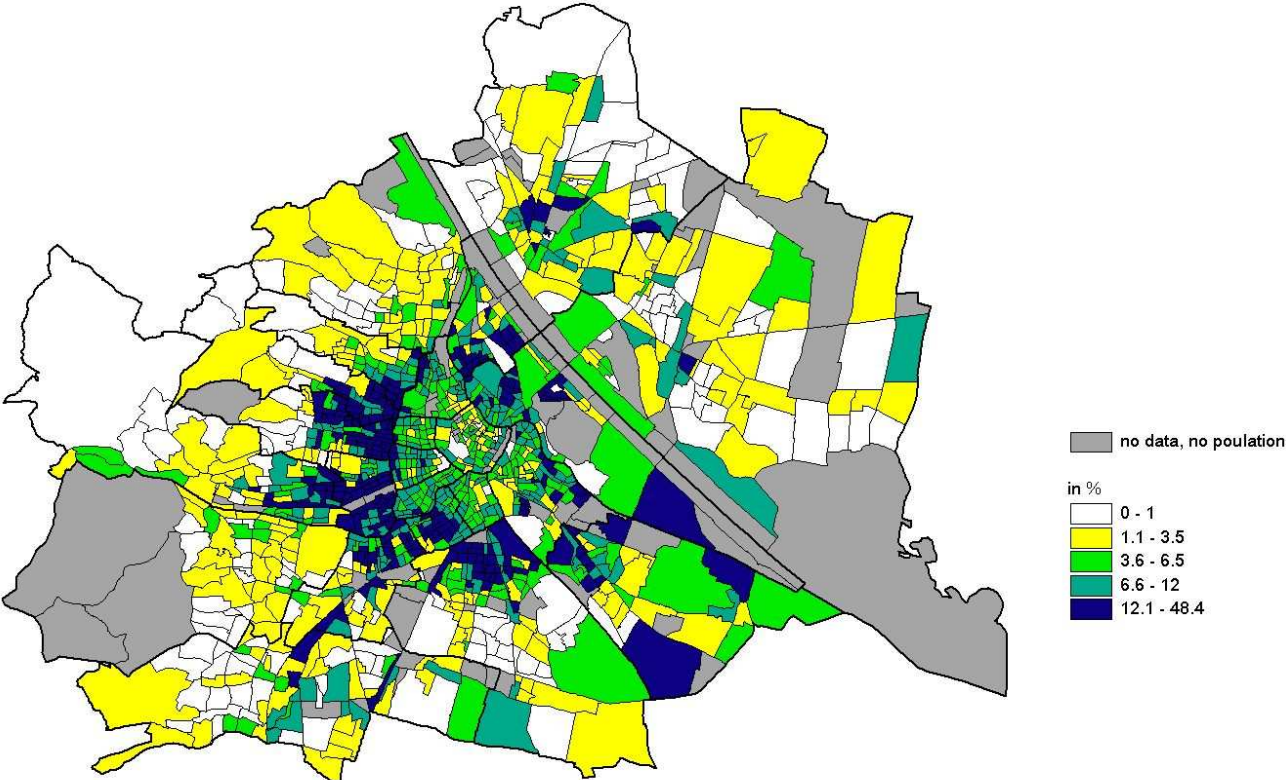
As the migrant population is very heterogeneous, for further mapping of segregation patterns the four most numerous ethno-national groups were taken as illustrative examples (Kohlbacher & Reeger 2002b, 2003a). The former Yugoslavs are the classical “guest workers” of the 1960s and 1970s. Numerically strengthened by numerous refugees from the Balkan war during the 1990s they show a residential pattern which embraces great areas in the central districts of Vienna (parts of the districts 3, 5, 6 and 7), where the proportions of the former Yugoslav population in most of the statistical units range between 3.6 and 12% (see map 32).

Map 32: Percentage of citizens from former Yugoslavia in the total population, 1991



Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991 and 2001, own calculation; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

Map 33: Percentage of citizens from former Yugoslavia in the total population, 2001

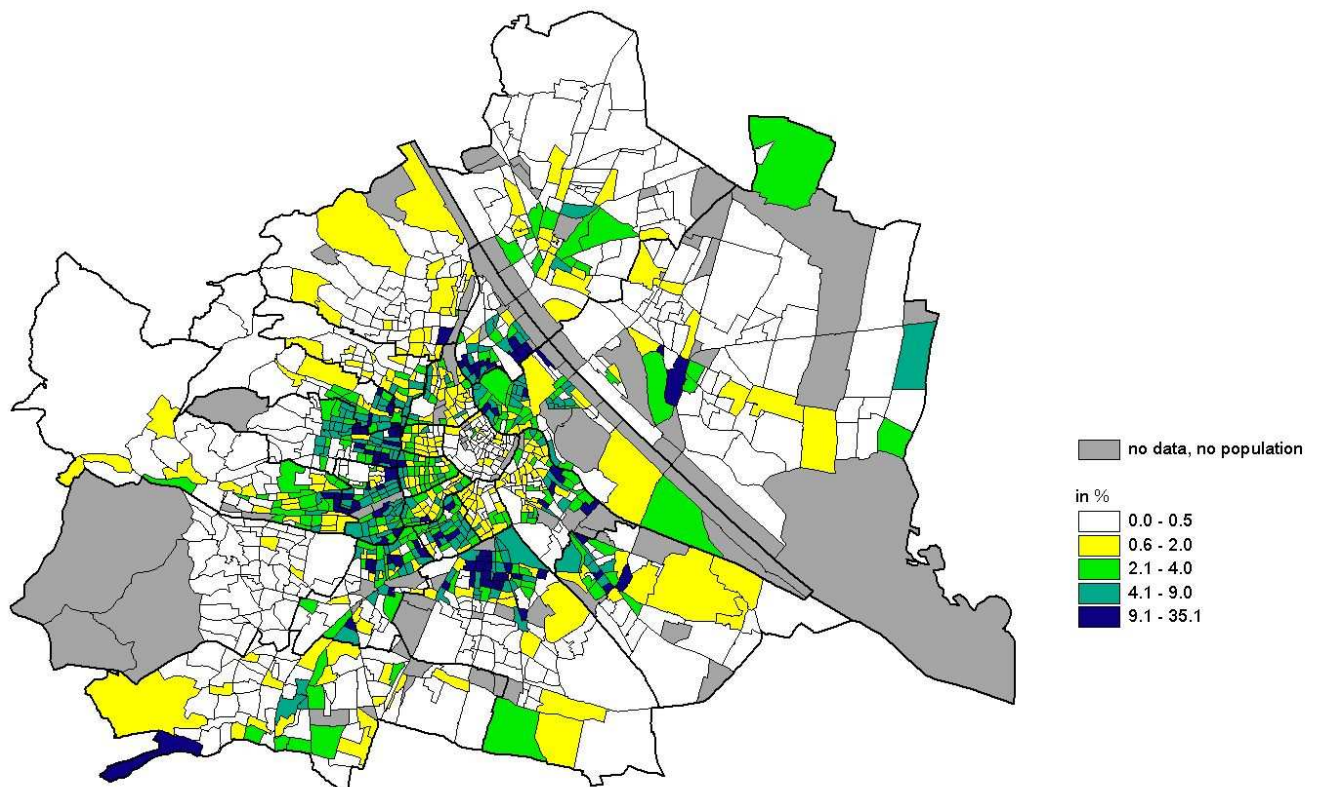


Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991 and 2001, own calculations; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

In a fringe surrounding these central districts and reaching from the Northwest to the Southeast of the urban area (the so-called “guest worker districts”: 17, 16, 15, 12 and 10) a considerable number of parishes are situated, where the proportion of immigrant population from former Yugoslavia ranges between 12.1% and a maximum of even 73.1%. In the Western “cottage” districts of the well-to-do as well as in the newly built areas across the river Danube the migrant population from Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia is only very sparsely distributed.

The pattern of residential segregation of the former Yugoslavs did not change basically between 1991 and 2001. It is obvious that the threshold values in map 20 are considerably different from those in map 32 because in 2001 the maximum values of the residential concentration of the Yugoslav community decreased (see map 33). In particular the extremely high concentrations of up to 73% in 1991 have reduced to proportions of 48.4% only. The spatial patterns of residential segregation did not change fundamentally during the decade. In 2001 the spatial units with high proportions of former Yugoslav population constituted a pattern of increased density in the fringe of districts, which are since the 1970s the traditional areas of settlement of the guest workers. Here the overwhelming majority of the citizens from the Republics of former Yugoslavia still lived in housing areas where the housing stock is dominated by buildings of the 19th century but is usually of a better quality than those where the Turkish immigrants have to live.

