



# Housing and segregation of migrants

## Case study: Vienna, Austria



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# About CLIP

In 2006, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, the city of Stuttgart and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) established a ‘European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants’, henceforth known as CLIP. The network comprises a steering committee, a group of expert European research centres and a number of European cities. In the following two years, the cities of Vienna and Amsterdam joined the CLIP Steering Committee. The network is also supported by the Committee of the Regions (CoR) and the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and has also formed a partnership with the European Network Against Racism (ENAR).

Through the medium of separate city reports (case studies) and workshops the network enables local authorities to learn from each other and to deliver a more effective integration policy. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organises a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres as well as between policy makers at local and European level.

The CLIP network brings together more than 30 large and medium sized cities from all regions of Europe and includes: Amsterdam (NL), Arnsberg (DE), Antwerp (BE), Athens (GR), Diputació de Barcelona (ES), Bologna (IT), Breda (NL), Brescia (IT), Budapest (HU), Copenhagen (DK), Dublin (IE), Frankfurt (DE), Helsinki (FI), Istanbul (TR), Izmir (TR), Kirklees (UK), Lisbon (PT), Liège (BE), City of Luxembourg (LU), Matarò (ES), Malmö (SE), Prague (CZ), Sefton (UK), Stuttgart (DE), Sundsvall (SE), Tallinn (EE), Terrassa (ES), Torino (IT), Turku (FI), Valencia (ES), Vienna (AT), Wolverhampton (UK), Wrocław (PL), Zagreb (HR), Zurich (CH).

The cities in the network are supported in their shared learning by a group of expert European research centres in:

**Bamberg** (European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS));

**Vienna** (Institute for Urban and Regional Research (IST));

**Amsterdam** (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES));

**FIERI** (Forum of International and European Research on Immigration);

**Wrocław** (Institute of International Studies);

**Swansea** (Centre for Migration Policy Research).

There are four research modules in total. The first module was on housing – segregation, access to, quality and affordability for migrants – which has been identified as a major issue impacting on migrants’ integration into host societies. The second module examined equality and diversity policies in relation to employment within city administrations and in the provision of services. The focus of the third module is intercultural policies and intergroup relations. The final module (2009-2010) will look at ethnic entrepreneurship.

*The case studies on housing were carried out in 2007.*

## Brief history of migration to Austria

Vienna's telephone directory with its Hungarian, Czech and Serbo-Croat names is a testimony to the long immigration history of Austria. Within the Habsburg Empire, migrants settled primarily in the urban and industrial centres. In 1900, 60% of Vienna's population and 80% of Prague's population were considered as 'strangers'. Apart from internal migration, the dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was an important country of emigration to Germany, Switzerland and the United States of America (US). World War I created a number of new nation-states in central Europe and a population movement.

Between the two world wars, some 80,000 Austrians left their homeland for overseas destinations because of the poor economic and repressive political situation. After the annexation of Austria by Germany in 1938, 'aryanisation' took place – a term used to refer to the sifting of conquered populations, such as Austria, by the Nazis by removing individuals who failed to conform to their racial ideals. As a result, between 1938 and 1941, about 128,000 Jews were forced to leave Austria. After the end of the Second World War, some 1.4 million foreigners – including foreign workers, war refugees and German refugees from eastern Europe – stayed in Austrian territory. About 500,000 displaced persons settled permanently in Austria, the majority of them Germans from eastern Europe.

Between 1945 and 1989, Austria was one of the main transit countries for refugees fleeing communist regimes in eastern and central European countries. About two million people found temporary shelter in Austria during this period. In 1956, over 180,000 refugees from Hungary entered Austria, of whom 20,000 were granted asylum and stayed in Austria. In 1968, about 162,000 migrants from the former Czechoslovakia<sup>1</sup> entered Austria, with the majority later travelling on to other western states. During 1981 and 1982, about 150,000 Poles came to Austria because of the suppressive Polish regime of General Jaruzelski. Of 34,500 asylum applications in 1981 in Austria, some 29,100 were submitted by Poles. After the introduction of a visa requirement, the number of asylum applications from Polish citizens was sharply reduced.

The economic boom of the 1960s led to a growing demand for labour. Austria started to recruit so-called 'guest workers' (Gastarbeiter) on the basis of bilateral agreements with Turkey (1964) and the former Yugoslavia (1966). In 1969, the number of guest workers in Austria amounted to 76,500 people. By 1973, their number had almost tripled to 227,000 people, of whom 178,000 came from the former Yugoslavia and 27,000 from Turkey.

The oil crises of 1973 and 1981 and a period of economic recession radically reduced Austria's demand for guest workers. As a response to the recession in the early 1970s, guest worker recruitment was abolished, and the Aliens Employment Act (*Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz*) was passed in 1975. This law still remains one of the primary control mechanisms of foreign employment in Austria. The number of guest workers significantly declined with the introduction of the act. In 1985, the employment of Yugoslav and Turkish citizens in Austria amounted to only half the level in 1973. After economic recovery, some former migrants from the former Yugoslavia returned to Austria. As guest worker recruitment had ceased, other forms of migration became more important – for example, family reunification, clandestine migration and asylum migration.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1993, Czechoslovakia **split** into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

A temporary economic boom in the late 1980s created labour demand in some industrial areas of activity which was, in particular, balanced by the recruitment of labour from the former Yugoslavia. The political crisis in the former Yugoslavia after 1990 and the Balkan war in 1992 once again increased the number of Yugoslavs residing in Austria. Some of the immigrants already present in Austria and formerly excluded from employment succeeded in gaining access to the Austrian labour market as a result of the boom. In 1990, a regularisation of the employment status of thus far illegally employed foreigners took place, with the result that the employment status of 29,100 persons was regularised.

As a result of the rising numbers of Yugoslavs and eastern Europeans entering the country during this period, the number of non-nationals in Austria doubled, from 344,000 persons in 1988 to 690,000 persons in 1993, while the share of foreign workers as a proportion of all those in employment rose from 5.4% to 9.1%.

It must be emphasised that guest worker migration in the 1960s had permanent effects on the current composition of the foreign resident population in Austria. According to the 2001 census, for example, more than 730,000 or 9.1% of Austria's approximately eight million inhabitants were foreign residents. A significant 62.8% of them came from the two traditional recruitment regions, the former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

Austria's population has become even more diverse in recent years. Between 1985 and 2001, over 254,000 foreigners were naturalised. Austria's proportion of foreign-born residents in 2001 (12.5%) was even higher than that in the US. The official political line and public opinion mostly ignore that Austria is a traditional country of immigration. Immigration policy reflects that ambivalence. In the early 1990s, profound political and economic changes were transforming Europe and new integration measures have been introduced as a result. The fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria's accession to the European Union (EU) in 1995 resulted in more open borders, temporary migration, as well as transnational mobility. The Balkan Wars produced significant inflows of refugees from those areas to Austria's southeast. In addition, Austria had to deal with a rapidly rising number of asylum seekers.

The 330,000 foreigners employed in Austria in 2001 made up 10.5% of total employment. Half of them came from the former Yugoslavia, 20% from Turkey and 11% were EU nationals, mostly Germans. Some 111,000 work permits were issued to foreigners in 2001. In the same year, 75,000 Austrians were employed in Germany and Switzerland. Still, the unemployment rate of foreigners is about 1.5 times the rate for native Austrians.

Since 1 January 2003, non-EU foreign nationals with residence permits have been required to have basic German language proficiency or pay half the cost of German language courses. The maximum limit on the number of immigrants permitted to enter Austria was set at 8,050 persons in 2004, and the two major streams of newcomers were further categorised into key employees (2,200 persons) and family reunification (5,500 persons) and then assigned to Austria's nine provinces. Estimations regarding the number of unauthorised foreigners in Austria differ considerably.

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 must return home for at least two months. This labour force programme targets nationals of EU accession countries. Foreign students are also permitted to work part time.

Residence permits (*Aufenthaltsbewilligungen*) are issued for a certain purpose – for example, for students or self-employed workers – and will not be extended after the purpose of a person's stay is fulfilled. Some types of residence permits entitle a person to also bring their spouse and children younger than 18 years of age to Austria, while other permits do not allow these concessions. 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 (*Schlüsselkräfte*) required by the Austrian labour market. All kinds of first applications for a permanent residence permit

(*Niederlassungsbewilligung*) are limited by quota – except for third-country nationals who are family members of EU, European Economic Area (EEA) and Austrian citizens. Third-country nationals – except EU and EEA citizens – who want to live in Austria permanently require a permanent residence permit.

The number of asylum seekers has risen sharply since 2000, to 30,100 persons in 2001, 39,400 in 2002, and 32,400 in 2003, but decreased again in more recent years. Only 20%–25% of asylum seekers are recognised as refugees. Asylum laws were changed from 1 May 2004, requiring an initial decision to be made on applications, which must be made at embassies and airports, within 72 hours of a person's arrival in Austria. In the past, many foreigners applied for asylum in Austria and then moved to other more western countries, abandoning their applications in Austria.

### National policy context

Immigration and integration have been party to controversial debate in Austria. The Freedom Party of Austria (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*, FPÖ) has led a political campaign against foreigners. In March 2004, Jörg Haider was re-elected as governor of the state (Land) of Carinthia in southern Austria. At the next elections, national support for FPÖ declined from 30% in 2002 to 10% in 2004.

In response to these developments, the 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 EEA in 1994, which in turn led to the exemption of immigrants from the EU/EEA from most immigration controls. In 1992, a new Aliens Act tightened regulations on the entry and residence of foreigners in Austria. In 1993, the Settlement and Residence Act (*Niederlassungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetz*) established contingents for different categories of migrants. The contingents for residence permits defined the absolute number of permits that would be issued in any single year.

The Aliens Act of 1997 merged with the 1992 Aliens Act and the 1993 Settlement and Residence Act into a single law. The aim of the reform was to promote the integration of foreigners already present in Austria, in place of new waves of immigration. This concept was called 'integration before immigration' and the law became known as the 'integration package'. The most important factor introduced by the law was the principle of 'successive' consolidation of residence in increments of five, eight and 10 years. Only in the case of migrants with convictions for major criminal offences could the state withdraw their residency right. 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 in the country, which was later reduced to four years, after which access to employment would be granted.

In 1998, a new Naturalisation Act was passed, which retained the core elements of the previous regulations. These include the principle of *ius sanguinis* – a legal concept according to which citizenship is determined by having an ancestor who is a national or citizen of the state – and a waiting period of 10 years for naturalisation. The individual immigrant has to show that he/she is sufficiently integrated into Austrian society. The migrant also has to prove that he/she is economically self-sufficient, is not in need of social assistance and has sufficient proficiency in German. Minor criminal offences constituted reasons for the denial of citizenship. A migrant may then acquire citizenship after a period of 15 years on the grounds of positive integration. Austrian citizenship is awarded on a discretionary basis, which is possible after 10 years of continuous residence. Since 1998, largely due to demographic reasons (most migrants who entered Austria in the period of high immigration between 1988 and 1993 are now eligible for citizenship on a discretionary basis), the number of naturalisations has continued to increase from 17,786 in 1998 to 31,731 in 2001. In 2006, the citizenship law was reformed.

Concerning asylum and temporary protection, Austria played a role as both a transit country and country of asylum for refugees from communist countries. With the fall of the Iron Curtain, the number of asylum seekers increased considerably: on average, Austria received 20,800 applications a year between 1988 and 1992). The majority of applicants came from eastern European countries (the former Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania), the former Yugoslavia (from 1990 onwards), and Turkey. Other countries such as Iran, Bangladesh and Pakistan have become increasingly important as asylum seekers' countries of origin. In response to soaring numbers of asylum seekers, referred to as the so-called 'asylum crisis', the Austrian government initiated a series of reforms, introducing more restrictive regulations. In 1991, the new Law on the Reception of Asylum Seekers cut the amount of state benefits for asylum seekers. In 1992, the new Asylum Act (*Asylgesetz*) introduced the principles of 'safe third countries' and 'safe country of origin'. Additional measures included the introduction of visa requirements for certain countries – most importantly, for Romania – and the imposition of sanctions on companies caught transporting undocumented migrants. As a consequence, the number of asylum applications decreased dramatically to only 4,744 in 1993, and the number remained below 7,000 applications for the next four years.

In 1997, a revision of the Asylum Act abolished the 'safe country of origin' principle and provided for the inclusion of the Schengen agreement which aimed to create a border-free arrangement among several EU states. The revision also involved the harmonisation of the Austrian asylum law with the 1990 EU Dublin Convention which outlines common formal arrangements on asylum, stating that when people have been refused asylum in one EU Member State, they may not seek asylum in another. Further steps towards the EU-wide harmonisation of migration and asylum policies became necessary with the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty in May 1999 which provided, among other things, for minimum standards for both the reception of asylum seekers and asylum procedures, minimum standards for persons granted temporary protection and, finally (albeit not relevant for national legislation), a system of burden-sharing among Member States.

The presidency conclusions of the EU Summit in October 1999 in Tampere in southern Finland on immigration and asylum called for a further harmonisation of asylum policies. This should lead to a more uniform asylum system, both in respect of reception conditions and asylum procedures. The European Commission tabled a proposal for a European temporary protection scheme in the case of a mass influx of refugees in early 2000, and defined minimum standards for granting refugee status.

In the late 1990s, the number of asylum applicants – increasingly from Asian and African countries – rose once again. In 2002, a record number of 36,990 asylum applications were lodged, exceeding the already high figures for 2001 by almost 7,000 applications – not counting the 16,150 applications submitted to the Austrian embassy in Islamabad in Pakistan in late 2001. As a response, an internal order of the Ministry of the Interior (*Bundesministerium für Inneres*, BMI) issued in the autumn of 2002 aimed to further restrict access to state benefits by persons whose applications are deemed unlikely to be approved by the relevant authorities. In late 2002, Kosovo Albanians and asylum seekers from several other countries were excluded from federal care.

During the 1990s, Austria opened its borders to war refugees from the former Yugoslavia. Like other European states, Austria did so by instituting a special legal basis called 'temporary protected status' for the admission and residence of conflict refugees outside the normal asylum procedures. Between 1992 and 1995, a total of about 95,000 war refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina found shelter in Austria. Most of them were granted temporary protected status and received official assistance. Due to an active government integration programme, by July 1999 about 70,000 Bosnians had been provided with long-term residence permits in Austria. The majority of them also entered the Austrian labour market. About 10,000 people returned to Bosnia-Herzegovina, while a further 10,000 refugees moved on to other countries. The conflict in Kosovo in 1998 led to a mass displacement of Kosovo Albanians to neighbouring countries. In 1999, Austria received 5,000 refugees from Macedonia and granted them temporary protected status.

In 2002, a population register system was implemented in Austria allowing a more detailed description of migration processes and a differentiation of population by citizenship and country of birth. In social science and public health research, as well as in official statistics and surveys, the item of migration is not given sufficient consideration. On a political level, especially in Vienna, diversity policy is regarded as essential, and federal health policy has recently also focused on the health of migrants. Also in the future, the benefits of migration for cultural, economic and demographic affairs should be better appreciated and research is allowed to play an appropriate role in this process.

The formation of a coalition government in January 2000 between the Austrian People's Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei*, ÖVP) and FPÖ brought political change to Austria. In July 2002, the Austria parliament adopted major amendments to the Aliens Act and the Asylum Act. The reforms followed along the lines of earlier legislation, but introduced new regulations in three important areas. First, labour immigration has been restricted mainly to Austria's need for particular skills, with a minimum wage requirement of about €2,000 a month for prospective migrants. Secondly, the employment of seasonal workers was facilitated by allowing such workers to take up positions in areas of activity outside agriculture and tourism and extending the permitted employment period up to one year. Critics have argued that the new regulation may lead to a new guest worker regime, with thousands of foreign workers coming into Austria. Thirdly, 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, such as the denial of more secure residence permits. The ultimate fate of non-compliant foreigners could be expulsion from Austria. In October 2002, the coalition government comprising ÖVP and FPÖ was dissolved. New elections for the national assembly were held at the end of November 2002. ÖVP formed another coalition government with FPÖ in February 2003. In migration policy, the principle of 'integration before immigration' was endorsed by the government. Elections in October 2006 were won by the Social Democratic Party of Austria (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs*, SPÖ). The new government consisting of ministers from SPÖ and ÖVP was formed in January 2007.

Austria's immigration policy can be characterised 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 focusing on 'zero immigration'. Consequently, traditional labour migration and family reunification programmes were severely curtailed. At the same time, new measures were introduced to ensure a better integration of immigrants. The introduction of the principle of consolidation of residence by the same law reduced migrants' status insecurity 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 Austrian labour market. On the other hand, the government facilitated the recruitment and employment of seasonal workers. In addition, the government allowed individual federal states (*Bundesländer*) 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.

The history of the Austrian 'guest worker regime' shows 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 this ambivalence. On the one hand, traditional labour migration and family reunification programmes were curtailed following public discontent over immigration in the early 1990s. Added to the mix since that time are new integration measures, Austria's accession to the EU and its regime of more open borders, and the admission of thousands of temporary seasonal workers. In the future, immigration appears likely to continue to capture the attention of both the public and policymakers for many decades.

# Profile of Vienna

## Brief description of the city

Vienna is Austria's capital city located in the northeast of the country. It is also one of the country's nine federal states with a population of 1,651,437 people in 2006 – including more than 2.2 million people within the metropolitan area. Vienna is by far the largest city in Austria and is also the country's 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 (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Vienna's 23 municipal districts



Source: Institute for Urban and Regional Research (Institut für Stadt- und Regionalforschung (ISR) of the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW))

The Mayor of Vienna is also the governor of the federal province, while the city council also acts as a provincial administration, and the City Senate serves a double function as the city and provincial government. The city council consists of 100 members and constitutes the city's highest official body. SPÖ has been dominating the Viennese local government since the 1920s. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Vienna expanded substantially as the suburbs and neighbouring municipalities were incorporated into the city's territory. These suburbs that became part of the city were to retain a certain degree of independence and received the status of municipal districts; thus, municipal council bodies became district bodies.

Following a pilot project on decentralisation carried out in two of the larger municipal districts, the remaining 21 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 on decentralisation in 1998, the scope of tasks and decision-making rights of the districts were further expanded. The municipal districts are not independent legal entities 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.

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

- 23 municipal districts;
- 250 statistical districts (so-called 'Zählbezirke'; see Figure 2);
- 1,364 statistical areas (so-called 'Zählgebiete');
- about 10,600 housing blocks.

