REPORT

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SUPER-DIVERSITY AND DIVERSITY RELATED POLICIES

BASELINE STUDY VIENNA

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1. Introduction

International research has shown that urban neighbourhoods are still important arenas of social interaction and places of interethnic coexistence. Super-diversity in the neighbourhood is a microcosm, mirroring problem constellations at the city scale. Yet problems within diversity-shaped neighbourhoods require locally determined solutions. Thus, municipal policies have increasingly taken a territorial focus when addressing social and integration problems through neighbourhood-based initiatives. The ICEC project (Interethnic Coexistence in European Cities) is based on a systematic comparison of the aims, structural features and outcomes of neighbourhood development programmes in three European cities, namely Amsterdam, Vienna and Stockholm. By doing so, the project focusses on two core questions: Which political measures are the most adequate for strengthening the integrative power of an urban neighbourhood as a place of living and identification of a diverse urban population? How can cities promote interethnic coexistence in the local context?

This report lays the foundations for such an analysis of the Viennese case. Albeit largely descriptive, it aims to provide a detailed account of Vienna´s diverse population in the context of immigration and how the city´s administration and political actors have developed urban policies dealing with diversity. The report is structured as follows: The first part describes key features of the Viennese urban population and its residential distribution across the city. It pays particular attention to the socio-demographic and socio-economic make-up of the local population, as well as to patterns of residential segregation. The second chapter reviews the main phases of immigration to Vienna within the last decades and the national and local policy responses. This description is complemented by a statistical analysis documenting the increasing (ethnic) diversity in the local population through immigration. The following two chapters of this "baseline report" move to heart of the ICEC project by first describing the urban diversity policy context (chapter three), then providing key examples of policy interventions at the city and neighbourhood level that aim to foster greater coexistence and social cohesion within the Viennese population. Some of the examples provided in chapter four will become the target of our in-depth analysis at a later stage of the project. In sum, this ICEC report presents basic yet relevant information that will be needed for answering the above stated research questions within this project.

1.1 The Viennese population in the context of diversity[1]

1.1.1 Population size and gender

Vienna has currently 1,741,246 residents, of which 48% are men and 52% are women. Within the last ten years, the residential population of Vienna grew by around 8.2% (2003: 1,598,626 residents). The most populous districts of Vienna are Favoriten (10th)[2], Donaustadt (22nd) and Floridsdorf (21st). Currently, 9.8% of all inhabitants of Vienna are below age 10 and another 9.5% are teenagers. Boys and girls in this age bracket are almost equally distributed (51.5% are females). People over the age of 60 make up 22.2% of the total Viennese residential population. Interestingly, this group did not grow substantially within the last 10 years. Amongst this group of old aged people, 58.2 % are women.

1.1.2 Immigrant population

Of the whole residential population, 1,194,485 (68.6%) people were born in Austria. Of the remaining 546,761 residents born abroad, 73.3% do not hold the Austrian citizenship (23% of the total population). Another (statistical) way of looking at the current immigrant population can be undertaken by considering the so called 'migration background', i.e. being born abroad or holding a foreign citizenship (first generation) or having both parents meeting these criteria (second generation). The current percentage of people with a migration background in Vienna is 38.4%, of which roughly one quarter belongs to the second generation. We will return to these figures in section 2.2.

1.1.3 Religion

Numbers concerning religious denominations of the Viennese population are hard to obtain, as this information was last collected in great detail during the census of 2001. However, according to statistics of the Viennese archdiocese, 661,037 people (37.9%) were registered as Catholic in 2013, about 11 percentage points lower than in 2001. It is worth mentioning that already in 2001, around 25% of the Viennese population stated that they did not belong to any religious denomination. This group might have increased substantially over the last decade. On the contrary, Protestants make up less than 5% of the residential population. The proportion of Muslims in the total Austrian population has been estimated as roughly 500,000 people (6.2%), most of whom currently live in Vienna (Marik-Lebeck 2010). The majority of the Muslim population is of Turkish or Bosnian origin and belongs to the Sunnite denomination, followed by Alevits and Shiites.

1.1.4 Employment

The general economic status of the Viennese population can be summarised as follows: In 2013, 44.8% of the local population was employed, 4.8% unemployed, 14.4% still in school (under age 15), 5% enrolled as students, 21% pensioners and another 10.1% were non-economically active persons (Statistik Austria, Population Register, own calculation).

[1] Unless reported differently, all statistical data provided in these paragraphs (1.2 & 1.3) refers to numbers from the Viennese Statistical yearbook (City of Vienna 2013).
[2] Throughout this report, we provide the district number in brackets.

The largest economic sector in Vienna is the service sector (39.7%), while the industry sector only covers around 8%. Due to the large service sector in Vienna, around 20% of the workforce is directly employed in service occupations. Another quarter of the Viennese working population is employed in academic or related institutions. The amount of clerical workers is 11.4% while only 4.8% of the residential population work as professionals and executives. Finally, blue collar workers represent around 13% while another 9.2% are employed as unskilled labourers.

The great majority of the Viennese residential population is gainfully employed. Of the 93,086 self-employed persons, 62.4% are men. Women are more often found in minimal employment (57% of all employees in minimal employment). The overall unemployment rate in 2012 was 9.5% (registered rate), with significantly higher rates among men (10.9%) than women (8.1%). Numbers further reveal that the highest unemployment rates were found in the Favoriten (10th), Floridsdorf (21th), Brigittenau (20th) and Ottakring (16th) while the lowest amount of unemployed persons can be found in the two inner city districts Innere Stadt (1st) and Josefstadt (8th).

1.1.5 Income

In 2011, the average net annual income for residents in Vienna was €20,600. This average net annual income, however, varied from €34,333 in Vienna's Innere Stadt (1st), followed by the Hietzing (13th) (€27,763) and Döbling (19th) (€25,372). With an average net annual income of €16,416 among residents in Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th), €17,334 in Brigittenau (20th) and €18,012 in Favoriten (10th), these districts represent the bottom of the income ladder. The distribution of average net annual income resembles to a large extent the distribution of unemployment rates (e.g. high unemployment rates in low income districts) and the share of low educated residents. Moreover, all low income districts are largely working class districts, with a substantial number of foreign residents (in particular non EU-15 immigrants).

1.1.6 Education

The majority of the Viennese population (54.4%) holds a secondary educational level (ISCED 3). Among this group of people, most residents have their highest diploma from vocational and labour market orientated schools. The proportion of residents that left school after compulsory education is 27.7% (407,023 people), while the percentage of highly educated people with a post-secondary or tertiary educational level accounts for 17.9% among the Viennese population. The distribution of the educational level among the local population varies – as with the labour market position and income – across districts. For example, the rate of people holding a post-secondary and tertiary educational level is highest in Innere Stadt (1st) district, followed by the Josefstadt (8th), Alsergrund (9th) and Neubau (7th) (all above 38% of the local population in the district). Not surprisingly, the rate of high achievers is lowest in the working class districts, such as the Simmering (11th), Favoriten (10th), Floridsdorf (21th), and Donaustadt (22th) (all below 15%).

Currently, 225,414 pupils are enrolled in primary, lower or upper secondary Viennese schools. Boys and young men are slightly more often enrolled in vocational orientated schools, while girls follow often attend the academic

orientated schools. Students in tertiary education make up for 5% (181,678) of the residential population in 2013, of which 54% are women. The majority of all students (89.3%) are enrolled in public universities, followed by universities of applied sciences, teacher training colleges and private universities. Although students are spread over the whole city, most reside in Alsergrund (9th) close to University of Vienna, as well as in districts with lower and affordable rents (such as in Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, Ottakring or Hernals).

Key facts: Vienna´s diverse population

-Vienna has currently a total population of 1,741,246 residents, out of which 23 % do not hold the Austrian citizenship.

-The current percentage of people with a migration background in Vienna is 38.4%, of which roughly one quarter belongs to the second generation.

-The largest economic sector in Vienna is the service sector (39.7%), while the industry sector only covers around 8%.

-The overall unemployment rate in 2012 was 9.5% (registered rate), with significantly higher rates among men (10.9%) than women (8.1%). The highest unemployment rates were found in the working class districts of Favoriten (10th) and Floridsdorf (21thwhile the lowest proportion of unemployed persons can be found in the two inner city districts Innere Stadt (1st) and Josefstadt (8th).

-The average net annual income for residents in Vienna was €20,600 (2011). This average net annual income, however, varies between the city districts with Vienna's Innere Stadt (1st) and Favoriten (10th) representing the top and bottom end of the income distribution, respectively.

1.2 Structure of the housing market in Vienna

1.2.1 Housing market structure

Housing policy and housing market structure are the main factors determining the spatial integration of immigrants. Thus, for a better understanding of the socio-territorial patterns some basic understanding of the Viennese housing market might be necessary.

Austrian housing policy has predominantly been supply-side oriented. Taxation of property owners and use of the proceeds to fund quality housing for the working class has an established history in Vienna. 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 revenue and by collecting housing-specific levies. Traditional supply-side subsidies are combined with generous income ceilings. Housing benefit is less significant. Tax allowances play a minor role. For several decades, Austrian housing policy was based on corporatist "social

partnership". Since the 1980s, it has been progressively regionalised. Only in recent years has housing policy become more market-oriented. Direct ownership of the local authority plays an important role in Vienna, but so too do regulations and residential building by non-profit housing associations (municipality or the State of Austria in collaboration with housing associations). The housing market is also restricted by land use regulations.

In Vienna, the active housing policy of the city council is traditionally an important counterpart against social marginalization. Residential separation and patterns of segregation do exist in Vienna but the city council makes strong efforts to weaken such processes. The Viennese housing market has a long tradition of communal intervention and social engineering. One of the city´s top priorities is to provide affordable quality housing for all income brackets. The Viennese housing market consists of the following main components (all numbers: Statistik Austria 2012):

- Private rental housing: particularly strong in the Founder's Period ("Gründerzeit") building stock. The buildings are mostly private owned or owned by companies, insurances or real estate developers. The rents are calculated by a complex index-based system which is oriented towards the standard of the flat and its location. 27.3% of the stock consists of privately rented houses which are regulated by law (tenants' rights, regulations of rent prices).
- "Protected" rental housing: can only be found in buildings constructed earlier than 1917; a special kind of rental flats with very modest rents and a low mobility of tenants; is dying out with the death of the old tenants.
- Council housing: approximately 236,000 apartments with modest rents. Although the construction of new council housing blocks has been modest since 1995, roughly 16.000 new flats have been provided. In 2004 the last "genuine" public housing block was erected. It is situated in Liesing (23rd district) (Rößlergasse). Rents usually rise after renovation activities, but are usually lower than in the private rental sector. 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 share of this sector. In Vienna, 25% of the population lives in the council housing sector (the number rises to slightly more than 30% once numbers from co-operated housing are added). Therefore, the City of Vienna is not only the largest housing owner in Austria, but also in Europe. A considerable proportion of the municipal residences were built during the 1920s and 1930s and are nowadays mostly renovated. Due to structural improvements they now have average standards of accommodation and should be available for socially disadvantaged persons or families.
- Privately developed housing mainly consists of owner-occupied single-family homes.
- Co-operative housing: built up by non-profit housing associations 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 of the Founder's Period. In Austria, about 10% of the residential population lives in this segment. In Vienna, the proportion is slightly

higher with 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. The flats in former rental blocks are often sold to the tenants. The construction of new home ownerships in Austria is supported by the state and differs from one federal state to another. In Vienna only 19.6% of the population live in the owner-occupied housing segment contrary to Austria as a whole with a proportion of more than 50%. The overwhelming majority of inhabitants in the owner-occupied housing sector are Austrian citizens.

Two types of ownership exist:

- Condominiums: Purchase of an apartment has to be registered in the real estate register. There are additional costs of approximately 10% of the purchase price for lawyers, taxes, real estate agent and financing.
- Rental apartments: Tenancy law distinguishes between two types of tenancy agreements: (1) *Chief tenancy*: the tenancy agreement has been signed between the apartment seeker and the owner of the building. (2) *Sub-tenancy*: The tenancy agreement has been signed between the apartment seeker and the chief tenant.

1.2.2 Current housing situation in Vienna

The number of housing units surged by 9.2% to 929,878 units between 1990 to the end of 2002, while it slightly increased by 5.4% within the last decade. Vienna is a rental city. According to the latest data from 2011, 983,840 dwellings exist in Vienna. The great majority of flats are private rentals (79.2%). The average household size consists of two persons, while the share of single person households comprises 45.3%. It is worth mentioning that both numbers did not change substantially within the last decade (e.g. the percentage of single households in 2001 was 44.7%). Roughly a third of the buildings in Vienna were constructed during the Founder´s Period (roughly 1860-1900), while only 14.9% have been constructed after 1990. The number of community-owned flats increased by roughly 16,000 within the last decade, making a total number of 235,832 such flats in 2011. Another 14.8% (145,838) of all dwellings belong to non-profit building companies. Almost 90% of all residents live in buildings with more than 3 flats, while just over a third (35.3%) live in houses containing more than 21 (all numbers: Statistik Austria 2012).

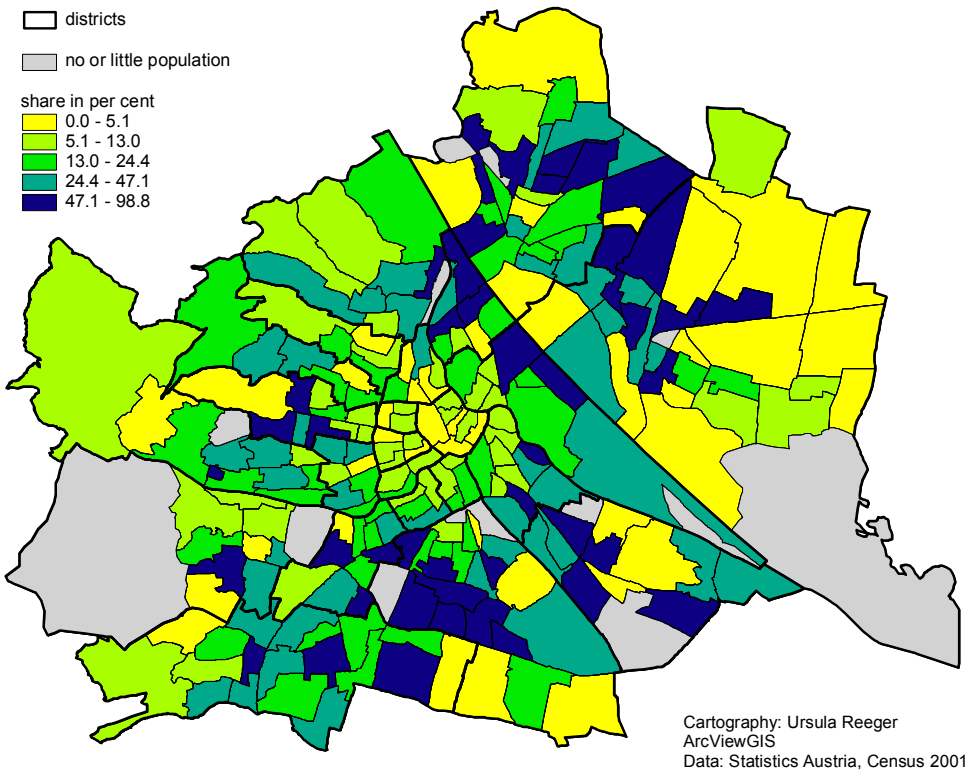
By 2011, 91.2% of all residences comprise 'Category A' accommodation of more than 30 square meters, with a bathroom, kitchen, toilet, warm water and heating. Dwellings considered 'Category B' (with a bathroom, toilet and kitchen) account for 3.7% while the category C (with a toilet and running water inside) represent 0.5% of all buildings. However, 97,488 (4.6%) of all dwellings in Vienna are still without toilet or running water within the flat. It is worth mentioning, however, that the percentage of Category D flats was almost halved during the last decade (2001: 8.3%).

1.3 Socio-spatial patterns and segregation in Vienna

Research on socio-spatial patterns and segregation in Vienna which covers up-to-date empirical material is almost inexistent. This absence of research can largely be explained by a lack of available recent data. The information one would need to draw a detailed picture on segregation patterns in Vienna dates back to the latest census of 2001 and has not been updated since (e.g. in the population register). Thus, this section draws on classical studies (Fassmann & Hatz 2006, Giffinger 1998, Kohlbacher & Reeger 2006) and reports empirical findings from the 2001 census. Although we are aware of the limitations, we nevertheless assume that most of the presented patterns did not change substantially within the last decade. We focus on two sets of indicators to describe segregation in Vienna:

1) The distribution of council housing and dwellings without basic amenities.
2) The socioeconomic characteristics of the residential population.