Map 34: Percentage of Turkish citizens in the total population, 1991

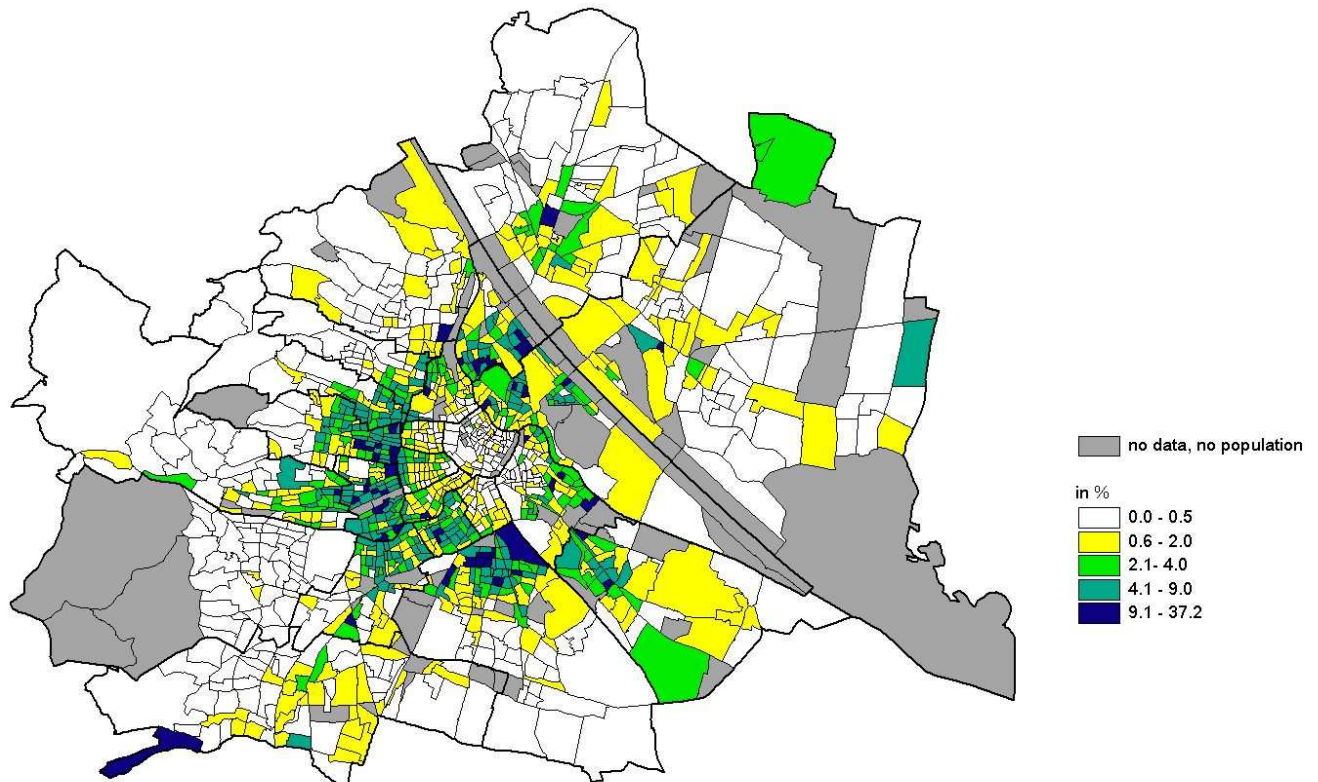


Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 199, own calculations; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

A comparison of the maps 34 and 35 shows that the patterns of residential distribution of the Turkish minority in Vienna were relatively stable during the decade 1991–2001 (Giffinger & Reeger 1997). Most of the areas with a high presence of Turkish population are concentrated in the outer western and southern districts of Vienna as well as in parts of the 2nd and 20th district near the river Danube. These are more or less the same districts where also a high proportion of the Yugoslavs have settled down. In comparison to the former Yugoslavs the residential patterns of the Turkish community show much pronounced tendencies of concentration and segregation.

The highest concentrations of the Turkish population can be found in a fringe of housing areas which are dominated by a older housing stock mostly built during the Founders' Period in the late 19th century in the districts 17, 16, 15, 12, 10 and 5. In these building blocks a considerable proportion of housing units don't have inside toilets and even no water supply, often elevators and usually central heating are also missing. Thus, the housing standards are very poor in these areas in comparison to the average standards in Vienna. Because of their low standard the flats are usually cheap which makes them affordable for the Turkish families which are characterized by the highest level of fertility among the immigrant minorities living in Austria.

Map 35: Percentage of Turkish citizens in the total population, 2001

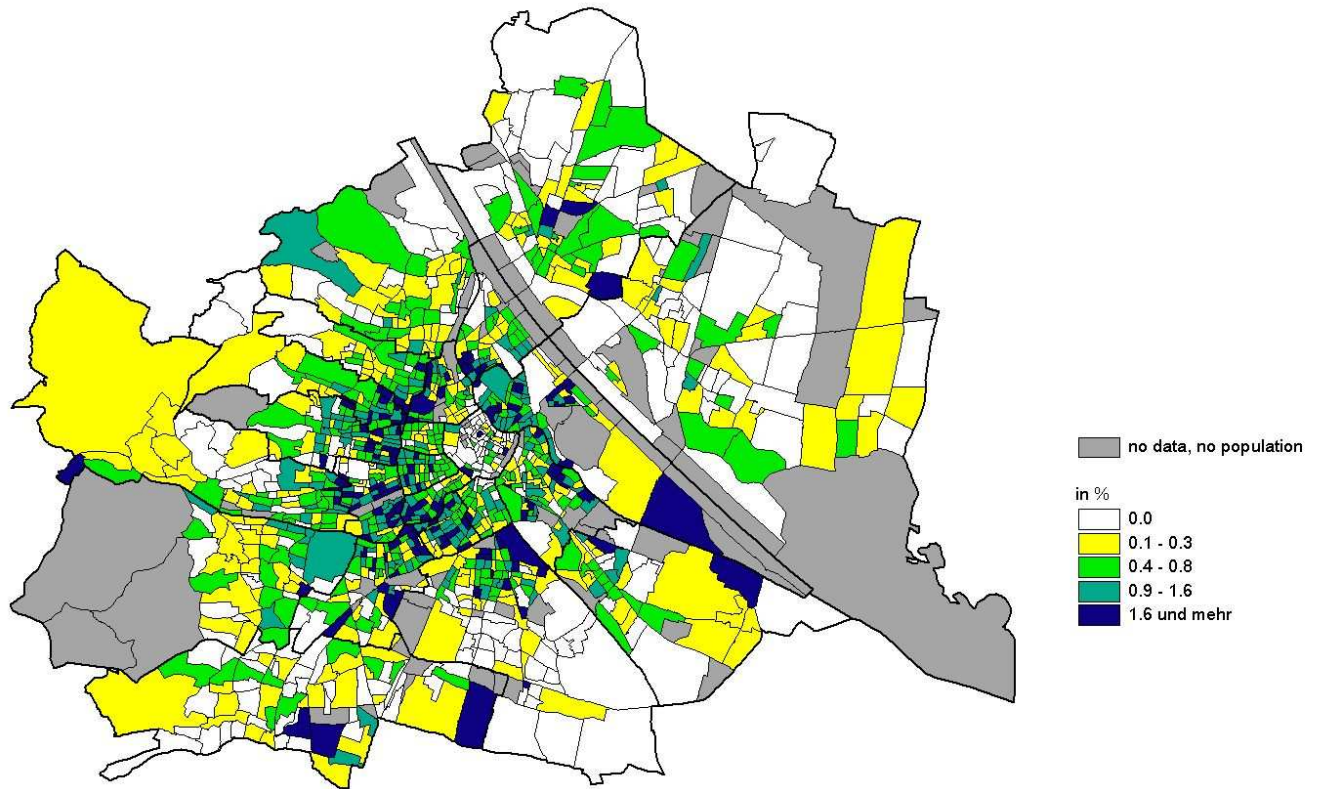


Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 2001, own calculations; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

One must not underestimate the importance of such “bad” quality housing units for the housing supply of immigrants with a precarious socioeconomic status. This stock of “sub-standard” flats offers migrant families a good chance for a quick housing integration in Vienna. Afterwards the economically more successful of them usually try to move to better quarters, where they settle among Austrians and migrants of other nationalities (Bockstefl et al. 1996).