Figure 2: Vienna's 250 statistical districts



Source: *ISR*

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 matters affecting the district, as well as for adopting the district's budget and approving its final balance. At the head of each district is a district chairperson, who chairs the District Council, represents the district and supports the mayor in district affairs. The district chair is elected by the District Council.

In Vienna, until the present, a corporatist form of urban governance exists dominated by social democracy. Although Vienna is still mainly governed by social democracy, the Viennese political-administrative system experienced some changes during recent years. These changes are challenged by increasing city competition, urban sprawl, environmental challenges, the task of combating social exclusion and poverty, as well as by immigration. The traditional core of the production-based, political-administrative system in Vienna was built by a kind of universal hierarchical welfare state on a local level. This implies a ‘top-down’ decision-making structure and institutions providing a relatively narrow range of services in a fairly inflexible and standard way to a large (and formerly homogenous) population.

Statistical districts and statistical areas (Figure 3) are the most important spatial classification units for mapping. The size and the socio-demographic characterisation of statistical districts and statistical areas differ significantly 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 proportion 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.

Figure 3: *Vienna’s 1,364 statistical areas (parishes)*



Source: *ISR*

Since the 1970s, there was a shift from government to governance, which is a term referring to the flexibilisation of the institutional organisation of the public sector and a ‘shift from welfare to workfare’. In Vienna, a reorganisation of the political-administrative system took place with a focus on more horizontal and vertical integration of political structures. 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 transferred from the local municipal government to public-private partnerships and private agencies.

The main features of the political-administrative system of Vienna are listed below.

- Vienna is in a unique position as it maintains the status both of a federal province (one of nine federal provinces in Austria) and a municipality.
- The relationships between local government and civil society are a mixture of benevolence, co-optation and participation. The municipality has a strong position in the housing sector by allocating public housing flats.
- The city councillors, of whom there are currently 14, are part of the City Senate and are politically responsible for specific areas of activity such as planning, environment, health, housing and traffic. At the same time, they are assigned as heads of the departments of the city administration.
- A consensus-oriented political culture is typical for Vienna and it is rooted in the establishment of 'social partnership'. This is a specific Austrian form of corporatism – a network consisting of the state and employees (trade unions and Chamber of Labour (*Arbeiterkammer*)), as well as the employer associations (Chamber of Commerce (*Wirtschaftskammer Österreich*, WKÖ) and Federation of Austrian Industry (*Industriellenvereinigung*, IV)).

In total, 47.7% of the residential population of Vienna are men and 52.3% are women. According to census data from 2001, 40.8% of the population were single, 41.2% married, 10.4% divorced and 7.4% widowed. Of the whole residential population, a total of 1,183,834 (76.4%) people were born in Austria, while 41,772 (2.7%) people were born in other European Member States (former EU15 states before enlargement in May 2004) and 324,517 (20.9%) elsewhere. Interestingly, some 22% of all inhabitants of Vienna are older than 60 years of age. The number of young people below the age of 15 years has risen by 6.3% in the period 1991–2001, which contrasts with the overall trend in Austria showing a decline of 0.2% over the same period. The reason for the rise in the number of young people in Vienna is the high share of non-Austrian residents in the capital compared with the other federal provinces of Austria. The increase in females in this age bracket is higher than that of males.

From 1990 to the end of 2002, the number of housing units surged by 9.2% to 929,878 units. According to census data from 2001, some 407,976 families were living in Vienna. Overall, 67.2% or 274,162 of them were married couples, 12.3% or 50,174 were cohabiting, 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 two persons (30.1%), 101,570 households with three persons (13.2%), 63,357 four-person households (8.2%) and 28,894 households with five persons or more (3.7%). The average household size consisted of two persons in 2001.

Vienna is also an economically important metropolis. It accounts for 27% of total added value generated in Austria, some 23% of all workplaces and 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 (including manufacturing and construction), but has also improved the quality of economic activity and enlarged the range of options. In particular, the secondary sector is undergoing massive structural change, 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. In 2005, most employees could be found in public administration (138,559 employees or 18.3% of all employees) and in finance, insurance and real estate – the FIRE sector (129,326 employees or 17.1%).

At about 81% of total gross added value, the services sector determines to a very high degree the urban economic structure. In an average year, some 65,000 jobs are created in Vienna in growing industries or enterprises, and almost the same number is lost in shrinking branches of the economy. The tendency of this structural change will continue in the future. Demand regarding enterprise location is becoming wider and more diverse, with qualitative requirements in

relation to the environment being higher and the quality of living now also being one of the influential factors in location decisions. In 2004, the purchase power index in Vienna was 112.5 (the index for Austria was 100), with the federal state of Lower Austria (which surrounds the state of Vienna) holding second position with an index of 102.1.

Developments in the 1990s reveal not only a marked expansion of sectors with low qualification requirements and a very high share of female employees (for example, in retail trade and tourism), but also a rise in knowledge-intensive sectors in technology and business-related or consulting services. However, the decline in the number of jobs in public services has had a dampening effect.

In 2004, over 8.4 million overnight stays in Vienna were recorded (of which 82% were made by foreigners), which corresponds to a share in total overnight stays in Austria of more than 7%. Overnight stays and sales revenues have developed very dynamically in recent years. Annual sales revenues generated by tourism in Vienna are valued by economic researchers at an estimated €2.5 billion, which is 5% of the gross urban product.

The development and structure of the urban labour market not only reflects the structural change towards a service-oriented job centre of regional and supra-regional importance, but also clearly illustrates the economic and social problems commonly found in cities of this size and function, such as the following:

- more than 80% of the labour force is employed in the services sector;
- the level of qualification of employees is much higher in Vienna than the Austrian average;
- the share of non-Austrians as a proportion of the total employment rate in Vienna is about 9%, and some 30% of all non-Austrians required to have a work permit are employed in Vienna;
- about 200,000 commuters come from the surrounding regions to work in Vienna, with the distances covered growing steadily;
- employment has been developing less dynamically in Vienna compared with 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 services sector, which has traditionally been a female-dominated sector, and to the steep rise in part-time jobs;
- the level of unemployment in Vienna is higher than in other regions in Austria and the unemployment rate among men is higher than among women. The labour market problem groups, such as migrants, are strongly affected by unemployment.

In 2004, the average net annual income varied from €26,854 in Vienna's 1st district to €15,025 in the 15th district. Also at the top of the income scale are the 13th district (€24,701) and the 19th district (€22,875). Districts at the bottom of the income ladder are the 20th (€15,783) and the 5th (€16,484) districts. Similarly, education and unemployment rates appear in this order for the various districts, with a variation from lower than 2.7% to higher than 7.8% in 2000, mainly due to the concentration of foreign residents.

EU enlargement has presented the opportunity to expand a cross-border and multilateral European region – CENTROPE – across a four-border region comprising Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. The objective of this initiative is to strengthen the whole economic region between the cities of Vienna, Eisenstadt and St. Pölten in Austria, Bratislava and Trnava in Slovakia, Győr and Sopron in Hungary, and Brno in the Czech Republic, as well as their subregions. It also represents a model region for the functioning of EU enlargement.

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 such as the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Art and culture have a long tradition in Vienna, in the areas of theatre, opera, classical music and fine arts. Vienna is also Austria's main centre of education and home to many universities and professional colleges. Urban sprawl is one of the megatrends in large cities and in Vienna too there is considerable demand for recreation areas and cheaper real estate.

Within Austria, Vienna also plays a role as a centre of research and development (R&D). The city accounts for more than half of the total volume of resources spent on R&D in Austria by public and private institutions due to the location of universities and of large national and regional research organisations, as well as corporate headquarters carrying out R&D activities.

### Inter-city cooperation

A detailed review of international cooperations, networks, projects and activities in 2005 is summarised in a report entitled '*Bericht der internationalen Aktivitäten der Stadt Wien*' by the city of Vienna.<sup>2</sup>

Some important inter-city networks are:

- CENTROPE – With the objective of strengthening the economic area between the abovementioned cities and their subregions, the cities involved also represent a model region for the functioning of EU enlargement. The actors within Austria also have to harmonise and work well together to enable Vienna to play a key role in CENTROPE. This applies, above all, to the three federal states of Vienna, Lower Austria, as well as Burgenland in easternmost Austria, which are already being marketed as a joint area under the name 'Vienna Region';
- EUROCIITIES – Vienna is represented in most of the associated bodies of the EUROCIITIES network, including the Executive Committee, Urban Research, Cooperation Platform, Culture Forum, Economic Development Forum, New Neighbourhood Policy Group, Strategic Planning, Responsible Consumption, Mobility Forum, Social Affairs Forum, and Environment – such as 'Clean Air Force Europe' and 'Liveable Cities'.

INTERREG is a European Community initiative which aims to stimulate interregional cooperation in the EU. Some INTERREG IIIA projects (covering the period 2000–2006) with the participation of Vienna are: Central European Network for Transport and Logistics (CENTRAL); Childhood Nutrition; EdGATE, Healthregio; and Labour Market Monitoring (LAMO).

Examples of INTERREG IIIB projects are: CITY PORTS and Vital Cities.

INTERREG IIIC projects include: CEEC LOGON II; MILUNET; and POSEIDON.

### Inter-city networks on migrant integration

Vienna is a member of the International Metropolis Project on international migration and integration issues. In July 2004, the Municipal Department 17 on Integration and Diversity (MA 17) was set up.

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<sup>2</sup> *Bericht der internationalen Aktivitäten der Stadt Wien*, available online at: <http://www.wien.gv.at/international/pdf/review2005.pdf>. Older reviews and newsletters can be found online at: <http://www.wien.gv.at/international/publikationen/index.html>.

## Municipal migration and integration policy

Vienna has a long tradition of pursuing a policy of social equality. The city is constantly working to develop measures aiming to reduce social disparities and segregation to the extent permitted by the city's scope of competence and available finances. The social structure and its specific spatial concentrations are important indicators for any measures required for the development and advancement of the city. Although a steady rise in prosperity can be observed, spatial patterns are emerging revealing more dynamic and less dynamic parts of the city. Urban planners have an adequate set of instruments for influencing developments to a certain extent. Policy areas such as employment and education, housing and social policy can also be supported by appropriate measures undertaken by the city municipality. The level of education, which is an important indicator of social structure, is still increasing in Vienna and indicates a high degree of competence in the areas of highly-qualified employees and skilled workers.

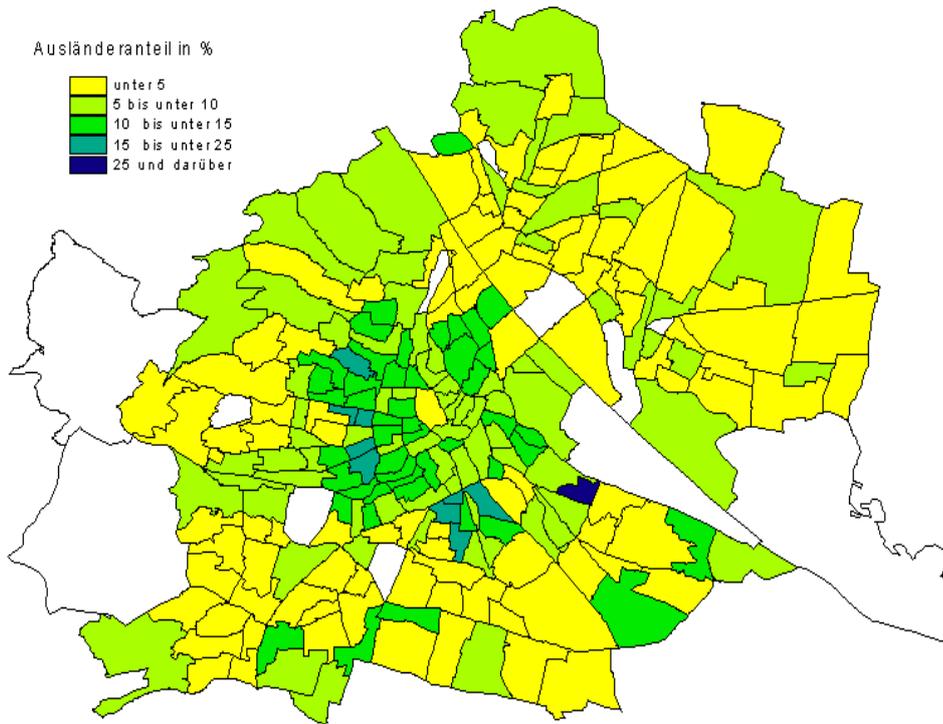
In 2005, some 309,356 foreign residents lived in Vienna. Migrants from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia make up the largest groups, comprising about 60% of all migrants in Vienna. A third of all migrants are from eastern European post-communist countries. Migrants from Germany, other former EU15 Member States and North America are often only temporary migrants, staying in Vienna for the purpose of business or study. In 2005, a total of 48,449 persons with foreign citizenship immigrated and 24,830 persons emigrated. This made up a positive migration balance of 23,619 people in Vienna.

In 2005, the most important sending states of migrants were:

- Serbia and Montenegro: 76,666 people;
- Turkey: 39,901 people;
- Poland: 21,610 people;
- Germany: 20,417 people;
- former EU15: 37,776 people;
- former EU25 (following the accession of 10 new Member States in 2004): 74,826 people.

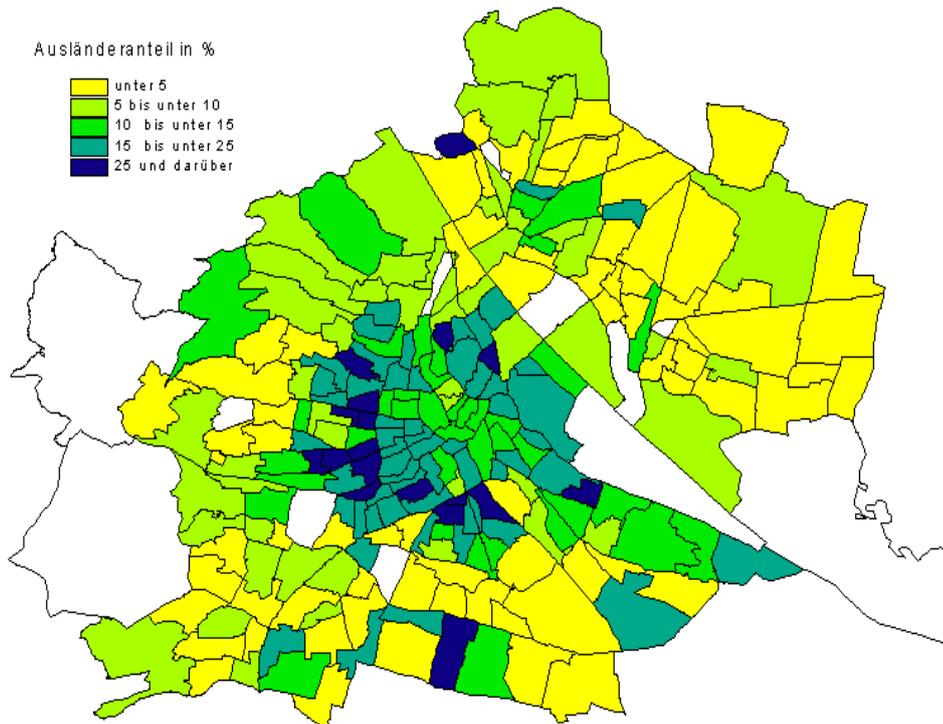
Figures 4 to 6 show how the residential areas of the foreign population changed from 1981 to 2001. In 1981, there were only very few statistical districts of the city where the proportion of foreign residents was higher than 15%. In most statistical units along the 'Gürtel' or ring road of Vienna the share of foreign residents was between 10% and 15%. This development is rooted in the recruitment of workers from, for example, Turkey (a recruitment agreement was concluded in 1964) and the former Yugoslavia (recruitment agreement reached in 1966). These migrant workers lived in low-cost housing and were not joined by their families immediately. After their families also migrated, they moved to working class districts of the city.

Figure 4: Foreign residents in Vienna's statistical districts, 1981 (%)



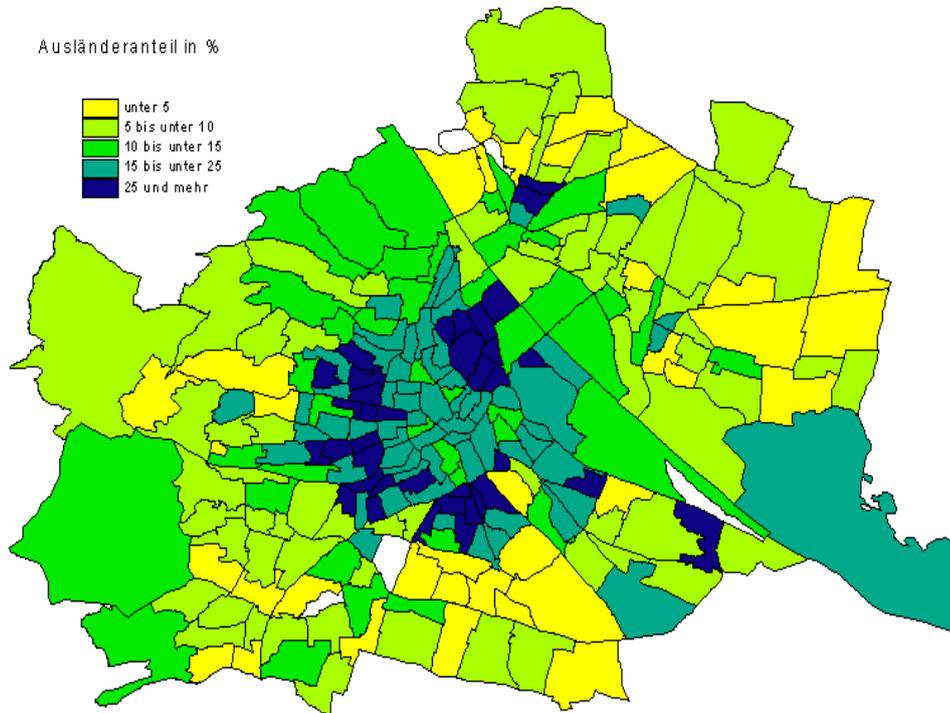
Note: The colour-coded percentages of foreigners can be explained as follows: under 5% (unter 5); 5% to less than 10% (5 bis unter 10); 10% to less than 15% (10 bis unter 15); 15% to less than 25% (15 bis unter 25); 25% and higher (25 und darüber).  
Source: Statistics Austria (Statistik Austria), Census 1981; cartography: Ursula Reeger

Figure 5: Foreign residents in Vienna's statistical districts, 1991



Note: The colour-coded percentages of foreigners can be explained as follows: under 5% (unter 5); 5% to less than 10% (5 bis unter 10); 10% to less than 15% (10 bis unter 15); 15% to less than 25% (15 bis unter 25); 25% and higher (25 und darüber).  
Source: Statistics Austria, Census 1991; cartography: Ursula Reeger

Figure 6: Foreign residents in Vienna's statistical districts, 2001



Note: The colour-coded percentages of foreigners can be explained as follows: under 5% (unter 5); 5% to less than 10% (5 bis unter 10); 10% to less than 15% (10 bis unter 15); 15% to less than 25% (15 bis unter 25); 25% and higher (25 und darüber).

