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Austria:

From guest worker migration to a country of immigration

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Introduction

After the end of the Second World War, Austria developed into an efficient and successful open national economy. Today the once poor and – even by its own population – unloved state is one of the ten richest countries in the world. As a destination for migrants Austria is more attractive than ever before and, as a matter of fact, receives more migrants, asylum seekers and family members than Germany or Switzerland – relative to its size. Austria has developed into an immigration country, but politics and the public have realised this only partially. Every now and then, much astonishment fans out when numbers about immigration or the stock of foreign citizens residing in Austria are published.

In the report to follow we are going to trace this process and draw the picture of Austria's development from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. In doing so we are adhering to the methodological guidelines set out by Joaquin Arango even though some points are not relevant in the case of Austria or can only be answered on a speculative basis. But the country reports have to be comparable to some degree and that is why this approach is not only legitimate but also necessary.

The present country report is not based on a single data basis but tries to include all relevant sources. This results in incompatibilities, because every source has its own concepts, definitions and categories as well as specific sampling procedures. Still, the result of this conglomerate of various sources should be a complete and significant picture of the development of Austria into a country of immigration, including a description and explanation of migration flows, and migration policies as well as impacts and integration outcomes in Austria in the past years taking centre.

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1. Migration stocks and flows

In the sections to follow we are going to give a statistical overview of immigration to Austria. We will present stocks and flows, characterize the development and the actual demographic and socio-economic structures. Furthermore we will show the most important countries of origin and destination and tell something about naturalization trends. A critical assessment of the existing data sources marks the beginning of this chapter.

1.1 Description and critical assessment of statistical sources

In Austria, there are three main data sources concerning population and – as a subgroup – international migrants, namely: the census, which covers the stock of the population, the micro-census, which is important for the period between the censuses, and the population register. Other statistical sources, such as the register of asylum seekers or the register of naturalization are kept at different ministries and do not always achieve the high qualitative standards that the population statistics by “Statistics Austria” have met.

1.1.1 Census data

Census data in Austria provide an excellent basis for scientific analysis and policy development. If corresponding analyses are available, they offer a “true picture of the world”, which acts as a solid foundation for policy measures. Census data are detailed, accurate and available for every field of measurement.

The disadvantages of census data are well-documented. On the one hand, there is the long time lag between each census date. Over the course of a decade, the structure and dynamics of a population can change and, at least by the time all the census data are available, certain information can already be out-of-date again. Another disadvantage is the limited range of information supplied by the population census. While demographic, geographical and socio-economic “key data” on age, sex, place of residence, place of birth, citizenship, education and professional activity are available, this is not the case with detailed information on the facts of day-to-day existence. Nonetheless, countries such as Austria which still conduct population censuses should consider themselves fortunate as they possess a solid and reliable statistical basis as a starting point for their policy and planning measures. But the 2001 census was the last “classic” one in Austria, from 2011 onwards the census will be register-based.

The 2001 census re-introduces the question on the place of birth after a break of some decades. This means that naturalised immigrants can now be included in studies discussing basic factors of integration, such as housing and the socio-economic situation of the respective persons. With citizenship only all naturalized persons were immediately lost in statistics and could not be traced back anymore.

1.1.2 Sample survey (micro-census)

Austria has introduced sample surveys in order to compensate for the drawbacks of the population census. These surveys are intended to fill the gaps in information which arise

during the long 10-year period between censuses and report on how population structures develop over the course of time. Micro-censuses are therefore made up of a section of questions which are always asked and from which time series can be compiled, and a variable section which is used to collect data on a specific issue. The fixed component is, however, very limited in terms of information detail.

The micro-census is nonetheless an important source of data in the field of migration research, because it gives some information on the changes in the number of immigrants between census dates. Unfortunately it can only give some indication, as the micro-census is based on a specific sample and is, in general, of an official nature. The sample only contains officially registered foreign heads of household and when interviewers arrive, they announce this in advance by means of an official letter. The micro-census underestimates the immigrant population, collects insufficient data on those who have arrived recently or illegal immigrants and is thus biased towards the long-established immigrant population.

1.1.3 Register data

Register data form the third category of tools used to collect information on the immigrant population, both on stocks and flows. There is a quite understandable trend in Europe towards using register data, as these are much more accurate for identifying flows than a census or micro-census, and we need information on flows as migration policy is always targeted at managing flows.