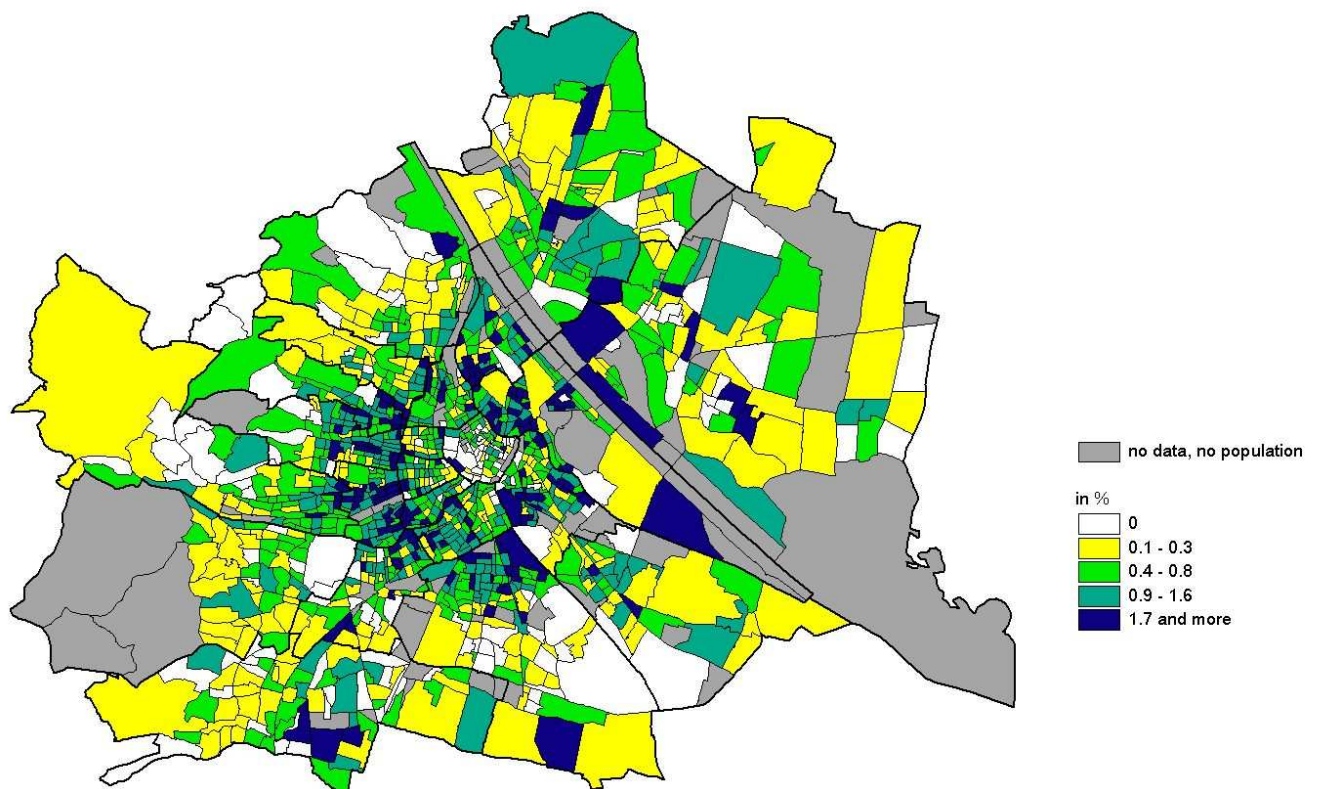
The maps 36 and 37 are showing the residential segregation patterns of the Viennese “Polonia”. In contrast to the guest workers almost no tendencies of a spatial concentration of the Polish community in Vienna are visible. The residential patterns of the Viennese Polish community did not change fundamentally from 1991 to 2001. Usually the proportions of Polish immigrants on the spatial level of parishes are extremely moderate. The number of statistical units, where the population with a Polish citizenship is counting for more than 1.6 (1991) or 1.7% (2001) is relatively small. The fringe of districts in the Western and the southern part of Vienna where the concentrations of Turks and former Yugoslavs are the highest is the preferred housing area of the Polish minority too. Thus it is again the Founder's Period building stock which is of outstanding importance in integrating the East-West migration too into the segmented Viennese housing market.

Map 36: Percentage of Polish citizens in the total population, 1991



Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991, own calculation; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

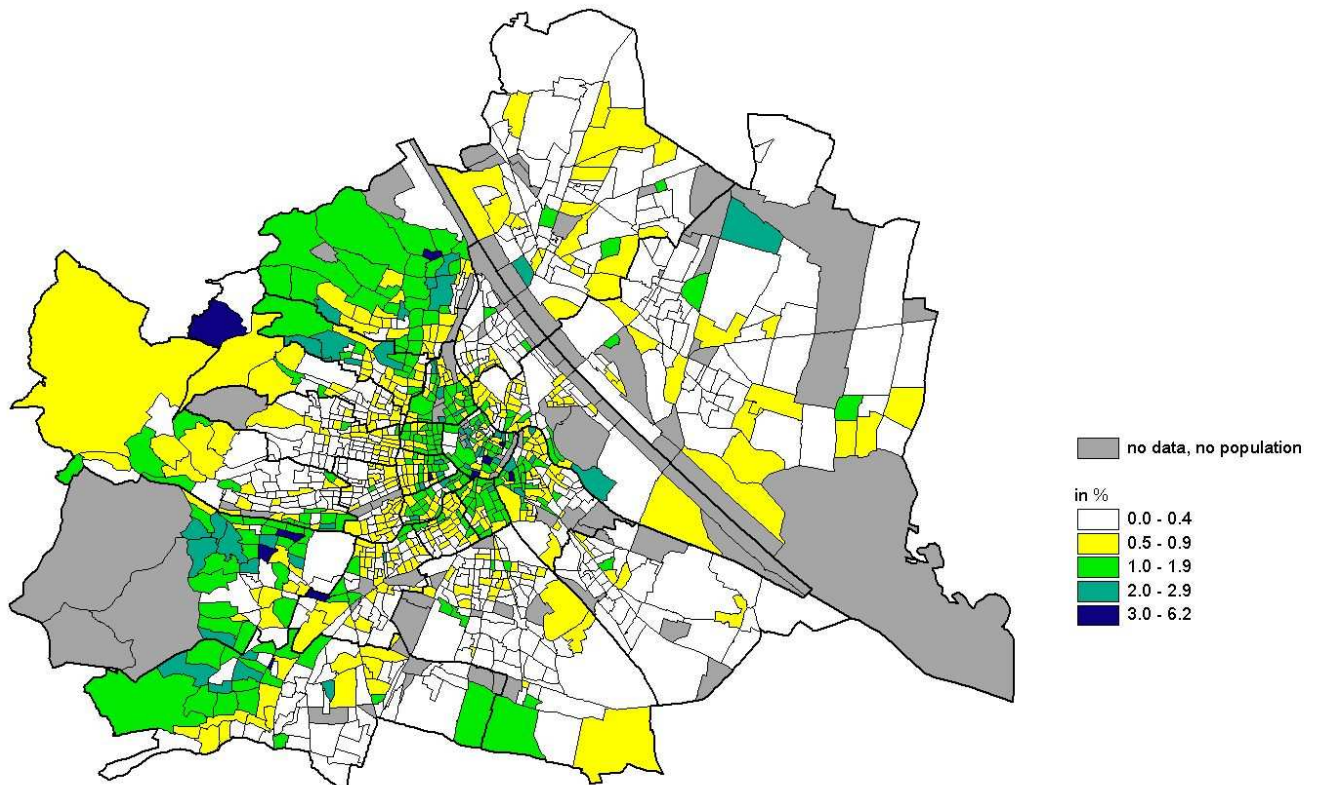
Map 37: Percentage of Polish citizens in the total population, 2001



Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991 2001, own calculation; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

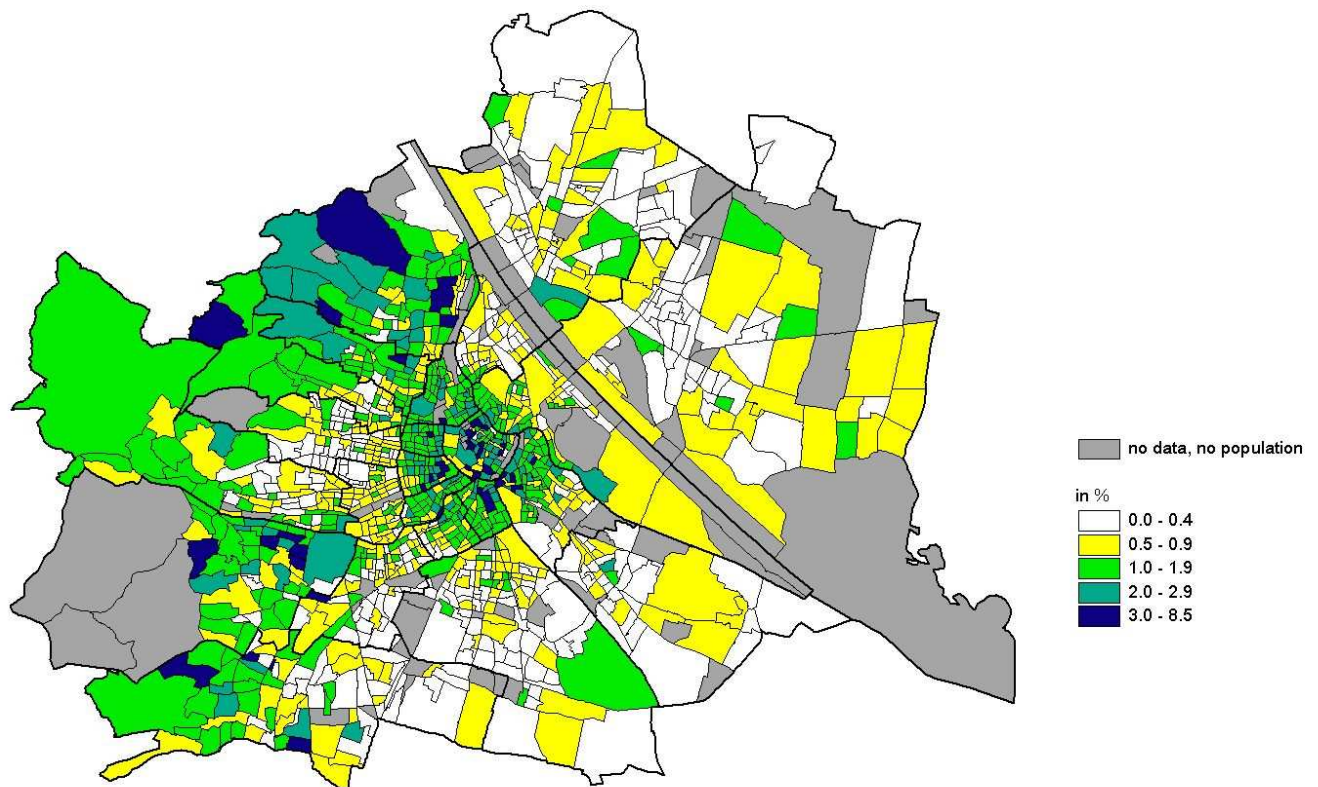
In contrast to the Turkish minority the Poles show an extreme level of social mobility. Once having successfully integrated into the urban labour market many Poles are able to undergo a considerable upward occupational mobility. Because of their flexibility, their high level of education, their qualifications and their usually good proficiency in German language the Poles are one of the most successful immigrant minorities in Austria. After having lived for some years door by door with guest worker families many socially upward-oriented Poles move to higher standard co-operative housing or even to owner-occupied flats in the housing areas of the better districts.