Source: Statistics Austria, Census 2001; cartography: Ursula Reeger

As already mentioned, the so-called guest worker population consisted primarily of people from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey. In 1991 (Figure 5), a fringe of statistical areas around the city centre and expanding into the old working class districts was characterised by various proportions of the foreign population in Vienna ranging from 15% to 25%. Moreover, in an increasing number of spatial units around the city, even more than 25% of the residents were foreign citizens. In 2001 (Figure 6), the concentration process became even more pronounced. A lot of statistical areas in the city's 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 districts, foreign residents represented more than 25% of the local population. Because of the renewal of the residential environment, segregation has meanwhile risen mostly in the areas of remaining low-cost flats, which continue to be renovated and upgraded.

Table 1 shows the variations in the numbers and proportions of foreigners in the Viennese population from 1980 to 2005. A constant increase in the proportion of foreigners can be observed. The percentage of foreigners rose from about 7% or 8% during the 1980s to between 10% and 15% during the 1990s and reached a peak in 2005 when 18.7% of Vienna's population consisted of foreign nationals. The absolute number of foreigners in the city in 2005 was almost three times higher than in 1980. After a period of stagnations or even a numerical decrease in the total population during the 1980s, it was primarily the positive migration balance which led to an increase in Vienna's population since the 1990s. The positive demographic trend in the city continues; at present, Vienna is one of the very few Austrian federal provinces with rising numbers of children in schools and kindergartens.

Table 1: Residential population of Vienna, 1980–2005

Year	Total population	1980=100	Total Austrians	Austrians 1980 = 100	Total foreign citizens	Foreign citizens 1980=100	% 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	2.6
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

Notes: Index – 1980=100.

Sources: Statistics Austria – residential population according to population prognosis (*Bevölkerungsfortschreibung*); (authors' own calculations)

Table 2 shows the variations in the structure of the migrant population in Vienna during the period 1981–2005. The biggest group of migrants comprises former guest workers who constituted 51.6% of the total foreign population in 2005. About 120,000 persons (38.7%) came from the former Yugoslavia and almost 40,000 (12.9%) were Turkish citizens. With more than 52,000 (17%) migrants moving from eastern to western countries, this group represented another numerically important component of the immigrant population with the Poles as the largest group. More affluent migrants are mainly from Germany and the US and are often only temporary migrants – for example, they travel to Vienna for business or studies. Overall, 12.2% of the migrant population in 2005 comprised EU15 citizens, with the Germans as the traditionally most important subgroup. Migrants from Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Middle East still constitute smaller groups of the migrant population in Vienna but their numbers have been significantly growing. For example, the number of immigrants from India rose from 624 people in 1981 to 4,615 people in 2005. In 2005, there were 10 times more Chinese people living in Vienna than in 1981 and about three times more Filipinos.

Table 2: Foreign residential population in Vienna, 1981–2005

Nationality	1981	1991	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	% of total foreign population 2005
<b>Guest workers</b>	<b>78,297</b>	<b>131,234</b>	<b>153,428</b>	<b>157,214</b>	<b>155,540</b>	<b>157,090</b>	<b>159,557</b>	<b>51.6</b>
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
<b>East-west migration</b>	<b>5,528</b>	<b>21,907</b>	<b>31,256</b>	<b>34,754</b>	<b>38,694</b>	<b>46,266</b>	<b>52,491</b>	<b>17.0</b>
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*	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
CIS**	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
<b>EU15</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>26,243</b>	<b>28,531</b>	<b>30,947</b>	<b>34,178</b>	<b>37,776</b>	<b>12.2</b>
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
<b>Middle East and Northern Africa</b>	<b>3,909</b>	<b>7,179</b>	<b>8,313</b>	<b>8,698</b>	<b>8,789</b>	<b>8,629</b>	<b>8,542</b>	<b>2.8</b>
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
<b>Asia</b>	<b>2,770</b>	<b>6,694</b>	<b>10,129</b>	<b>11,778</b>	<b>12,914</b>	<b>13,623</b>	<b>14,463</b>	<b>4.7</b>
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
<b>US and Canada</b>	<b>2,218</b>	<b>2,600</b>	<b>3,096</b>	<b>3,235</b>	<b>3,378</b>	<b>3,562</b>	<b>3,827</b>	<b>1.2</b>
<b>Others</b>	<b>14,321</b>	<b>18,021</b>	<b>22,228</b>	<b>24,672</b>	<b>26,702</b>	<b>30,008</b>	<b>32,528</b>	<b>10.5</b>
<b>Total foreign nationals</b>	<b>113,417</b>	<b>196,652</b>	<b>254,693</b>	<b>268,882</b>	<b>276,964</b>	<b>293,356</b>	<b>309,184</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Notes: \* 1981 and 1991 former Czechoslovakia; \*\* 1981 and 1991 Soviet Union.

CIS = **Commonwealth of Independent States** (*Gemeinschaft Unabhängiger Staaten*) – a modern-day political entity consisting of 11 former Soviet Union Republics.

Source: Statistics Austria, 1981 and 1991: Census data; since 2001: Population register

Table 3 shows the four biggest groups of foreign residents in Vienna, namely those from the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Poland and Germany. It illustrates the numerical relations between these groups comparing 1991 and 2001. Some 23.6% of the total population of Vienna were born in a foreign country. Whereas the absolute number of former Yugoslavs showed a marked increase from about 87,000 people in 1991 to 113,000 in 2001, their proportion among the foreign population rose only slightly from 44.4% to 45.7% during this period. The Turkish group declined numerically from about 44,000 people in 1991 to 39,000 in 2001. The proportion of Turks among the total foreign population declined from 22.3% to 15.8%. The reason for this process was not re-migration but an increasing number of naturalisation cases. In 2005, more than 47,000 persons among Vienna's total population were born in Turkey. The proportion of Poles in the city remained relatively stable, whereas the absolute number rose from about 11,000 people in 1991 to about 13,600 in

2001. Some 25,000 of Vienna's total residents were born in Poland. Germans are another increasing group of immigrants in Vienna. Their absolute number increased from about 9,000 in 1991 to over 12,700 in 2001 – 26,000 people in this group were born in Germany.

Table 3: *Foreign nationals and residents born abroad, Vienna 1991 and 2001*

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

Sources: *Statistics Austria, Census 1991, 2001; (authors' own calculations)*

About 53% of all migrants are men. According to a survey by the Vienna Integration Fund (Wiener Integrationsfonds; Hintermann and König, 2003), the proportion of women among the migrant resident population has risen in recent years. With regard to gender breakdown, marked differences between migrant groups can be observed. For instance, among migrants from Turkey (42.8%) and from the former Yugoslavia (47.5%), being typical labour migrants, the proportion of women is significantly lower. High proportions of women are typical among migrants from the Czech Republic (59.9%) and Slovakia (59.2%). In general, the age structure of migrants is much younger than that of the local population because of labour migration and some re-migration in later phases of life. The Vienna Integration Fund report ends by describing the actual situation, which is partly caused by the shortage of housing supply but also deals with the more general question of the role and necessity of public intervention in the area of housing.

At the federal level, the Austrian Integration Fund (*Österreichischer Integrationsfonds*) was founded in 2005 by the BMI replacing the former Fund for Refugees, which had supported recognised refugees during their settlement process in Austria. Only then did the renamed fund start to take on the task of organising and supporting language tuition in the context of the 'integration agreement' introduced in 2003. The fund's competence was not – compared with the city of Vienna – integrated into the government structures. The federal debate on integration between 2003 and 2005 focused on the perceived failures of integration and shortcomings of immigrants leading to the formulation of an 'integration agreement' as set out in the revised Aliens Act 2002, forcing immigrants to participate in German language courses. 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 SPÖ.

The city of Vienna's social-democratic integration policies aim to achieve equal rights and opportunities in all spheres of life, including in relation to social and economic, cultural and political aspects. Thus, a comprehensive set of measures were developed and implemented to amply support voluntary and affordable language courses, labour market integration, provision of information and support in the area of housing, as well as conflict mediation at the regional level. The Vienna Integration Fund was founded in 1992 with these aims and tasks as its remit, along with the task of lobbying for the interests of immigrants and providing advice and consultation to the Vienna city government. In 1996, the city councillor's office for integration affairs was set up, representing a first step towards the mainstreaming of 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. MA 17 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. 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 Austrian Green Party (*Die Grünen*, GRÜNE).

On the whole, the integration policies in Vienna have substantially differed from federal integration policies. An essential difference in the policy approach towards integration relates to political rights. In 2003, the city of Vienna introduced voting rights for third-country nationals at the level of the Vienna districts. ÖVP and FPÖ brought this reform before the constitutional court, which in 2004 declared the reform in breach of the Austrian constitution's principles on voting rights and thus cancelled the reform.

The approach towards naturalisation differed widely since 2000 between the federal and city of Vienna levels. The city of Vienna strongly opposed the move of the federal coalition's – ÖVP and populist Alliance for the Future of Austria (*Bündnis Zukunft Österreich*, BZÖ) move toward a comprehensively restrictive reform of naturalisation which entered into force in March 2006.

### **Migrant organisations and integration**

The Vienna Integration Conference – a platform of more than 160 immigrant and counselling associations in the field of integration and antidiscrimination – was first set up in the spring of 1999 to reshape and strengthen cooperation among non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as well as the dialogue with the city of Vienna administration. During the process of restructuring 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 (*Wiener Integrationskonferenz – Vernetzungsbüro*, **WIK**<sup>3</sup>) was established as an independent association in the autumn of 2004. The WIK and its office is supported by the city of Vienna administration. As a model of self-organisation of immigrants, the association will function as a 'pressure group' in order to lobby for immigrant issues and raise multicultural awareness and sensitivity.

WIK's Integration Charter of September 2006 focused on equal rights and opportunities in all spheres of life, especially with regard to the labour market. It also focused on political rights as well as the importance of public discourse free of prejudice and negative stereotyping, access of immigrants to this public discourse, fair election campaigning, in addition to combating and introducing measures against social exclusion and poverty such as discrimination in the housing market.

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<sup>3</sup> <http://www.wik-vernetzungsbuero.at/>.

# Housing situation

## Housing stock and market

Austrian housing policy has predominantly been supply-side policy. As a result of a consistent policy of supporting public housing, Vienna was long remained relatively untouched by some problems that are typical for the housing sector in other European cities. Taxation of property owners and use of the proceeds to fund quality housing for working class people has a long history in Vienna. The world-famous housing project Karl Marx-Hof in Vienna's 19th district, built in the 1920s and incorporating a pioneering approach to architecture and design, still stands as a symbol of this tradition. Vienna's housing market is heavily influenced by public funds through housing construction subsidies and savings incentives. Until now, housing policy funds have mainly been provided by setting aside fixed percentages of certain kinds of tax revenues and by collecting housing-specific levies. Traditional supply-side subsidies are combined with generous income ceilings. Housing benefit is less significant and tax allowances play a minor role.

In Vienna, and in Austria as a whole, subsidised housing plays a quite prominent role. Along with direct housing construction subsidies, indirect housing construction subsidies are provided through fiscal incentives – particularly the so-called housing construction bonds and building society saving premiums. The Austrian housing construction subsidy schemes aim to build affordable housing for a large share of the population. The Austrian system of housing subsidisation is primarily geared towards financing accommodation units. If it were to be organised around the people involved – tenants and property owners – low-income groups would be better served. The present system of housing subsidisation creates some advantages for middle class people. In recent years, housing construction subsidies have assumed an important role as a financing instrument in subsidised multi-storey housing construction projects in the non-profit housing sector.

Analysing the system of subsidised housing must be carefully done, because it will always be conditional on the total economical and financial framework and on political points of view. Some of the main advantages of the system of housing promotion are the relatively constant volume of subsidies and the concentration on the subsidisation of the building costs, mainly in the form of long-term public loans with low interest rates. This type of subsidisation presents – in the long run – at least the possibility to achieve a sustainable system. On the other hand, among the main disadvantages are the segmentation of the housing markets, a lack of adaptation to changing conditions, significant and unjustified differences in the level of rents and the lack of objective forms of distribution of subsidies as well as of promoted flats.

The still partially existing system of security of tenure was introduced during the Austrian monarchy at the end of World War I; the respective principles were transformed into a republican law in the 1920s. At that time, promotion of housing construction through a special tax system was only performed by the city of Vienna. On a nationwide basis, housing promotion was founded in the years after the end of World War II, when a political consensus could be reached about its necessity. In functional linkage with non-profit housing, a system of public subsidisation of housing construction was created – mainly through public loans and later with the addition of operating subsidies. Public funds for housing promotion were and still are supplied by a certain share of income and corporation tax as well as repayments of public loans. Public grants are not restricted to the rental sector but are also awarded in the case of owner-occupied dwellings as well as to homeowners.

For several decades, Austrian housing policy was based on corporatist 'social partnership'. Since the 1980s, it has progressively been regionalised. Housing policy has only become more market-oriented in recent years. Direct ownership of the local authority plays an important role in Vienna, alongside regulations and residential building by non-profit housing associations – such as the municipality or the Austrian state in collaboration with housing associations. The housing market is also restricted by land use regulations.

The Viennese housing market consists of the following main components:

- private rental housing – particularly in the building stock of the ‘*Gründerzeit*’ (refers to the rapid industrial expansion in 19th century Germany and Austria before the great stock market crash of 1873). The buildings are mostly privately owned or owned by companies. Rents are calculated on the basis of a complicated system, which is based on the standard of the flat and its location;
- ‘protected’ rental housing – this form of housing can only be found in buildings constructed earlier than 1917. A special kind of rental apartment with very modest rent and low tenant mobility is being phased out with the deaths of older tenants;
- council housing – this covers about 220,000 apartments with modest rents in the older building segment. In recent years, construction of new communal housing blocks was reduced. Rents usually increase after renovation activities but are usually lower than in the private rental sector. Before 1 January 2006, there was almost no admission of foreign citizens to this housing segment, with the exception of EU citizens, refugees with asylum status and other third-country nationals who have comparable status as native Austrians. The sizeable public rental housing sector, especially in Vienna, and the still larger limited-profit sector provide a viable alternative to private renting. Long-term regulation of private rental housing has reduced the size of this sector;
- privately developed housing – this mainly consists of owner-occupied single-family homes;
- cooperative housing – this refers to housing built up in the newly developed areas of the outer city as well as on existing small lots of the built-up area of the inner city completed during the *Gründerzeit*. In Austria, about 10% of the residential population is living in this form of housing, while the proportion in Vienna is slightly higher at 13%. The Austrian housing associations are mostly financially supported by public money or funds;
- owner-occupied housing – this is an increasing segment of the Viennese housing market. Apartments in former rental blocks are often sold to the tenants.

The following types of home ownership exist:

- individually-owned apartments – the purchase of an apartment has to be registered in the real estate register. There are additional costs of about 10% of the purchase price for lawyers, property taxes, the real estate agent and financing;
- rental apartments – tenancy law distinguishes between two types of tenancy agreements, namely chief tenancy and sub-tenancy.

With regard to chief tenancy, the tenancy agreement is usually signed between the apartment seeker and the owner of the building, the owner of the apartment, the tenant or leaseholder of the whole building or the person about to acquire the apartment and not yet registered in the real estate register. In terms of sub-tenancy, the tenancy agreement must be signed between the apartment seeker and the chief tenant.

The Tenancy Act (*Mietrechtsgesetz*, MRG) contains very few provisions expressly related to sub-tenancy, such as dissolving tenancy agreements and admissible rent for sub-tenancy. Tenancy law distinguishes between limited and unlimited tenancy agreements. Limited tenancy agreements are valid for a minimum of three years. There is no statutory maximum duration. Limited tenancy agreements may be extended in writing any number of times for any given duration. In the event of a limited chief tenancy or sub-tenancy, after one year into the originally agreed or extended duration of the tenancy agreement, the tenant may legally give notice on the last day of any month regarding their desire to end the contract. Three months notice must be given. Thus, actual termination of a contract is possible by the end of the 16th month at the earliest.

In Vienna, it was, however, only possible to carry out urban expansion – that is, to have large-scale residential estates, hospitals or schools, for example, constructed and new industrial areas delimited – in the south and the east of the city where the city council owned the land required. Housing projects in the outer city had been a central concern during the 1960s. In the 1970s, housing was no longer provided free of charge, and construction was transferred over to cooperatives and those managing the building of condominiums or individually-owned apartments. Only a part of the building activities in Vienna took place in the newly developed areas of the outer city. Almost a half of the building activities of the post-war period and more than two thirds of the construction of private enterprises concentrated on the small lots of the built-up area of the inner city completed during the *Gründerzeit*. From 1945 to 1980, some 180,000 apartments were constructed in the outer city, while another 123,000 apartments were constructed in the inner city, thus contributing considerably to urban renewal.

In the mid 1980s, the Viennese housing market registered a decline in quantitative demand for housing, and thus fewer new buildings were built while old buildings were increasingly renovated. The supply of low-cost housing declined as small apartments were combined to form larger units, old buildings were demolished and zoning laws were amended. These trends resulted in the redevelopment of thousands of small apartments each year. At the same time, population factors – such as an increase in single households and rising migration to the metropolitan area of Vienna – were combined with the actions of investors and speculators to create a housing market defined by scarcity and rising prices.