Figure 1: Share of residents in social housing, 2001



1.3.1 Council housing

As explained in more detail above, social housing is of considerable importance in Vienna. Due to electoral reasons, public housing blocks are distributed over the whole city space. Thus, the spatial pattern of council housing is extremely dispersive (see Figure 1). Statistical units with high proportions of residents in social housing (up to 98.8%) are usually absent in the bourgeois inner districts. They can frequently be found in the newly built-up areas at the urban fringe where big housing estates were erected since the 1970s. Thus, Liesing (23rd), Favoriten (10th) and Simmering (11th) in the south of Vienna and Floridsdorf (21st) and Donaustadt

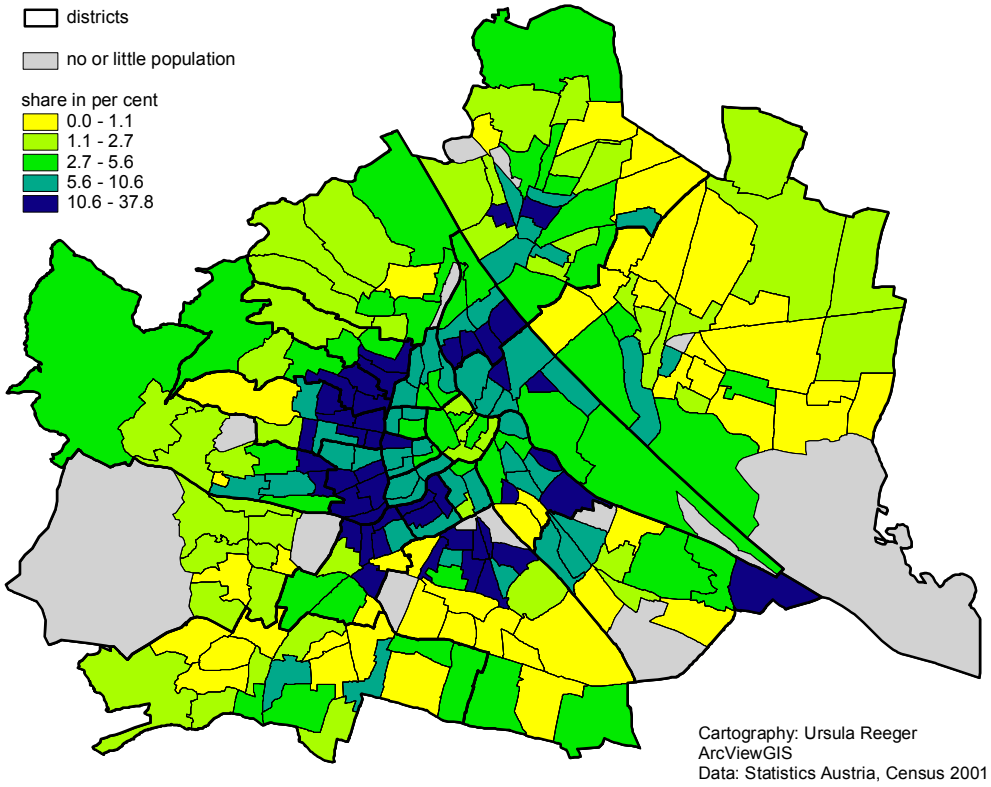
(22nd) on the Eastern side of the Danube are those areas where extremely high concentrations of residents in social housing can most frequently be found. Given that the increase of community-owned houses was rather modest between 2001 and 2011, we expect that the patterns presented in Figure 1 will still be valid.

1.3.2 Dwellings without basic amenities

An important physical indicator is the category of dwellings with so-called "sub-standard" equipment, 'category D' in Austria. This means that toilets and/or central heating are missing in those flats. Of course, numbers of such dwellings are constantly decreasing, however they are still typical for the housing "milieu" in many of the former working class districts. It is obvious that this stock dominates not only in the city centre but also the inner districts as well as the old working class districts which were built-up during the late Founder's Period (compare Figure 4). However, as already mentioned above, the overall number of "category D" dwellings was substantially reduced. The formerly high proportion of substandard housing - in 1971 about 33% of the stock (Kohlbacher & Reeger 2011: 219) - shrinked from 8.5% (2003) to 3.7% in 2013.[3] This applies in particular to working class districts, such as Favoriten (10th), Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th) or Ottakring (16th), in which soft urban renewal programs led to improvements and the modernisation of existing housing structures in coordination with the residents.

[3] Compare http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/wohnen_und_gebaeude/bestand_an_gebaeuden_und_wohnungen/hauptwohnsitz-wohnungen/index.html.

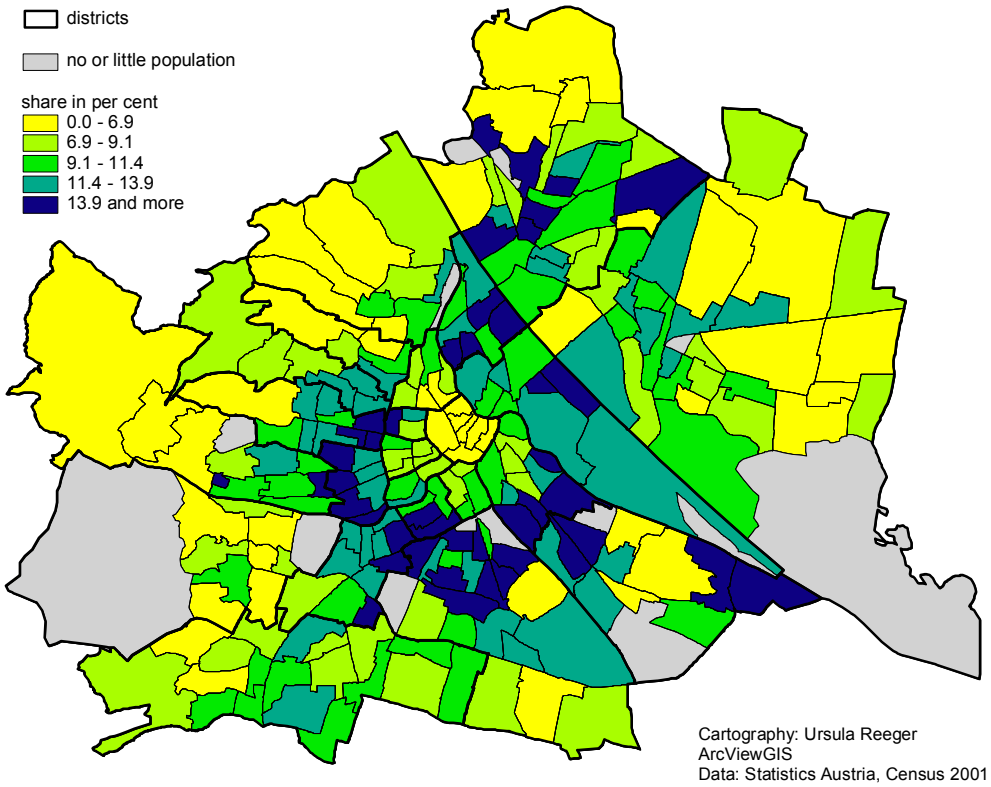
Figure 2: Share of dwellings without basic amenities, 2001



1.3.3 Socio-economic structure

We finally focus briefly on three indicators that capture aspects of the residential socio-economic structure of districts and areas. To begin with, we explore the spatial distribution of unemployed persons since they represent an economically marginalised group. Thus, it is not very surprising that the proportions of unemployed are usually higher in working class districts than in the housing areas populated by better-off people. Statistical districts with a share of more than 11.4% of unemployed people can frequently be found in the western and southern working class districts Favoriten (10th) and Simmering (11th). In a ragged pattern those spatial units are also spread over the districts on the Eastern side of river Danube. Although current unemployment rates have changed between 2001 and today, the overall patterns and "order of districts" are most likely to remain the same as indicated in the map below.

Figure 3: Share of unemployed persons in the economically active population, 2001



When turning to the distribution of unskilled and low-skilled workers, we find this group to be settled in districts with a lower housing attractiveness, generally cheaper dwellings and usually worse connections to public transport. In Vienna, the majority of unskilled workers are settled in a ring of statistical districts located around the inner city. High proportions of this social segment can also be found on the western side of the Danube River in Brigittenau (20th) and Leopoldstadt (2nd), in Floridsdorf (21st) and Donaustadt (22nd) and in the south-eastern district of Simmering (11th). In the south and to the east of the river Danube the newer urban satellites of social housing inhabited by a concentration of families of the upper working class as well as of the lower middle classes, the majority of whom have completed compulsory education.

The patterns change completely once the distributions of higher educated residents are considered. The majority live in the urban centre (inner city, 1st district), in a fringe of well-to-do districts neighbouring the city centre and in the districts 13 to 19 at the western urban fringe (compare Figure 5). The western outskirts are characterised by a large "social mountain range", representing the housing areas of better-off families extending along the edge of the Vienna Woods. The level of education in 2001 shows marked spatial variations with the districts Hietzing (13th), Währing (18th), and Döbling (19th) representing the "leading" areas.

As discussed in section 1.3, the listed neighbourhoods are still the ones that can be considered as home areas for high income and highly educated Viennese

residents. In other words, while the actual percentages might have changed between 2001 and 2013, the patterns of socio-economic segregation are still valid.

Figure 4: Share of unskilled and low skilled workers and their dependents in the total population, 2001

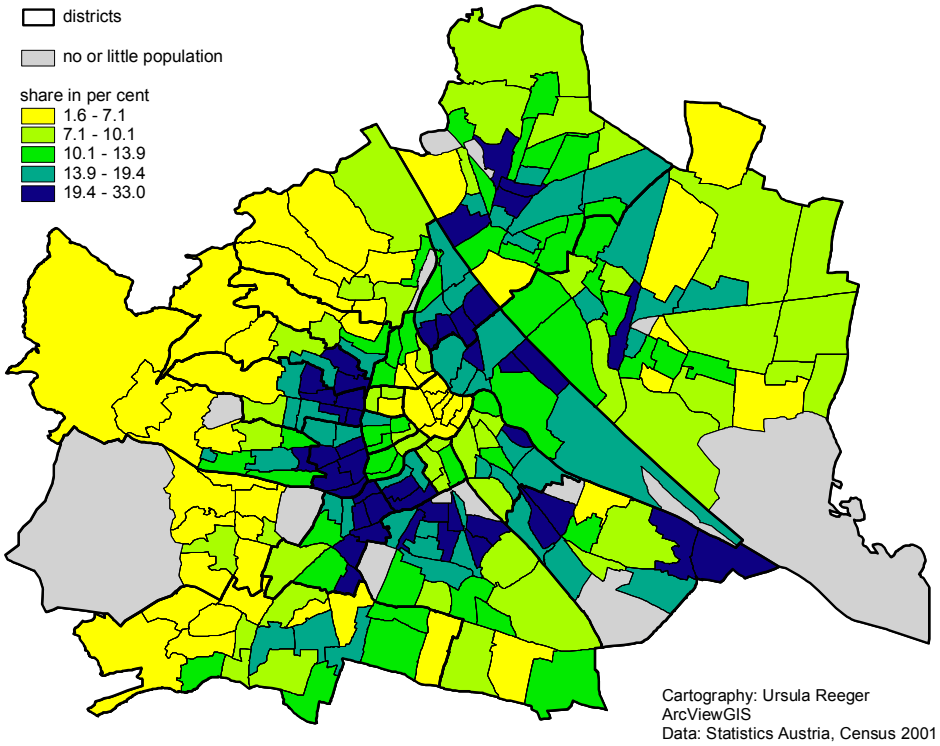
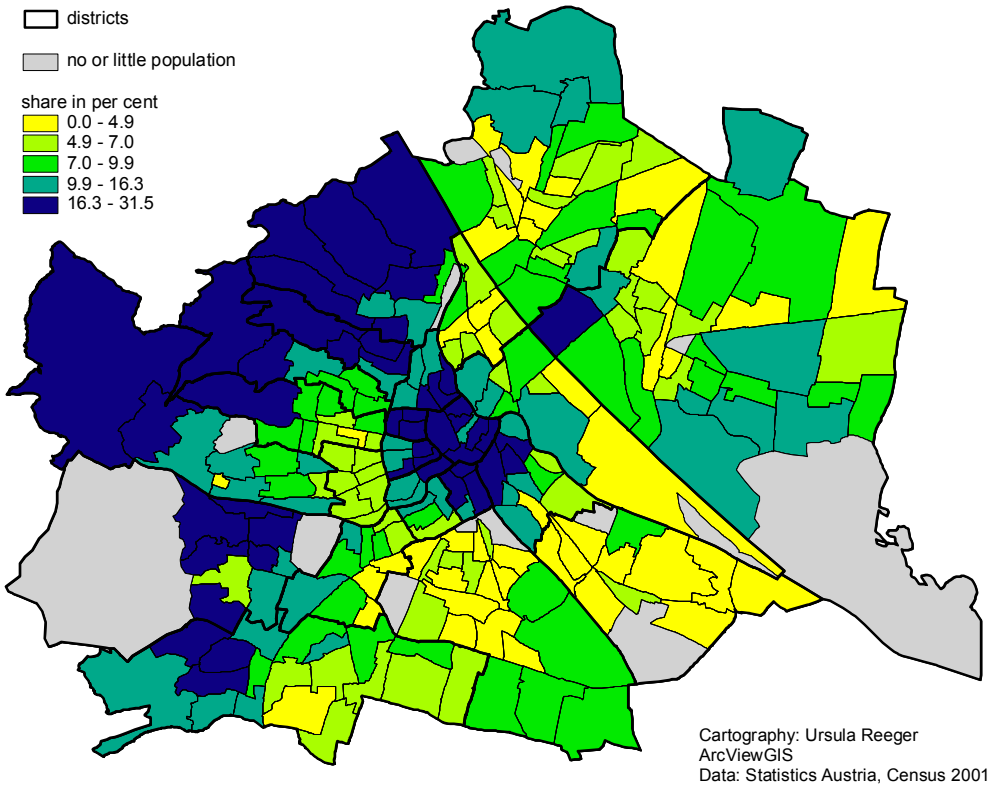


Figure 5: Share of highly skilled employed (with a university degree or something similar) and their dependents in the total population, 2001



Key facts: Housing market structure and residential segregation

-The active housing policy of the City Council is traditionally an important counterpart against social marginalisation. One of the city´s top priorities is to provide affordable quality housing for all income brackets.

-The Viennese housing market consists of the following main components: private rental and privately owned housing, council housing and co-operative housing. Vienna is characterised in particular by the council housing sector.

-The City of Vienna is not only the largest owner of properties in Austria but in Europe. A considerable proportion of the municipal residences was built during the 1920s and 1930s and is nowadays mostly renovated.

-Although socioeconomic and ethnic segregation remains low from a European perspective, there is some concentration of certain immigrant groups (e.g. former so-called "guest-workers" from Turkey and former Yugoslavia) in certain residential areas. These are predominately working class areas located around the city centre.

2. Immigration to Vienna

2.1 Historical overview and main components of immigration to Vienna

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

During the 1960s, labour migrants from former Yugoslavia and Turkey covered the working force demand of the fast growing Austrian economy. The pull factors of this migration trend were an economic boom which led to a growing demand for labour and a shift in immigration policy. As in Germany and Switzerland, Austria, too, began to forge bilateral agreements for the recruitment of guest workers. They were originally temporary workers who came to Austria because of the effects of both, push and pull factors. The Austrian labour market attracted them with the pull factors of high wage levels, whist rural exodus, unemployment and low wages in the sending states created important push factors. An agreement was signed first with Turkey in 1964 and 1966 with Yugoslavia and recruitment offices were established. In 1973, 227,000 "guest workers" worked and lived in Austria, of whom the majority came from Yugoslavia. The guest worker migration of the 1960s and 1970s was not only an important facet of labour migration, but had long-lasting effects on both the current composition of the foreign residential population and subsequent migration flows, too (Lichtenberger 1984, 1995).

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

In the early 1990s, profound political and economic changes were transforming Europe. During the 1990s migration to Austria and Vienna increased considerably. Due to the fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria's accession to the European Union in 1995, opening borders and increasing temporary migration and transnational mobility. The fall of the Iron Curtain made "new" East-West labour migration flows possible. A reshaping of the catchment areas of former distorted

labour markets in Austria and in its neighbouring countries in the East took place (Fassmann & Hintermann 1999). A new wave of immigration followed with many East-West labour migrants moving from Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The Balkan Wars produced massive inflows of refugees from areas to Austria's southeast. These flows came in addition to a rapidly rising number of asylum seekers (Heiss & Rathkolb 1995). At the same time, an economic boom during the late 1980s created labour shortages in some sectors of the economy (for example in the construction business and in export-oriented industries) (Biffl 2000). Thus, immigration to Vienna in the 1990s was mainly constituted by the following components:

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

The causes of the increase in immigration can be found in push as well as in pull factors. Contemporary patterns and processes of real East-West migration to Vienna do not conform to the pattern of permanent migration which was typical for the 19th century's migration flows but rather represent a new form of mobility and circulation (Glick Schiller et al. 1992: 1; Pries 1997, 1999). Some researchers have pointed out that "migration" may not be the most accurate term. Instead, "movement" or "mobility" may be more apt terms. Thus, intermittent and short-term patterns of movement are characterising contemporary "migration" to a considerable extent. It was the economic crisis in Western Europe, together with a rising demand for skilled labour in the national economies of Eastern Europe which brought migrants from Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Poland to return to their countries of origin. Concerning Romanians and Bulgarians the emigration of highly qualified personnel to Vienna, for example, still remains on a high quantitative level. Since the mid-2000s, immigration from Germany has increased as well. Substantial parts of the German migrant population are students and young professionals. Since 2009, Germans constitute the largest migrant origin group in Austria, of which many choose Vienna as their place of residence.

2.1.1 The national immigration framework

Settlement policies

In response to the increasing numbers of immigrants and their settlement patterns, the Austrian government initiated a series of legislative reforms. These reforms covered all areas related to immigration, including entry, residence, employment and asylum. In 1990, a quota for the employment of foreigners was introduced, defining 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 immigrants 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.