Map 38: Percentage of German citizens in the total population, 1991



Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991, own calculations; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

The residential distribution of the Germans mirrors the position of this migrant group as the typical elite migrants. German labour migration to Austria was always numerically important consisting predominantly of highly qualified managers and experts. Speaking the same language and sharing a common system of cultural values their integration into the Austrian housing market and society was always free of frictions. Their privileged labour market position is mirrored in their housing market position and in their residential patterns too. Particularly in 2001 one can see (compare map 39) that the Viennese German minority is concentrated in the city and in the neighbouring inner districts as well as in the western periphery of Vienna. These western districts are called “cottage districts”, which are sparsely populated and characterized by a housing stock consisting mainly of mansions and one family houses with gardens. These districts bordering the green resort of the “Vienna Woods” are the preferred housing areas of a population consisting of well-to-do Austrians and foreigners with a high socio-economic status and a smart standard of living.

Map 39: Percentage of German citizens in the total population, 2001

Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991, own calculations; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

3 Patterns of segregation and exposure – measured using segregation and exposure indices

The direct and indirect influence of macro-developments is increasingly acknowledged in the explanation of spatial segregation and concentration. These developments operate on spatial scale levels that are above those of the individual city. Economic developments on a world scale determine to an important extent the financial room for manoeuvre in a local context of individuals, market parties, and the government authority. Increasing employment offers more households more perspectives on the housing market. Demographic developments on different spatial scale levels are of great importance in the competition between different groups on the housing market (Giffinger 1999). Socio-cultural developments are of importance for the demands people put on their dwelling and residential environment. It is evident that the spatial segregation and concentration of immigrants is determined by a large number of factors and developments. On the one hand are the variables which relate to the wishes of households and individuals, and on the other hand are their opportunities and limitations. The opportunities are determined by an interaction between the means of households and individuals and the supply-side factors (Kaufmann 1999; Pfliegerl & Fernandez de la Hoz 2001). On the supply side, the availability and accessibility of dwellings have important roles. Developments in segregation and the concentration of ethnic groups can be explained to an important extent with the help of these factors and the developments within them.

Forms of social and spatial discrimination of immigrants in the city are closely related to the question of labour and housing market integration. In this respect, urban social segregation and

fragmentation can be interpreted as reactions to increasingly problematic living conditions, which sections of the urban population can escape thanks to their privileged access to mobility. Generally spoken in Vienna ghettos like Chinatown or “Little India” as in other European cities don’t exist. Strong segregated housing areas or districts are also unknown, though segregation can be found on a block or a house level in particular in the building stock of the Founder’s Period. This spatially small-scale segregation is determined by economical and social factors. As a matter of fact the majority of migrants from former Yugoslavia and Turkey still belong to the working class, which often lives in low priced areas (e.g. in particular in the districts of the area Gürtel-West). For sure, economic successful migrants live in or move to high-priced neighbourhoods and also to new residential areas also in the urban periphery, but there are more differences between migrant groups and no typical housing careers which would be specific for certain ethno-national groups (Giffinger 1999; Kaufmann 1999, Kohlbacher & Reeger 2003a). During recent years an increasing proportion of migrants moved to the districts 21 and 22 on the other side of the river Danube and into housing stock which was built during the 1960s and 1970s.

A general analysis of residential segregation of the four biggest immigrant groups shows that the indices have changed considerably during the 1990s (compare table 14). The lowest level of segregation can be observed between German and Austrian citizens. For the Germans the indices of dissimilarity against the Austrian and the former Yugoslav population were more or less stable between 1991 and 2001. The indices were characterized by a modest reduction in the case of Germans against Turks and by a sharp reduction in the case of Germans against the Poles. In the case of the former Yugoslavs the levels of segregation are low against the Turks (with a considerable decline of the index from 27.6 1991 to 22.8 in 2001) and the Poles (also with a decline during the decade 1991–2001 from 33.7 to 29.5) and much higher against the Austrian citizens (about 44 in both years). Segregation between Poles and Turks decreased from 40.2 (1991) to 36.5 (2001), the indices of dissimilarity of Poles and Austrians were reduced from 47.6 to 39.4. The most pronounced residential segregation can be observed between Turkish migrants and the Austrian population, though even in this case the index of dissimilarity decreased from 54.5 to 51.4 during the 1990s.

Table 14: Index of dissimilarity: Former Yugoslavs, Germans, Poles and Turks in Vienna (1991 and 2001)

	Former Yugoslavs	Poles	Turks	Austrians
1991				
Germans	46.8	49.7	58.0	32.3
Former Yugoslavs	-	33.7	27.6	44.1
Poles		-	40.2	47.6
Turks				54.5
2001				
Germans	46.1	42.7	55.0	31.8
Former Yugoslavs		29.5	22.8	43.9
Poles			36.5	39.4
Turks				51.4

Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991 and 2001, own calculation.

Recent studies (compare Fassmann & Hatz 2004; Kohlbacher & Reeger 2002b, 2003a) illustrate the slowly evolving tendency towards a more polarized socio-spatial distribution of the Viennese population with respect to socio-economic status and ethnicity. It is obvious that Vienna’s public housing policy is a feature causing a socio-spatial differentiation which is unique to this city. An important urban planning strategy since the 1980s was urban renewal in great parts of the Foun-

der's Period building stock. At the start of the programme in 1984 there were more than 300,000 apartments (39% of the total housing stock) categorised as of insufficient standard, meaning without toilets and/or water supply within the apartments. According to the residential structures which were fixed during the Founder's Period the physical quality in some "problematic" neighbourhoods needed more structural measures than renovation only. As a first step physical improvement was necessary. One of the intentions was an upgrading of the housing standard and to attract also more middle and higher income people to settle in former sub-standard and ethnically polarised areas. Though since the beginning of the programme more than 150,000 apartments have been renewed with public subsidies, there is still a considerable renewal neediness in particular in Vienna's working-class districts (Lichtenberger 1990; see map 40).

Map 40: Housing areas with urgent renewal neediness, 2006



The City of Vienna decided both against demolition and construction of new urban areas, and against the displacement or compulsory re-housing of those living in such areas. The model of sustainable or soft urban renewal has made a significant contribution to improving living conditions in the City of Vienna. A decisive factor in this process is that urban renewal is understood as an interdisciplinary challenge, where social, economic, cultural, aesthetic and ecological demands must be taken into consideration. Urban renewal requires future-orientated, strategic continuing development, which reflects the possibilities for the city as an evolving system. Soft urban renewal pursues the goal of linking affordable housing with economic use of resources, mixed use, and adaptation to the existing infrastructure. Re-conversion and upgrading of the existing urban structure is counter-posed to demolition and new building (Förster 2004).

The Viennese model of "soft" urban renewal places residents in the foreground so as to minimise the repression frequently induced by improvement activities. Owners and residents are involved in the progress (Lichtenberger 1990). Main emphasis is placed on so-called base improvement,

that is on maintaining, improving and modernising existing housing structures in coordination with residents. The legal foundations of “soft urban renewal”, such as amendments to the tenancy laws, were laid long before actual improvement activities were launched. Soft urban renewal is an excellent example of how a cost-intensive project is easily prepared with reasonably priced planning measures (Förster 2004).

With one sixth of the total housing stock (more than 150,000 apartments) which was renewed the Viennese way of urban renewal is one of the world’s leading tenant-oriented urban renewal programmes. One has to admit, that sometimes the efforts also failed because a mostly involuntarily removal of low income groups was the consequence. Some later research also showed that some social and segregation related problems became relocated, but not really solved.