After the housing construction boom of the 1990s, annual housing construction output has dropped by about 50% throughout Austria as a whole. Between 2001 and 2004, the number of building permits declined to approximately 40,000 a year, from 66,000 permits by the mid 1990s for the whole of Austria. In 2005, the number of building permits increased slightly to 41,800, compared with about 42,000 housing permits a year in 2006 and around 42,500 permits in 2007. The poor construction activities of recent years have resulted in stronger demand for subsidised rented housing construction. Longer waiting periods must again be expected for subsidised housing. After the cautious price developments, prices for new building construction are again on the rise. Demands for quality housing have clearly risen. The use of new energy efficient building technologies has also increased the costs of new buildings. Housing subsidies promote ecological construction techniques subject to compliance with the Kyoto objective providing for a clear reduction in greenhouse gas levels. In 2005, the number of finished housing units (about 42,500 units) was slightly above the level of 2003 (42,000 units).

Housing construction in Vienna was accelerated substantially in the second half of the 1990s in response to the steep increase in 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. From 1994 to 2000, housing construction generated an average of 10,000 subsidised and some 1,000 to 1,500 non-subsidised housing units a year. After 2000, construction declined to about 6,000 housing units a year. Construction activity focused in the 21st and 22nd (in the northeast of the urban area) and in the 10th, 11th and 23rd districts (in the south of the city). The strong drive to develop the inner city 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 districts. In certain localities of the city, the share of substandard flats is still twice as high as the overall city average. Nonetheless, the share of substandard flats has decreased dramatically over the last 20 years.

Non-profit housing plays an important role in Vienna. As Austria's biggest landlord, the city of Vienna owns about 220,000 rental apartments. Still, in recent years, the largest 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 (*Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeitsgesetz*) 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 apartments each year. In Vienna, these associations own and manage about 136,000 apartments, in addition to the city's own 220,000 rental apartments, and even the majority of the owner-occupied apartments have been built as part of the subsidised housing programme. These owner-occupied apartments are therefore also subject to certain limitations concerning the income per household and the later sale of the apartments.

Non-profit housing associations enjoy tax reliefs and have to reinvest profits back into housing. Rents are strictly regulated, with the cost of rent covering financing, apartment running costs and 10% value-added tax (VAT). The maximum monthly net rent for a subsidised apartment in Vienna is currently €3.97 per square metre, or €6–€7 per metre square in total. Low-income households are entitled to individual subsidies ensuring that they do not lose their apartments in the case of a sudden illness or unemployment affecting a household member. To reduce financing costs, most property developers request a deposit, which in rental housing may not exceed 12.5% of the total construction costs, as well as a proportion of land costs. These contributions by the tenants are refunded when the tenants move out of the property. Low-income households are entitled to low-interest public loans or even to apartments without having to make a down-payment. All subsidised apartments are subject to certain income limits at the time of completion, and high-income households are mostly excluded from such housing, for example. On the other hand, a subsequent increase in income does not lead to a loss of the apartment.

Dilapidation of the urban building stock is a phenomenon to be found in areas of the inner city completed during the *Gründerzeit*. It is caused by a marked lack of reinvestments in existing buildings. More than 40,000 buildings with 300,000 apartments in Vienna were built during the *Gründerzeit*. When comparing Vienna with other European cities, it is possible to find a unique mosaic of dilapidated and renovated buildings next to each other. Due to the specific situation of the housing market in Vienna in the post-war period, there was no emphasis placed on the area of real estate. Small private properties were the norm and this trend remained. A lack of transparency in the market led to further investments in a mostly random principle on three levels: flats, apartment houses and urban renewal areas.

For a general overview of the Viennese housing market, Table 4 presents the most important statistical data.

Table 4: *Overview of Viennese housing market*

Category	No. of people or housing units	Percentage total
Residential population	1,524,776 people	-
Buildings	168,167 units	-
Flats	910,745 flats (main residence 770,955): including some 220,000 community-owned flats and 120,000 flats of non-profit building companies	-
<b>Ownership structure</b>		
Fixed-term rental housing	57,613 flats	6.3%
Rental housing for an unlimited period	602,718 units	66.2%
Self-used by the building owner	69,115 units	7.6%
Self-used by the flat owner	114,712 units	12.6%
Company flat	28,535 units	3.1%
Other legal binding	38,052 units	4.2%
<b>Number of flats per building</b>		
One or two-family houses	-	9.6%
Buildings with three to 10 flats	-	17.6%
Buildings with more than 10 flats	-	70.5%
<b>Household structure</b>		
Single-person households	344,655 units	44.7%
Two-person households	232,607 units	30.1%
Three-person households	101,570 units	13.2%
Four-person households	63,357 units	8.2%
Five-person households or bigger	28,894 units	3.7%

Source: *Statistics Austria, Census 2001*

According to census data from 2001, some 910,745 residences existed of which 770,955 or 84.7% were primary residences, 59,540 or 6.5 % secondary residences and 80,250 or 8.8% were not used for residential purpose.

In 2001, a total of 112,281 buildings were privately owned, 26,773 were owned by local authorities, 15,741 by housing associations and 14,117 by other owners. The share of local authority accommodation amounted to 15.8%. It should be noted that most of the main housing associations in Vienna – for example, *Gemeinnützige Wohnungsbau GmbH* (GEWOG), *Gemeinnützige Siedlungs- und Bau AG* (GESIBA), *Heimbau*, *Gemeinnützige allgemeine Bau-, Wohn- und Siedlungsgenossenschaft* (BWS), *Gemeinnützige Ein- und Mehrfamilienhäuser Baugenossenschaft* (EBG), *Wiener gemeinnützige Wohnungsgenossenschaft '1908'* (WG-1908), *Gemeinnützige Bau- u. Wohnungsgenossenschaft Wien-Süd* (Wien-Süd), *Wohnbau* – belong to the city administration. In 2005, the number of housing units in the communal housing sector was 213,649. Most of these were social housing and were located in the larger districts of the city – more than 20,000 units in the 10th, 21st and 22nd districts. However, public housing can generally be found in each district. Furthermore, another 118 residences were situated outside of Vienna. Most of the new buildings can also be found in the largest districts mainly due to the extra area available for construction. The recent urban expansion is mostly concentrated in the east and the south of Vienna.

The construction of new home ownerships in Austria is supported by the state and differs from one federal state to the other – for instance, financial aid varies from 15% to 25% between states. In Vienna, only 17% of the population live in the owner-occupied housing segment compared with 50% in Austria as a whole. The overwhelming majority of inhabitants in the owner-occupied housing sector are Austrian citizens – 97% in 2001.

Overall, 27.8% of available housing consists of privately rented houses which are regulated by law – for example, in relation to tenants' rights and the regulation of rent prices. In Vienna, 31% – compared with about 10% in Austria as a whole – of the population live in the communal housing sector. Therefore, the city of Vienna is not only the biggest owner of housing units in Austria, but also in Europe. For the most part, the municipal residences were built by the beginning of the 20th century and have since been mostly renovated. Accommodation in these residences is of average standard, although they should also be made available for socially disadvantaged persons or families.

The city also provides about 11,500 rooms for students attending local universities.

Table 5 illustrates how the level of utilities available in apartments changed fundamentally from 1981 to 2001. The highly standard category of accommodation with bathroom and central heating doubled between 1981 and 1991 and almost tripled by 2001. During the same period, the worst category of accommodation, namely without an inside water supply, declined from about 49,000 units in 1981 to 2,400 units. Furthermore, a marked decline could also be observed in all categories of accommodation with no central heating.

Table 5: *Level of utilities in Vienna's apartments, 1981, 1991 and 2001*

Utilities	No. of apartments 1981	No. of apartments 1991	No. of apartments 2001	1981=100
Bathroom/shower and central heating	248,927	513,743	680,148	273.2
Bathroom and shower	256,958	102,463	62,920	24.5
Toilet and water supply inside	77,431	47,998	11,869	15.3
Water supply inside	85,401	52,746	13,650	16.0
Without inside water supply	48,891	22,012	2,368	4.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>717,608</b>	<b>736,962</b>	<b>770,955</b>	<b>107.4</b>

Source: *Statistics Austria, Census data, 1981, 1991 and 2001*

By 2001, 14.2% (23,866) of all houses in Vienna had new windows installed, 9.5% a new roof, 4.2% central heating, 7.9% new facades for heat insulation and 9.6% a channel interface. Some 82.8% of all residences comprise 'Category A' accommodation of more than 30 square metres, with a bathroom, kitchen, toilet, warm water and heating, 6.8% 'Category B' with a bathroom, toilet and kitchen, 2.1% 'Category C' with a toilet and running water inside and 8.3% (75,437 units) 'Category D' with no toilet or running water inside.

Rent levels vary considerably, depending on the location and the district's image. According to a press report by the Austria Press Agency (*Austria Presse Agentur*, APA) from March 2006, residences in the inner city are the most attractive for tenants both for rented housing and home ownership. Furthermore, accommodation in the 6th district is the most sought after, followed by the 7th and 8th districts. The 8th district is a small – in fact the smallest – but upmarket district and the price of housing sharply increased in this sector because of a shortage of supply. The 6th district, as one of the most preferred residential areas, is still affordable compared with some other inner city districts – home ownerships in 2006 cost €2,361 per square metre, which is 4% lower than the previous year.

Privately-owned flats in more upmarket districts like the 19th district have a constant price level. However, demand for flats in this district has stagnated and thus it has lost its top position in terms of preferred area of residence. Rented housing in the 19th district even decreased by 2%. Demand for housing and prices increased, on the other hand, in the low-priced 15th, 3rd and 10th districts. Housing prices per square metre in the 15th district increased by 27% from 2004 to 2005, while they increased in the 3rd district by 18% and in the 10th district by 16%. Rising rent prices could also be observed in the 16th, 11th and 21st districts. A relatively constant rent level can be found in the 4th and 5th districts; the 5th and 2nd districts have the lowest rent levels in the inner city. Prices for rented houses or flats increased by 5%, especially in districts with new residential projects such as the 22nd and 21st districts. In the 22nd district, only newly constructed flats are currently available at a net rental price per square metre of €9.64. Relatively low rents can be found in the 5th, 3rd, 6th, 20th, 14th, 12th and 10th districts, ranging from €7.94 to €8.23 per square metre. Altogether, the gap between high quality and poor quality housing was reduced, a development which indicates a change in the image of these districts. Waiting lists for public housing are generally long and it can take two years to get an apartment in these areas.

### **Characteristics of neighbourhoods considered as problematic**

A particular problem affecting housing integration are so-called problematic neighbourhoods. Such neighbourhoods exist in Vienna but they are not caused by a bad local environment or a lack of infrastructure. As mentioned previously, the area Gürtel-West was known as a problematic area of the city, but due to urban renewal the situation in this area has improved. Activities like recreational area landscaping, stabilisation of commercial streets, preservation of small retail businesses and image improvement during the last few years have been steps in the right direction to increase the quality of life for all inhabitants.

Levels of education, the proportion of unemployment and economic data show a lot of variations between the city districts. In problematic neighbourhoods, primary school education is higher, whereas secondary and third-level education is higher in the 19th, 13th and inner city districts (1st to 9th districts). The rate of manual workers among the residential population of the working class districts is higher. Unemployment resulting from labour market segmentation has also affected inhabitants with a migration background more significantly. Thereby, the danger of poverty for persons with a migration background is also higher – according to Statistics Austria, EU-SILK project 2003: this rate amounts to 12% among Austrians, 27% among migrants and 26% among naturalised migrants.

Infrastructure is generally good in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrants. Good public transport, for example, is also available in migrant neighbourhoods. In the area Gürtel-West, there is an underground (U6) rail connection and various other public transport modes such as trams or buses. This is also the case in other migrant neighbourhoods such as Gürtel-South, the 2nd district or most of the 20th district.

One problem is that Gürtel-West and also Gürtel-South (5th and 10th districts) do not have many green areas such as parks as they are home to busy transport routes. In addition, some parts of Gürtel-West are problematic areas due to prostitution. Such areas are located near Westbahnhof, one of Vienna's large railway stations.

According to the survey 'Leben in Wien 2003' [Living in Vienna 2003], 79% of the respondents are satisfied with their accommodation. Worse survey data concerning, for example, traffic noise can be found in the 5th, 6th and 15th districts, while the situation is significantly better in the 13th, 19th and 23rd districts. Some important wishes of the local population include cycle paths, green spaces, groceries and amenities for young people such as sports facilities and meeting points.

The standard of health care in Vienna is, on average, high and there is easy access to such care. Compulsory health insurance depends on the job and legal situation of individuals.

Crime rates decreased in Vienna in the first half of 2006 by 4.4% and in 2005 by 8.8%. Crime rates by districts and citizenship are not available, but according to Austrian estimates citizenship is not a noticeable factor in crime rates (only convictions for homicides are rather high-valued).

### **Mobility within the city: typical housing patterns**

Typical housing patterns of migrants do not exist in Vienna because no 'ghetto' areas exist corresponding to similar areas like Chinatown or 'Little India' in other European cities. Strong segregated housing areas or districts are also unknown, although segregation can be found at apartment block or house level, particularly in the available housing of the *Gründerzeit*. This spatially small-scale segregation is determined by economic and social factors. In fact, the majority of migrants from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey are still part of the working class, who often live in low-priced areas – for example, in particular in the districts of the Gürtel-West area.

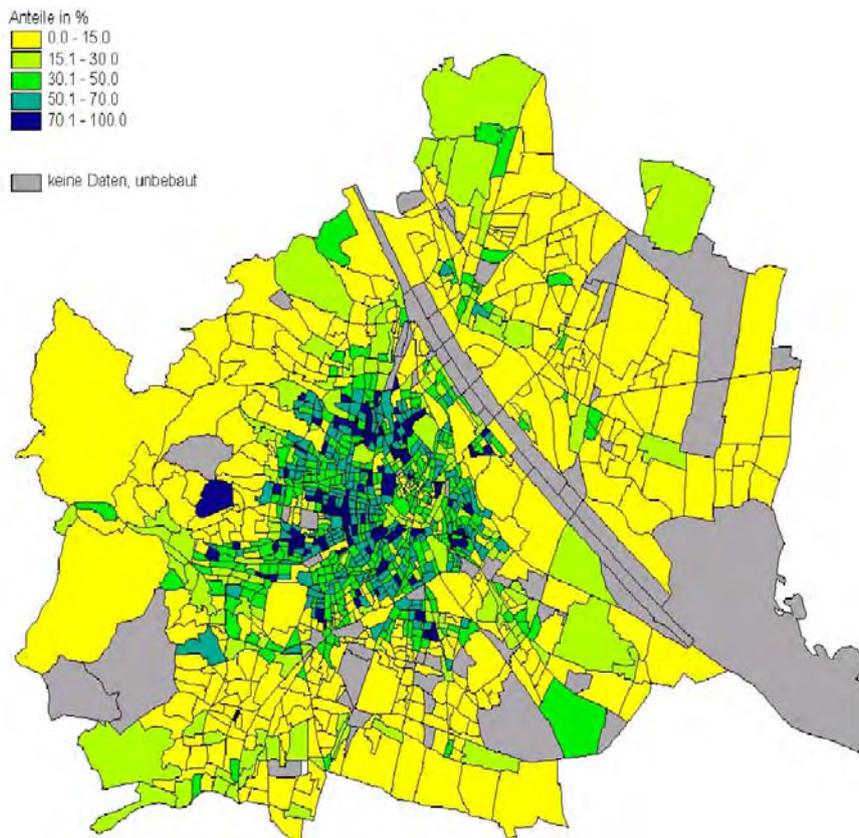
Understandably, economically successful migrants live in or move to high-priced neighbourhoods and also to new residential areas in the urban periphery, but more differences are evident between migrant groups and no typical housing patterns exist which would be specific for certain ethnic or national groups. During recent years, an increasing proportion of migrants moved to the 21st and 22nd districts on the other side of the river Danube and into housing which was built during the 1960s and 1970s.

### **Housing situation of residents with migration background**

The easiest access to the local housing market for migrants in Vienna is the *Gründerzeit* rental segment. According to historical structures, the physical quality of buildings in the mentioned neighbourhoods needs more structural repair. There is some conflict of interest in the districts built during the *Gründerzeit* (1850 to 1914) with respect to the protection and preservation of buildings and housing estates on the one hand, and new social, economic and housing-related developments on the other hand. Urban areas from the *Gründerzeit* have in many ways proven to be 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 to an array of new functions. Therefore, any structures dating back to this era are treated with sensitivity despite the goal of eliminating any remaining substandard flats. 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 housing as quickly as possible. These areas which were earmarked for urban expansion were mainly situated in the northeastern and southern development areas of the city.

Figure 7 shows the distribution of the *Gründerzeit* building stock in the urban areas of Vienna. It is obvious that this available housing dominates not only in the city centre but in the inner districts as well as in the old working class districts outside the Gürtel area which were built up during the late *Gründerzeit* era and are traditionally quarters for migrants. Until 1918, this group mostly consisted of Czech, Polish and Hungarian workers from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and since the 1970s guest workers from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey are concentrated in these areas. Today, a very heterogeneous ethno-national mix of immigrants and Austrian families can be found in these areas.

Figure 7: Proportion of the *Gründerzeit* building stock among the entire building stock in parishes (%)



Note: The colour-coded categories refer to the percentages of building stock. 'Keine Daten, unbebaut' = No data, not built-up.  
Source: Statistics Austria; cartography: Ursula Reeger

Most of the residents with a migration background can be located in the privately rented housing segment. Category D accommodation – with no water and/or toilet facilities inside – is decreasing as a result of renovation and a general renewal of the city, but they had been an important segment for immigrants. Since the end of the 1990s, an intensified change to high-standard housing may be seen. In certain localities of the city, the share of flats with substandard utilities is still twice as high as the overall city average. Nonetheless, the share of substandard flats has decreased steeply over the last 20 years.

Most of the private homeowners are Austrian citizens: in 2001, 97% of homeowners were Austrian. On the other hand, access to public (council) housing is restricted and until the beginning of 2006 most residents with third-country citizenship, except refugees with asylum status, could not apply for public accommodation – except for emergency accommodation (*Notfallwohnungen*). This has affected some 2,000 people since 2000.

Variations in housing standard between ethno-national groups of the migrant population are also apparent. The housing standards among elite migrants, such as those from Germany, Japan or the US, is usually even better than the Austrian average. In addition, the housing stock of middle class migrants is relatively well equipped. In 2001, 88% of all Austrians lived in Category A accommodation comprising more than 30 square metres, but this only applied to 62% of Turks and former Yugoslavs. Overall, 2.5% of Austrians lived in Category D accommodation, while this was the case among 18.5% of people with Turkish citizenship and 27% of people from Serbia-Montenegro. Naturalised migrants had better standards of accommodation but still lagged behind indigenous Austrians in this regard. The size of the apartment is a strong indicator of housing standard and inhabitants with a migration background more often have temporary rental contracts. Temporary rental contracts are more common in other areas of Austria than in Vienna – for example, only 7% of rentals contracts are of a temporary nature in Vienna compared with 30% in the state of Tyrol in the west of Austria.