Citizenship policies

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 prove that they are sufficiently integrated into Austrian society. The immigrant also has to show that they are economically self-sufficient, are not in need of social assistance and have 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 immigrants 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. In 2006, the citizenship law was reformed.

Asylum regulations

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 prominent 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 imposing 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. 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, amongst 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 amongst Member States. In the late 1990s, the number of asylum applicants rose once again. By 2002, a record number of 36,990 asylum applications were lodged, exceeding the already elevated figures for 2001 by almost 7,000 applications – not including 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 for persons whose applications are deemed unlikely to be approved by the relevant authorities. Within the same year, 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.

Further political developments

The formation of a coalition government in January 2000 between the Austrian People's Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei*, ÖVP) and the FPÖ brought political change to Austria. In July 2002, the Austrian 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 roughly €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 had been living in Austria since 1998 – were required to attend 'integration courses' consisting mainly of language instruction and an introduction to fundamental legal, historical and political aspects of Austria. Non-participation would 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 the ÖVP and the FPÖ was dissolved. New elections for the national assembly were held at the end of

November 2002. The ÖVP formed another coalition government with the FPÖ in February 2003. In migration policy, the principle of 'integration before immigration' was endorsed by the government. Elections in October 2006 were won by the Social Democratic Party of Austria (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs*, SPÖ). The new government consisting of ministers from the SPÖ and the ÖVP was formed in January 2007. Four years later, in 2011, the first state secretary for Integration was founded and a Secretary of State for Integration appointed (currently Sebastian Kurz).

Overall, 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 the better integration of immigrants. The introduction of the principle of consolidation of residence by the same law reduced immigrants' 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 then 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.

2.1.2 The urban immigration context

The City of Vienna was, and still is, the main destination for international migrants entering Austria. Thus, it's not surprising that the main immigration waves and inflows nationally are largely mirrored within the Viennese immigration history. While the majority of immigrants coming to Vienna in the 1960 and 1970s were labour migrants (in particular from Former Yugoslavia and Turkey) and their families in the early 1980s. The patterns changed with the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, as well as through the civil war in former Yugoslavia from 1991 onwards which made Vienna again an important destination for immigrants (asylum seekers)

from former Yugoslavia. Austria´s entry into the European Union, as well as the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 and 2007, led to further increases in the foreign population in Vienna. Furthermore, since the early 1980s, the number of foreign families constantly increased through processes of family reunification.

Until the above described immigration phase started, the City of Vienna did not have an explicit integration or diversity policy (Perchinig 2010, Weigl 2009). In Austria municipalities (such as Vienna) act primarily as executive entities for laws, policies and measures that are established on the national level. Nevertheless, the municipality of Vienna started in the late 1980s, in part driven by the new wave of immigrants after 1989, to turn away from considering immigration a temporary phase to seeing it more as a permanent phenomenon. Consequently, the City of Vienna started to implement the first policies and policy measures on integration, beginning in the mid-1990s. Along with these new core principles on the improvement of integration in Vienna, the "Viennese Integration Fund" ("Wiener Integrationsfonds", WIF) was founded in 1992. Under the slogan "We are all Vienna", the WIF was given the task of lobbying for the interests of immigrants and providing expertise and consultation to the Vienna City government. The WIF organised language classes, on job training and information events, in particular for immigrants. In sum, the WIF had 4 main tasks: 1) the improvement of German language skills among immigrants (through language courses), 2) organising and managing mother tongue/native language classes in schools, 3) implementing policy measures towards the improvement of the labour market integration of immigrants and 4) to establish and expand the advisory and information centres for immigrants across the city.

In 1996, the first city councillor for Integration Affairs was established. One year later, this city councillor was assigned as head of the newly established Office for Integration Affairs of the City Council – a first step towards mainstreaming integration policies. However, until the late 1990s, the primary focus of the activities and programs by the city councillor of integration affairs and the respective administrative departments was on policies to compensate potential "integration deficits" (MA 17 2009), such as a lack of German language knowledge among migrants.

A few years after founding the Office for Integration Affairs, the City of Vienna developed its integration policy further towards a diversity approach, emphasising and reflecting the growing diversity within the Viennese population and its profits and merits for society. Controlled immigration and the socio-cultural diversity of the Viennese population have increasingly been regarded and depicted as a strength of the city. Since then, diversity policy has been essential in Vienna. The City of Vienna's integration policies have been aimed at achieving equal rights and chances in all areas of life, social and economic, cultural and political. Although we will return to the city`s concept of integration and diversity in greater detail below, it is important to stress that the substantial change within the city and its administrative body was that integration was not merely seen anymore as an achievement to be accomplished by immigrants, but rather as a process that includes immigrants, with their own characteristics, efforts and backgrounds, as well as the members and institutions of the Viennese "host society". It was the first time that Viennese politicians explicitly acknowledged an active role on behalf of the (urban) host society. Moreover, the City of Vienna explicitly framed the

growing ethnic diversity and pluralism as an opportunity (rather than a challenge). In other words, the previous city concept of "integration" was changed from a deficit-oriented approach towards a discourse on integration and diversity that should emphasise the potentials of ethnic diversity and pluralism. At the heart of the new diversity policy of the City of Vienna is the principle of equality in all important life domains.

In line with this paradigm shift in the late 1990s, the new municipal department no. 17 (MA 17) for Integration and Diversity Affairs was founded in July 2004 in order to further develop integration and diversity measures and assist the municipality in mainstreaming and adjusting its services to the needs of Vienna's increasingly diverse population. With this, municipal department integration and migration matters are more firmly embedded in the City Administration's agenda. MA 17 is focused on preparing a sound basis for implementing and further developing Vienna's integration and diversity policies. This includes, in particular, gaining a better knowledge of migration circumstances, improving cultural sensitivity as well as recognising and reducing access barriers in all areas of life. The ultimate objective is to strengthen intercultural competencies for improved diversity management. The integration of migrants will be facilitated by accompanying measures. MA 17 deals with conflict mediation and the promotion of respectful and peaceful cohabitation in neighbourhoods with high percentages of immigrant population.

Almost at the same time as the MA 17 was established, Vienna passed its first Anti-discrimination law ("Wiener Antidiskriminierungsgesetz" 2004; last amendment 2012). The Viennese Anti-discrimination Law bans discrimination of any kind for racial, ethnic, religious, ideological or sexual orientation reasons. The law is valid for the sectors of social affairs, health, education, provision of public goods and service provision, including housing and self-employment, insofar as these affairs come under the jurisdiction of the City of Vienna. The amendment to civil service law bans any discrimination because of reasons cited above by officials or contract workers of the municipality.

A further important body at the city level was the "Vienna Integration Conference" – a platform of more than 160 immigrant and counselling associations in the field of integration and anti-discrimination. It was first established in spring 1999 as a body to reshape and strengthen the cooperation amongst NGOs as well as the dialogue with the city. The new "Association Vienna Integration Conference – Office For Networking" was established as an independent association in 2004. The WIK Integration Charta of September 2006 stressed equal rights and chances, especially in the labour market, measures against social exclusion and discrimination in the housing market. In 2009 this initiative was phased out by the City of Vienna.

It is finally worth noting, that in contrast to the national immigration approach, naturalisation practises differed widely since the beginning of 2000 between the federal and the Viennese politics. In comparison with other EU countries, the process of becoming a citizen in Austria is handled more restrictively (Bauböck & Perchinig 2006; Jandl & Kraler 2003). Contrary to the situation in most Western European states, immigrants in Austria are still barred from active participation in local government politics. On the whole, the integration policies in Vienna have differed substantially from federal integration policies. An essential

difference in their approach towards integration concerns political rights: in December 2002 an attempt was made to introduce in the municipal districts the right to vote in local elections for immigrants who had their main residence in Vienna for at least five years. The Federal Government brought an objection two months later and so this resolution had to be backed up in April 2003 by an "override resolution". However it finally fell through altogether when an appeal to the Constitutional Court was brought jointly by the ÖVP (Austrian People's Party) and the FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria). The Court rescinded the "Immigrants' Right to Vote" on June 30th, 2004 on the basis that Austrian citizenship was an absolutely necessary prerequisite of the right to vote (Jandl & Kraler 2003). Given that political participation and the right to vote is still linked to the Austrian citizenship, one fifth of the Viennese population today has still no right to vote. Around 14 % of the Viennese population are third country nationals and are therefore not allowed to vote while 7 % have at least the right to vote in EU elections and on the local level (MA 17 2012:47).

2.2 Immigrants and ethnic diversity in Vienna

During recent decades, Vienna has become increasingly ethnically and culturally diverse. Immigrants are no longer marginal groups but constitute an essential element of the local population. By the end of 2013, 1,741,246 people lived in Vienna. 400,911 foreign citizens were legal residents in the Austrian capital, amounting to 23% of the total population.

Table 1 shows the variations in the numbers and proportions of foreigners in the Viennese population from 1980 to 2013. A constant increase of the proportion of foreigners can be observed. The percentage rose from about 7% to 9% during the 1980s, continuing to grow to between 10 and 15% in the 1990s. It reached its peak in the most recent figures from 2013, with another increase of 8% since 1990. The absolute number of foreigners was more than three and a half times higher than in 1980. After a period of stagnation or even numerical decrease of the total population during the 1980s, it was primarily the positive migration balance which caused an increase of Vienna's population since the 1990s, and the positive demographic trend is still ongoing – Vienna is one of the very few Austrian federal provinces with rising numbers of children (mostly immigrants) in schools and kindergartens (Herzog-Punzenberger & Schnell 2014).

Table 1: The residential population of Vienna, 1980–2013

	total population	1980=100	Austrians abs.	Austrians 1980=100	foreign citizens abs.	foreign citizens 1980=100	share of foreigners
1980	1,535,145	100.0	1,424,405	100.0	110,740	100.0	7.2
1981	1,528,631	99.6	1,412,376	99.2	116,255	105.0	7.6
1982	1,510,634	98.4	1,399,450	98.2	111,184	100.4	7.4
1983	1,499,866	97.7	1,389,870	97.6	109,996	99.3	7.3
1984	1,494,874	97.4	1,381,875	97.0	112,999	102.0	7.6
1985	1,490,956	97.1	1,373,686	96.4	117,270	105.9	7.9
1986	1,485,484	96.8	1,366,157	95.9	119,327	107.8	8.0
1987	1,484,258	96.7	1,359,760	95.5	124,498	112.4	8.4
1988	1,485,777	96.8	1,350,020	94.8	135,757	122.6	9.1
1989	1,492,636	97.2	1,339,701	94.1	152,935	138.1	10.2
1990	1,502,772	97.9	1,330,837	93.4	171,935	155.3	11.4
1991	1,522,449	99.2	1,325,120	93.0	197,329	178.2	13.0
1992	1,537,523	100.2	1,320,648	92.7	216,875	195.8	14.1
1993	1,549,436	100.9	1,319,152	92.6	230,284	208.0	14.9
1994	1,542,667	100.5	1,311,953	92.1	230,714	208.3	15.0
1995	1,539,002	100.3	1,305,009	91.6	233,993	211.3	15.2
1996	1,542,191	100.5	1,305,758	91.7	236,433	213.5	15.3
1997	1,540,875	100.4	1,304,955	91.6	235,920	213.0	15.3
1998	1,542,252	100.5	1,303,518	91.5	238,734	215.6	15.5
1999	1,548,537	100.9	1,305,870	91.7	242,667	219.1	15.7
2000	1,553,956	101.2	1,306,287	91.7	247,669	223.6	15.9
2001	1,562,737	101.8	1,308,044	91.8	254,693	230.0	16.3
2002	1,583,814	103.2	1,314,932	92.3	268,882	242.8	17.0
2003	1,598,626	104.1	1,321,662	92.8	276,964	250.1	17.3
2004	1,626,440	105.9	1,333,084	93.6	293,356	264.9	18.0
2005	1,651,438	107.6	1,342,254	94.2	309,184	279.2	18.7
2006	1,652,449	107.6	1,349,655	94.8	302,794	273.4	18.3
2007	1,661,246	108.2	1,352,527	95.0	308,719	278.8	18.6
2008	1,671,221	108.9	1,350,576	94.8	320,645	289.5	19.2
2009	1,680,135	109.4	1,346,124	94.5	334,011	301.6	19.9
2010	1,689,995	110.1	1,343,898	94.3	346,097	312.5	20.5
2011	1,702,855	110.9	1,342,221	94.2	360,634	325.7	21.2
2012	1,717,084	111.9	1,340,521	94.1	376,563	340.0	21.9
2013	1,741,246	113.4	1,340,335	94.1	400,911	362.0	23.0

Sources: Statistics Austria, Population prognosis (1980–2005) and population register (2006–2013). Own calculations.

Table 2 displays the proportion of people with a migration background in Vienna since 2008. Numbers reveal that in 2008, 35.4% of the Viennese population had a migration background. This number was almost twice that of Austria in general. Two-thirds of the population with a migration background can be considered first generation immigrants while 25% in 2008 were descendants of immigrants. The proportion of residents with a migration background in Vienna increased during the last five years by 3.1 %, reaching a peak of 38.4%. This increase is again twice that of Austria as a whole. Most importantly, this rapid upsurge is largely driven by the growing group of second generation immigrants.

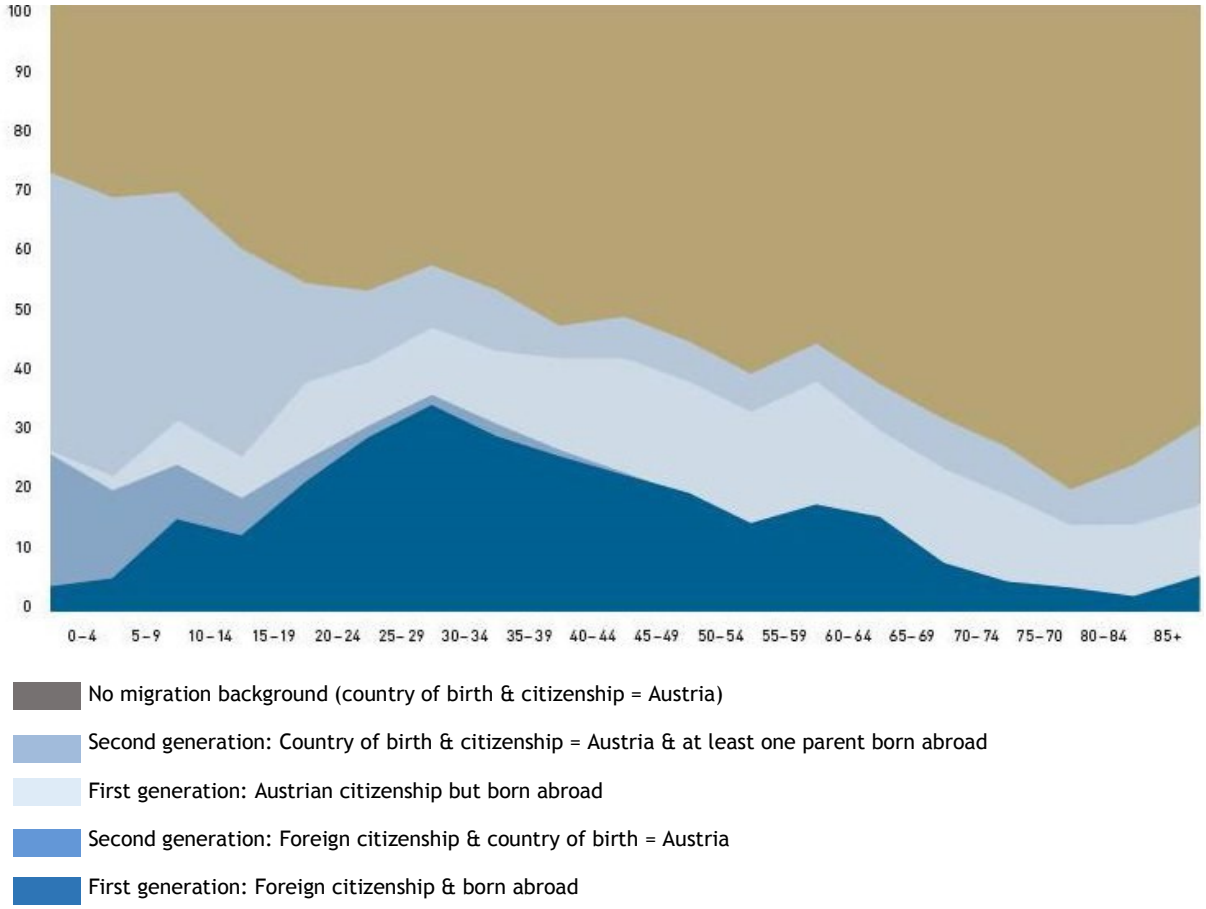
Table 2: Population with a migration background in Vienna, 2008-2012

		Without migration background	Migration background	First generation	Second generation
2008	Vienna	64.6	35.4	75.0	25.0
	Austria	82.5	17.5	74.8	25.2
2009	Vienna	64.2	35.8	73.8	26.2
	Austria	82.2	17.8	73.7	26.3
2010	Vienna	61.8	38.2	74.0	26.0
	Austria	81.4	18.6	73.8	26.2
2011	Vienna	61.2	38.8	73.8	26.2
	Austria	81.1	18.9	73.5	26.5
2012	Vienna	61.6	38.4	73.7	26.3
	Austria	81.1	18.9	73.9	26.1
Change 08-12	Vienna	-3.1	3.1	-1.3	1.3
	Austria	-1.4	1.4	-0.9	0.9

Sources: Microcensus 2008-2012. Own calculations.