The residential patterns of the migrant population are strongly dependent on the structure and opportunities of the local housing market. In certain localities of the city, the share of flats with substandard infrastructure is still twice as high as the overall city average. After the housing construction boom of the 1990s annual housing construction output has dropped by roughly 50% all over Austria. Housing construction in Vienna was accelerated substantially in the second half of the 1990s in response to the steep rise of the population. The number of housing units surged from 1990 to the end of 2002 by a total of 9.2% to 929,878 units. In the years 1994 to 2000, housing construction generated an average 10,000 subsidized and some 1,000 to 1,500 non-subsidized housing units per year. After the year 2000, construction output dropped to approximately 6,000 housing units per year. Construction activities focused in the 21st and 22nd (in the northeast of the urban space) and in the 10th, 11th and 23rd districts (in the south). The strong drive to develop the inner districts led to a substantial increase in housing construction also in the more densely built-up urban districts such as in the 2nd, 15th, 16th, 17th and 20th. Nonetheless, the share of substandard flats has decreased steeply in the past 20 years (Förster 2002).

Other increasingly important and interrelated social, urban and housing problems are concentrated in degraded large-scale housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s. In Vienna too, mass housing estates were built during the post-war decades and are not as popular any more as they once used to be (Feigelfeld & Hartig 2001). However, problems and images differ between European countries. Urban Planners have to accept that those estates exist, that they are a major part of the present housing market, and that they will require major attention in the near future.

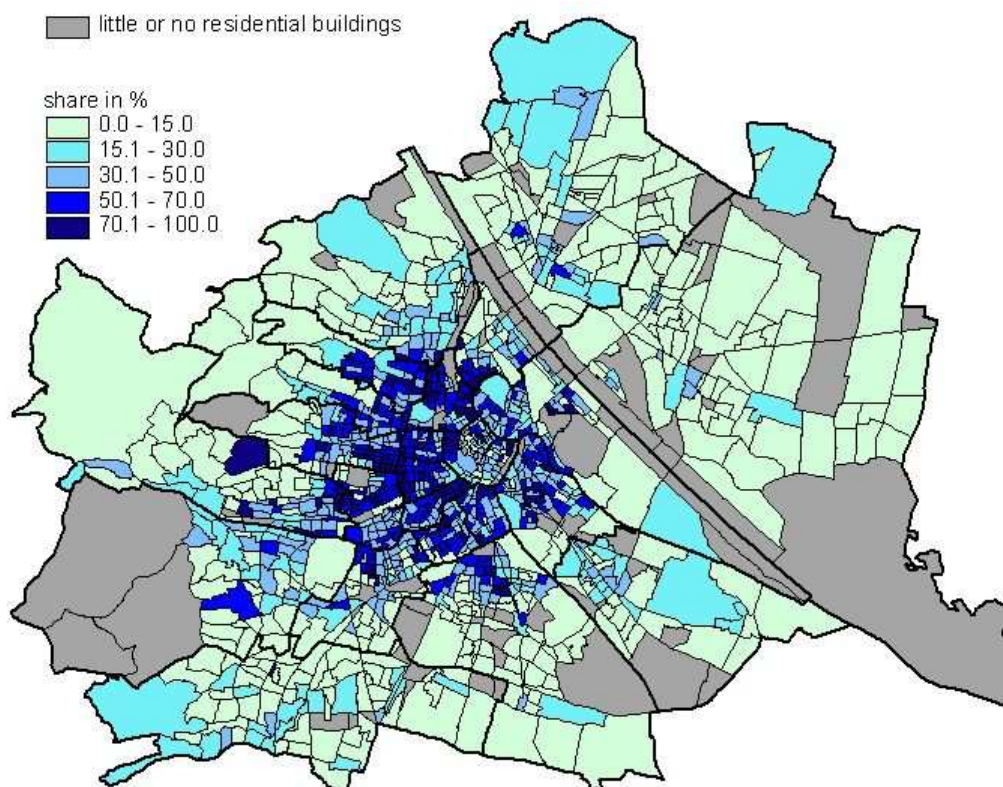
4 Characterisation of places of residence (ethnic interfaces/mixed areas) and detail on historic development

The general rules of city development in Vienna are put down in the City Development Plan and are being revised and adopted by the City Council roughly every ten years. It defines the general aims and the development trends, including among others, the housing or business areas, axes of urban development along public transport lines, green areas, etc. Other plans, notably the Land Use Plan, are based on this general conception. The Land Use Plan is subject to broad public participation by residents, district councils, etc., and is also adopted by the City Council. It includes the exact dedication (“Widmung”) of each single plot in Vienna. These plans are worked out by the respective City Planning Departments (MA 21A, B or C) and by the politicians (councillors) bearing the responsibility for urban planning and housing. The general policy of Vienna, i.e. not to leave urban development and housing completely up to the free market, is complemented by the housing subsidies and by the regulations of the Building Order, a Vienna provincial act. In its first part this law rules issues of city planning, like the interdisciplinary Advisory Board for Urban Planning and Urban Development, and the contents of the Land Use Plan. These plans have to describe in detail its exact use for each plot of land, the height and form of

the buildings (free-standing, attached, etc.), the maximum density, the number of green areas, underground building parts, etc. They are legally binding for everyone after adoption by the City Council.

Market barriers have an enormous influence on the spatial segregation patterns of immigrant groups (Troper 1994; Hamnett 2001, Moulaert et al. 2003). This is specifically the case in Vienna, where accessibility rules with respect to different segments of the housing stock can be seen as one of the most important factors in explaining the residential patterns of Turks and Yugoslavs. Housing patterns also refer to recent economic and social trends and the ongoing deregulation of the housing market (Förster 2002). Not only logistic regulations but also the building age is playing an important role. The easiest access to the local housing market for migrants in Vienna is the Founder's Period rental segment (Kohlbacher & Schwab 2002). There is some conflict of interest in the districts built during the Founder's Period (1850 to 1914) with respect to the protection and preservation of buildings and ensembles on the one hand, and new social, economic and housing-related developments on the other hand. According to historical structures the physical quality of buildings in these neighbourhoods needs more structural measures. Urban areas from the Founder's Period have in many ways shown themselves as exemplary urban development models with crisis-proof features. Even throughout years of major social, technical, and economic changes these areas are able to adapt easily having a considerable integrative potential and are open for a mix of new functions. Therefore, any structures dating back to this era are treated with sensitivity despite the goal of eliminating remaining substandard flats (Synthesis Forschungsgesellschaft 1996, 1999, Zuser 2001).

Map 41: Proportion of the Founder's Period building stock among the whole building stock in parishes (in %, 1991)



Source: Statistics Austria; cartography: Ursula Reeger.

Map 41 shows the distribution of the Founder's Period building stock in the urban space of Vienna. It is obvious that this stock dominates not only in the city centre but in the inner districts as well as in the old working class districts outside the "Belt" which were built-up during the late Founder's Period and are traditionally quarters for migrants: until 1918 of Czech, Polish and Hungarian workers from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, since the 1970s the guest workers from former Yugoslavia and Turkey are concentrated there and now a very heterogeneous ethno-national mix of immigrants and Austrian households can be found here (Troper 1994).

New residential housing construction in Vienna after 1945 until the late 1960s was driven by the necessity to overcome the problem of a shortage of housing units and the poor quality of existing ones as quickly as possible. These areas which are defined for urban expansion were mainly situated in the north-eastern and southern development areas/axes of the city.

As already mentioned before, most of the residents with migration background are located in the privately rented housing segment. Most of the private housing owners are Austrian citizens (2001: 97%) (Zuser 2001). On the other hand access to public (council) housing was restricted because until the beginning of 2006 most residents with third country citizenship (except refugees with asylum status) could not make demand on public accommodation. Starting with the 1st January 2006 a new EU guideline was adopted. Now foreign residents, who have at least stayed in Vienna for five years have the formal right of admission to communal housing. An exception was the small (2000 per year) segment of emergency accommodations ("Notfallwohnungen") which existed since the year of 2000. Category-D-accommodations (no water and/or toilet in the flat) are decreasing as a result of rehabilitation and a general renewal of the city but had been an important segment for immigrants. Since the end of the 1990's an intensified change to high-standard housing may be evidenced. In certain localities of the city, the share of flats with sub-standard infrastructure is still twice as high as the overall city average. Nonetheless, the share of substandard flats has decreased steeply in the past 20 years (Kohlbacher & Schwab 2002).