Tables 6 and 7 show not only the differences between Austrians, elite migrants (Germans) and working class migrants (Turks, former Yugoslavs) concerning housing standards but also the improvement in the average level of utilities in flats from 1991 to 2001. The housing standard of Germans is even higher than that of native Austrians, with 90.8% of Germans living in the best equipped Category A accommodation (Table 1). Category D represents the worst equipped housing units in which about 40% of the Turkish and former Yugoslav population had to live in 2001 (Table 7). Compared with 1991, this represents a considerable improvement in housing standards, as in 1991 some 75.6% of the Turkish and 68.8% of the ex-Yugoslav population inhabited apartments without a toilet and/or water supply inside.

Table 6: *Apartments according to level of utilities and nationality of household representative, 1991 (%)*

	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Total
Austria	68.3	10.3	6.5	14.9	100.0
Former Yugoslavia	14.1	8.7	8.5	68.8	100.0
Turkey	10.8	8.5	5.1	75.6	100.0
Germany	66.7	10.1	4.8	18.5	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>64.8</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>18.5</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Notes: *Category A = with central heating, bathroom/shower and toilet inside; Category B = with bathroom/shower and toilet inside; Category C = with toilet and water supply inside; Category D = with no toilet and/or no water supply inside.*  
 Source: *Statistics Austria, Housing situation of the population 2001*

Table 7: *Apartments according to level of utilities and nationality of household representative, 2001 (%)*

	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Total
Austria	88.0	5.4	1.6	5.0	100.0
Former Yugoslavia	46.7	11.5	2.4	39.3	100.0
Turkey	46.1	11.7	1.5	40.8	100.0
Germany	90.8	4.8	0.7	4.0	100.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>85.0</b>	<b>5.9</b>	<b>1.5</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Notes: *Category A = with central heating, bathroom/shower and toilet inside; Category B = with bathroom/shower and toilet inside; Category C = with toilet and water supply inside; Category D = with no toilet and/or no water supply inside.*  
 Source: *Statistics Austria, Housing situation of the population 2001*

Concerning the affordability of housing, the following figures are interesting: in 2004–2005, 21.3% of the households' income was spent on housing and energy, while in 1999–2000 the proportion was 22.1%. During the same period, rents increased from 7.5% to 8.3%, as did overhead costs from 5.2% to 5.3%. In the same period, energy costs decreased slightly by 1.2%. In particular, migrants can be found in the rental sector and are therefore strongly affected by increasing

costs for housing. The data represent only the average numbers. Residents with a migration background have lower incomes and certainly have to spend a considerable part of the household's income on housing costs.

Some district-based examples of population density in Vienna for 2001 reveal the fundamental district-specific differences in this respect:

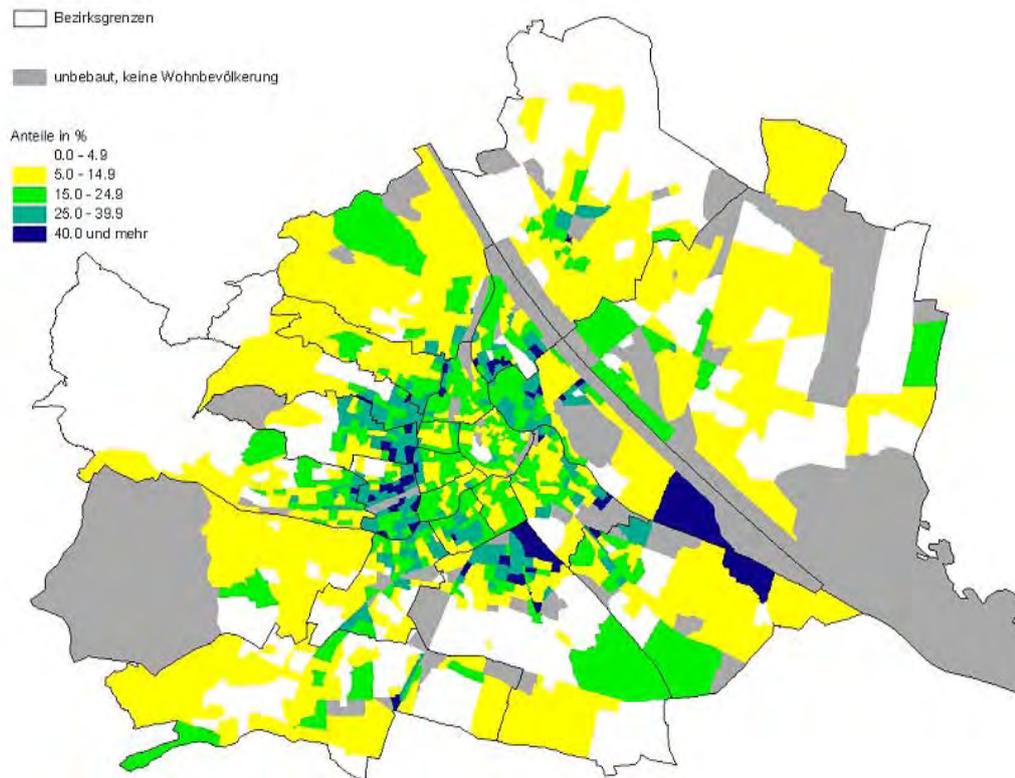
- 8th district – 20,708 residents per square kilometre (a middle class inner city district dominated by *Gründerzeit* housing units);
- 15th district – 16,555 residents per square kilometre (a traditional working class area, with the highest proportion of residents with a migration background in Vienna; *Gründerzeit* housing units are more dominant);
- 13th district – 1,297 residents per square kilometre (typical 'bourgeois' or middle class district; housing units dominated by single family houses and villas);
- 21st district – 2,772 residents per square kilometre (a working class district, with relatively newly built housing stock from the 1960s to the 1990s).

Sharp differences can not only be observed between Austrians and migrants but also between different migrant groups concerning the living space per person. For example, in Turkish families, three fifths of all family members have less than 20 square metres of living space, one fifth use 20–30 square metres and another one fifth at least 30 square metres. Overall, 50% of the members of households from the former Yugoslavia have less than 20 square metres housing space at their disposal. In comparison, 67% of Austrian household members use 20–60 square metres and 25% have even more than 60 square metres at their disposal.

Market barriers have an enormous influence on the spatial segregation patterns of immigrant groups. 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 former Yugoslavs. Housing patterns have also been affected by recent economic and social trends and the ongoing deregulation of the housing market.

Some concentration of residents with a migration background, particularly those from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia, can be found in the area of Gürtel West, which includes the outer (west)frontier of the 6th and 7th districts but primarily the east of the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th districts. In 2005, the 15th district had the largest concentration (31.5%) of residents with a migration background. The 2nd, 5th, 7th, 16th, 17th and 20th districts also had a high concentration (more than 23%) of residents with a migrant background. The 2nd and 20th districts are located to the northeast of the inner city (1st district). Another area with a high number of residents with a migrant background is near Matzleinsdorferplatz in the 5th district and Keplerplatz in the 10th district (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Spatial distribution of foreign residential population in parishes, 2001

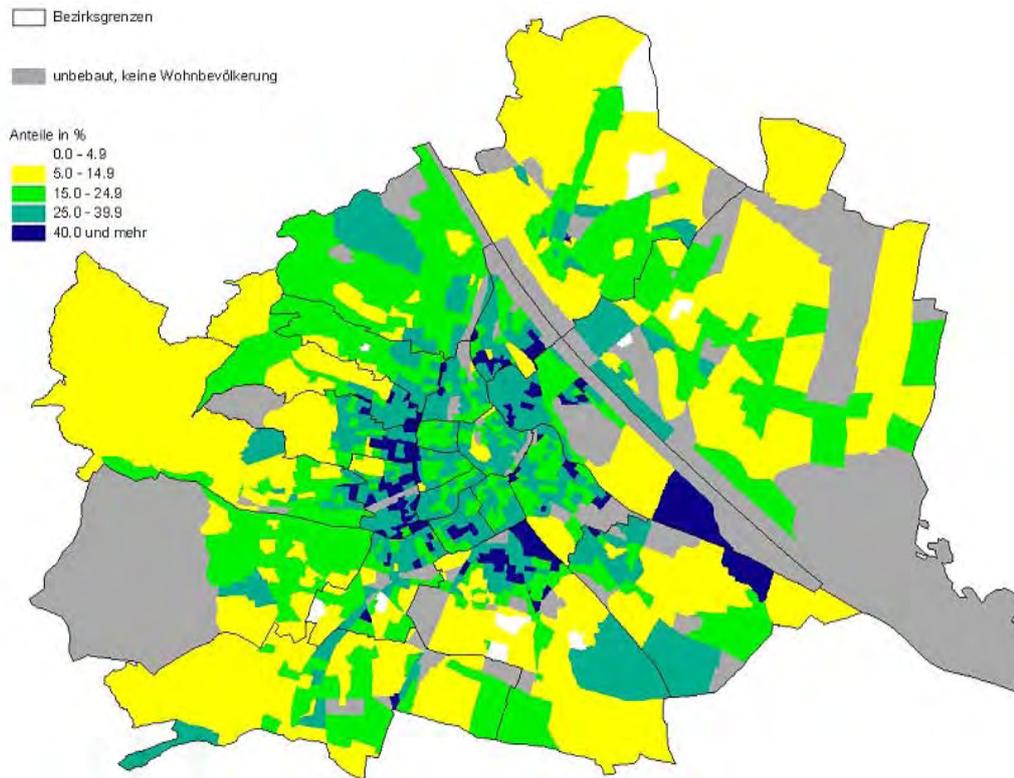


Notes: 'Bezirksgrenzen' = district borders; 'unbebaut, keine Wohnbevölkerung' = not built-up, no resident population; percentages of foreign population are broken down into 0%–4.9%, 5%–14.9%, 15%–24.9%; 25%–39.9%, 40% and more.

Source: Census 2001 data; cartography: Ursula Reeger

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 *Gründerzeit*) and infrastructure (the Gürtel ring road is one of the most frequently travelled transport routes in Vienna). On closer inspection, segregation is concentrated in smaller units (*Zählbezirksebene*). 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 less of residents in these districts. A wide difference can also be seen between EU15 citizens (especially Germans) and other foreign citizenships. EU15 citizens live in many cases in districts near the inner city and in the 13th and 19th districts. According to the Urban Development Plan of Vienna 2005 (STEP05), it appears that the 1st, 13th and 19th districts were the leading areas in terms of average income in 2001. The level of education in 2001 also shows spatial concentrations.

The population with a migration background is concentrated in the working class districts in the Gürtel-zone. In the city's inner districts, local concentrations of naturalised migrants of even 39.9% are observable in a fringe of parishes outside the 1st district. The highest concentrations are typical for the districts of Hernals, Ottakring, Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, Meidling and Favoriten and in the north of the urban area in the 2nd and 20th districts. Here the proportion of the residential population born abroad amounts to over 40% in some parishes (Figure 9).

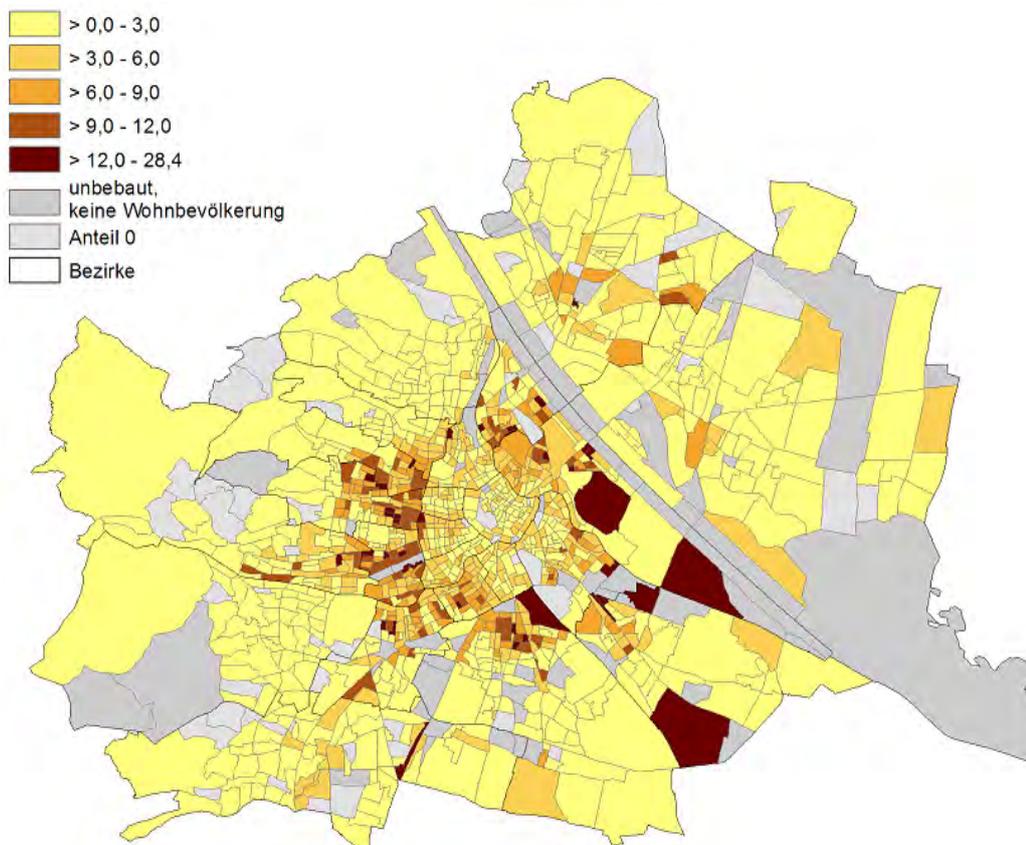
Figure 9: *Spatial distribution of naturalised migrants in parishes, 2001*

Notes: 'Bezirksgrenzen' = district borders; 'unbebaut, keine Wohnbevölkerung' = not built-up, no resident population; percentages of foreign population are broken down into 0%–4.9%, 5%–14.9%, 15%–24.9%; 25%–39.9%, 40% and more.

Source: Statistics Austria, Census 2001; cartography: U. Reeger

Migrants from Serbia and Montenegro are traditionally the most numerous groups of migrants in Vienna (Figure 10). Since the era of guest worker migration, this ethno-national group has settled in the classical guest worker districts of the city. These districts are forming a fringe along the Gürtel area, where in many parishes the proportion of Serbs and Montenegrins is between 9.1% and 12%, reaching a maximum of 28.4% in some areas. The composition of the immigrant population living in Vienna has, however, diversified considerably in recent years. In 2005, the proportion of ex-Yugoslav and Turkish citizens amounted to 51.3% of the immigrant population and 9.7% of the whole population, accounting for 18.7% of all foreign citizens.

Figure 10: Proportion of Serbian citizens among residential population, 2001



Notes: The colour-coding refers to the percentages of Serbian citizens; 'unbebaut, keine Wohnbevölkerung' = not built-up, no resident population; 'Anteil 0' = proportion is zero; 'Bezirke' = districts.  
Source: ISR; cartography: Marco Helbich

## Accessibility of housing market system

Public (council) housing was only made available in January 2006 to immigrants with third-country citizenship and long-term residence in the EC and is also bound to income limits and social requirements. Before 2006, only inhabitants with Austrian and comparable EC citizenship and refugees with asylum status were able to make demands on public flats. Residents without Austrian citizenship had no access to public accommodation. An important change introduced on 1 January 2006 involved the granting of access to public housing for immigrants with long-term residence status in the EC – on the condition of a legal residency of at least five years and other conditions which apply to everybody, such as social criteria. Until then, third-country nationals had been excluded from public housing, except emergency accommodation (*Notfallwohnungen*) comprising a small segment of public (council) housing (some 2,000 flats) made available to third-country nationals in 2000.

In the private rental sector, *Gründerzeit* buildings dominate and there are no (legal) restrictions on access for migrants, although some homeowners create their 'own' restrictions.

The accessibility of owner-occupied housing is marginal because equity has to be high; therefore, this segment is usually in the ownership of middle and upper class people.

In recent years, an increasing number of migrants moved to the non-profit rental housing sector. In this case, and on the basis that they comply with income limits, they can take up residence in state-subsidised housing or so-called housing associations. Cooperative housing is more often an option for middle class migrants than for blue-collar workers.

### Discrimination

Direct discrimination of immigrants with third-country citizenship was removed in 2006 by offering access to the social (public) housing sector. Thus, third-country nationals who have long-term residence status in the EC – including a minimum legal residency period of five years, a stable and sufficient income and no criminal record – are no longer discriminated with regard to housing options.

Anti-discrimination legislation was only introduced in 2004 at the federal and regional level in the process of implementing the EU Race Equality Directive (Council Directive 2000/43/EC<sup>4</sup>) agreed in 2000, which covers, among other areas, access to public goods and services including housing.<sup>5</sup>

No valid and all-embracing data about individual housing discrimination of migrants are available, but it is apparently a matter requiring attention and its annihilation should be a part of general integration measures. In a survey by Kohlbacher and Reeger (2002) based on a sample of 450 migrants from Poland, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia emphasised housing discrimination as a problem, more so than labour market problems. Germans appear to be the least discriminated migrant group within the Viennese housing market.

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<sup>4</sup> <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0043:EN:HTML>.