In Austria register data are based on a specific administrative process, namely the registration of a main residence at the registration office of the municipalities. These notifications are sent to a central data basis (“Zentrales Melderegister” located at the Ministry of the Interior) and subsequently transferred to Statistics Austria. In the population register (POPREG), data are further processed and kept up to date. This system represents the source for subsequently produced statistics about the stock of the population as well as flows. Although the new population register is a valuable source for inflows and outflows, it lacks important information on the professional background, education or legal status of the migrants.

Quantitative studies on migration are therefore more or less limited to the place of origin and basic demographic features. A more detailed insight into international migration might be possible when the population register is linked to other sources. In the future the networked analysis of existing register data (e.g., attributes from the population register and others from the register of buildings and flats) will bring along the possibility for new synthetic statistics that will replace the census.

1.2 Size of the immigrant population

The 2001 census counted a total population of 8.03 million inhabitants: 710,916 were foreign citizens and 1,003,300 had been born outside Austrian borders. The re-introduction of the place of birth provided new insights into the population with a migration background in Austria. The interlacing of both attributes shows, on the one hand, that about 15 per cent of foreign citizens were already born in Austria and, on the other hand, that around 40 per cent of those born abroad are now Austrian citizens. This means, that the question about who belongs to the immigrant population is not easy to answer. Depending on the aim of the statement and the political opportunity, the number of immigrants in Austria can be kept very low (595,000), if foreign citizenship *and* a place of birth abroad is taken into account.

Alternatively it can be over-estimated, if foreign citizenship *or* place of birth abroad is used for the definition of the immigrant population.

Table 1: Nationality and place of birth according to the census 2001

Nationality	Place of birth in Austria	Place of birth abroad	Total
<i>absolute</i>			
Austrian nationality	6,913,512	408,488	7,322,000
Foreign nationality	116,015	594,911	710,926
Total	7,029,527	1,003,399	8,032,926
<i>as % of total</i>			
Austrian nationality	86.1	5.1	91.1
Foreign nationality	1.4	7.4	8.9
Total	87.5	12.5	100.0

Source: Statistics Austria, 2001 census, own calculations.

For 2007, the population register reveals a further growth of the immigrant population. Considering mere citizenship, the size of the immigrant population in Austria currently amounts to 826,000 persons with a 10 percent share of foreign citizens in the total population (see table 2). In 2007, 14.9 per cent of the Austrian population was born abroad, 8.5 per cent of the population was foreign born and foreign citizens, 6.3 per cent was foreign born but Austrian citizens and 1.4 per cent was foreign citizens but born in Austria (members of the second or third generation not having immigrated themselves). In total, the number of persons with a direct migratory background living in Austria amounts to 16.3 per cent, or 1.35 million people.

Almost 87 per cent of the foreign citizens holds an European citizenship, and is predominately from the guest worker sending countries of the former Yugoslavia (36 per cent) and Turkey (13 per cent), thus still making up 50 per cent of the total foreign population. Every fifth foreign citizen residing in Austria comes from the EU-14, with Germany clearly dominating. Ten per cent stems from the EU-accession-countries of 2004. Concerning the other continents, Asia clearly represents the leading sending region with America and Africa only being of minor importance.

Table 2: Population by citizenship on January 1, 2007

Citizenship	Absolute	as % of the total population	as % of all foreign citizens
Total	8,298,923	100.0	
Austria	7,472,910	90.0	
Foreign	826,013	10.0	100.0
Europe	717,894	8.7	86.9
EU-14	161,803	1.9	19.6
<i>Germany</i>	113,668	1.4	13.8
EU-10 (2004)	84,123	1.0	10.2

<i>Poland</i>	34,676	0,4	4,2
EU-2 (2007)	29,958	0,4	3,6
<i>Romania</i>	23,048	0,3	2,8
Former Yugoslavia	297,141	3,6	36,0
<i>Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	86,427	1,0	10,5
<i>Croatia</i>	57,103	0,7	6,9
<i>Serbia and Montenegro</i>	137,289	1,7	16,6
Rest of Europe	144,869	1,7	16,6
<i>Turkey</i>	108,808	1,3	13,2
Africa	20,897	0,3	2,5
America	16,898	0,2	2,0
Asia	54,855	0,7	6,6
Other	15,469	0,2	1,9

Source: Statistics Austria, Statistik des Bevölkerungsstandes.