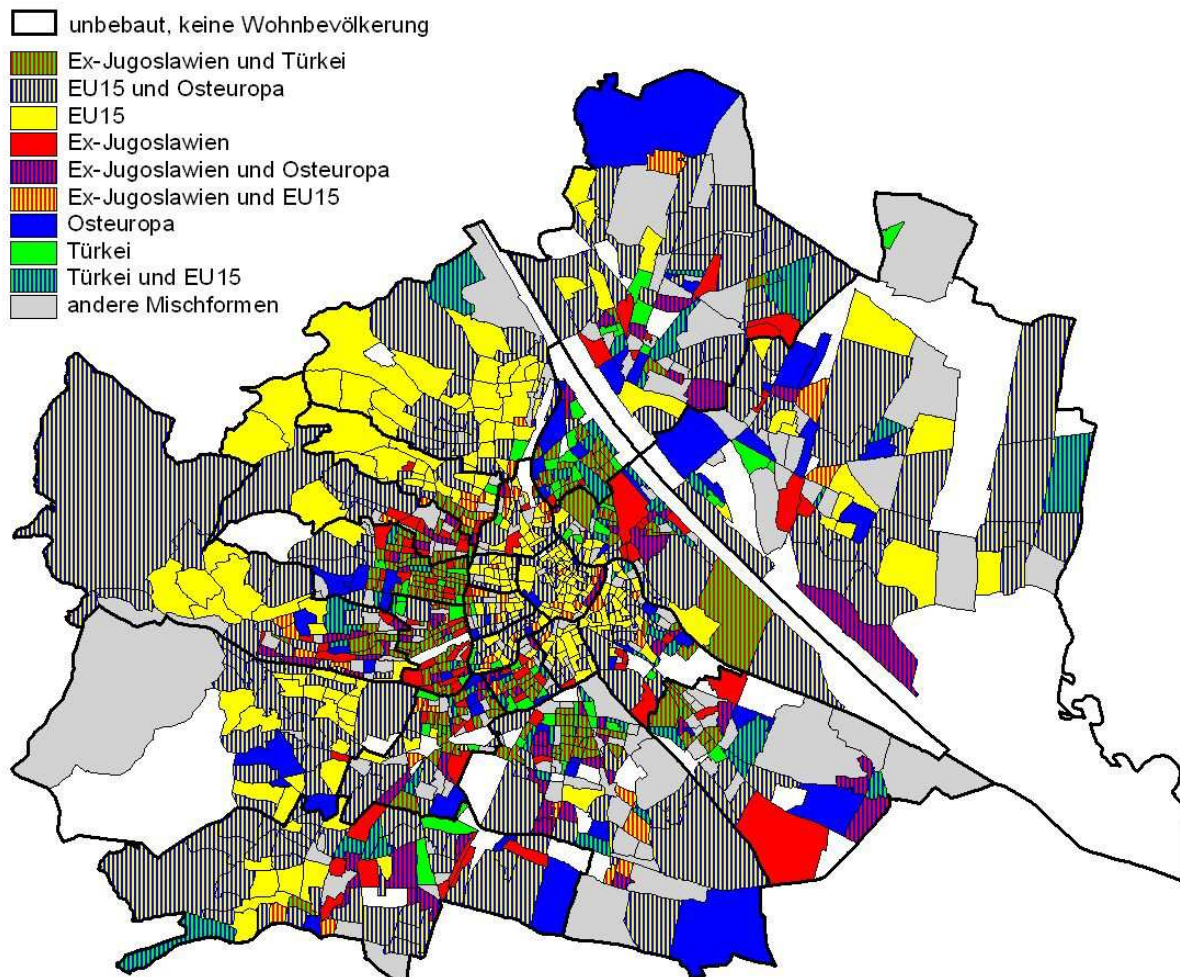
There are also sharp variations in spatial distribution patterns and in housing standard between the ethno-national groups constituting the migrant population of Vienna (Feigelfeld & Hartig 2001). Some district-based examples of population density in Vienna for 2001 are showing the fundamental district-specific differences in this respect:

- 8th district: 20,708 residents per km² (a middle-class inner district dominated by Founder's Period building stock);
- 15th district: 16,555 residents per km² (a traditional working-class area, highest proportion of residents with migration background in Vienna; Founder's Period building stock is dominating);
- 13th district: 1,297 residents per km² (typical "bourgeois" district; building stock dominated by single family houses and villas);
- 21st district: 2,772 residents per km² (a working class district, relatively newly built housing stock from the 1960s to the 1990s).

Levels of education, proportion of unemployment and economic data show a lot of variations between the districts and statistical districts as well. The rate of manual workers among the residential population of the working class districts of course is higher, also unemployment which is a result from the segmentation of the labour market whereof inhabitants with a migration background are stronger affected. Thereby also the danger of poverty for persons with migration background is higher (according to Austrian Statistics, EU-SILK 2003: among Austrians 12%, among migrants 27%, and among naturalised migrants 26%).

The housing standard of elite migrants, e.g. from Germany, the U.S. or Japan, is usually even better than the Austrian average. Also the housing stock of the middle-class migrants is good equipped. In 2001 88% of all Austrians lived in Category-A-flats (more than 30 m²), but only 62% of the Turks and former Yugoslavs. In Category-D-flats lived 2.5% of Austrians but e.g. 18.5% of people with Turkish citizenship and 27% inhabitants with Serbian-Montenegrin citizenship. Naturalized migrants usually have better rates but there is still a difference to indigenous Austrians. The size of the flat is a strong indicator and inhabitants with migration background have more often temporary contracts. Austrian-wide temporary contracts are in Vienna not very usual (only 7% in comparison to e.g. 30% in Tyrol). There are also sharp differences not only between Austrians and migrants but also between different migrants groups concerning the living space per person: In Turkish families 3/5 of all family members have less than 20 sqm, one fifth use from 20 to 30 sqm and another one fifth at least 30 sqm. 50% of the members of households from former Yugoslavia have less than 20 sqm for their disposal. In comparison 67% of the Austrian household members use from 20 to 60 sqm and 25% have even more than 60 sqm for their disposal (Kohlbacher & Schwab 2003).

Map 42: Spatial distribution of the above-average statistical representation of the most important immigrant groups in Vienna



Source: Census 2001, own calculations.

Map 42 mirrors the spatial distribution of the above-average statistical representation of the quantitatively most important groups of immigrants in Vienna on parish level. Above-average

proportions of EU migrants are typical for the city centre, the bourgeois inner districts 3, 4, 6, 7, 8 and 9 and the western part of urban space near Vienna Woods.

The spatial antipole is constituted by Turks and former Yugoslavs. Above-average representations of at least one or often both guest worker groups are concentrated in the parishes of working class districts in the “Belt”-zone in great areas of the districts Brigittenau and Favoriten as well as in some parishes in Simmering and in Leopoldstadt. Some concentrations of residents with migration background from Turkey and former Yugoslavia are located in the area of the Gürtel West, which includes the outer (west-)frontier of the 6th and 7th district but primarily the east of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th district. 2005 the 15th district had the largest concentration of immigrant population with 31.5% residents with migration background. Relative high concentrations are also typical for the 2nd, the 5th, the 7th, the 16th, the 17th and the 20th district (more than 23%). The 2nd and 20th district are in the north-east of the Inner City (1st district). Another concentration areas are located near Matzleinsdorferplatz in the 5th and near Keplerplatz in the 10th district.

Above-average concentrations of East-West migrants show a more or less disperse distribution pattern. Those parishes can be found in the bourgeois inner districts, but also in the 12th and 20th district, in the southern urban fringe (11th and 23rd district) and on the other side of river Danube (21st and 22nd district). Parishes with high and above-average representations of EU-migrants and East-West-migrants as well can frequently be found. This type of spatial-statistical entities can be found dispersed in the inner city and the inner districts, but is almost completely absent in the “Belt”-zone, which is jumped over by this type of mixture. On a large spatial scale this type can be found in the western urban fringe and in the south, furthermore in Leopoldstadt, Simmering and on the other side of the river Danube. This combination of above average proportions of Former Yugoslavs and East-West migrants can most frequently be found in the working-class districts in the west of the “Belt”, in the districts 10, 11, 23 and on the opposite side of the Danube. A mixture of Former Yugoslavs and EU citizens exists in certain statistical entities within the “Belt”, alongside the “Belt” in the 18th district, in Favoriten and in some spatial entities of Floridsdorf and Donaustadt. Other variations of mixture such as Turks/EU-15 foreigners or Former Yugoslavs/EU migrants can only rarely be found, thus a distinct pattern of distribution of those spatial entities cannot be identified.

A special problem of residential segregation and housing integration are so-called “problematic neighbourhoods”. These are existing in Vienna but are up to now no problem of a greater dimension. It must be emphasized that those neighbourhoods are not caused by a bad local environment or a lack of infrastructure. The area Gürtel-West as mentioned before had been known as problematic but due to urban renewal the situation had become much better. Activities like recreational area landscaping, stabilization of commercial streets, preservation of small retail businesses and image improvement during the last years veers towards the right direction – to increase the quality of life for all inhabitants (Zuser 2001; Reeger 2002).

Infrastructure is not generally bad in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrants’ population. Public transport for example is no problem in migrant neighbourhoods. In the area Gürtel-West there is an underground (U6) connection and various other public transport opportunities as trams or busses. This can also be said about other migrants’ neighbourhoods (e.g. Gürtel-South and 2nd or most of the 20th district).

The level of education, unemployment and economic data show significant differences between the districts. In problematic neighbourhoods primary school rates are higher whereas secondary and tertiary education has the highest rates in the 19th, 13th, and inner districts (1st to 9th district). The rate of manual workers is higher, also unemployment which is a result from the segmentation of the labour market whereof inhabitants with a migration background are stronger affected.

Thereby also the poverty danger for migrants living in those areas is much higher than in other parts of Vienna.