<sup>5</sup> Act on Equal Treatment for Men and Women – *Gleichbehandlungsgesetz (GIBG) und Änderung des Bundesgesetzes über die Gleichbehandlung von Frau und Mann im Arbeitsleben*, Bundesgesetzblatt (BGBl) I 66/2004, Articles 38–40 (Paragraph 2: *Grundsätze für die Regelung der Gleichbehandlung ohne Unterschied der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit in sonstigen Bereichen*). Vienna Antidiscrimination Law – *Bekämpfung von Diskriminierung (Wiener Antidiskriminierungsgesetz)*, Landesgesetzblatt (LGBl) 35/2004, 8 September 2004, available online at: <http://www.wien.gv.at/recht/landesrecht-wien/landesgesetzblatt/jahrgang/2004/html/lg2004035.htm>. Stelle zur Bekämpfung von Diskriminierungen, Büro des Unabhängigen Bedienstetenschutzbeauftragten

Another very vulnerable group with regard to discrimination in the housing market are Sub-Saharan Africans. According to Africans in Vienna (Ebermann, 2002, p.3) (quoted in the RAXEN 4 national study on housing<sup>6</sup> from October 2003), Sub-Saharan Africans – a community encompassing between 6,500 and 7,000 people in Vienna – experience considerable discrimination when looking for an apartment in Vienna. A survey among 154 Africans from June to September 2000 revealed the following (Ebermann, 2002, pp. 214–229):

- with regard to acceptance in the housing market, one third of the interviewees revealed a highly hostile attitude of Austrians towards Africans;
- regarding denial of an African as a tenant, almost three quarters of the respondents said that the rejection of black people as tenants was caused by the presumption that they could not pay the rent, about two thirds attributed the refusal to racism, familiarity with Africans or presumed problems to adapt to Viennese society, and about one third to the fact that Africans were presumably louder tenants;
- discrimination testing<sup>7</sup> showed that scepticism towards Africans in the housing market is widespread. Depending on the kind of survey, the rejection rate lay between one quarter and one third of the respondents.

These findings demonstrate that not only the segmentation of the housing market but also direct discrimination by landlords/landladies and property management prevents migrants from integrating into the housing market.

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<sup>6</sup> European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) network, RAXEN Focal point for Austria, National Report on Housing, October 2003, available online at: <http://www.univie.ac.at/bim/php/focalpoint/index.php?V1=4>.

<sup>7</sup> The researchers applied for 190 vacant flats between 2000 and 2001, which were evenly distributed over Vienna's 23 districts and covered different sizes, costs and categories. An Austrian citizen would visit a flat to make sure that the flat was still available. Only then, they could reveal that they were looking for a flat on behalf of an African friend. Both the frequencies of reticent and reluctant reactions from the owners and the quality of the reactions were recorded.

# Institutional setting and relevant actors

The most relevant competencies in the area of housing lie with the administrative unit of housing. The second most relevant actor in the area of housing is the administrative unit for city development and city planning. The third most relevant actor is the unit for health and social affairs. The main actors which are relevant for the housing integration of migrants are mostly the same:

- the administrative group for Housing, Housing Construction and Urban Renewal (*Geschäftsgruppe Wohnen, Wohnbau und Stadterneuerung*) includes the Housing Promotion and Arbitration Board for Legal Housing Matters (MA 50) responsible for housing affairs, research and mediation, and the Department for Technical and Financial Assessment in Matters of Housing Construction and Promotion, Specialised Urban Renewal (MA 25) which is in charge of special affairs relating to urban renewal and intercultural mediation. The Vienna Housing Subsidies Department (within MA 50) takes an active role in Austrian and international housing research – such as the European Network for Housing Research, ENHR – in supporting Austrian and international expert groups coming to Vienna;
- the Department for Urban Development and Planning (*Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung*, MA 18);
- the Vienna Social Fund (*Fonds Soziales Wien*) is responsible for implementing basic care for asylum seekers in Vienna (*Grundversorgung*). The fund has the responsibility for the provision of accommodation, food, subsidies for school requirements and clothing, health insurance and medical care, information, counselling and accompaniment, transport costs and costs for the voluntary return of asylum seekers to their home country. A further duty of the fund is the provision of housing for homeless people.

A further relevant actor is MA 17.

The competence for integration and diversity affairs is within the administrative unit for integration, women's and consumer affairs. The city of Vienna has established this department in July 2004. The department team is multicultural and offers services in 23 different languages. Its mainstreaming tasks across all units are in the process of being developed and strengthened. At present in the area of housing, MA 17 mainly 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 lack of access of most third-country nationals 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 the coordination office *Geschäftseinteilung für den Magistrat* (GEM) which lays down the legal basis and description for which department is in charge of which municipal affairs.

## Non-municipal actors: NGOs and other organisations

The following non-municipal actors are among others active in supporting the integration of immigrants in general and in relation to housing in particular:

- Evangelische Diakonie – provides housing for asylum seekers and those with temporary protection status;
- Integrationshaus Wien – provides housing for asylum seekers and refugees with asylum status;
- People's Aid Austria (Volkshilfe Österreich/Vienna) – responsible for the Housing Exchange project 'Wohndrehscheibe' (see Chapter 6) and basic care for asylum seekers;

- Caritas Vienna – provides housing for asylum seekers, homeless people and other groups in need; runs the Asylum Centre Vienna (*Asylzentrum Wien*) which is a coordinating centre for Vienna's basic care for asylum seekers (*Grundversorgung*) for the city of Vienna.

Moreover, basic care for asylum seekers is provided by:

- Arbeiter-Samariter-Bund Österreichs, Landesverband Wien;
- Association for Democracy in Africa (ADA);
- Verein Ute Bock.

It must be emphasised that activities of migrant organisations in the housing sector are not relevant in Vienna – except to a minor extent for the housing of asylum seekers. The city of Vienna provides a broad range of advice services for all residents, native Austrians and migrants, consisting of housing advice, financial support and other assistance.

# Housing policy

## Vision, concepts and policy of administration

Integration should not only be a residential theme but part of a concept to avoid segmentation. Equal treatment is important in municipal and non-profit housing for inhabitants with a migration background. One general goal which is relevant in the context of housing integration of immigrants can be found in STEP05:

*The city of Vienna has to take care to safeguard, stabilise 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.<sup>8</sup>*

Vienna boasts exceptional quality of life compared with other cities worldwide. Quality of life does not mean high rents, however. 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 people in all income brackets. Social housing has a long tradition in Vienna and 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. Since 1995, special emphasis has been placed on comprehensive quality of subsidised housing. Economic and ecological considerations are just as important as architectural ones. Experimental projects, such as a car-free model housing estate, women's workshops I and II, integration projects and passive energy building are to further improve quality. About 5,000 new apartments have been built each year. Apart from new housing, many old buildings have also been renovated.

There are no important 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 opportunities for all inhabitants regardless of ethnic origin and social class.

The subject of equal rights and opportunities in the area 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.

A subject of special importance with regard to immigrants is the ability to live together peacefully. In this respect, significant efforts have been undertaken to provide services to mediate conflicts in neighbourhoods, especially in the municipal housing sector where a trend seems to have emerged to perceive usual conflicts of daily life (such as with regard to noise and pollution) in a different manner when immigrants are involved.

Recent surveys, however, show that most tenants of municipal housing view dogs and their excrements as the most annoying problem.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> See <http://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/step/pdf/step05kurz-en.pdf>.

<sup>9</sup> See study on 'Lebensqualität im Wiener Gemeindebau, Politische Botschaften', Institute for Empirical Social Studies (*Institut für empirische Sozialforschung*, IFES), July 2006, carried out on behalf of the city of Vienna and Wiener Wohnen.

### Decentralised housing policies

Within the federal constitution of Austria, the nine federal provinces enjoy a certain freedom in formulating their housing policies. Vienna, which is also a province, differs considerably from the rest of the country being Austria's only metropolitan area. In 1988, most of the respective legal instruments were completely decentralised to the federal states, leaving only a few regulations to be implemented at national level – most importantly, the Tenancy Act, the Home Ownership Act, and the Non-Profit Housing Act. Vienna – as a federal province – has broad legal and executive competence in the area of promoting urban building projects, renovation and various subsidies and measures to support tenants and homeowners.<sup>10</sup>

### Non-profit housing<sup>11</sup>

In Vienna, an active housing policy of the socio-democratic city council is traditionally an important tool against social marginalisation. Residential separation and patterns of segregation do exist but the Vienna city council makes strong efforts to weaken such patterns. The Viennese housing market has a long tradition of significant communal intervention and social engineering. As already mentioned, the city of Vienna aims to provide affordable quality housing for people in all income brackets. Although in Vienna the privately-owned rental housing stock is numerically dominating, the communal and cooperative housing sectors – generally managed by housing corporations – are similarly important segments of the local housing market. However, the level of state intervention in residential policy in Austria is not as high as, for example, in the Netherlands.

Today, social housing includes community-owned apartments and subsidised rental apartments as well as apartments built by non-profit or commercial building societies. Still, in recent years, the major part of new social housing has been carried out by non-profit housing associations as described earlier in Chapter 3 on the housing situation.

Since 1995, special emphasis has been placed on comprehensive quality of subsidised housing. Economic and ecological considerations are just as important as architectural ones. Experimental projects, such as integration projects and passive houses, are to further improve quality. Apart from new housing, many old buildings have also been renovated. City renewal in the inner districts is an important strategy for improving the housing quality for the residents in these areas.

As mentioned previously, non-profit housing associations enjoy tax reliefs and have to reinvest profits back into housing, while rents are strictly regulated. The maximum monthly net rent for a subsidised apartment in Vienna is currently €3.97 per square metre, or €6–€7 per square metre in total (see also Chapter 3).

Vienna social housing represents a manifold system, which for decades has continuously developed and adapted to meet new challenges. In spite of its complexity, however, its primary aim should be kept in mind: to offer comfortable contemporary housing in an attractive urban environment to all residents at affordable prices.

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<sup>10</sup> Legal texts and sources are available (in German) at: <http://www.wien.gv.at/recht/landesrecht-wien/rechtvorschriften/b.htm>; see also: Förster, W., 80 years of social housing in Vienna, MA 50, Vienna, 2002, available online at: <http://www.wien.gv.at/english/housing/promotion/index.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Förster, W., *Sozialer Wohnbau in Wien: 80 Jahre Erfolg und Herausforderung*, MA 50, 2002, available online at: <http://www.gebietsbetreuung.wien.at/htdocs/sozialeswohnen.html>.

### Secure financing

The financing of social housing, both in the rental sector and in the subsidised owner-occupied and single-family housing sector, is based on a fixed, earmarked part of the income tax, the corporate tax, and the housing contributions, the latter of which is paid directly by all employed persons. These national tax revenues are distributed to the nine federal provinces according to a complex financial agreement, with Vienna receiving about €380 million each year, which is allocated for housing purposes. The federal province of Vienna adds about €141 million annually from its own budget. Despite several budget cuts in recent years, this way of financing still provides a secure basis for the planning of social housing programmes on a large scale, which would not be possible under strictly market-oriented housing policies. The city itself, however, had to contribute further financing from its own budgets in recent years due to an increased housing demand. Although this subsidisation of housing from allocated tax income is to some extent dependent on the city's overall economic development, subsidies such as these directly influence the production of new housing – compared with tax-deduction models used in many countries that primarily benefit more affluent households.

### Social city planning

In Vienna, housing is understood as a part of social-oriented city planning. The city has set up an infrastructure commission to define in detail the conditions for subsidised housing projects. Thus, new housing projects form part of an existing area and help to overcome infrastructure deficiencies, such as in schools and health institutions. Public means of transport are equally important. The general rules are included in the City Development Plan and are revised and adopted by the city council on average every 10 years. The plan defines the general aims and the development trends, including housing or business areas of the city, areas of urban development along public transport lines, as well as green areas. 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, among others, and is also adopted by the city council. It includes the exact designation (*Widmung*) of each single plot of land in Vienna. These plans are drafted by the respective City Planning and Land Use Departments (MA 21A, B or C) and by the politicians (councillors) with responsibility for urban planning and housing.

### Social architecture

The general policy of Vienna – that is, 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, which is a provincial act in Vienna. 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 the city's exact use for each plot of land, the height and form of the buildings (for example, whether they are free standing or attached), the maximum density of the plot, the number of green areas, as well as underground building plans. They are legally binding for everyone after adoption by the city council.

Other chapters of the Building Order law stipulate the technical requirements, such as health protection and accessibility for disabled persons, as well as the architectural design. Without impeding modern architecture even in so-called protection zones, any disturbance of the overall urban landscape should be prevented. The city has its own Department for Architecture and Urban Design (MA 19) to provide advice and to offer assistance in deciding on new buildings, reconstructions or the design of open spaces. The department has also collected data about culturally valuable buildings, which can be accessed via the internet.

## Public discourse

As homelessness, deprivation of areas and other serious problems of housing integration of immigrants are successfully counteracted by the city council, there is no controversial discourse about these topics. Before 2006, the Viennese conservative party ÖVP often criticised the fact that migrants do not have access to social housing. Integration topics of much more public interest than housing are education and schools with high proportions of migrant children and the question of language acquisition. Local media are usually only temporarily interested in migrant housing when the results of some research projects are published or a case of extreme exploitation of tenants becomes public knowledge.

In the actual public discussion, there is some consensus about the necessity for public intervention in the housing sector. Thus, a variety of measures intervening in the housing sphere exist in Vienna (see the next chapter on interventions on housing and integration).

Social housing is dependent on urban planning, architecture, ecology and 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 housing research programmes and the distribution of their results in publications, presentations and the regular publishing of housing issues in the media. The clients of social housing, such as potential house hunters, are informed comprehensively and unbureaucratically.

At Vienna's housing service (*Wohnservice Wien*), all information about planned and completed subsidised housing projects can be obtained at its centrally-located centre or on its website. But this is only the beginning. The city is now implementing its e-government strategy, which in the near future will enable residents to carry out all necessary steps to obtain information from their own homes, from the first overview of new housing, to the reservation of a particular apartment.

Vienna social housing thus represents a diverse system, which for decades has continuously developed and adapted to meet new challenges. In spite of its complexity, however, as already emphasised, its primary aim of offering comfortable contemporary housing to all residents at affordable prices remains.

## How residents evaluate housing situation

Due to the results of the survey on 'Living and liveability in Vienna II' (LLIW II)<sup>12</sup>, which is a valid empirical basis for the evaluation of the housing situation and level of housing satisfaction of the Viennese population, the Viennese have experienced an increase in both subjective satisfaction with their environment and housing as well as in objective quality of housing. A comparison of the results with those of the 1995 study on 'Living in Vienna' (LIW I) shows that the objective quality in housing supply has indeed increased. This comparison also indicates an increased level of satisfaction with regard to many aspects of living environment and housing, for instance with the location of one's dwelling. This observation has led to new questions, regarding what had caused this increase and which social groups had benefited from the improvement in objective housing quality. Therefore, the MA 50 (*Referat Wohnbauforschung*, the city council of Vienna's housing department) commissioned the SORA Institute for Social Research and Analysis in Vienna to conduct an extra evaluation of both data sets (LIW I and LLIW II), which considers these new questions in two modules and furthermore offers conclusions for the city's housing policy.

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<sup>12</sup> SORA Institute for Social Research and Analysis, *Living in Vienna: Satisfaction with and quality of housing. An extra report on living and liveability in Vienna II*, study commissioned by MA 50 – *Referat Wohnbauförderung*.

The second part of this study, 'Housing standard, social justice and integration' (*Wohnqualität, soziale Gerechtigkeit und Integration*), focuses on which social groups have benefited from the improvements achieved since 1995 and who has not experienced an improvement in their housing quality. The focus of this part of the study is on objective housing quality and therefore on facilities and conditions of dwellings, premises and their surroundings. Key importance is placed on the issue of social justice in housing and in the fair distribution of the improvements achieved in housing in recent years. A comparison is made here between the housing situation of different household types –poverty-endangered single mothers, single women over the age of 60 years, families with many children, couples with a double income and no children – as well as different population groups. The housing situation of migrants and their heterogeneity receives special emphasis in this study. The study considered not only non-Austrian citizens but also naturalised immigrants (module 2 of the study).

Vienna's inhabitants had already shown a high level of satisfaction with their living environment and housing in 1995, but in some aspects, their level of contentment has continued to grown up to 2003. Among those aspects which have experienced an improvement, in particular, the size of the living space, the location of the housing and the reputation of the area of residence were considered on more satisfactory scale in 2003 than in 1995. A stagnating aspect, however, was the level of satisfaction of Viennese people with the cost of their dwellings, compared with the 1995 results. However, it should be considered that, during this period, the cost-performance ratio increased in importance for Viennese people and therefore changes in prices had a stronger effect on the overall satisfaction level in 2003 than in 1995.

It is interesting to look at who is benefiting from the increase in quality of housing. All analysed groups show an increase in satisfaction with their housing and living environment from 1995 to 2003. Both households at risk of poverty as well as those that are more affluent have profited from the increase in housing quality, although to a different extent. The results show that those at risk of poverty who are not Austrian citizens have experienced the biggest increase in 'objective living environment and housing quality', although always departing from the lowest standard. Despite this above-average improvement, this group is still in a worse position with regard to the amount of furniture and equipment in dwellings and premises in which they live as well as the facilities in the surrounding areas than non-poverty endangered native Austrians or poverty-endangered naturalised citizens.

# Interventions on housing and integration

## Physical improvement of housing

### Soft urban renewal<sup>13</sup>

In Vienna – a city with 2,000 years of history reflected in its urban and building structure – and in many other cities, the greatest urban problems are concentrated in those city districts that are most in need of modernisation. Such areas include those with a high percentage of families with low incomes, deficient infrastructure and high levels of environmental pollution.

At the start of the soft urban renewal programme in 1984, more than 300,000 apartments (39% of the total housing stock) were considered to be of insufficient standard, as they had no toilets and/or water supply inside. According to the residential structures that were fixed during the *Gründerzeit*, the physical quality of housing in some ‘problematic’ neighbourhoods needed more structural repair than renovation only. As a first step, physical improvement was necessary.

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 dilapidated areas of the city.

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 continuous 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, as well as mixed use of and adaptation to the existing infrastructure. Reconversion and upgrading of the existing urban structure is supported rather than demolition and new building projects.

The Viennese model of ‘soft’ urban renewal places residents high on the list of priorities so as to minimise the repression frequently induced by improvement activities. Property owners and residents are involved in the process. The main emphasis is placed on so-called ‘base improvement’, which focuses 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 defined 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.

Currently, more than 150,000 apartments have been upgraded with the use of public subsidies, representing one sixth of the total housing stock in Vienna. This is the result of one of the world’s leading tenant-oriented urban renewal programmes.

## Actors and measures of soft or sustainable urban renewal

### Key dates

1974 brought the foundation of the first area renewal office, as well as the development of the strategy of ‘soft’ urban renewal. In 1984, the subsidised housing renewal programme was launched, with the foundation of Vienna Land Procurement and Urban Renewal Fund, WBSF). This project is still running under the name *Wohnfonds Wien*. Subsequently, in 1989, Austrian housing policies were decentralised to the nine federal provinces, with Vienna being one of them. Moreover, in the same year, the Vienna Housing Subsidisation and Housing Renewal Law (*Wiener Wohnbauförderungs- und Wohnhaussanierungsgesetz*, WWFSG) was adopted.