This finding becomes even more pronounced once the Viennese residential population is displayed along age groups and migration background (see Figure 6). Amongst the residential population aged between 20 and 40 years, around 45 to 55% have a migration background (depending on the age group considered). In particular children and teenagers, of whom around 70% either migrated themselves or are descendants of immigrants. These numbers underline that a steadily growing part of the Viennese population shares some migration experiences (either themselves or through their parents) and that the local population is becoming more and more ethnically diverse.

Figure 6: Viennese population by migration background and age groups, 2011



Source: MA 17 (2012), p. 13.

Considering the proportion of people with a migration background underlines that the actual group of (first and second generation) immigrants is by far larger than numbers on the foreign population in Table 1 have indicated. For example, while 21.9% of the total Viennese population in 2012 were classified as foreigners, Table 2 displays that the actual number of people with a migration history is by far higher (38.4%). Unfortunately, official statistics on the population with a migration background are not further broken down into a detailed account of country of origin groups, nor are numbers available in smaller statistical districts. Most importantly, the data is only available from 2008 onwards making comparisons over a wider time span impossible. Thus, although differences might be large, we nevertheless have to return to the concepts of nationality and foreigners in the following analysis.

Table 3: Foreign residential population in Vienna, 1981–2013

Nationality	1981	1991	2001	2011	2013	% of tot. foreign population 2013	change 81-91	change 91-01	change 01-11
"Guest worker"	**78,297**	**131,234**	**151,753**	**159,889**	**165,001**	**41.2**	**67.6**	**15.6**	**5.4**
Former Yugoslavia	58,587	87,358	112,634	117,065	120,886	30.2	49.1	28.9	3.9
Turkey	19,710	43,876	39,119	42,824	44,115	11.0	122.6	-10.8	9.5
EU-15	**12,159**	**16,092**	**21,716**	**51,969**	**59,213**	**14.8**	**32.3**	**34.9**	**139.3**
Germany	6,424	9,017	12,729	31,714	35,969	9.0	40.4	41.2	149.1
other EU-15 countries	5,735	7,075	11,987	20,555	23,244	5.8	23.4	69.4	71.5
East-West-migration	**5,111**	**20,550**	**29,338**	**69,167**	**84,831**	**21.2**	**305.2**	**42.8**	**135.8**
Poland	2,653	11,056	13,648	26,988	32,112	8.0	316.7	23.4	97.7
Hungary	1,117	3,539	4,135	8,171	11,233	2.8	216.8	16.8	97.6
Czech Republic[1]	753	2,619	2,113	2,824	3,179	0.8	247.8	-19.3	33.6
Slovakia	-	-	3,312	8,741	10,642	2.7	-		163.9
Romania	350	2,532	3,713	14,859	18,202	4.5	623.4	46.6	300.2
Bulgaria	238	804	2,417	7,584	9,463	2.4	70.4	200.6	213.8
Other foreign nationals	**18,088**	**29,580**	**47,874**	**79,609**	**91,866**	**22.9**	**63.5**	**61.8**	**66.3**
total	**113,417**	**196,652**	**248,264**	**360,634**	**400,911**	**100.0**	**73.4**	**26.2**	**45.3**

Notes: 1= 1981 and 1991 Czechoslovakia.
Source: 1981 and 1991: Census data, Statistics Austria; 2001, 2011 and 2013: Population Register.

Table 3 shows the profound variations in the structure of the immigrant population in the period 1981 to 2013. More than 80% of all foreign nationals living in Vienna come from European countries (if one includes Turkey). Immigrants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia are still the largest groups, today making up for about 41.2% of all immigrants in Vienna. With the beginning of the war in the Balkans in 1992 the numbers of Yugoslavians increased immediately. On the contrary, since the beginning of the 2000s, the Turkish and former Yugoslavian communities in Vienna did not grow substantially. The increase was about 9.5% for Turks and only around 4% for former Yugoslavians. Labour migration from the former communist countries is still an important component of the Viennese immigration trend, with Poles being the numerically most important group. Vienna has the largest stock (in absolute numbers) of working power from the CEE-countries, whereas it is of negligible importance in the Western regions of Austria. It must be stressed that irregular temporary employment is very frequent among

this group so that official numbers of residents only mirror a glimpse of the very complex East-West migration scene (König & Hintermann 2003). The numbers of the residential population from Romania and Bulgaria have almost tripled in the decade from 2001-2011. There were also considerable increases in Slovakian and Polish citizens. In particular, the numbers of the latter group almost doubled within one decade. Contrary to this was the modest increase in the residential population from the Czech Republic. Vienna's Hungarian community was subject to an increase of 97.6% but still remains low in absolute numbers (2013: 11,233). Citizens of EU-15 member states account for 59,213 foreign residents living in Vienna. During the decade 2001-2011, the respective index climbed to 139.3. As compared to 2001, the number of German nationals has increased by almost 19,000 persons. In 2013, Germans accounted for 9% of the total foreign population in Vienna. Within the last decades, there was also a marked increase in the category of "others" including immigrants from the Near East, Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa and South and East Asia as well. This very heterogeneous group is constantly growing, in the past decade by over 60%, constituting a statistically important group. Among them, the Chinese and Iranian communities showed significant growth within the last decade, while one can observe processes of numerical stagnation for groups such as Egyptians (City of Vienna 2013: 67).

The Viennese immigrant population not only embraces significantly higher proportions of children and young people (as discussed above), but there are also marked differences in the gender proportions among groups of different origins. Table 4 shows that in the Austrian population of Vienna, the gender distribution is almost identical (51.9% women). While immigration from the EU-15 countries is characterised by a more or less balanced sex ratio, we find slightly more women among immigrants from the Eastern part of Europe residing in Vienna. In particular immigration from the bordering countries, such as Czech Republic or Slovakia, is found to be largely female driven (Ehrenreich et al. 2002; Wallace 2002). Among the group of former labour migrants the statistical dominance of men is still present. It is the Turkish group in which the proportion of males (53.1%) is especially marked while the gender distribution is more balanced among former Yugoslavian residents in Vienna. Finally, there are marked variations in the presence of women from African and Asian countries. Among Africans, the proportion of women is extremely modest (39.4%). Table 4 shows further that among immigrant groups of different origins there is a varying degree of concentration on Vienna as the focal point of migration when compared to Austria as a whole. The different concentration ratios among immigrants reflect specific labour market chances and migration histories. As displayed in Table 4, whereas around only 17% of the Austrian citizens reside in Vienna, it is the Poles, Bulgarians and the Asians who show an extreme concentration on Vienna. The concentration ratio of these groups ranges from 57% (Asians) to 65% (Poles). Three quarters of the residents of EU-15 origin are living outside the Austrian capital. Among the remaining groups displayed in Table 4, roughly 40% per group reside in Vienna.

Table 4: Numbers of foreign residents in Vienna and Austria, 2013

Country of birth	Number in Vienna	Men	Women	Proportion of Women	Number in Austria	Concentration ratio in Vienna
Austria	**1,194,485**	**574,211**	**620,274**	**51.9**	**7,087,089**	**16.9**
EU-15	**67,453**	**32,664**	**34,789**	**51.6**	**278,045**	**24.3**
Germany	43,980	20,743	23,237	52.8	205,868	21.4
EU-10	**90,827**	**38,338**	**52,489**	**57.8**	**204,915**	**44.3**
Czech Republic	16,193	5,793	10,400	64.2	41,618	38.9
Hungary	16,429	7,199	9,230	56.2	48,137	34.1
Poland	41,217	19,432	21,785	52.9	63,242	65.2
Slovakia	12,808	4,255	8,553	66.8	29,963	42.7
Slovenia	2,816	1,185	1,631	57.9	18,871	14.9
EU-2	**33,891**	**1,452**	**19,371**	**57.2**	**90,947**	**37.3**
Bulgaria	10,781	4,616	6,165	57.2	17,043	63.3
Romania	23,110	9,904	13,206	57.1	73,904	31.3
Former guest workers	**221,883**	**110,229**	**111,654**	**50.3**	**532,194**	**41.7**
Former Yugoslavia	155,188	74,817	80,371	51.8	373,009	41.6
Turkey	66,695	35,412	31,283	46.9	159,185	41.9
Africa	**23,148**	**14,029**	**9,119**	**39.4**	**42,352**	**54.7**
North and South America	**13,267**	**5,899**	**7,368**	**55.5**	**31,475**	**42.2**
Asia	**69,878**	**35,308**	**34,570**	**49.5**	**121,473**	**57.5**
Total foreign born	**546,761**	**261,905**	**284,856**	**52.1**	**1,364,771**	**40.1**

Source: Population Register, own calculations.

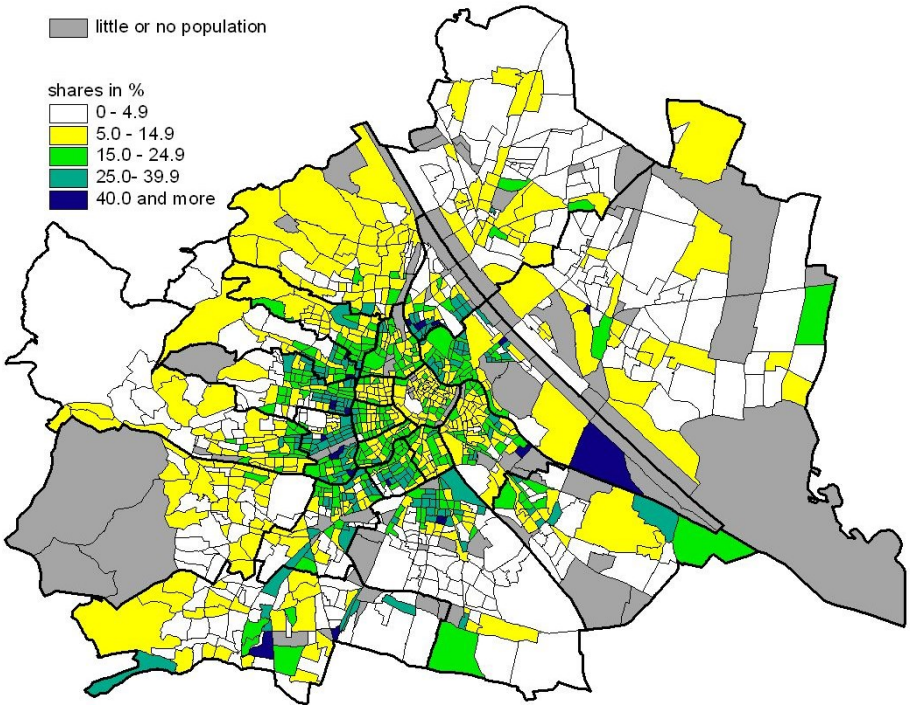
2.3 The dynamics of super-diversity – urban residential patterns

We now turn to a more detailed description of spatial patterns as well as a profound analysis of the socio-spatial developments and their causal factors in Vienna (Giffinger & Reeger 1997; Kaufmann 1999; Kohlbacher & Reeger 2002). We start with information on the patterns of residential segregation within the last two decades (between 1991 and 2010) based on census and population register data in order to provide a more general overview. In addition to our perspective on dynamics, we further distinguish residential patterns among certain groups of

immigrants. Of course, ethnic minorities are groups with a high degree of internal differentiation according to social status, labour and housing market. Although we talk about Turks, Germans, etc., we are aware about the differentiation within these groups. However, profound analyses of these differentiations are difficult to conduct due to a lack of adequate data.

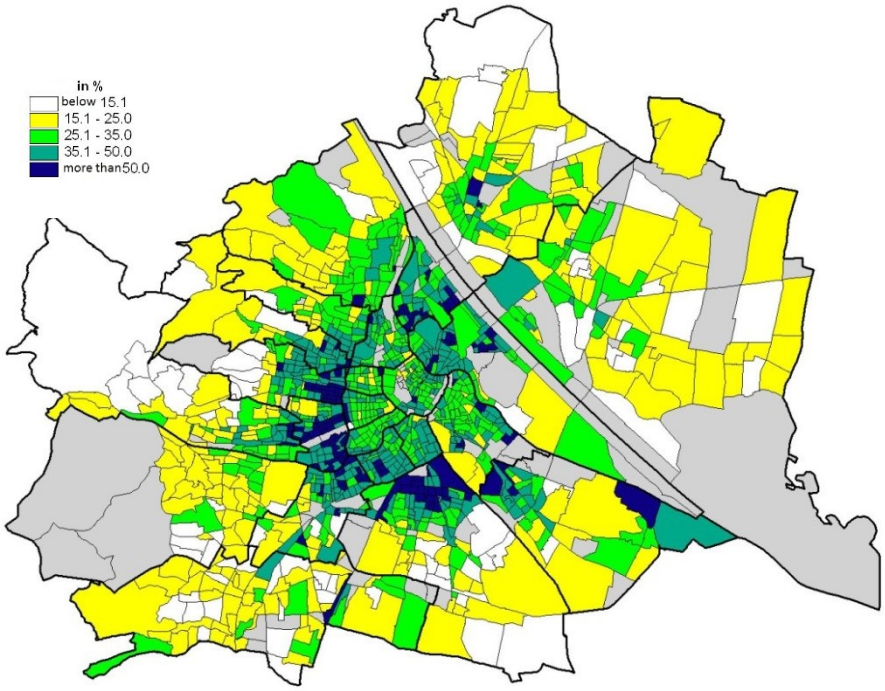
Figure 7 shows that in 1991 a fringe of statistical areas around the city centre and expanding in the old working-class districts was characterised by proportions of foreign population ranging mostly from 15% to 25%. In a considerable and increasing number of spatial units more than 25% of the residents were foreign citizens. The districts with such a high share were particularly those that border the "Gürtel", a thoroughfare with three lanes of traffic in each direction and public transportation, and representing a border to the inner city and better-off districts. At the beginning of the 1990s highly segregated areas were also found to the east of Vienna within statistical areas of "Leopoldstadt" (2nd, see dark blue area near the Danube). Although a few districts in the northeast of Vienna (to the right of the Danube river) also showed proportions of foreigners between 15% to 25%, the overall share of foreigners in Floridsdorf (21st) and Donaustadt (22nd) was rather modest. Almost 20 years later (2010), the concentration process has become even more pronounced (compare Figure 8). A lot of statistical areas in both the inner city as well as in the classical working-class districts became residential areas of an increasing and more ethnically heterogeneous immigrant population. This general increase in the proportion of immigrants in the Viennese residential areas reflects the overall increase of foreigners in Vienna during the last two decades (compare section 2.2). Thus, even in inner city areas, such as Josefstadt (8th), the average proportion increased by roughly 10%. This rising foreign residential population in Vienna is also visible in the outer city areas, in which the proportion of foreign residents also increased between 1991 and 2010, albeit at a lower level rate than in the inner city areas. For example, in the aforementioned areas in Floridsdorf (21st) and Donaustadt (22nd), the average increase was around 5 to 10% per statistical unit, while some particular areas experienced an increase in the foreign population by more than 20% (see green areas on the left bank of river Danube, Figure 8). In many of the statistical areas (2nd, 10th, 12th, 15th, 16th and 20th) the population with foreign citizenships represented more than 35% of the local residential population. In some cases, e.g. in some residential areas in Favoriten (10th), Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th) or Ottakring (16th), the population with foreign citizenship accounts for more than 50% of the local residential population. Due to the renovation of the built environment, levels of segregation have risen somewhat, mostly in relation to the remaining low-cost flats, many of which are nowadays being upgraded (compare also Lichtenberger 1990).

Figure 7: Proportion of foreign residents among the residential population, 1991



Source: Census 1991. Cartography: U. Reeger.