A problem is that the Gürtel-West but also Gürtel-South (5th and 10th district) do not have many green areas (e.g. parks) because of the usage as frequently traveled transport routes. Especially some parts of Gürtel-West are also known for problematic phenomena as prostitution. One of these areas is located near Westbahnhof, one of the big railway stations in Vienna. According to the Survey “Leben in Wien 2003” (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2003) 79% of the respondents are satisfied with their accommodation. Worse survey data concerning, e.g. traffic noise, can be found in the districts 5, 6 and 15, the situation is significantly better in the districts 13, 19 and 23. Some important wishes of the local population concern cycle paths, green spaces, groceries and spaces for young people (e.g. sports facilities and meeting points).

The importance of equal housing opportunities for immigrants is often emphasized in the public discussion but not always mirrored in the reality of housing policy. Until recently, the definition of good housing standards was widely shared within European welfare states. There used to be a national consensus on dwelling size, layout, room functions, sanitary equipment, common facilities, etc. These housing norms have continuously improved, but they have nevertheless remained within a narrow range of the acceptable and the achievable. Housing policy was aimed at providing affordable standardized housing in standardized locations for a large section of the urban society. So far, housing cultures have been very similar within each European national state. Meanwhile, retrenchment of the welfare state has led to a re-commodification of housing, giving rise to a greater diversity of housing on offer. Individualized lifestyles are pushing up demand for a variety of niche products. Migrants and other low-income groups are facing the new housing problems that have opened up between more deregulated markets on the one hand and an increasingly stratified society on the other. As a result of these developments, many new forms of housing cultures can be observed in Vienna too. Housing policies now have to cope with a greater variety of supply and demand in the years ahead.

In 1989 the housing subsidies system was organized on a federal basis. Since then nine different federal laws regulate financial support for housing construction. 1994 the rent-system changed. The fix limits were abolished and a complicated system was introduced, which is oriented on the standard of the flat and its localisation. The Viennese City Council still invests a lot of money in housing projects (Förster 2001, 2004). Since 2000, when a political change in the Austrian government took place, the protection of tenants is no longer a political goal. Legal changes reduced the field of application of the rental law. Not only in Vienna but all over Austria a considerable number of government-owned buildings were sold to private companies. Though ownership is supported the tenants were often not able to buy their flats because of financial reasons (Reeger 2002; Zuser 2001).

With increasing immigration in social rental housing the responsible Viennese authorities tried to dwell different household categories and income groups of Austrians as well as “neo-Austrians” not alone to give them shelter but in order to prevent ethnic and socio-economic segregation as much as possible. Creating diversified neighbourhoods got increasing attention in Vienna since the 1990s. The policy of ethnic mixing created houses that were and are characterized by social diversification. As a matter of fact especially the older stock of the communal housing sector is not very popular among Austrian-born tenants (except the poor, the socially “problematic” or older one) and this has led to a process of selective migration (Austrians out - neo-Austrians in).

The idea to mix autochthonous and immigrant groups is welcomed in Vienna, among politicians as well as in mass media and in social science but not always among the general public. Local policy makers generally accept that mixing is necessary and profitable: people should live together regardless of their social and ethno-cultural background. In order to reach the target of mixing

since the mid 1990s the co-operative housing sector too attempted a strategy of selective distribution of vacant dwellings for distributing migrant households. Contrary to the co-operative housing sector for example in many German cities the local Viennese housing corporations at least officially did not formulate maximum percentages for the share of migrant tenants. If such measures ever existed unofficially remains an unanswered question because no information is available from the housing corporations.

Thus, mixing people of different origin in the same neighbourhoods is a popular answer towards the growing ethnic diversity in Vienna. Segregation in Vienna is less extreme and (due to the welfare state) less negative as for example in French or British cities. But the Viennese formal and often politically verbalized solidarity between established and marginal groups doesn't imply informal solidarity: mixed housing usually does not lead to mixed living (an exemption can only be observed in interethnic housing projects).

Diversification of the population should both prevent and solve problems related to xenophobia, social understanding and social peace. It remains an open question if mixed housing is decisive for socio-economic and socio-cultural integration. A subject of special importance with regard to immigrants is the subject of peaceful living together. In this respect a lot of efforts are undertaken to provide services to mediate conflicts in neighborhoods, especially the municipal housing sector where there seems to be the trend to perceive usual conflicts of daily life (such as with regard to noise, dirt etc.) in a different manner when it comes to immigrants being involved.

Though there was a vivid rhetoric about mobility programmes and dispersal strategies there are still not enough tools to realise mixing. The term diversification politics might suggest that mixing is part of a diversity-policy. Variety in the housing stock of an area could be seen as a way to respect differences between and within groups. But constructing "average neighbourhoods", composed of many groups, proportional to their presence in the population at large, can also be seen as a strategy to diminish diversity. Certainly in Austria as a whole and not only in Vienna there are strong hesitations towards a too heterogeneous society. Immigrants should be more surrounded by Austrians and should become like Austrians, is more or less the official egalitarian line. A policy of diversity which allows foreigners and neo-Austrians to be different is a very recent trend in immigration policy.

In Vienna there are no essential differences between general housing policies and those for immigrants, since the subject of housing is considered an essential part of social policies where the central aim is to achieve equal rights and chances for all inhabitants regardless of ethnic origin and social class. The subject of equal rights and chances in the sphere of housing is mainly dependent on financial resources thus equal access to education, higher education, professional training and jobs at all levels of professional qualification. The Viennese housing market has a long tradition of a lot of communal intervention and social engineering. The City of Vienna has many ways of influencing the housing sector and one of its top priorities is to provide affordable quality housing for all income brackets. In Vienna an active housing policy of the Socio-Democratic City Council is traditionally an important weapon against social marginalization. Residential separation and patterns of segregation exist but the Vienna City Council makes strong efforts to weaken such patterns. Social housing is part of the city's identity. More than 60,000 community-owned apartments were built by the "Red Vienna" during the First Republic (1919–1938) alone. In 1934 one tenth of the local population lived in community housing. Although the privately-owned rental housing stock is numerically dominating in Vienna, the communal and co-operative housing sectors – generally managed by housing corporations – are similarly important segments of the local housing market. But as a matter of fact the level of state intervention in residential policy is in Austria not as high as for example in the Netherlands.

Still, in recent years, the major part of new social housing has been carried out by non-profit housing associations under varying legal conditions. These associations are subject to the national Non-Profit Housing Act and to a second control by their own corporation and by the respective provincial government. At present, about 200 non-profit housing associations are active in Austria, managing some 650,000 apartments and building another 15,000 each year. In Vienna, they own and manage about 136,000 apartments, in addition to the city's own 220,000, and even the major part of the owner-occupied apartments has been built within the subsidized housing programme.

Beside the spatial aspect and the problem of mixing one must not neglect an important factor of interethnic co-existence in mixed areas: Different migrants groups are to a different extent exposed to discrimination and the experience of social distance. One of the principal driving forces in the field of housing and spatial segregation of minority ethnic groups is discrimination. Although it is sometimes very difficult to find out if discrimination plays a role, new methodologies (e.g. action research) seem to be able to explain daily practices. Unfortunately in Vienna only poor empirical data is available about ethnically motivated discrimination. A very vulnerable group with regard to discrimination are Sub Sahara Africans. According to the survey "Africans in Vienna"¹⁴ (quoted in RAXEN 4 national study on housing¹⁵ from October 2003) Black Africans, a community encompassing between 6,500 and 7,000 people in Vienna¹⁶, experience considerable discrimination when looking for an apartment in Vienna. A survey among 154 Africans from June to September 2000 revealed that¹⁷ one third of the interviewees presumed a highly hostile attitude of Austrians towards Africans on the housing market, almost three quarters of the respondents said that the rejection of blacks as tenants was caused by the presumption that they could not pay, about two thirds attributed the refusal to racism, familiarity with Africans or presumed problems to adapt, and about one third to the fact that Africans were really louder tenants. Discrimination testing¹⁸ showed that scepticism towards Africans is widespread on the Viennese housing market. The rejection rate lay between one quarter and one third of the respondents depending on the survey. These findings demonstrate that not only the segmentation of the housing market but direct discrimination by landlords and property management is a problem. Its annihilation should be a part of general integration measures.

In a survey from Kohlbacher & Reeger (2002) based on a sample of 450 persons migrants from Poland, Turkey and former Yugoslavia spoke out housing discrimination as a problem (more than the problems in labour market). They found out that the Germans and Poles are the less discriminated migrant groups whereas Turks very frequently have to face some kind of discrimination.

¹⁴ Ebermann (2002).

¹⁵ EUMC network RAXEN Focal point for Austria:
<http://www.univie.ac.at/bim/php/focalpoint/index.php?V1=4> RAXEN Berichte und Studien: National Report on Housing.

¹⁶ Ebermann (2002: 3).

¹⁷ Ibid. (214–229).

¹⁸ The researchers applied for 190 vacant flats (2000/2001), which were evenly distributed over the 23 districts and covered different sizes, costs and categories. They called as "Austrians" making sure that the flat was still available. Only then, it was revealed that they were looking for a flat on behalf of an African friend. Both the frequencies of reticent and reluctant reactions and the quality of the reactions were recorded.