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<sup>13</sup> Förster, F., ‘Sustainable Urban Renewal’, UN-Habitat Best Practices Programme, MA 50, 1996 and 2002, available at: [http://www.bestpractices.at/main.php?page=vienna/best\\_practices/housing/urban\\_renewal&lang=en](http://www.bestpractices.at/main.php?page=vienna/best_practices/housing/urban_renewal&lang=en).

### *Actors involved*

The actors involved in soft or sustainable urban renewal included:

- the municipality (MA 50 and the Fund for housing construction and urban renewal – *Wohnfonds Wien*) and the area renewal offices;
- private and public landlords;
- owners and tenants, including migrants and native population.

Urban renewal means financial support from the city of Vienna for housing renovation programmes. The goals as defined by the strategy of soft urban renewal may be specified according to the objectives of housing renewal:

- soft urban renewal involves:
  - prioritising social criteria,
  - avoiding social segregation or gentrification,
  - avoiding forced change of ownership,
  - offering affordable rehabilitated housing;
- basic renewal or *Sockelsanierung* involves:
  - renewal of inhabited buildings,
  - distribution of responsibilities between owner and tenants, with tenants' participation,
  - tenant-oriented modernisation schemes, such as substitute housing offers;
- subsidies depend on the existing standard of apartments (maximum of 98% of total building costs). Allowances to low-income households are granted. A controlled and limited rent increase is possible. Subsidies are given on a point system, with priority determined by social, technical and urban criteria. An equal subsidy is given to privately-owned and publicly-owned rental buildings;
- single building approach, area-oriented renewal and conflict management involves:
  - no designated renewal areas with special subsidies,
  - area renewal offices (*Gebietsbetreuung*) to stimulate renewal measures and to coordinate improvement of public spaces,
  - block improvement schemes (*Blocksanierung*) including housing renewal, improvement of public spaces and ecological measures;
- municipal financial resources: urban renewal does not only mean investing in the renewal of the housing stock but it also implies improvement of the infrastructure such as open spaces and investments in public transport. A constant problem is that the Gürtel West and Gürtel South districts (5th and 10th districts) have not many green areas such as parks because these districts have the most frequently used transport routes through the city. Urban renewal also involves creating new green spaces in small areas which are unused and in courtyards.

Results achieved by these measures included the following:

- applications for renewal of 7,560 buildings with public assistance were made;
- 3,800 residential buildings with 181,000 apartments were approved for renewal;
- 2,160 buildings with 142,000 apartments were completed;
- total investments amounted to about €1.7 billion for completed projects, and €2.4 billion for all buildings recommended for the programme;
- public investments amounted to €1.8 billion for all projects recommended in the most dilapidated areas;
- from 1984 to 2001, the category of ‘substandard’ dwellings was reduced from about 320,000 units (39% of the total stock) to less than 125,000 units;
- the number of fully equipped apartments increased from about 328,000 to more than 715,000 units.

### Lessons learnt from urban renewal

Although a considerable amount of public money has been allocated to urban renewal projects in Vienna – a comparatively rich region in Europe – lessons can also be learnt regarding the case of poorer areas.

These lessons include:

- the priority of social criteria – renewal programmes have to target those already living in the area on the basis of their (financial) possibilities. The first aim must be to improve an area without evicting the residents;
- acceptance of different lifestyles – the aim is to preserve and improve as many old buildings as possible as long as it is economically viable to do so (that is, cheaper than constructing new housing). In this respect, it is not so important to achieve the standard of quality that new dwellings would offer. Different people have different demands on the quality of housing, and often these requirements can be met through comparatively modest means;
- ‘soft’ renewal strategies should concentrate on small-scale and/or low-standard renewal schemes giving new hope and a sense of pride to people living in dilapidated areas. At the same time, significant improvements can be made by following a step-to-step approach on the basis of a careful survey carried out regarding the existing problems, and including self-help activities. Such measures can also strengthen local business and provide new jobs in the area;
- an area-based approach should be used – urban renewal consists of more than technical measures. Typical area improvement schemes have to consider social problems such as unemployment, crime, ethnic tensions and drug abuse, which are mostly social problems that cannot be solved by renewal programmes alone. Area-based renewal requires a decentralisation of decisions, but at the same time an interdisciplinary approach to existing problems;
- information and training is necessary – early information has to be given to all parties involved, but if all groups participate, professional support has to be provided, particularly for weaker groups and for minority groups. Special training programmes are to be set up to compete with the range of problems to be tackled in typical renewal areas, thus training both technical experts and local citizens.
- economically weak times should be used to set the framework for renewal – as the case of Vienna shows, foundations for a future sustainable development can be laid even if at present there is only a small amount of funding available to carry out improvements. Relevant legislative means in Austria – such as the Tenancy Act and the Non Profit-Housing Act – have been developed when there were little or no means to rapidly improve the situation. In addition, the Housing Improvement Act was also established when Austria’s economic situation was significantly weaker than that

of most other western European countries. Ironically, this may have contributed to Austria's ability to avoid problems arising elsewhere, as there was less immediate economic pressure from different market forces. Economically weak times can therefore be used to concentrate on priority ('first aid') programmes and independently work out particular strategies for a sustainable development based on a careful study of the specific situation. Vienna's leading role in urban renewal policies proves that taking such initiatives is well worth the effort.

Although in Vienna a large amount of public monies has been invested in urban renewal, the Viennese model can also be applied in situations where less money is available for renewal. Vienna has often undertaken consultancy work in this context for communities in eastern European countries. For example, close contacts have been established between Vienna and the cities of Budapest in Hungary and Bratislava in Slovakia. The experience gained is applicable to other urban areas where redevelopment measures are being planned.

### Neighbourhood-based social policy measures and projects

#### Empowerment Schöpfwerk Vienna<sup>14</sup>

This project includes a number of sub-measures including neighbourhood-centred network programmes, cultural programmes and measures oriented towards the improvement of the image of a deprived neighbourhood through media influence. Schöpfwerk is the name of a 20-year-old housing development, which forms part of the Viennese social housing programme. Schöpfwerk is situated on the outskirts of the city of Vienna in the 12th district. It is home to about 5,000 residents, most of whom are living on low incomes. Only four years before the project started, most of the residents lived under a constant threat of not being able to afford their flat or that Schöpfwerk would turn into a social 'ghetto'. 'Empowerment Schöpfwerk' is a project developed with residents to find ways of immediately improving their quality of life. During the project, the persons involved learned to take their own initiative. They were supported in finding solutions to their problems through educational measures, contacts with experts and political decision-makers, as well as the assurance of necessary resources (such as meeting rooms, consultancy and media contact) which empowered them to become active on their own.

- Implementing organisation: Stadtteilzentrum Bassena
- Location and extension: Am Schöpfwerk 29/14, A-1120 Vienna
- Email: [stadtteilzentrum@bassena.at](mailto:stadtteilzentrum@bassena.at)
- Contact: Renate Schnee, Tel: +43 1 667 94 80

#### Description of project

The project started in 1995 and is still ongoing. During a residents survey carried out in 1995, specific problem areas were identified and then discussed in initiative groups consisting of residents, experts, decision-makers at the political and administrative levels, as well as a representative from the project steering group.

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<sup>14</sup> Schnee, R., 'Empowerment Schöpfwerk', UN-Habitat Best Practices Programme, MA50, 2000, available online at: [http://www.bestpractices.at/main.php?page=vienna/best\\_practices/participation/schoepfwerk&lang=en](http://www.bestpractices.at/main.php?page=vienna/best_practices/participation/schoepfwerk&lang=en).

Specific tasks were defined such as:

- transferring competencies from administration to residents, and downsizing of democracy;
- overcoming residents' passivity and frustration, by allowing residents to assume responsibility;
- improving the estate's image.

The initiative groups used several of the following methods to achieve their goals: moderation, mediation, interviews with experts, media influence, group work, campaigns, supervision and documentation. Residents were given responsibility for solving their problems with the help of educational measures, contacts with experts and decision-makers at the political level, and were supported in finding necessary resources empowering them to become active on their own.

Most of the work was completed by the residents who worked on a voluntary basis. These honorary activities were compensated, for example, by free attendance at advanced training courses. The commitment of these residents was supported by two social workers from the district centre Bassena. The centre is financed with regular funds from the city's youth centre association. It was established several years ago for the purpose of developing socio-cultural work in the district. Decision-makers at the political and administrative levels have contributed to Empowerment Schöpfwerk during regular office hours.

Major challenges from the outset included overcoming the negative image of this housing estate, dealing with the passivity and frustration experienced by residents and counteracting the reluctance of the administration to relinquish power and responsibility to residents. During several years, initiative groups including representatives from all parties involved prepared and implemented solutions and specifically defined projects. As a result, living costs for all of the 1,700 households resident in the Schöpfwerk estate were markedly reduced. Costs for bulk waste removal were reduced from €80,746 to €12,616 annually. Residents' initial passivity also took a turn for the better. In 1995, tenants only had one representative, while in 2000 a total of 23 women and men were working on a voluntary basis to bring fellow residents' concerns to the attention of property management. Communication on the estate has become more constructive. Residents began to broadcast their own radio programme and publish their own newspaper – *Schöpfwerkschimmel* – with a circulation of 2,200 copies in cooperation with community workers in the district centre. The cultural climate in the estate is also flourishing. In the summer of 1999, amateur artists from Schöpfwerk produced 15 open-air performances within the estate. Neighbourhood support was also organised. A local exchange trading system was set up, of which more than 30 households are members. The empowerment initiative continues with all projects well underway and is proving to be increasingly successful.

Empowerment Schöpfwerk triggered a number of smaller projects that were developed with the participation of residents who are visibly and substantially involved in sustaining these irreversible processes.

Municipal property management encourages tenants' representation and provides for it in its statutes. Statutes alone, however, are not enough to convince residents to take initiatives of their own. Empowerment Schöpfwerk, with its support and counselling through workshops for tenants' representatives, provided the necessary impetus to increase the number of tenants' representatives to 23 in 1999.

The safety concept has shown that clear and open design of public spaces is more successful in raising people's sense of safety and is also more cost-efficient than adding additional fences or surveillance systems in the estate. Women are encouraged to spend more time outdoors in the evenings and the overall image of the estate has been improved considerably. As a positive side-effect, vandalism has decreased as have the costs for subsequent cleaning and repair work. All of the proposed measures will be implemented step by step during the renovation works in the estate.

All of the tenants' representatives are currently involved in supporting residents' claims for incorrectly charged overheads – such as bulk waste removal – in court and with conciliation boards. Overheads, which due to tenants' commitment and monitoring have been reduced by up to €151 per family annually, will be kept at this level and may possibly be reduced even further. Tenants' representatives' tasks include identifying savings potentials, calculating the most economical overheads and repair costs and exchanging information at regular meetings. The Executive City Councillor for Housing Construction involved in the Schöpfwerk project has expressed his support for citizens' participation in the renovation of the 1,700 apartments due to be undertaken. Staff of several municipal departments are working together with residents to prepare solutions with the funds available.

Radio Schöpfwerk was launched three years ago as an experiment and has since established itself as a local radio. Continued broadcasting is made possible by the Austrian Broadcasting Company (*Österreichischen Rundfunk*, ORF).

The '*Polit-Stammtisch*', a round table of regular participants who come together four to six times a year at the Bassena, was set up several years ago to foster a culture of dialogue. Politicians from all of the five parties represented in the district meet with residents to discuss their issues and concerns. The five otherwise competing parties work together to submit residents' requests and applications to the district and city councils.

- People involved in the *Stammtisch* are experts at solving their own problems. Once professional decision-makers at the political and administrative levels have realised this, they will understand that their role is not to solve other people's problems from a higher level but to participate in the learning process. This will create an atmosphere of mutual understanding and acceptance and a sense of curiosity. Prejudices and class differences will give way to impartial perceptions of social and individual backgrounds and the developments people have undergone on both sides, that of the people concerned and of decision-makers at the political and administrative levels.
- The active participation of everyone affected by a particular problem will lead to sustainable problem-solving processes and joint implementation procedures. People directly affected are only motivated to become active if their concerns are heard. Social learning processes are triggered that will bring about positive results in dealing with conflicts and crisis situations.
- Empowerment is process-oriented, which means that every situation requires a separate approach. Synergy effects need to be recognised and goals must be adapted on an ongoing basis. A mediating body, equipped with the resources necessary to support initiated processes, assists in dealing with conflicts and problem situations effectively.
- Strategic goals formulated to reflect the interests of people concerned are considered binding guidelines. It is impossible to predict how empowerment will develop and what the impact of the process will be. Provision for open-ended goals must be made so that they can be implemented at the operational level. Thus, actors on both sides are given a chance to contribute their own creativity and problem-solving competencies, and to take responsibility.
- Discussions between local and external experts specialising in women's interests can help to promote women's concerns – for example, with regard to the design of public spaces and redesign of 'problem areas'. They also facilitate decision-making processes and consensus.

Of course, there are cases where both politicians and the administration refuse to cooperate. In such cases, diplomacy and soft pressure are required, a brinkmanship which is not always successful as the process has shown. However, the biggest mistake would be to act offended and concede. In those cases, it is better to start the negotiation process again.

### Success of the initiative

Vienna's 'Science Shop' – an independent research institute – encouraged a number of theses and dissertations on various aspects of the Empowerment Schöpfwerk project, such as media, democracy awareness, empowerment, communication patterns and an exchange circle.

Moreover, a social scientist was engaged to give scientific assistance and to assess the project. As mentioned previously, living costs for all of the 1,700 households resident in Schöpfwerk were markedly lowered and costs for bulk waste removal were reduced.

Residents' initial passivity regarding the project took a turn for the better with the number of tenants' representatives increasing from one in 1995 to 23 in 2000. These representatives were working on a voluntary basis to bring fellow residents' concerns to the attention of property management.

Communication within the estate has improved. More than 20 residents of all generations are currently working either with the local newspaper *Schöpfwerkschimmel* or the estate's own radio station. In total, 74.5% of the residents read the paper, and 8% listen to the radio station. More than one quarter of residents discuss together what they read in the paper or hear on the radio. As a result of these activities, communication between residents and the administration has also improved.

The cultural climate is also improving as noted above. In the summer of 1999, talented residents from Schöpfwerk organised 15 open-air events – such as concerts, readings and other performances – within the estate using funds from the district festival budget.

Neighbourhood support was initiated. A local exchange trading system was established with more than 30 households participating. The exchange circle is linked with other similar exchange circles established in other parts of Vienna and offers a wide range of exchange goods and services. The economic cycle continues through the initiative of the exchange partners.

The district centre Bassena has frequently reported on the progress of Empowerment Schöpfwerk. Social workers, architects, planners, politicians as well as residents of similar housing estates in German-speaking areas have shown a keen interest in the developments. Interested professionals from all areas of people-oriented work in Vienna were invited to participate in an exchange of experiences, through the so-called 'networking breakfast', held every six weeks at different locations throughout the city. This institution aims to establish a city-wide network for community work. Staff members from the Bassena now teach at different training locations in order to encourage social workers to pass on their experiences to future community workers. The Bassena itself has become a kind of 'tourist' centre for social workers. Excursions are organised to view the Schöpfwerk project. Residents themselves often discuss and explain their project to visitors. Trainee social workers participate in various programmes at the Bassena. Currently, six students are doing a practical semester on community work. The model for saving on waste removal costs has already been adopted by three large Viennese housing estates, and a fourth one is about to follow this model.

## Anti-segregation policy measures

These areas of intervention are also linked with renewal measures regarding the physical improvement of housing because an orientation towards better access of vulnerable groups to housing is inherent in all of them.

### Non-profit housing

The topic of communal housing has been already described: see the section above under ‘Housing situation’.<sup>15</sup>

### Integrative housing projects

Direct ownership of the local authority plays an important role in Vienna but also regulations and residential building by non-profit housing associations – such as the municipality or the State of Austria in collaboration with other housing associations. Altogether, in 2003, there were 14 integrative housing projects in Vienna – for example, those implemented by the non-profit housing association Sozialbau<sup>16</sup>:

- ‘*Interkulturelles Wohnen*’ Satzingerweg, 21st district: the project involved 51 flats housing 8% migrants and about 40% of households with an immigration background. The aim of the project was to integrate immigrants through neighbourhood relationships with native Austrians. Many collaborative areas exist. Economically well-off residents with a migration background had been selected from waiting lists. This project was carried out with the cooperation of the *Wohnberatungszentrum* in Vienna and the *Flüchtlingsfonds* of the BMI).
- ‘*Interethnische Nachbarschaft*’, in the Wiesen Nord area (‘Globaler Hof’), since 2000. Wiesen Nord is situated in Vienna’s 23rd district near the U6 (underground railway line), which is generally not a migrant district. This area houses residents from 17 countries of whom about 60% are migrants. The housing project consists of four different housing blocks with 141 apartments. A common roof garden and rooms are included, including a sauna, a turkish bath and a laundry room.

Of course, these projects have only a modest influence on existing patterns of segregation but they are a first step towards a better integration of the autochthonous and the migrant population in districts with a low proportion of foreign residents.

## Measures and projects for specific migrant groups

### Basic care for asylum seekers

The Vienna Social Fund is in charge of implementing basic care for asylum seekers and immigrants requiring assistance who must not or cannot be deported to their home countries. On 1 May 2004, an agreement was made between Austria’s federal government and the nine provinces, including Vienna, regarding the responsibility for the provision of accommodation, food, subsidies for school requirements and clothing, health insurance and medical care, information, counselling and accompaniment, transport costs and costs for the voluntary return of asylum seekers to their home country. As previously explained, it is also responsible for housing homeless people in general.

<sup>15</sup> Further information on implementation and background is available from UNECE Symposium Sozialer Wohnbau, available online at: <http://www.wohnbauforschung.at/Downloads/UNECEsymposium.pdf>; in the Austrian model of limited-profit housing; and also in Förster, W., *80 years of social housing in Vienna*, MA 50, Vienna, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.sozialbau.at/>; see also Fassmann and Stacher, 2003.

Basic care is provided for asylum seekers in the area of housing. Quotas were set for each province, with the quota for Vienna set at 5,578 persons. Indeed, Vienna exceeded this quota by 3,894 persons (reaching 8,877 persons) in 2004, by 1,897 persons (reaching 7,475 persons) in 2005 and by 1,438 persons (reaching 7,016 persons) in July 2006.