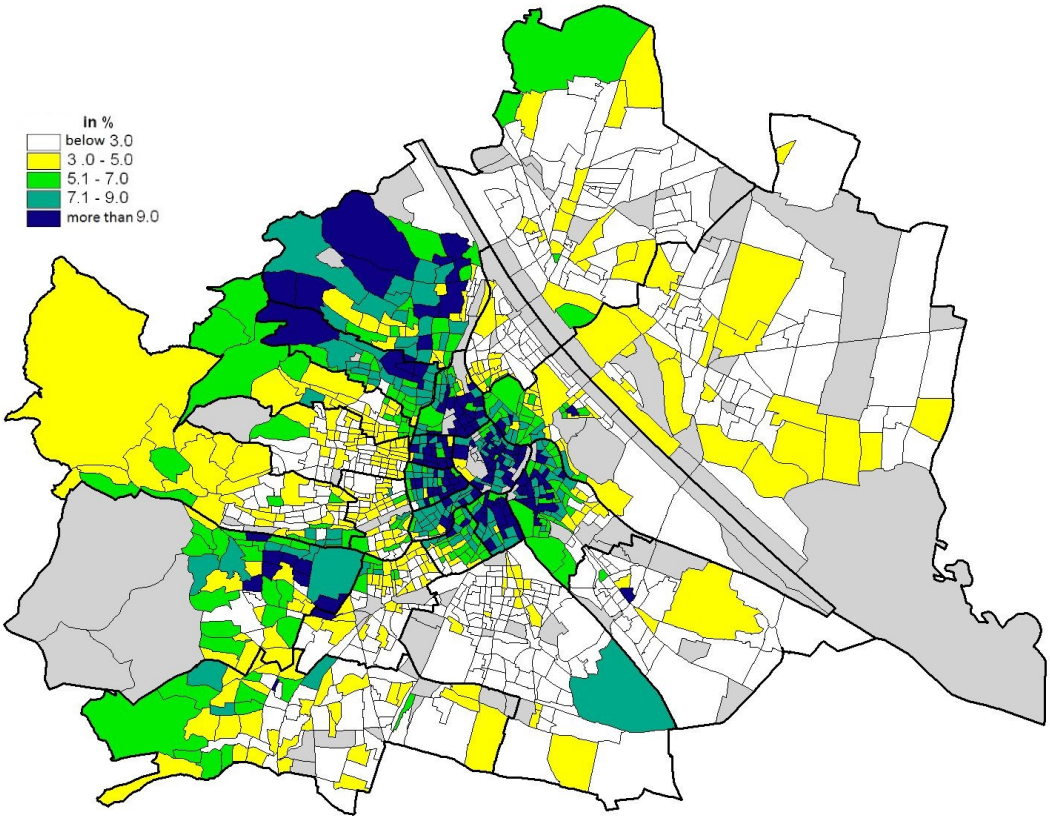
Figure 8: Proportion of foreign residents among the residential population, 2010



Source: Statistics Austria, Population Register. Cartography: U. Reeger.

Foreign citizen settlement is especially visible in the working class districts and in the social housing segment. Segregation of ethnic minorities is observable, but it is more often found on the level of blocks or buildings than on a larger geographical scale. Citizens from former 'guest worker' countries, such as from Turkey and former Yugoslavia, are concentrated in the blocks of flats in the western working class districts, which directly border to the middle-class neighbourhoods. In the old working class districts Favoriten (10th), Meidling (12th), Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th), Ottakring (16th) or Hernals (17th), there are many statistical areas with proportions of more than 35% or even more than 50% of foreign citizens. In the centre-near districts from Wieden to Alsergrund (4th to the 9th district), the proportion of foreign residents is usually below 35%. Figure 8 also indicates that immigrants also seem to settle in the cottage areas of Währing (18th) and Döbling (19th) in the northwest of Vienna's urban space. However, these foreign citizens largely originate from other Western European states. Immigrants from member states of the European Union have the means to settle in these western suburbs or directly in the historic old town. A large proportion of European immigrants, in particular of German origin, can also be found in the inner city districts, such as in Mariahilf (6th), Neubau (7th) or Josefstadt (8th). For example, as shown in Figure 9, the 8th and 9th Viennese district had recently a share of more than 9% of foreigners from EU 12 states.

Figure 9: Proportion of EU-12 foreign residents among the residential population, 2010



Source: Statistics Austria, Population Register. Cartography: U. Reeger.

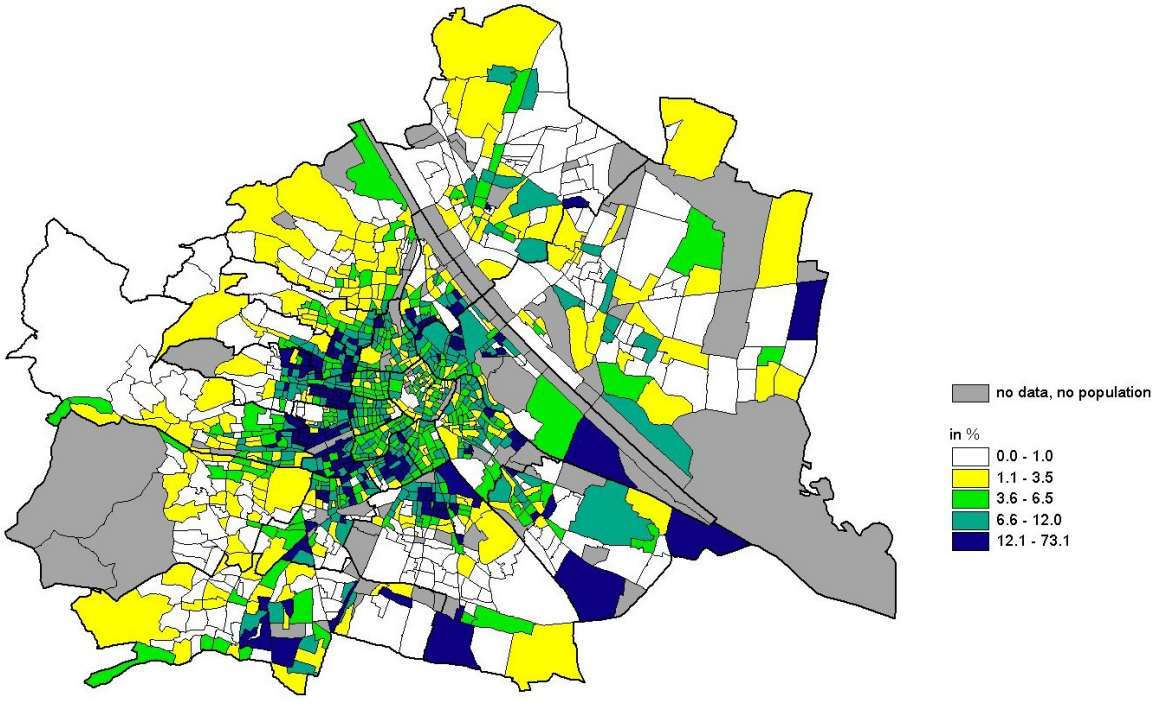
The picture changes completely, once the residential patterns of other immigrant groups are considered. In what follows, we briefly discuss patterns of residential segregation amongst two of the most dominant immigrant groups within Vienna as illustrative examples: Turks and former Yugoslavians. Figure 10 displays that this group is concentrated mainly in working class areas (e.g. Hernals, Ottakring, Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus) particularly around the area mentioned earlier of the "Gürtel" in 1991 (see dark blue areas in a westerly direction adjacent to the inner city, Figure 12). In this fringe surrounding inner city and central districts, reaching from the northwest to the southeast of the urban area, the proportion of the immigrant population from former Yugoslavia ranged from between 12.1% to as high as 73.1%. In the western "cottage" districts of the well-to-do 18th and 19th districts, as well as in the newly built areas across the river Danube, the immigrant population from Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia was only very sparsely distributed. Finally, although to a lesser extent, they also constitute a visible proportion (ranging between 3.6% and 12%) in the central districts of Vienna (parts of the 3rd, 5th, 6th and 7th district – see green areas in the centre of Figure 12).

The residential segregation pattern of the former Yugoslavs did not change substantially between 1991 and 2010 (compare also Kohlbacher & Reeger 2011). In 2010, the spatial units with high proportions of former Yugoslav population constituted a dense pattern in the fringe of districts, which have been the traditional areas of settlement for labour migrants since the 1970s (see Figure 11). However, a closer look into these areas bordering the "Gürtel" reveals that the districts with a high proportion of former Yugoslavians did increase slightly. In other words, we find a high stability of the residential segregation of former Yugoslavs in these working class areas as well as an increase in the number of former Yugoslavs in the total share of the residential population. This generally high persistent residential segregation among this group might be explained by processes of urban renewal in these working class districts that have taken place within the last 20 years. Labour migrants in general, and former Yugoslavs in particular, settled into these areas because most of the buildings were of a low standard and quality in the 1980s and early 1990s. Most of the houses had been built during the Founder´s Period and contained largely small flats with a toilet and inside water supply (category C) or even without toilet and water supply inside (D). The numbers of dwellings belonging to these categories have been substantially reduced through urban renewal programs, consequently increasing the living standards for the population in these working class districts without increasing the rents substantially. As further shown by the numbers presented in Table 5, immigrants from former Yugoslavia have largely benefited from these processes. In 1991, 77.3% of this group residing in Vienna lived in dwellings belonging to the categories C or D. These numbers had halved between 1991 and 2001 for this group and reached a minimum of 21.8% in 2010. A second explanation for the persistent residential pattern in Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th), Ottakring (16th) and Hernals (17th) might be the relatively low mobility rate among the Viennese population and the high neighbourhood stability in general. Both phenomena are traditionally very typical for the Austrian capital since the city administration and its bodies pursue regulations to prohibit property speculations on the Viennese housing sector. Besides, a consistent and longstanding policy of supporting council and (more

recently) third-sector public housing contributes to residential stability within Viennese neighbourhoods.

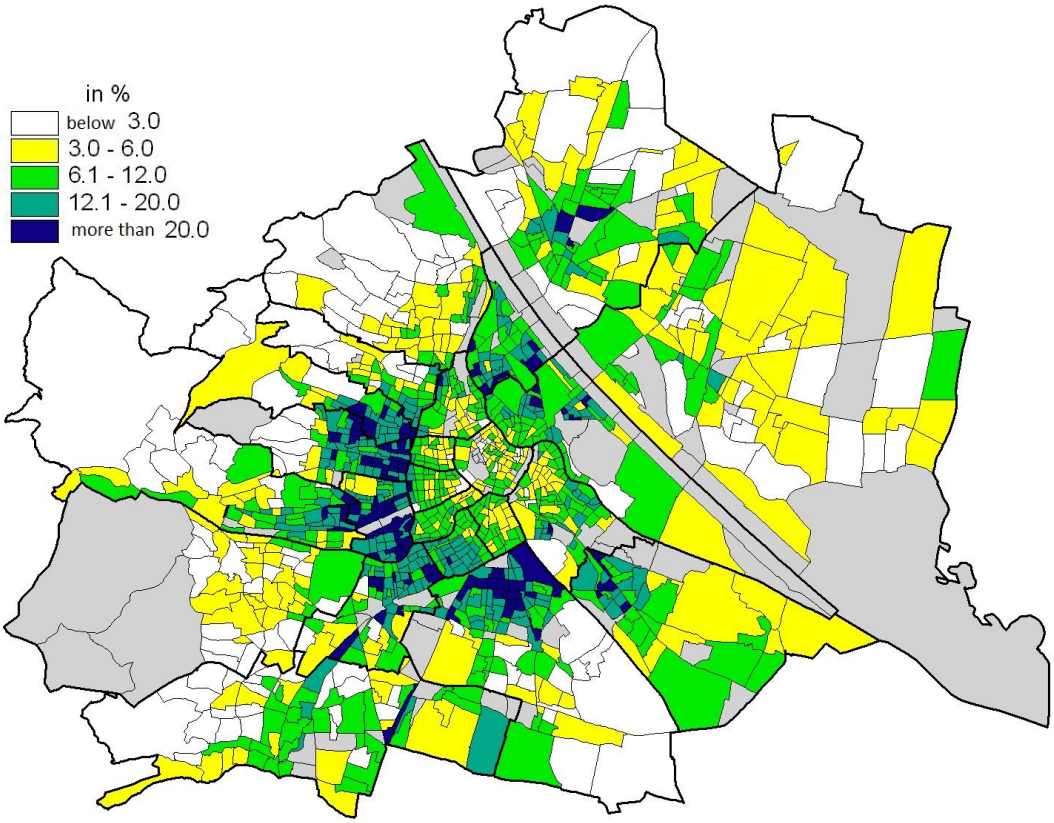
As mentioned above, these working class areas in the western part of the city slightly expand even, with some statistical units showing higher shares of former Yugoslavs in 2010 compared to 1991. This increase might be explained by two factors: First, as discussed in greater detail within the last section of this report, the overall share of immigrants from the successor states of Yugoslavia increased significantly in the early 1990s and some might already have had social contacts and networks that arrived in Vienna as labour migrants in the 1960s and 1970s. These networks might have paved the way for settlement processes of this kind in these areas. Second, some immigrants of former Yugoslavian origin that initially settled in the inner city districts had to move outside of these areas and found home in the Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th), Ottakring (16th) or Hernals (17th) (Kohlbacher and Reeger 2011). Gentrification processes through reconstructions of Founder´s Period buildings in the inner city districts, such as in Mariahilf (6th), Neubau (7th) and Josefstadt (8th), pushed the immigrant population to the bordering neighbourhoods. As shown in Figure 11, the share of former Yugoslavs in the inner city districts slightly decreased. It is finally worth mentioning that some areas in the northeast of Vienna also show an increase in the immigrant population from former Yugoslavia. This increase can largely be explained by the construction of council housing (that also became accessible for foreign citizens in 2006) and increasing co-operative housing stocks in these areas.

Figure 10: Percentage of citizens from former Yugoslavia in the total population, 1991



Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991, own calculation. Cartography: U. Reeger.

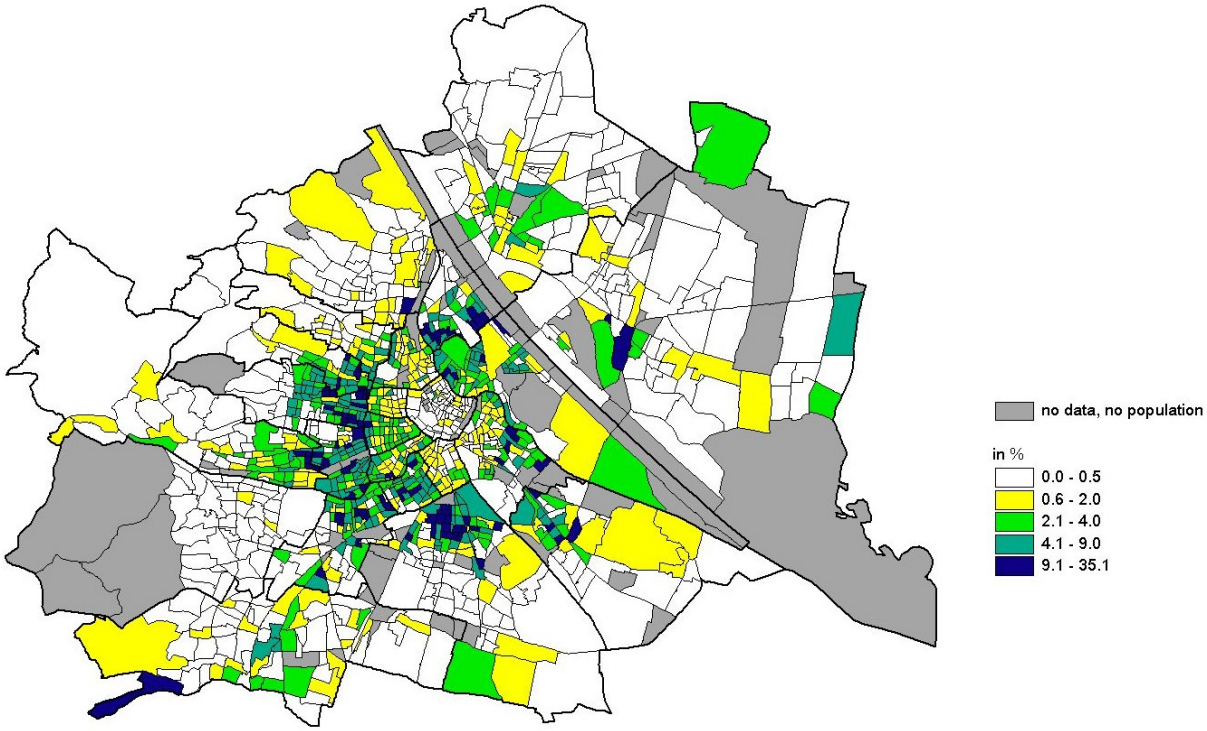
Figure 11: Percentage of citizens from former Yugoslavia in the total population 2010



Source: Statistics Austria, Population Register. Cartography: U. Reeger

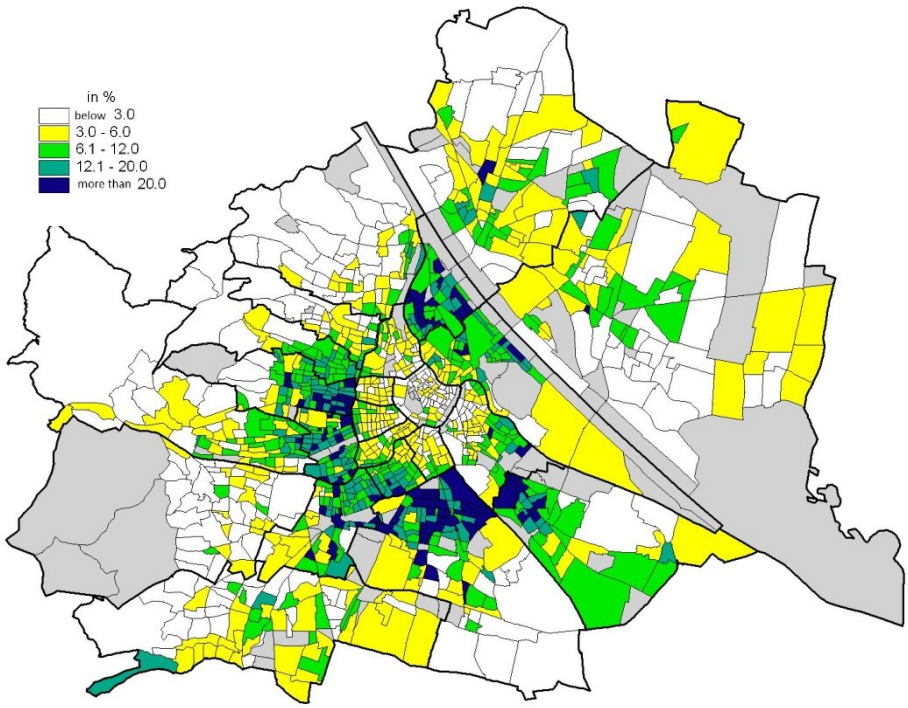
When examining immigrants from Turkey and their residential segregation between 1991 and 2010, we find roughly the same patterns as among former Yugoslavians. That is, a large concentration in the working class districts bordering the "Gürtel", as well as in Favoriten (10th) in the south of Vienna. Comparison of the shares of Turkish immigrants within these districts between 1991 and 2010 (compare Figure 12 and 13) reveals that this group shows similar persistent residential patterns as former Yugoslavs. We further find the number of Turks in the inner city districts to be declining between 1991 and 2010, while slight increases were seen in Ottakring (16th), Hernals (17th) and Favoriten (10th). The explanatory mechanisms that have been described for former Yugoslavs in greater detail apply too to the Turkish. For example, the number of Turks in low quality housing (dwellings in category C or D) did decrease from 80.7% (1991) to 21% (2011) within the last 20 years mainly due to urban renewal programs (see Table 5). Since most of these buildings are situated in the districts close to the "Gürtel", this might explain largely this persistent settlement process among Turks in these areas.