E Conclusions

Vienna is by far the largest city in Austria as well as its cultural, economic and political centre and is the seat of many international organisations (official UN seat, OECD headquarters). Vienna is also Austria's main centre of education and home to many universities and professional colleges. Within Austria, Vienna also plays a role as a centre of research and development. Vienna accounts for more than half of the total volume spent on research and development in Austria by public and private institutions due to the location of universities and of large national and regional research organizations as well as corporate headquarters with R&D activities.

Vienna just moved about one and a half decades ago from the outlying area as the most Eastern metropolis of the Western economic system into the new centre. Thus, the general set-up has dramatically changed since the fall of the Iron Curtain. EU enlargement has opened up the opportunity to expand and concentrate a cross-border and multilateral European region CEN-TROPE in a four-border region comprising Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. The objective of this initiative is to strengthen the whole economic region between the cities of Vienna, Bratislava, Trnava, Győr, Sopron, Brno, Eisenstadt and St. Poelten as well as their subregions. It also represents a model region for the functioning of EU enlargement.

Vienna is characterized by a social welfare system, which for decades aims at social balance. Social housing has a long tradition in Vienna and in fact is part of the city's identity. One priority is to provide affordable quality housing for all income brackets. The policy of communal housing and urban renewal, functioning on the basis of the principle of an equal distribution of financial aids caused for decades a more or less equal social structure and supplied low-income households of Austrian citizens with council houses. Today social housing includes approximately 220,000 community-owned apartments and 200,000 subsidised rental apartments and apartments built by non-profit or commercial building societies.

Vienna is successful to continue exercising its traditional role as an engine of integration in Austria. Local Viennese policy towards migrants is to a certain degree determined by national legislation. In the actual public discussion, there is some consensus about the necessity of public intervention into immigration matters. Thus, a variety of measures intervening into the immigration sphere are existent in Vienna. These measures concern urban planning, architecture, ecology, and last but not least, social policy. This is embedded in a continual broad discussion by the general public and among experts, as well as continuous information availability. This includes special research programmes and the distribution of their results by publications, presentations, and the regular publishing of immigration issues in the media. As homelessness, extreme deprivation of areas and other serious problems of integration of immigrants are successfully counteracted by the City Council there is only little controversial discourse about these topics.

The causes of the increase in immigration can be found in push- as well as in pull-factors. The history of the Austrian "guest worker regime" demonstrates that temporary migration has a tendency to become permanent and has long-term implications for the size and composition of the country's immigrant population. The official line continues to be that Austria is not a traditional country of immigration, and recent immigration policies reflect that ambivalence. On the one hand, there is the curtailment of traditional labour migration and family reunification programs that followed public discontent over immigration in the early 1990s. Added to the mix since that time are new integration measures, the country's accession to the EU and its regime of more open borders, and the admission of thousands of temporary seasonal workers. Looking ahead, immigration appears to continue to capture the attention of both the public and policy makers for many decades.

Since the 1990s when immigration to Vienna rose sharply urban development took place in different levels. Although the marked increase of population in the early 1990s has stabilized on a lower level immigration is still one of the major if not the most important determinant of the socio-demographic development. Polarization tendencies within the agglomeration are perceptible which are closely connected to suburbanisation on the one hand and to immigration on the other. Urban sprawl is one of the mega trends in large cities and in Vienna too there is considerable demand for recreation areas and cheaper real estates. A numerically smaller, highly qualified elite migration acts not only in the knowledge-based branches of the service sector, but has also started a spatial separation from the low-income sections of the migrant population. This is not a completely new trend but it was unquestionably intensified by the economic development of the last decades.

Vienna's migrant population has become markedly more diverse during recent years. The guest worker migration of the 1960s and 1970s was not only an important facet of labour migration but had long-lasting effects on both the current composition of the foreign residential population and subsequent migration flows too. In 1991 two thirds of all foreign residents in Vienna came from former Yugoslavia and Turkey. With the beginning of war on the Balkan (an important push factor) in 1992 the numbers of Yugoslavs again increased. Because of the large stock of Yugoslavs living there many refugees joined their relatives. Already existing Yugoslav networks made it possible to absorb large numbers of them. As a statistical consequence the proportion of former Yugoslavs among the foreign population living in Vienna rose sharply.

The residential patterns of the migrant population are strongly dependent on the structure and opportunities of the local housing market. Mapping shows that market barriers have an enormous influence on the spatial segregation patterns of immigrant groups. Accessibility rules with respect to different segments of the housing stock and economic resources can be seen as important factors in explaining the residential patterns of the different immigrants groups in Vienna. In certain localities of the city, the share of flats with substandard infrastructure is still twice as high as the overall city average. Housing patterns also refer to recent economic and social trends and the ongoing deregulation of the housing market. Not only logistic regulations but also the building age is playing an important role. The easiest access to the local housing market for migrants in Vienna is the Founder's Period rental segment. There is some conflict of interest in the districts built during the Founder's Period with respect to the preservation of buildings and ensembles on the one hand, and new social, economic and housing-related developments on the other hand. According to historical structures the physical quality of buildings in these neighbourhoods needs more structural measures. Urban areas from the Founder's Period have in many ways shown themselves as exemplary urban development models with crisis-proof features. Even throughout years of major social, technical, and economic changes these areas are able to adapt easily having a considerable integrative potential for new immigrants and are open for a mix of new functions. Therefore, in Vienna the structures dating back to this era are treated with sensitivity despite the goal of eliminating remaining substandard flats. In contrast to other European metropolises infrastructure is not generally bad in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrants' population. Public transport for example is no problem in most migrant neighbourhoods. The level of education, unemployment and economic data show significant differences between the districts and between different ethno-national groups too.

Gentrification should not always be considered to be an unwanted negative process but also a sometimes necessary strategy to reverse a declining market position and to provide a social economic re-differentiation on the demand side and of investment for improvement of the neighbourhood, provided that the existing residents still have a choice. Offering better and more sustainable opportunities for neighbourhood renewal, cautious interventions are to be preferred

to rude replacement. This implicates the need for renovation-based approaches using resident involvement and self-support which is so typical for the urban renewal program in Vienna.

With increasing immigration the responsible authorities tried to dwell different household categories and income groups of Austrians as well as “neo-Austrians” in social rental housing not alone to give them shelter but in order prevent ethnic and socio-economic segregation as much as possible. The policy of ethnic mixing created houses that are characterized by social diversification. Thus, contrasting to other European metropolises processes of ghetto-formation and slum-formation are existent but can only be observed rarely and on a small and limited spatial scale in Vienna.

The expectation, that the local welfare system will completely prevent the polarisation of the society is not realistic. Even in Vienna with its socio-democratic tradition of the reduction of disparities the neo-liberalistic view of “laissez-faire” becomes more and more important in housing and the welfare system as a whole. The losers of globalisation are the urban underclass and those immigrants who live in residential areas with urban decay and blight phenomena. A rising unemployment rate favours the social fragmentation of the city which for decades used to be relatively free of social conflicts. Recent trends illustrate the slowly evolving tendency towards a more polarized socio-spatial distribution of the Viennese population with respect to socio-economic status and ethnicity.

As in other European metropolises in Vienna too parts of the migrant population are particularly affected, both quantitatively and qualitatively, by the process of social insecurity and exclusion. This combination of factors leads to the development of many kinds of discrimination. Exclusion greatly influences the way in which certain groups of migrants lead their lives and, beyond the essential health, education and housing problems, affects the whole of their social life. It is essential to make differences between certain groups of migrants: Social exclusion is a phenomenon which does not affect elite migrants but the migrant underclass. It particularly affects certain ethno-national groups: among the former Yugoslavs particularly Serbs and Bosnians, furthermore Turks and other Muslims, Black Africans and some Asians. The phenomena of exclusion and stigmatization have repercussions on the physical and, especially, the psychological wellbeing of many immigrants and are an important determinant of the chances of migrant children in the local school system.

The major social deciding factors of exclusion in Vienna such as the labour market structure, the mechanisms on the housing market, the functional structures of the education and health care system are interdependent and interact with each other. In Vienna housing is understood as a part of a social-oriented city planning. It is obvious that Vienna’s public housing policy is a feature causing a socio-spatial differentiation which is unique to this city. The city has installed an infrastructure commission to define in detail the conditions for subsidized housing projects. Thus, new housing projects form a part of an existing area and help to overcome infrastructure deficiencies, such as in schools, health institutions, etc. Also public means of transport are classified as very important.

The reduction of stable and secure employment, higher unemployment rates, decent housing, limited access to public structures, and a lack of information makes those who are deprived of such facilities disadvantaged. Other factors also affect some groups of migrants such as their sometimes illegal status or the existence of discriminatory and sometimes xenophobic practices in many areas of social life. The lack of any one of these essential securities leads to an accumulation of exclusion and consequently prevents social inclusion and full integration into Viennese society. The available information shows that different ethno-national groups are concerned differently by discrimination and deterioration. The statistical data does only mirror this exclusion partly.

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