The Vienna Social Fund operates the Steering Agency for Basic Provisions which coordinates and controls all procedures and works together with the service centre, or Asylum Centre Vienna, run by Caritas. The latter is staffed by multilingual persons and responsible for practical handling. The centre performs services and counselling and is visited by up to 10,000 persons a month. Both institutions operate on behalf of the city of Vienna.

On the basis of an invitation to tender with detailed requirements as regards, for example, accommodation standards, number of staff, qualifications and food, Vienna selected NGOs which provide accommodation and accompaniment for about 35% of the asylum seekers in Vienna. Some of these NGOs also provide psychotherapeutic support for persons suffering from trauma. Overall, 65% of the asylum seekers live in privately-rented apartments and receive subsidies for rent and living costs as well as all of the other basic provisions mentioned. These private apartments are also controlled for appropriate standards. Within the private housing sector, a special market segment has emerged for asylum seekers, which needs to be monitored constantly in order to prevent exploitation of this group.

## Measures supporting access to affordable and decent housing

### Housing Exchange project by People's Aid Austria

In the mid 1990s, migrants with low incomes stood little chance of finding long-term affordable housing. Most foreigners with third-country citizenship had no access to council housing, which comprised about 24% of all housing in Vienna. Subsidised non-profit rental housing, which comprised about 23% of all housing, was an option only for those who had permanent residency and those who were in a position to afford the high down payments and monthly rents. Migrants were not entitled to housing assistance for new apartments. Affordable housing accessible to non-Austrians with little means of their own was all privately owned and often badly in need of repair. Yet, even the supply of such housing was declining, as renovation measures increased. In addition, the target group was directly competing against Austrian people in the same income bracket in this housing sector. The situation was further aggravated by a vast information void on the part of the target group and racism on the part of landlords. This was the situation, when the Housing Exchange (*Wohndrehscheibe*) project was initiated.

The Housing Exchange project by People's Aid Austria (*Volkshilfe Österreich*) is part of the Housing Information System for Disadvantaged People.<sup>17</sup> The project was established by People's Aid Austria and the taskforce Better Living for Foreigners (*Besseres Wohnen für Ausländer*) in 1997 with the aim of improving the housing market for refugees and migrants in lower income brackets. At that time, migrants, due to a variety of factors, were dependent on the private rental sector which covered about 30% of all apartments available. The project is still underway and is expected to be extended further.

The project aims to offer advice, guidance and care to people with low income and very specific social problems who are in search of adequate housing. Most clients (75%) do not have Austrian citizenship. Half of those were not born in Austria. The issues at stake are manifold, including a lack of resources (lack of information and funds), as well as discrimination and racism on the part of landlords/landladies. Efforts are geared towards finding long-term, affordable and acceptable housing solutions.

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<sup>17</sup> Volkshilfe Österreich, *Jahresbericht 2005* [Annual Report 2005], available online at <http://www.volkshilfe.at/1070,12,,2.html>.

Housing Exchange offers a wide range of specific services as needed, including direct information on the housing market in Vienna, specific advice regarding housing-related issues, intensive guidance for those who are illiterate and individuals with mental problems or other disabilities who are in search of housing. It also provides mediation in conflict situations. A team of eight people work on the project, all of whom are from different cultural (Austrian, Turkish, Bosnian, Macedonian and Kurdish) and educational backgrounds (lawyers, social workers and a social scientist). Services are available in German, Serbian/Bosnian/Croatian, Turkish, Kurdish and English at the central office in Vienna.

Project management is carried out by People's Aid Austria, in cooperation with Wohnservice Wien. The main activities provided include:

- assessing and evaluating current and targeted housing situations, the current need for information, advice, and social work required by the target group;
- assessing and evaluating the housing available;
- finding a better supply of permanent housing solutions;
- an intensive search for a wide range of housing in all municipal districts to avoid concentration of the target group in one area of the city;
- free-of-charge networking of supply and demand in the housing market;
- support and guidance with the individual search for an apartment, referring individuals in need of social care to the competent social institutions;
- cooperating with other social institutions and developing new initiatives for improving the housing supply;
- proposals for improvements drawn up in a joint and coordinated procedure to be submitted to the politicians in charge.

Since 1997, the project team has carried out a total of 14,813 advice and information interviews with 7,916 households registered in the house-hunting programme from more than 100 different countries of origin. These were referred to the team from more than 80 social institutions and municipal departments in Vienna. The team searched for appropriate housing for a total of 20,000 individuals and succeeded in finding more than 1,550 apartments for clients, offering living space for almost 5,000 individuals. Overall, the team assumes that even more clients have found suitable apartments, but it did not receive feedback from all of them. In 2003, 70% of the apartments found were rented for an unlimited period. Unlimited rental agreements are a sign of sustainable solutions, as owners cannot evict tenants under Austrian rental law except for serious misdemeanour.

Comparing costs and relevant services reveals a decline in costs per case of advice from €128.82 in 1999 to €74.83 in 2002. Comparing total costs to registered clients shows a drop in costs per client from €223.39 in 2000 to €200.69 in 2002. These positive results were achieved mainly due to the availability of group advice where the most essential information is distributed. Comparing total costs with apartments found reveals a decrease in costs from €1,400.09 in 1999 to €764.05 in 2002.

One of the projects major achievements is the establishment of a central source of advice for migrants who are experiencing problems in finding suitable apartments. All Viennese social institutions are now in a position to refer their clients to the project for information on and support in their search for suitable accommodation. Since 2002, the project has had an unlimited working contract with *Wohnservice Wien* which no longer requires annual renewal. Thus, the project is now an institution.

Some of the proposals submitted by the Housing Exchange project concerning improvement of housing situations for migrants with low incomes have since been implemented in the form of general housing assistance and emergency housing.

In 1998, the project team was invited by *VluchtelingenWerk Nederland*, as the coordinating point for the European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) Taskforce on Integration, to participate in preparing a report on 'Housing for refugees in the European Union' in a series of expert meetings. The report was commissioned as part of the project 'European Network for the Integration of Refugees' financed by the Directorate General V of the European Commission. The Housing Exchange project was presented at the Conference on the Integration of Refugees in Europe, held in Antwerp from on 12–14 November 1998 as a case study for sharing good practice. Dobro Dosli, a project initiated by People's Aid Austria and the Housing Exchange project was mentioned and described in the best practice guide (p. 17). The Housing Exchange team found the discussions, knowledge transfer in the context of anti-racist activities and the experiences of countries like the Netherlands with an entirely different system of admittance and accommodation of migrants to be valuable sources of information.

The experiences gained from the Housing Exchange project with regard to diversity management and marginalisation of migrants were included in the EQUAL-funded project '*Interkurlotsen*', developed in cooperation with People's Aid Austria and Housing Exchange. The EQUAL project on housing and labour includes the experiences of the Housing Exchange project with regard to social work and migrants without homes. Apart from planning, the overall project contributed to Module 2 of the EQUAL project by preselecting applicants for training and jobs. The experiences gained from the Housing Exchange project and People's Aid Upper Austria (*Volkshilfe Oberösterreich*) are processed to train staff of housing cooperatives in dealing with non-Austrian customers.<sup>18</sup>

In September 2003, the Housing Exchange team was invited by the League of Cooperatives (*Lega delle Cooperative*) in Bolzano in northern Italy (bordering Tyrol to the north) to present the project and promote the establishment of a similar institution in South Tyrol. Housing advice in particular was considered transferable for the colleagues in Bolzano.

## Safety measures

Crime rates grew rapidly after the fall of the Iron Curtain, when organised criminality stemming from eastern European countries spread to the eastern parts of Austria and also to Vienna. Flat and house burglary is still a considerable problem in Vienna with organised gangs coming from Moldavia, Georgia, Romania or other eastern countries. Overall, the rate of criminality in Vienna is still lower than in many other European cities of similar size.

About 4,000 police officers provide a high extent of protection through more than 100 police offices. According to the survey Living in Vienna 2003, 73% of the respondents felt safe in their neighbourhood. Only property crime was rated lower with 68% referring to house break-ins and 54% to car theft. The feeling of being safe has risen from 1995, except with regard to car theft. About 10% of respondents had been affected by house break-ins. Other crimes represent only 1%–2% of respondents answers and have not changed since 1995.

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.wien.gv.at/vtx/rk?DATUM=20060328&SEITE=020060328004>.

Migrant criminality has not been a serious problem in Vienna up to now. Crime rates decreased in Vienna during the first half of 2006 by 4.4% and in 2005 by 8.8%. Data about crime rates are only available by district but not by citizenship, because according to Austrian data citizenship is not a noticeable criteria (only convictions for murder have a rather high value).

### **Financial incentives**

See the section on 'Secure financing' in the Chapter on 'Housing policy' above.

### **Political roundtables and expert committees**

MA 50 takes an active role in Austrian and international housing research (such as ENHR) in supporting Austrian and international expert groups coming to Vienna.

The 'Vienna Integration Conference' was first established in the spring of 1999 as a body to reshape and strengthen the cooperation among NGOs as well as the dialogue with the city of Vienna. Within the process of restructuring 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 (WIK) was established as an independent association in the autumn of 2004. Supported by the city of Vienna, the WIK will work as a 'pressure group' in order to lobby for immigrant issues and raise multicultural awareness and sensitivity.

### **Monitoring housing developments for migrants**

MA 50 and MA 17 play an active role in monitoring the developments in the housing market, paying special attention to the situation of immigrants.

# Key challenges and lessons for CLIP

Vienna is an excellent example of a European city with a long tradition of pursuing a policy of social equality. The city has increased efforts to develop measures that aim to reduce social disparities and segregation to the extent permitted by the scope of competence of the city and the actual financial situation. In Vienna, as in many other European cities, there was a shift from government to governance during recent decades. The city council established more open planning procedures and new participation processes. Competences were removed from the local municipal government and shifted to public-private partnerships and private agencies, but the city did not give up its traditional aim of balancing social inequalities.

Despite the municipalities' efforts and a continuous rise in economic prosperity in the city as a whole, spatial patterns are still evident revealing more dynamic and less dynamic parts of the city. Although in the Viennese case deprived areas cannot be identified which would be comparable to socially marginalised quarters in other European cities (for example, in British or French cities), there are neighbourhoods in the working class districts in need of urban intervention. Although urban planners in Vienna have an adequate set of instruments for influencing negative developments, this is only possible to a certain extent. Important policy areas such as employment and education, housing and social policy are supported by appropriate measures introduced by the Vienna municipality. The level of education of native Austrians as well as of the migrant population, which is an important indicator of social structure and upward social mobility, continues to rise in Vienna, although there are marked differences between the working class and middle class districts of the city.

The city of Vienna's social-democratic integration policies since the beginning of the 1990s have aimed to achieve equal rights and opportunities for immigrants in all spheres of social and economic, cultural and political life of the local population. Thus, a comprehensive set of measures were implemented to provide ample support for voluntary and affordable language courses, labour market integration, provision of information and support in the sphere of housing and conflict mediation at the regional level for all groups of the migrant population.

An important step in Vienna's municipal integration policy was the foundation of the Vienna Integration Fund in 1992 to lobby for the interests of immigrants which gave rise to expertise and consultation for the Vienna city government in migration issues. Other important steps came in 1996 when the position of City Councillor for Integration Affairs was introduced and in July 2004 when the MA 17 was established with the task of assisting and promoting diversity mainstreaming and management processes within the city administration.

A further and more recently (1999) founded institution in integration affairs, but concerning housing only marginally, is the Vienna Integration Conference – a platform of more than 160 immigrant associations in the field of integration and antidiscrimination. It is a body to reshape and strengthen the cooperation among NGOs as well as the dialogue with the city of Vienna administration. Within the process of restructuring Vienna's integration policies, the new Association Vienna Integration Conference – Office for Networking (WIK) was established as an independent association in 2004. As a model of self-organisation of immigrants, WIK functions as a 'pressure group' in order to lobby for immigrant issues and raise multicultural cultural awareness and sensitivity. It highlights equal rights and opportunities for immigrants in all spheres of life, especially in relation to the labour market, and establishes measures against social exclusion and poverty as well as discrimination in the housing market.

It is important to note that the integration policies in Vienna have always been substantially differing from federal integration policies of the Austrian government. As a whole, the policies of the city of Vienna were much more migrant-friendly than that of the BMI or those of other large cities in Austria.

The Vienna City Government was a pioneer in changing its integration policy towards the diversity approach, emphasising the growing diversity of the Viennese population. Controlled immigration and the socio-cultural diversity

of the Viennese population have increasingly been regarded and depicted as a strength and a highly-estimated cultural and economic resource of the city.

With regard to the topic of housing, the segment of subsidised and non-profit housing is playing a major role in Vienna. The municipality owns about 220,000 rental apartments, thus having a unique position as Austria's and even Europe's biggest landlord. Still, in recent years, when social housing was reduced throughout Europe, the major part of new social housing in Vienna has been carried out by non-profit housing associations under varying legal conditions.

Of course, some segregation of the residential migrant population exists in Vienna, but up to now this was not a significant problem. It must be emphasised that those neighbourhoods do not exist as a result of a bad local environment or a lack of infrastructure. Public transport, for example, is not a problem in most migrant neighbourhoods. The city set up measures like new recreational areas, the stabilisation of commercial streets, the preservation of small retail businesses and campaigns for image improvement in order to increase the quality of life for all inhabitants of migrant neighbourhoods.

There is some duality of working class districts and districts where the more affluent population live, and patterns of residential segregation of the immigrant population exist. But compared with many other European cities, strong segregated housing areas or districts are unknown. Segregation can usually be found on a residential block or a house level, particularly in the building stock of the *Gründerzeit* in the working class districts. This spatially small-scale segregation is determined by economic and social factors.

Recent access (2006) to public housing for migrants and the fact that it is also bound by income limits and social requirements have led to some segregation patterns. The easiest access to the local housing market for migrants in Vienna was always the *Gründerzeit* rental segment. Thus, the former guest workers from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia, in particular, are still settled in the older housing stock of the areas Gürtel-West and Gürtel-South.

Social housing has a long tradition in Vienna and is in fact an important part of the city's identity. No essential differences are apparent 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 opportunities for all inhabitants regardless of ethnic origin and social class. In Vienna, housing is understood as a part of social-oriented city planning. The city has installed an infrastructure commission to define in detail the conditions for subsidised housing projects. Thus, new housing projects form a part of an existing area and help to overcome infrastructure deficiencies, such as in schools and health institutions. Public means of transport are considered as equally important. There is also a very good underground or subway network in the working class districts. In recent years, the majority of new social housing has been carried out by non-profit housing associations under varying legal conditions.

A subject of special importance with regard to immigrants is the aspect of living together peacefully. In this respect, much work is undertaken by the area renewal offices (*Gebietsbetreuungen*) to provide services to mediate conflicts in neighborhoods, in particular in the municipal housing sector where there seems to be the trend to perceive usual conflicts of daily life (such as with regard to noise or pollution) in a different manner when it comes to immigrants being involved.

With regard to the housing integration of migrants, Vienna's Housing Exchange (*Wohndrehscheibe*) project is an example of a best practice measure of international reputation. The project aims to offer advice, guidance and care to migrants (and native Austrians) with little income and very specific social problems who are in search of adequate housing. Most clients do not have Austrian citizenship. The issues are manifold, including a lack of resources, as well as discrimination and racism on the part of landlords/landladies. Housing Exchange offers a wide range of specific services as needed, including direct information on the housing market in Vienna, specific advice regarding housing-

related issues, as well as intensive guidance for people who are illiterate and individuals with mental problems or other disabilities who are in search of housing. It also provides mediation in conflict situations.

Another initiative undertaken in Vienna, which has an almost unique position in Europe, is soft urban renewal. It is, in fact, one of the world's leading tenant-oriented urban renewal programmes. This interdisciplinary challenge has always required a future-orientated, strategic continuing development and reflects the possibilities for the city as an evolving system. The process of renewal takes social, economic, cultural, aesthetic and ecological demands into consideration. It is a renewal programme which targets those already living in a particular area with regard to their financial possibilities. Priority is given to social criteria instead of making a profit. Since the 1980s, more than 150,000 apartments – one sixth of Vienna's total housing stock – have been upgraded with public subsidies. One important aim of soft urban renewal is the improvement of urban areas without evicting the residents. Thus, soft urban renewal is efficiently counteracting trends of gentrification in urban areas.

The programme is also oriented towards the diversity of housing demands. Different social groups have different demands on the quality of housing. This fact is often neglected in housing renewal programmes. Thus, soft urban renewal is able to meet the tenants' requirements through comparatively modest means. For some tenants, including migrants as well as native Austrians, the level of aspiration concerning housing quality is modest. For them, it is not so important to achieve quality standards that new dwellings would offer.

The soft renewal strategies are extremely innovative in concentrating on small-scale and low-standard renewal schemes giving new hope and a sense of pride to people living in dilapidated areas. Throughout the programme, significant improvements could already be reached by following a step-by-step approach identified through a careful survey of the existing problems, and promoting the potential of self-help activities among the local population. The renewal measures also had positive economic outcomes in terms of strengthening local (ethnic) business and providing new job opportunities in renovated areas.

The renewal activities consist of a broad range of measures considering also such problems as unemployment, criminality, personal feelings of security, ethnic conflicts, as well as the use of open green spaces. The interdisciplinary approach and the decentralisation of decisions is appropriate in light of the variety of existing problems in neighbourhoods which are renewed. Soft renewal also involves professional support for vulnerable groups with or without a migration background.

A further example of best practice is the 'Empowerment Schöpfwerk' initiative, which is a project developed with residents of the Schöpfwerk estate to find options for the immediate improvement of their quality of life. As an important outcome of the project, the local tenants learned to take their own initiative with regard to improving their physical surroundings and their life situation. The project is a good example for the transfer of competencies from the municipal administration to local residents. It should be evaluated positively because it helps to downsize democratic decision-making processes. Although it was often difficult to overcome the residents' passivity and frustration with regard to renewal, the project succeeded in sustainably activating the tenants to implement change and assume some responsibility for the improvement of their estate's image.

Lastly, the integrative housing projects must be considered. Although these projects have only a modest influence on existing patterns of segregation, they are a first step to encouraging a better integration of the autochthonous and the migrant population in districts with low proportions of foreign residents.

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# List of persons contacted

Karin König, Municipal Department 17, interviews conducted during the months of April, May and June 2007.

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