Figure 12: Percentage of Turkish citizens in the total population, 1991



Sources: MA 66, Statistics Austria: Census 1991, own calculations. Cartography: U. Reeger.

Figure 13: Percentage of Turkish citizens in the total population, 2010



Source: Statistics Austria, Population Register. Cartography: U. Reeger

Table 5: Apartments according to level of utilities and nationality of household representative, 1991, 2001, 2011 (%)

	Category A	Category B	Category C	Category D	Total
	1991				
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
	2001				
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
	2011				
Austria	91.2	3.7	0.5	4.6	100.0
Former Yugoslavia	73.5	4.7	2.1	19.7	100.0
Turkey	78.5	0.5	2.2	18.8	100.0
EU-15*	90.2	2.9	1.3	5.6	100.0

Source: Statistics Austria, Housing situation of the population 1991, 2001. Register data 2011. *= detailed data for German residents were not available in 2011. Census data information is directly derived from the population while the register data information is based on an estimation of a smaller subsample.
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.

Key facts: Immigration to Vienna

-Main waves of immigration to Vienna:
Immigration from Turkey and former Yugoslavia as a consequence of the bilateral agreements for the recruitment of guest workers to cover the Austrian labour demand (mid 1960s until 1973); family reunification period (mid 1970s until mid/end 1980s); asylum and refugee immigration due to the fall of the Iron Curtain and the civil war in the former Yugoslavia; immigration from Eastern European states from 1995 onwards; immigration from other North-Western European countries from mid-2000s onwards (in particular Germans).

-In line with these immigration waves, a constant increase of the proportion of foreigners in Vienna can be observed, reaching its peak in the most recent figures from 2013. 400,911 foreign citizens were legal residents in the Austrian capital, amounting to 23% of the total population.

-More than 80% of all foreign nationals living in Vienna come from European countries (if one includes Turkey).

-Immigrants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia are still the most numerous groups today, making up for about 41.2% of all immigrants in Vienna.

-The number of the immigrant populations from Romania and Bulgaria in Vienna has almost tripled during the decade 2001-2011. There were also considerable increases in the number of Slovakian, Polish and German citizens.

-In terms of urban residential patterns, a fringe of statistical areas around the city centre and expanding into the old working-class districts is characterised by a foreign population representing more than 35% of the local population.

-In some cases, e.g. in certain residential areas in Favoriten (10th), Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th) or Ottakring (16th), the population with foreign citizenship accounts for more than 50% of the local population. Because of the renovation and rejuvenation of the built environment, segregation has meanwhile risen mostly to the remaining low-cost flats, which themselves are increasingly subject to renovation.

3. Diversity as a principle of municipal integration policy and measures

3.1 National immigration policy of the last two decades: a content outline and implications for diversity and integration (last 20 years)

Policies regarding immigration, integration and diversity have been described in greater detail within section 2.1.1 where we outlined the national immigration framework since the 1980s. We nevertheless briefly summarise the most important policies below.

- 1990: A quota for the employment of foreigners was introduced - defined as a maximum share of foreign workers in the total workforce (9%).
- 1992: New Aliens Act tightened regulations on the entry and residence of foreigners.
- 1992: New Asylum Law 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.
- 1993: The Settlement and Residence Act (*Niederlassungs- und Aufenthaltsgesetz*) established contingents for different categories of migrants.
- 1994: Austria's accession to the EEA: led to the exemption of immigrants from the EU/EEA from most immigration controls.
- 1997: The Aliens Act was merged with the 1992 Aliens Act and the 1993 Settlement and Residence Act into a single law in order to promote the integration of foreigners already living in Austria.
- 1997: Revision of the Asylum Act abolished the 'safe country of origin' principle (see 1992 above) and included the Schengen Agreement which aimed to create a border-free arrangement among several EU states.
- 1998: New Naturalisation Act was passed which retained the core elements of the previous regulations.
- 2006: Citizenship Law was reformed.
- 2011: The first state secretary for Integration was founded.

3.2 National policies and their implications for the municipal diversity and integration policy making framework

The Viennese conceptualisation of its "integration and diversity approach" and the consequent policy-making framework have been significantly influenced by a number of national and supra-national policies. They can be summarised as follows:

To begin with, the transposition of the EU non-discrimination framework directive into national law in 2004 was an important step in combating discrimination that also concerned Vienna's administration. On the one hand, all services provided by the City of Vienna must be consistent with the Viennese Non-Discrimination Act and on the other hand, this law also protects people employed by the City of Vienna from discrimination by their employer. As a practical outcome of the EU non-discrimination directive, the Department against

Discrimination was founded in 2004 ("Stelle zur Bekämpfung von Diskriminierung"). This department is responsible for dealing with complaints relating to discrimination of any kind. The main duties of the Department against Discrimination are to support people who have been discriminated against with information and advice; to mediate between persons or groups in all kind of conflicts; to find agreed solutions to problems; to stimulate and examine regulations and to set up measures for sensitisation (mostly in cooperation with other institutes). Further duties include raising greater awareness of discrimination, the publication of reports and recommendations in the context of anti-discrimination.

The EU non-discrimination law was adapted by the Law against Discrimination (ADG), the amendment of civil service Law (1994) and the amendment of the Law for Contract Workers 1995 (anti-discrimination amendment). The Viennese Law against Discrimination bans discrimination of any kind on grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, ideology or sexual orientation (last amendment in 2012). This law applies to social affairs, health, education, provision of public goods and service provision, including housing and self-employment, insofar as these matters are part of the regulatory competence of the City of Vienna. The amendment to civil service law bans any discrimination on the grounds cited above by officials or contract workers of the municipality. Offenses against these regulations are punished under civil service law and under the disciplinary law of the City of Vienna. Both laws ban direct and indirect discrimination, nuisance, insults and attempts at intimidation, as well as victimisation (discrimination because of the assertion of legal rights or participation in legal proceedings).

Another set of laws concerning equal rights among men and women, as well as for disabled persons might have also influenced the concept of diversity by the City of Vienna. According to the Austrian constitution (article 7.3), the state grants equal gender rights and sees the abolishment of gender inequalities among its main tasks. The Austrian state supports gender mainstreaming initiatives (e.g. within ministries) and develops guidelines and laws to combat gender inequalities within companies. Similar tendencies and activities are also found to increase equality for people with disabilities. Both aspects have been incorporated in the Austrian Equality Act in 2004 ("Gleichbehandlungsgesetz"). Overall, the core principles of these laws are equal opportunities and ensuring equal participation – which are also central in the Viennese integration and diversity concept.

Finally, the Austrian Ethnic Minorities Act: This law dates back to the year 1976 (latest version 2009) and grants special rights to six officially recognised minority groups in Austria (Carinthian Slovenes, Burgenland Croats, Hungarians, Roma, Czechs and Slovaks). They are less a legacy of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (all internal migrants had to leave the First Republic of Austria after the Peace Treaty of Saint Germain) as they are a reminder that state borders are artificial lines of separation and that settlement patterns have been mixed concerning linguistic and ethnic diversity. These 'old' minorities have special rights in Austria today, based on either the 1955 State Treaty or the 1976 Ethnic Minorities Act. The law states, among other regulations, that none of the ethnic group members should be disadvantaged because of their group membership. Moreover, the state grants special funding to associations which retain the minority group status and their national customs and traditions. In the federal states of Carinthia and Styria, bi-

lingual education in school is granted for these ethnic minority groups. In short, the law promotes equal opportunity for "old" minority groups within Austria. However, it does not apply to "new" minority groups who came to Austria by recent immigration.

Overall, policy measures that focus on the inclusion and equal participation by minorities, people with disabilities and women have a long tradition in Austria. In particular, equal rights and increasing participation were central to several national policies during previous decades (Wladasch & Liegl 2009).

3.3 Vienna addressing diversity

The major shift towards a diversity concept in Vienna took place at the beginning of the 2000s. Realising the fact that Vienna was becoming increasingly ethnically and socioeconomically diverse with more and more immigrants arriving from a variety of countries, accompanied by a growing part of the population with a migration background, the City of Vienna and its representatives initiated a paradigm change from integration policies towards a concept of diversity. The major aspect was a change in the perception of integration. "Integration" was no longer merely seen as an achievement to be accomplished by immigrants, but rather as a process that includes immigrants, with their own characteristics, efforts and backgrounds, as well as the members and institutions of the Viennese "host society". It was the first time that Viennese politicians and the municipality explicitly stated an active role of the (urban) host society. Moreover, the City of Vienna explicitly formulated the growing ethnic diversity and pluralism as an opportunity and potential, rather than a challenge. Immigration and the growing (ethnic) diversity have been described as the norm for an increasingly growing European metropolis.

At the heart of the new diversity concept by the City of Vienna were the principles of equality, such as equal opportunity and rights of participation in all spheres. More precisely, since 2004 Vienna established an "integration orientated diversity policy". The term "integration" highlights the effort to foster processes of inclusion and to increase the participation of immigrants in all relevant areas of life. The City of Vienna aims to support immigrants "as early as possible". This applies, for example, to the support of newly arrived immigrants, as well as language classes for children at an early age. The term "diversity" represents the recognition of an increasing social and cultural diversification of the local population. At the same time, the term "diversity" should also highlight the potential that goes along with this diversification process. Both aspects, integration and diversity, should increase the social cohesion of the urban population. Social cohesion is reinforced by mutual respect, equal opportunities as well as by an equal status of residents regardless of their ethnic origin.

The core principles of the Viennese diversity concept are:

- Equal opportunities and participation of all residents in important spheres
- to facilitate access to relevant resources for everyone
- to abolish discrimination tendencies
- to increase mutual respect

- to increase empowerment

These goals are embedded in core democratic principles: acknowledgement of human rights, freedom of speech and religion as well as the recognition of equality of gender, age and origin. Besides the points listed above, the new diversity concept by the City of Vienna has also led to increase the attention towards an "intercultural opening" of the municipalities` administration. As part of this campaign to promote diversity mainstreaming, the City of Vienna forced all public administrations to open up their services and to re-orientate their programs towards the needs and necessities of the increasingly diversified urban population. In order to fulfil this goal within the public administration, the City of Vienna began to train their employees in intercultural communication and increased the number of employees with a migration background. Both actions were undertaken in order to fulfil the goal and principals of equality and participation of all residents (irrespective of their origin) within the city.

Table 6: Hard and soft benchmarks of the Viennese diversity policy

Hard benchmarks	Soft benchmarks
Supportive integration measures - especially tailored to recently arrived immigrants. (Welcome leaflets, orientation consultations, job consultations, seminars, vouchers for language training, special training courses for young people, etc.)	Improving social climate and cultural sensitivity in the city and more generally social cohesion.
Promoting diversity mainstreaming.	Abolishing discrimination in daily life.
Diversity concepts in municipalities` administrations.	Increasing the visibility of the topic "diversity" in public discourse.
	Promoting harmonious cohabitation in the urban space.

Source: own illustration.

The objectives listed so far can be considered as "hard" benchmarks. However, the integration and diversity approach also aims at setting "soft" benchmarks, such as improving the overall social climate in the city, increased social cohesion, abolishing discrimination in daily life, increasing the visibility of the topic "diversity" in public discourse, improving cultural sensitivity and (more generally) to promote harmonious cohabitation in the urban space. These objectives are primarily, but not solely, conducted on the neighbourhood level.

Although measures for these kind of objectives will be provided in greater detail below, it is already worth mentioning that the City of Vienna aims to achieve these objectives through strong collaborations with non-governmental organisations at the local level. In other words, the City of Vienna aims to achieve these objectives through joint projects and a specific funding scheme to support local initiatives. Of course, the implementation of "soft benchmarks" are much harder to realize than the respective "hard benchmarks". Nevertheless, at least by establishing, constantly improving and evaluating hard benchmarks (see next section), the chances for a substantial change in everyday policies and concrete dealings with immigrants are substantially increased and do not run the risk of being rhetorical only.

3.4 Political and public perceptions of diversity

3.4.1 Political perception

The new Viennese concept of diversity was „institutionalised" through the establishment of the Municipal Department on Integration and Diversity (MA 17) in 2004 (compare above). It provides services for immigrants, promote projects relevant to integration and support measures for residence especially with a view to settling newly arrived migrants (language training courses and education measures, low-threshold information); supporting integration-relevant measures, projects and initiatives; proposing and supporting model integration and diversity projects and measures initiated by the City of Vienna; cooperating with internal and external partners and migrant organisations in particular; monitoring and supporting developments and projects specific to integration in other provinces, at the federal, European, and international level. With this municipal department, integration and diversity matters are more firmly embedded in the City Administration's agenda.

A substantial task of the MA 17 is to monitor and evaluate the City's activities in terms of diversity through a monitoring system for integration and diversity. The first "Diversity Monitor" was presented in 2008, followed by a second round in 2011. Both reports not only provide in-depth statistical material on integration and diversity in different spheres within Vienna, but also a substantial evaluation of the measures that had been implemented to achieve the overall goal of equality among the ethnically and socioeconomically diverse Viennese population. Through this monitoring system, the City of Vienna also aims to strengthen their fields of action within the public administration. In other words, based on the monitoring system, the City of Vienna tries to establish new management systems in order to improve the living situation of immigrants in Vienna and to increase intercultural competencies within the administration bodies and their employees. This monitoring system is a consequence of the city`s understanding of integration and diversity: as a process undertaken by immigrants and the bodies and entities of the municipality.

Besides the MA 17 there are some other municipal departments which are also of great importance for immigrants in Vienna. To begin with, the Municipal Department No. 35 is responsible for citizenship and registration issues and is

therefore dealing directly with immigrants' issues. Next, there are a number of important departments that are indirectly intervening in integration matters because of their specific range of tasks and their clientele which consists of a high proportion of migrants and their families: Municipal Department No. 10 (Vienna Children's Day-care Centres), Municipal Department No. 11 (Youth and Family Welfare Office), Municipal Department No. 57 (Promotion and Co-ordination of Women's Issues). Finally, the enterprise "Housing in Vienna" is responsible for the municipal housing as well as the administration and maintenance of housing owned by the City of Vienna.

Finally, integration and diversity issues come under the responsibility of Executive City Councillor Sandra Frauenberger of the Executive Group for Integration, Women's Issues, Consumer Protection and Personnel. All city councillors and departmental directors are responsible for the topics "integration and diversity" in their respective spheres of influence (i.e. their departments). This top-down approach is essential for the implementation of diversity management (as they argue). The support of the highest administrative level (Chief Executive Office) is also very important. The Chief Executive Office and the Central Personnel Service (Municipal Department 2) are responsible for personnel affairs and so for diversity in employment within the administrative body.

3.4.2 Public perception

The City of Vienna actively promotes integration and diversity in the media. All in all, diversity policy received positive attention in local media. Photos and written texts refer to people with migration background and the city is careful that the subject of immigration and diversity is always covered in one way or another. It is the city's aim that immigration should be seen as the norm or reality in the public consciousness. In recent years it has also become usual for advertisements to be published in media that use migrants' own mother tongues. Municipal information media have also become more professional. MA 17 gives financial support to projects promoting professional qualifications, such as helping mainstream journalists from ethnic minority communities to gain qualifications or offering special training for migrants' associations in the fields of public relations and media work.

Although the City of Vienna has pursued the concept of diversity for almost 10 years, the media discourse is still largely dominated by discussions around "integration" and "integration deficits" by certain immigrant groups. For example, media discourses on school achievements by children of immigrants are still focusing on patterns of underachievement or problematizing the high proportion of ethnic segregation in schools than valuing potential benefits that pupils might gain by attending super-diverse classrooms or schools. At the same time, more and more success stories of immigrants in leading positions feature in the media too. An illustrative example was the campaign by the Ministry of the Interior "Top 100 Migranten" which started in autumn 2011. This program was initiated by the Secretary of State for Integration, Sebastian Kurz. With the help of media, it disseminated immigrant success stories, people who had made a name for themselves in the areas of sport, the arts and culture, economy, politics or education. The "Top 100 Migrants" then visited schools and were involved in public debates to act as positive role models for a diverse urban society. The campaign

gained a broad national and local media echo and was successful in communicating a positive picture of diversity (Die Presse 2011).

Diversity has also become more visible in many medium and large scale companies and institutions, such as the Viennese universities, banks or stores, many of whom now follow diversity management concepts close to that of the City of Vienna. In other words, they also recognise the increasing potential of the diverse local population and train their employees in intercultural affairs or increasingly aim to hire people with a migration background.

Key facts: Integration and diversity policies in Vienna

-Vienna did not have an explicit immigration or diversity policy until the beginning of the 1990s though there were already some measures in this direction.

-1992: Founding of the Viennese Integration Found (WIF) to lobby for the interest of Immigrants and to provide expertise to the Vienna City government.

-1996: First Councillor for Integration Affairs was established who, as the head of the respective administrative department initiated the first integration policies (which were mainly targeting "integration deficiencies" by immigrants).

-After founding the Office for Integration Affairs, the City of Vienna developed its integration policy further to include a diversity approach emphasising and reflecting the growing diversity with the Viennese population and its profits and merits for society.

-Since then, diversity policy is essential in Vienna. The City of Vienna's integration policies have aiming to achieve equal rights and opportunities in all areas of life; social and economic, cultural and political.

-The substantial change within the city and its administrative bodies was that integration was no longer perceived to be an achievement to be accomplished by immigrants, but rather as a process that includes immigrants as well as the members and institutions of the Viennese "host society".

-The City of Vienna explicitly formulated the growing ethnic diversity and pluralism as an opportunity (rather than a challenge).

-The previous city concept of "integration" was changed from a deficit-oriented approach into a discourse on integration and diversity that should emphasise the potentials of ethnic diversity and pluralism.

-The municipal department no. 17 (MA 17) for Integration and Diversity Affairs was founded in July 2004 in order to develop integration and diversity measures further and assist the municipality in mainstreaming and adjusting its services to the needs of Vienna's increasingly diverse population.

-MA 17 focuses on preparing a sound basis for implementing and further developing Vienna's integration and diversity policies. This includes, in particular,

gaining better knowledge on migration circumstances, improving cultural sensitivity as well as recognising and reducing access barriers in all areas of life. The ultimate objective is to strengthen intercultural competencies for improved diversity management.

4 Interventions on the city and neighbourhood scale: selected examples

Within this section, we provide a brief overview on the most recent and relevant diversity policy measures on the neighbourhood level. We start this section with city-wide measures, i.e. measures largely designed and accomplished by the City of Vienna and its administrative bodies. These measures are not directly targeted to specific neighbourhoods or living areas. Instead, they are set up for all residents living in Vienna and aim to enhance the social climate in the city as a whole and to improve the living together in the city. Thus, they indirectly affect coexistence on the local level. Afterwards, we list and describe projects, initiatives and measures that can be considered as "top down", as they were founded and funded by the City of Vienna and its administrative bodies. They are also directly carried out by municipal employees. Finally, we provide an overview on "bottom-up" projects and measures that are initiated by local community organisations and important stakeholders. These measures are oftentimes designed and conceptualised for specific neighbourhoods and districts. Most of them are currently or have been funded by the support and grant scheme for diversity projects of the MA 17[4], as shown by the end of this section.

4.1 City-wide measures

- **"Wiener Charta" ("Charter of Vienna")**

The most recent city-wide initiative to increase togetherness among local residents was the Vienna Charter which took place in 2012. As Vienna is increasingly becoming diverse, it was important to the city representatives that everyone living in Vienna would be "able to deal with this diversity calmly, objectively, and without fear, but also with a critical and open mind" (Vienna Charter 2013). The City of Vienna launched the Vienna Charter project as an initiative to foster common understanding and to formulate mutually acceptable solutions for possible conflicts in urban neighbourhoods. It was intended to promote good neighbourhood relations, active dialogue within the local population with a view to long-term improvement in solidarity and social cohesion.

In autumn 2010, the MA 17 was tasked with developing and implementing the concept for this project. The concept was developed in the course of 2011 and first presented to the public in 2012 by the City Mayor.

The basic idea was that the role of the city itself was defined as that of an initiator while local residents would meet, discuss and conceptualise a charter for greater solidarity, openness and social cohesion. Viennese residents were to participate online and offline in this initiative. Through an initial online phase at the beginning of 2012, people were invited to suggest topics that should be discussed in the Charter talks. These suggestions were to come under the general theme of how the Viennese population wants to shape and live their relations in

[4] It is important to note that the City of Vienna has a large number of policy measures programmes targeting aspects of integration. Among them: measures to support newly arrived immigrants; language training courses and other educational programs. However, these measures are not interventions on the neighbourhood scale and are therefore not presented here.

their neighbourhoods. This initial online phase resulted in three major subtopics - behaviour = "getting along well", attitude = "not always the same" and space = "feeling at home in a clean and tidy city" – which people discussed face-to-face in the next and main step of the process. The talks started mid-April 2012 and lasted six months. In total, over 200 organisations on the local level (businesses, clubs and associations, employer associations, trade unions, religious communities, political parties, etc.) initiated Charter talks with the local population, which were mediated by experts. "Ideally, a Charter talk should have 10 to 20 participants and take 1.5 to 2 hours in duration" (Vienna Charter 2013). In total, around 10,000 residents were involved in developing the Vienna Charter. The unique aspect about this project was that the Viennese residents themselves could choose topics (under the overall scheme) and participate actively to the development of the Charter through discussions.

The results of these talks have been made available online and have been further presented in a press conference by the mayor in late November 2012. The results have been summarised in a document in which the local population commits themselves to the principles of democracy and the Austrian constitution, human rights and the right of the child. However, the main result of the process is much more than the enormous participation rate among the local population and the number of residents in certain neighbourhoods who got together and discussed their ideas on how to live together.

- **"Wohndrehscheibe" ("Housing support programme for immigrants and socially marginalised groups")**

Given that foreigners did not have access to council housing (a rule that was only been changed in 2005) and that only long-term foreign residents had the right to enter subsidised housing, a number of associations (e.g. the Vienna Integration Fond, the "Housing Advice Service" and others founded the working group "Better Housing For Foreigners" in 1995, in order to support immigrants in finding decent accommodation of an acceptable standard. In 1997, this working group became the association "Wohndrehscheibe". Since then, the association has supported socially marginalised groups to access affordable housing of an average standard. In 2000, this association became part of the co-operative housing association "Wohnservice".

4.2 Top-down neighbourhood measures and projects – selected examples

- **"Bassenagespräche - Einsatz im Bezirk" („Round tables & exchanges in the district")**

Established in November 2009 by the Councillor for Integration and Diversity, Sandra Frauenberger, this initiative organises round tables and regular exchanges with residents on topics at the intersection between housing, living together and diversity in urban neighbourhoods. Although these talks are organised in parks, public spaces or shopping malls, this project is aimed particularly at addressing the

coexistence of residents in urban neighbourhoods. It provides a platform for (mediated) exchange and discussion amongst local residents on critical and conflicting topics of everyday life in residential areas. The "Bassena"-talks were part of a larger five point programme on integration launched in 2009. A frequently discussed topic is the coexistence of foreign-born and Austrian residents. Overall, this initiative aims to 1) achieving a better overview on common causes of conflicts in the neighbourhood (with a particular focus on perceived "problems" due to diversity), 2) increase interaction and exchange between residents (of different origins) within the neighbourhoods and 3) to develop concrete solutions for a conflict-free coexistence in the neighbourhood. The talks and roundtables are organised by the regional offices of the MA 17.

- **„Ehrenamtliche Konfliktarbeit" (Voluntary Initiative to Solve Conflicts)**

In a similar manner as the "Bassena" talks, this initiative aims to reduce conflicts that occur between residents living together in the same housing blocks. In contrast to the Bassena talks, this programme focuses on council housing blocks and their residents only. Moreover, conflicts between neighbours in general are at the heart of this programme, rather than issues arising from diversity issues (although the distinction might not always be clear). Since it was launched in 2004, trained employees of the City of Vienna and volunteers from the neighbourhood have mediated disputes between neighbours. Neighbours are invited to present their point of view, while the mediators try to support a solution finding process together with the conflicting parties. This programme is a co-operation between the municipal department MA 17 and the council housing association "Wohnpartner".

- **„Informationsveranstaltungen für Vereine - Interkulturelle Projektarbeit" (Information for Intercultural Associations)/"Vereinsplattform" ("Forum for Associations")**

The MA 17 organises regular meetings in Vienna's neighbourhoods aimed at providing relevant information for migrant associations and interested residents with an immigrant background. They further organise meetings between migrant associations and administrative departments from the City of Vienna. Within these meetings, employees of municipal administrative departments visit migrant associations and give presentations and talks in the native language of the association. Members of these associations, as well as interested residents that might join these local meetings, get the chance to ask questions directly on those topics that might be of interest to them (e.g. citizenship regulations, social security programmes, etc.). Meetings are either requested by the city administration or by the migrant associations themselves.

Arranging exchanges between migrant associations and administrative departments of the City of Vienna is not the only initiative which focuses on associations. The so-called "Vereinsplattform", implemented by the MA 17 in the mid-2000s in a number of districts, is a local forum aimed at connecting local associations in the neighbourhood. The overall aim is to empower local associations to increase their participation in neighbourhood activities and politics. Members of

the MA 17 try to stimulate meetings and exchanges between migrant and non-migrant associations in the neighbourhood.

- **"Religionsforen" ("Forums for religious diversity")**

In line with the forum for associations on the local level, the City of Vienna started has more recently begun to set up special meetings between religious associations and representatives of religious organisations, such as mosques, churches, etc. in order to stimulate interreligious dialogues in a neighbourhood. With this programme, the City of Vienna further aims to reduce prejudice and improve coexistence and understanding between different religious groups within the neighbourhood.

- **„KoVer-KommunikatorInnen und VermittlerInnen im öffentlichen Raum" („Mediation in public places")**

Local public places are important areas in which (interethnic) coexistence among residents of different backgrounds and nationalities is experienced. Beginning in 2005, the MA 17 has evaluated coexistence among local residents in public spaces, such as playground, parks, etc. Mediators of the municipal department provide local support for residents in the period between from June until September of each year. They establish contacts with visitors of public places in the neighbourhood and try to evaluate their needs and wishes in face-to-face conversations. They further try to reduce possible conflicts that might occur in public spaces.

- **"Fair play"**

"Fair play" is a very recent city-wide initiative and refers to the collaboration of 27 youth clubs in Vienna. In 2013, they conducted around 50.000 interviews with children and their parents as well as young adults in order to improve public spaces, playground and leisure facilities in general. Overall, the Fair Play initiative aims to improve coexistence of youth and young adults in the neighbourhood through a revaluation of public and open spaces.

- **"Sei dabei. Wien für Dich – Du für Wien" („Join us! Vienna for you – you for Vienna")**

The platform "Sei dabei" was established in 2009 and serves as a contact point for local residents of all Viennese neighbourhoods to submit ideas on neighbourhood-related projects and to provide basic funding for these initiatives. All residents, regardless of age and migration background are allowed to participate. Although this platform is organised under the umbrella of the MA 17 (which also tries to stimulate projects in certain living areas), the projects and initiatives are established by the local residents themselves. In other words, this measure is a mixed example of bottom-up and top-down initiatives. To date over 50 neighbourhood projects have been funded. Amongst them, a large number of activities are (intercultural) festivities, for example the interreligious Christmas

celebration in the 3rd district Landstraße. However, a substantial number of projects are designed to increase activities and exchanges among local residents of different backgrounds. These projects focus on direct exchanges (e.g. interreligious exchanges) or common activities, such as hiking or sports in general. The overall aim of the MA 17 in supporting these small scale projects is to achieve a stable and conflict free coexistence among local residents.

Besides the programmes and initiatives founded and funded by the MA 17, the council housing association "Wohnpartner" additionally implemented a number of relevant programs that target residents of social housing blocks. The most important ones are listed below.

- **„Willkommen Nachbar" ("Welcome Neighbour")**

In 2010, the "Welcome Neighbour" programme of the "Wohnpartner" association was launched to assist newly arrived residents in council housing blocks. They initiate meetings among newly and established residents in social housing buildings in order to foster the development of networks in order to overcome alienation and exclusion of newly arrived residents. Furthermore, through these meetings they aim to increase social cohesion, coexistence and the quality of life of people in the blocks of flats in general. Establishing networks and contacts from the beginning is not only be important for practical reasons, such as getting to know the area and infrastructure better, but also to avoid misunderstandings and to reduce prejudices.

There are currently two types of welcoming programmes: the (more intensive) "buddy-system" in which an established resident accompanies the newly arrived neighbour for a certain amount of time and guides him/her through the council housing block. The "buddy" is the main contact point for questions that might come up for new residents. The second version of the programme is designed for those newly arrived residents who cannot participate in the buddy system (e.g. due to time constraints) and includes information meetings organised by the "Wohnpartner".

- **"Treffpunkt Gemeindebau" ("Meeting Place: Council Housing")**

The council housing association started their initiative "Meeting Place" in autumn 2010 under the slogan "get together – get along with each other – learning from each other". The core idea of this programme is to bring together residents of social housing blocks with well-known public figures with a migration background. Actors, film makers, famous dancers, etc. who are all immigrants or of immigrant origin are invited to festivities, talks and round table discussions which take place in social housing areas. The invited guests are asked to report on their experiences living in Vienna and Austria as a person with a migration background. They are seen as "ambassadors for integration" from whom local residents should learn. Together with these guests, the "Wohnpartner" association for council housing tries to foster intercultural dialogue among the participants of these meetings. Overall, the initiative aims to get residents together from different backgrounds and

nationalities and improve social cohesion in the social housing area. In June 2011, this programme was awarded with the "Austrian Integration Prize".

- **Other neighbourhood based initiatives in council housing blocks**

Besides the projects mentioned above, the council housing association organises further regular initiatives for their residents, such as urban gardening, chess games and initiates local mentoring schemes in which older residents support young adults and pupils in school-related activities (tutoring, homework support, etc.).

4.3 Bottom-up neighbourhood measures and projects – selected examples

- **"Brunnenpassage"**

Brunnenpassage is a place located in Ottakring (16th) on Yppenplatz where people from different backgrounds can meet and develop art projects together. As they state themselves on their webpage, "it is based on the belief that access to art and culture is a human right. Art gives people an opportunity to define their identity and express themselves fully". The initiative is funded by the MA 17. The central activities at the Brunnenpassage are concerts, cultural activities, theatre, and spoken words performances. The Brunnenpassage is open to all residents – regardless of age, socioeconomic or migration background.

- **"Das Projekt Integrationshaus" (The Integration House Project)**

Located in the 2nd Viennese district, Leopoldstadt, the Integration House is a centre and building block hosting 110 asylum seekers and refugees in 38 apartments. Founded in 1995, the association was established not only provide a place to live for newly arrived refugees, but also developed an enormous number of programmes and support services for their clients. The most important services are language courses, psychological support by doctors and experts and guidance in questions concerning their residence permit. They further provide extra programmes for women and children. The Vienna Integration House is co-funded by a large number of local and national institutions, such as the MA 17 or the European Social Fund of the European Commission.

- **"Interface"**

Interface is an association which is financially supported by the MA 17. The key task of Interface Vienna is to support the integration of people who have just migrated to Vienna through educational, information and counselling measures. Interface Vienna is an accredited language institute and partner of the programme "StartWien" by the MA 17. The aims of "Interface" are to provide support for the social coexistence of immigrants and Austrians and to increase the dialogue through special language offers, educational events and counselling measures. A second aim is the transfer of key competencies for non-discriminatory participation in society. Finally Interface aims to strengthen the participation of children, young

people and adults with an immigrant background in social activities in Vienna. In order to achieve these goals, Interface`s staff members come from 10 countries from all over the world and speak 17 languages. Together, they offer language classes for children and their parents, as well as for teenagers. A second major activity of the association is legal support for asylum seekers and refugees.

- **„NachbarInnen in Wien“ („Neighbours in Vienna“)**

Founded in 2012, the project “Neighbours” aims to improve the living conditions of immigrants and their families in Austria in general, and in Viennese neighbourhoods in particular. The project works with immigrant women of Turkish, Arabic and Chechen origin who are fluent in both German and their own native language. These women act as intermediaries and try to access families – in particular women and their children – of the same origin and culture. Most of these target families are socioeconomically at risk and oftentimes hard to reach for social workers from city administrations. The women of the “Neighbours” project approach these isolated families via community organisations, in front of schools, in the neighbourhood, in parks and other public places. They talk to these families and offer information on educational programs for their children as well as advice on the Viennese health care, social service and welfare systems. If needed, they also accompany these families to important social service institutions or municipal administrations, translate forms and provide help in the communication between the client and the employees of the administrative bodies.

These mediating women of “Neighbours in Vienna” are trained for the project in a special five month course developed by experts in cooperation with the Vienna department from the University of Klagenfurt. In the first half of 2013, 16 women participated in this class. The curriculum includes a foundation in in social work, parenting and child education, as well as a comprehensive overview of the most important national and local institutions for immigrants in Vienna. Eight out of the 16 women are employed part-time as a “neighbour” in this project.

In summary, the overall goals of this project are to access isolated immigrant families that are hard to reach for social workers who lack the language skills and networks. The selected women serve as intermediaries and provide these families with relevant information concerning daily life in Vienna. Further, they aim to help these families to become independent and embedded in a stable social network.

The project concentrates on neighbourhoods in the districts Leopoldstadt (2nd) and Brigittenau (20th). It is funded by the MA 17, the Federal Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection, as well as a number of private sponsors.

Comparative summary

Table 7 provides a brief summary of the interventions and measures presented within this section. One conclusion to be drawn from this section is that diversity policy –and its measures in urban neighbourhoods – is mainly conceptualised, organised and implemented by the Municipal Department no. 17 (MA 17) for Integration and Diversity Affairs (compare table 7, below). Thus, diversity policy and its respective measures are largely employed as “top down” programmes on

the local level. The MA 17 is also able to grant special funding for innovative projects or to grant at least initial project funding for measures in the field of diversity. Consequently, those "bottom-up" initiatives that are organised by community organisations and stakeholders on the local level without initial participation by the MA 17 are more often than not funded through the grant scheme of this department. It is further worth mentioning, that some of the successful "bottom-up" initiatives have been institutionally embedded into the larger programmes, initiatives and administrative bodies of the City of Vienna.

Table 7: Key characteristics of selected policy measures

Intervention	Range	Target groups	Initiated			Financed by
			Top-down	Bottom-up	…by	
Charta of Vienna	City wide	Viennese population	X		City of Vienna (Lead: MA17)	The City of Vienna
Housing support programme	City wide (local offices)	Socially marginalised groups	X (but originally initiated as bottom-up)		Wohndreh-scheibe	City of Vienna
Round tables & exchanges in the district	in several diverse neighbourhoods)	Local residents	X		Councillor for Integration and Diversity	City of Vienna
Voluntary Initiative to Solve Conflicts	in several council housing blocks	Local residents	X		MA17/ Wohndreh-scheibe	City of Vienna (MA17 and council housing association)
Information for Intercultural Associations	in several diverse neighbourhoods	Residents with an immigrant background	X		MA17	City of Vienna (MA17)

Intervention	Range	Target groups	Initiated			Financed by
			Top-down	Bottom-up	…by	
Forums for religious diversity	in several diverse neighbourhoods	Residents with an immigrant background; religious associations	X		MA17	City of Vienna (MA17)
Mediation in public places	Public places (within diverse neighbour-hoods)	Local residents	X		MA17	City of Vienna (MA17)
Fair play	Public places (within diverse neighbour-hoods)	Local youth	X		MA17	City of Vienna (MA17)
Join us.	Neighbour-hoods	Local residents	X		MA17	City of Vienna (MA17)
Welcome neighbour	Council housing blocks in neighbourhoods	Residents in council housing blocks	X		Council housing association	City of Vienna (council housing association)
Meeting Place: Council Housing	Council housing blocks in neighbourhoods	Residents in council housing blocks	X		Council housing association	City of Vienna (council housing association)
Brunnen-passage	Local neighbourhood (Ottakring)	People from different backgrounds		X	Brunnenpassage	Funded by MA17 (City of Vienna)
The Integration House Project	Local neighbour-hood (Leopoldstadt)	Asylum seekers and		X	The Integration House Project	Large number of funders (among them: MA17)

Intervention	Range	Target groups	Initiated			Financed by
			Top-down	Bottom-up	…by	
Interface	City wide	Recently arrived immigrants		X (in the mean-time: partner of MA17)	Interface	City of Vienna (MA17)
Neighbours in Vienna	Immigrants in local neighbour-hoods	Women of Turkish, Arabic and Chechen origin		X	Neighbours association	Several funders (among them: MA 17).

Source: Own compilation.

5. Summary

Population

- Vienna has currently a total population of 1,741,246 residents, out of which 23 % do not hold the Austrian citizenship. The current percentage of people with a migration background in Vienna is 38.4%, of which roughly one quarter belongs to the second generation.

Economic situation

- Vienna is an economically important metropolis. It accounts for 26.4% of the total added value generated in Austria.
- The largest economic sector in Vienna is the service sector (39.7%), while the industry sector only covers around 8%.
- The overall unemployment rate in 2012 was 9.5% (registered rate), with significantly higher rates among men (10.9%) than women (8.1%). The highest unemployment rates were found in the working class districts of Favoriten (10th) and Floridsdorf (21thwhile the lowest proportion of unemployed persons can be found in the two inner city districts Innere Stadt (1st) and Josefstadt (8th).
- The average net annual income for residents in Vienna was € 20,600 (2011). This average net annual income, however, varies between the city districts with Vienna's Innere Stadt (1st) and Favoriten (10th) representing the top and bottom end of the income distribution, respectively.

Housing market structure

- The active housing policy of the City Council is traditionally an important counterpart against social marginalisation. One of the city´s top priorities is to provide affordable quality housing for all income brackets.
- The Viennese housing market consists of the following main components: private rental and privately owned housing, council housing and co-operative housing. Vienna is characterised in particular by the council housing sector. The City of Vienna is not only in largest owner of properties in Austria but in Europe. A considerable proportion of the municipal residences was built during the 1920s and 1930s and ise nowadays mostly renovated.

Segregation

- Although socioeconomic and ethnic segregation remains low from a European perspective, there is some concentration of certain immigrant groups (e.g. former so-called "guest-workers" from Turkey and former Yugoslavia) in certain residential areas. These are predominately working class areas located around the city centre.

Immigration to Vienna

- Main waves of immigration to Vienna: Immigration from Turkey and former Yugoslavia as a consequence of the bilateral agreements for the recruitment of guest workers to cover the Austrian labour demand (mid 1960s until

1973); family reunification period (mid 1970s until mid/end 1980s); asylum and refugee immigration due to the fall of the Iron Curtain and the civil war in the former Yugoslavia; immigration from Eastern European states from 1995 onwards; immigration from other North-Western European countries from mid2000s onwards (in particular Germans).

- In line with these immigration waves, a constant increase of the proportion of foreigners in Vienna can be observed, reaching its peak in the most recent figures from 2013. 400,911 foreign citizens were legal residents in the Austrian capital, amounting to 23% of the total population.
- More than 80% of all foreign nationals living in Vienna come from European countries (if one includes Turkey). Immigrants from Turkey and former Yugoslavia are still the most numerous groups today, making up for about 41.2% of all immigrants in Vienna.
- The number of the immigrant populations from Romania and Bulgaria in Vienna has almost tripled during the decade 2001-2011. There were also considerable increases in the number of Slovakian, Polish and German citizens.
- In terms of urban residential patterns, a fringe of statistical areas around the city centre and expanding into the old working-class districts is characterised by a foreign population representing more than 35% of the local population.
- In some cases, e.g. in the residential areas in Favoriten (10th), Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus (15th) or Ottakring (16th), the population with foreign citizenship accounts for more than 50% of the local population. Because of the renovation and rejuvenation of the built environment, segregation has meanwhile risen mostly to the remaining low-cost flats, which themselves are increasingly subject to renovation.

Integration and diversity policies in Vienna

- Vienna did not have an immigration or diversity policy until the beginning of the 1990s.
- 1992: Founding of the Viennese Integration Found (WIF) to lobby for the interest of Immigrants and to provide expertise to the Vienna City government.
- 1996: First Councillor for Integration Affairs was established who, as the head of the respective administrative department initiated the first integration policies (which were mainly targeting “integration deficiencies” by immigrants).
- After founding the Office for Integration Affairs, the City of Vienna developed its integration policy further to include a diversity approach emphasising and reflecting the growing diversity with the Viennese population and its profits and merits for society.
- Since then, diversity policy is essential in Vienna. The City of Vienna’s integration policies have aiming to achieve equal rights and opportunities in all areas of life; social and economic, cultural and political.
- The substantial change within the city and its administrative bodies was that integration was no longer perceived to be an achievement to be

accomplished by immigrants, but rather as a process that includes immigrants as well as the members and institutions of the Viennese "host society".
- The City of Vienna explicitly formulated the growing ethnic diversity and pluralism as an opportunity (rather than a challenge).
- The previous city concept of "integration" was changed from a deficit-oriented approach into a discourse on integration and diversity that should emphasise the potentials of ethnic diversity and pluralism.
- In line with this paradigm shift in the late 1990s, the new municipal department no. 17 (MA 17) for Integration and Diversity Affairs was founded in July 2004 in order to develop integration and diversity measures further and assist the municipality in mainstreaming and adjusting its services to the needs of Vienna's increasingly diverse population.
- MA 17 focuses on preparing a sound basis for implementing and further developing Vienna's integration and diversity policies. This includes, in particular, gaining better knowledge on migration circumstances, improving cultural sensitivity as well as recognising and reducing access barriers in all areas of life. The ultimate objective is to strengthen intercultural competencies for improved diversity management.

Diversity related policy measures

- The conceptualisation of this "integration and diversity approach" and the consequent policy-making framework has been significantly influenced by a national policies, such as the Law against Discrimination, a set of laws concerning equal rights among men and women as well as for disabled persons and finally the Austrian Ethnic Minorities Act.
- Diversity policy and its measures in urban neighbourhoods is mainly conceptualised, organised and implemented by the Municipal Department no. 17 (MA 17) for Integration and Diversity Affairs.
- Diversity policy and its respective measures are largely employed as "top down" programmes on the local level.
- The MA 17 is also able to grant a special funding for innovative projects or to grant at least initial project funding for measures in the field of diversity. Consequently, those "bottom-up" initiatives that are organised by community organisations and stakeholders on the local level without initial participation by the MA 17 are more often than not funded through the grant scheme of this department.
- Some of the successful "bottom-up" initiatives have been institutionally embedded into the larger programs, initiatives and administrative bodies of the City of Vienna.
- Most significant city wide measures: Charter of Vienna and Housing support programme for immigrants and socially marginalised groups.
- Most important neighbourhood related measures and projects are the following:
  a) Top-down: Bassenagespräche („Round tables & exchanges in the district"), "Welcome Neighbour" and "Meeting Place: Council Housing".
  b) Bottom-up: "The Integration House Project" and „Neighbours in Vienna".

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7. Appendix: Socio-territorial structure and political-administrative system of Vienna

7.1 Socio-territorial structure

Vienna is Austria's capital city located in the northeast of the county. It is by far the largest city in Austria and can be considered as the country's cultural, economic and political centre. Vienna is one of the nine Austrian federal states with a total population of 1,741,246 residents in 2013 (MA 23 2013).

From a spatial/statistical point of view, the urban area of Vienna is divided into:

- 23 municipal districts (see Figure 1);
- 250 statistical districts (so-called '*Zählbezirke*'; see Figure 2);
- 1,364 statistical areas (so-called '*Zählgebiete*');
- About 10,600 housing blocks;
- Total area of 41,487.2 ha comprising 14.680,4 ha building area, 18.911.9 ha green space, 1,930.3 ha waters and 5.964,7 ha public thoroughfares (MA 23 2013).

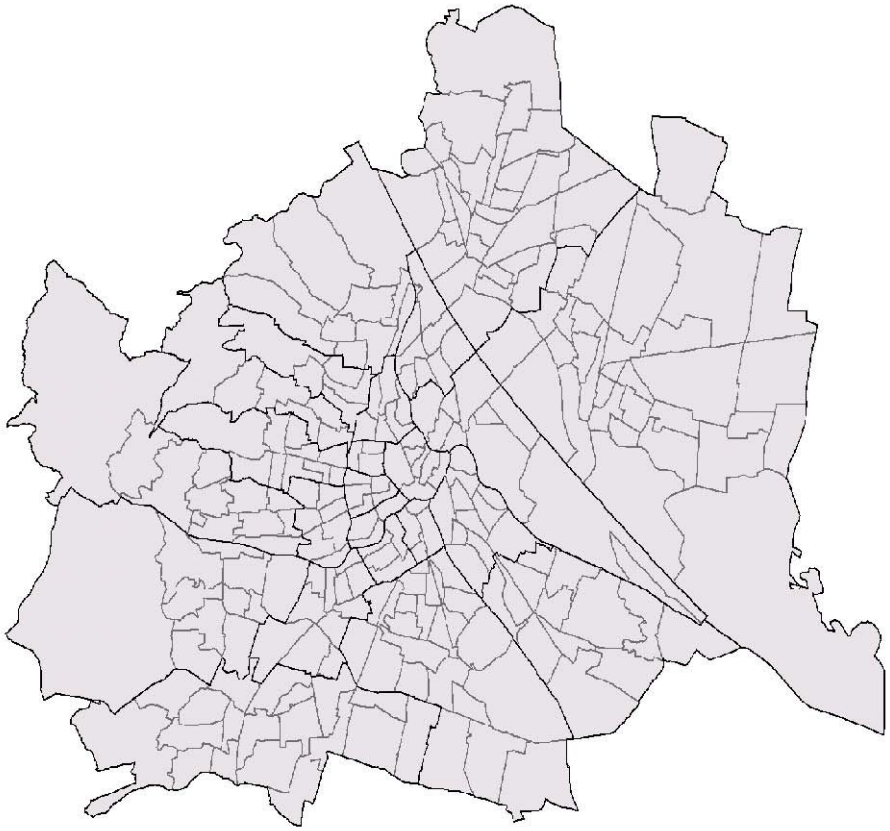
The city is composed of 23 districts. Legally, they are not districts in the sense of administrative bodies with explicit powers, but mere subdivisions of the city administration. However, each district is headed by an elected district mayor and commands budgetary self-responsibility in, for instance, kindergarten provision, schools, streets, public and green spaces. Figure 1 displays the 23 Viennese districts, numbered roughly in a clockwise manner starting in the city centre. The inner-city districts are bordered by the high-traffic thoroughfare "Gürtel" ("belt") in the West and river Danube in the east and include 1. Innere Stadt, 2. Leopoldstadt, 3. Landstraße, 4. Wieden, 5. Margareten, 6. Mariahilf, 7. Neubau, 8. Josefstadt and 9. Alsergrund. They are followed by the districts adjacent to the "Gürtel" and including 10. Favoriten, 11. Simmering, 12. Meidling, 13. Hietzing, 14. Penzing, 15. Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus, 16. Ottakring, 17. Hernals, 18. Währing, 19. Döbling, 20. Brigittenau. Finally, the districts 21. Floridsdorf and 22. Donaustadt represent the urban development areas across the river Danube and in the industrial southern part of the city, 23. Liesing.

Figure 14: Vienna's 23 municipal districts

Source: Institute for Urban and Regional Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Statistical districts and statistical areas are the most important spatial classification units for mapping and are therefore displayed in Figure 2. Within city limits, statistical districts and areas differ significantly in their size and socio-demographic characterisation. They are relatively small in the centrally located districts but sometimes extremely large at the peripheral regions of Vienna. It is important to note that a considerable proportion of the statistical districts are not merely artificial 'statistical spaces', but are closely related to either historical-topographical quarters or to newly built-up areas at the urban fringe.

Figure 15: Vienna's 250 statistical districts



Source: Institute for Urban and Regional Research, Austrian Academy of Sciences.

7.2 Political-administrative system

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. The Social Democrats (SPÖ) have dominated Viennese local government since the 1920s until today. Since 2010, there has been a Social Democrat and Green party coalition in the Viennese local government.

Each of the current 23 municipal districts[5] has a district representation headed by a district mayor and elected by the population of that district. The so-

[5] During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Vienna expanded substantially as the suburbs and neighbouring municipalities were incorporated into the city's territory. Those suburbs that became part of the city retained a certain degree of independence and received the status of municipal districts. Consequently, municipal council bodies became district bodies. Following a pilot project on decentralisation in two of the larger municipal districts, the remaining 21 districts were decentralised in a second stage in 1987. Within this process, spheres of competence were substantially expanded and tasks of budget administration were allocated to the municipal districts. During a third decentralisation stage in 1998, the scope of tasks and decision-making rights by the districts were further expanded. The municipal districts are not independent legal entities but

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. The district chairperson represents the head of each district and supports the mayor in district affairs. The district chair is elected by the District Council.

Vienna has a corporatist form of urban governance which is dominated by social democratic principles. Although Vienna is still mainly governed by social democracy, the Viennese political-administrative system experienced some changes during recent years due to government participation by the Green Party ("Die Grünen"). These changes mostly refer to urban development, new forms of urban mobility and public participation. They are additionally stimulated by increasing city competition, population growth, urban sprawl, environmental challenges, tasks 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 (Novy 2011). 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.

The main features of the political-administrative system of Vienna can be summarised as follows:

- Vienna is in a unique position as it maintains the status of a federal province (one of nine federal provinces in Austria) and a municipality.
- Vienna's geographical position as a gateway to the eastern part of Europe supported the strategic importance for policies and economics.
- 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 social and public housing flats.
- The 12 city councillors are part of the City Senate and are politically responsible for specific areas of activity, such as health, housing, education, traffic or integration. At the same time, eight of the 12 city councillors 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 the Chamber of Labour (*Arbeiterkammer*)), as well as the employer associations (Chamber of Commerce (*Wirtschaftskammer Österreich*, WKÖ) and Federation of Austrian Industry (*Industriellenvereinigung*, IV)).

7.3 Current political composition of the city government

Based on the results of the 2010 elections to the Vienna City Council and District Councils, the current distribution of the 100 seats in the Vienna City Council is as

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.

follows: Social Democrats (SPÖ) 49 seats; Freedom Party (FPÖ) 27 seats; Christian Democrats (ÖVP) 13 seats; Green Party 11 seats; one unaffiliated member (The City Council, 31-07-2014).

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