1.3 Volume and types of flows

The categorization of flows, which will be outlined briefly in the paragraphs follow, adheres to legal criteria. Of course the flows could also be differentiated by other aspects, but these may be less relevant. One could categorize the flows by demographic criteria (retirement migration), by socio-economic aspects (elite migration, guest worker migration) or by regions of origin (long distance migration, short distance migration, etc.). But the decisive question surely is the one about the legal possibilities for an official immigration. Which gates are open to come to Austria on a legal basis? And how is the annual inflow of about 100,000 to 120,000 persons subdivided into these different gates?¹

It has to be stressed that this tight presentation of flows by legal categories is quite fitting. A few decades ago there were fewer ports of entry to Austria. There was – more or less – only guest worker recruitment and the immigration of asylum seekers. The stronger differentiation came along with Austria's accession to the EU in 1995 and is a consequence of the increased political discourse about migration.

1. The first group that has to be mentioned comprises citizens of EU- and EEC-countries (including Austrian immigrants). All in all more than 50 per cent of the inflow is made up by this group. Generally speaking they do not need permits for immigration, residence or employment since, under the conditions of the single European market, they are free to choose their place of residence – just like Austrian nationals – and the same applies to their relatives. Concerning mere immigration, the members of the 2004 accession countries are also included in this group with freedom of residence, though they are still subject to temporary

¹ The data presented in table 3 are derived from two different sources, namely from Statistics Austria on inflows of EU-nationals and Austrians and from the Ministry of the Interior for third-country nationals who are subject to the permit system. The differences between the two data sources in the total number of immigrants can be traced back to inaccuracies in the documentation of asylum seekers and in the fact that they have been only included in the register system since the year 2004.

labour market restrictions. The inflow of Austrian nationals was rather stable with 16,400 ‘repatriates’ in 2003 and 2005 and then a little less with 15,700 in 2006. Immigration from the EU displays a stronger dynamic: EU-14 immigrations grew constantly by about +3,000 per year between 2003 and 2005 and the accession of the ten new member states in May 2004 led to a significant growth: from 10,000 entries in 2003 to 16,000 entries in 2005.

Table 3: Immigration into Austria by legal type 2003–2005

Legal type	2003	2004	2005	2006
<i>Migration Statistics (MIGSTAT)</i>				
Total inflow MIGSTAT	113,554	127,399	117,822	100,972
EU-14	16,913	19,888	22,277	23,386
EU-new10	10,163	16,310	16,673	15,711
Austrians	16,390	18,452	16,367	15,588
<i>BMI Accorded residence permits, asylum applications</i>				
Settlement permits free of quota	26,537	26,697	25,908	12,284
Settlement permits subject to quota	8,027	5,138	6,258	4,069
First-time residence permits	35,405	32,209	21,200	
Asylum applications	32,359	24,634	22,461	13,350
Sum of all types of immigration	145,791	143,328	131,144	
Difference	32,240	15,929	13,322	

Sources: MIGSTAT, Statistics Austria, BMI; settlement permits free of quota = beneficiary third country nationals, family members of Austrians, EEC-nationals and Swiss.

2. The second most important group is that of asylum seekers who are counted as a part of the resident population as soon as an asylum procedure has been started. The number of asylum seekers fluctuates considerably and does not depend on the needs of the Austrian labour market, but on political or other crises in nearer or farther countries. The actual annual inflow of asylum seekers oscillates around 13,000 persons.

3. The third group falls upon family members of EU- and EEC-nationals from countries outside the EU (third country nationals). This group has privileged access to the country as there are no restrictions concerning their entry and residence in Austria. EU- and EEC-nationals who have family members in a third country can bring them to Austria as long as their degree of relationship is in accordance with the law. This subsequent immigration of family members is not subject to a quota and can thus take place irrespective of the annual incidence of family reunification. Foreign nationals who accept Austrian citizenship after a certain period of time have the right to take their spouses and children (until the age of 21 or as long as they pay alimony for them) and parents (also with alimony payments) from third countries to Austria. This kind of immigration has emerged as a stable factor of immigration in recent years, with 26,000 persons in 2005 and 12,000 in 2006 entering through this ‘gate’.

4. Finally the fourth and smallest part of the inflow is ‘normal immigration’ of third country nationals who enter Austria for the first time and want to begin a new life for any number of reasons and/or bring their family members to Austria. Foreign labour and their family

members from outside the EU (third country nationals) need a residence title (residence or settlement permit) as well as proof of subsistence and housing. Since 1993, residence titles are subject to a quota. The federal government sets an annual maximum number for residence titles that should be not exceeded. In 2006 the number was 7,350 and split up among different types in the following way: Executives and special employees with an monthly income of at least 2,300 Euro (1,125) as well as their spouses and underage not married children, self employed and their spouses and underage not married children (500), and spouses and children under the age of 14 of legally residing third country nationals (4,480).

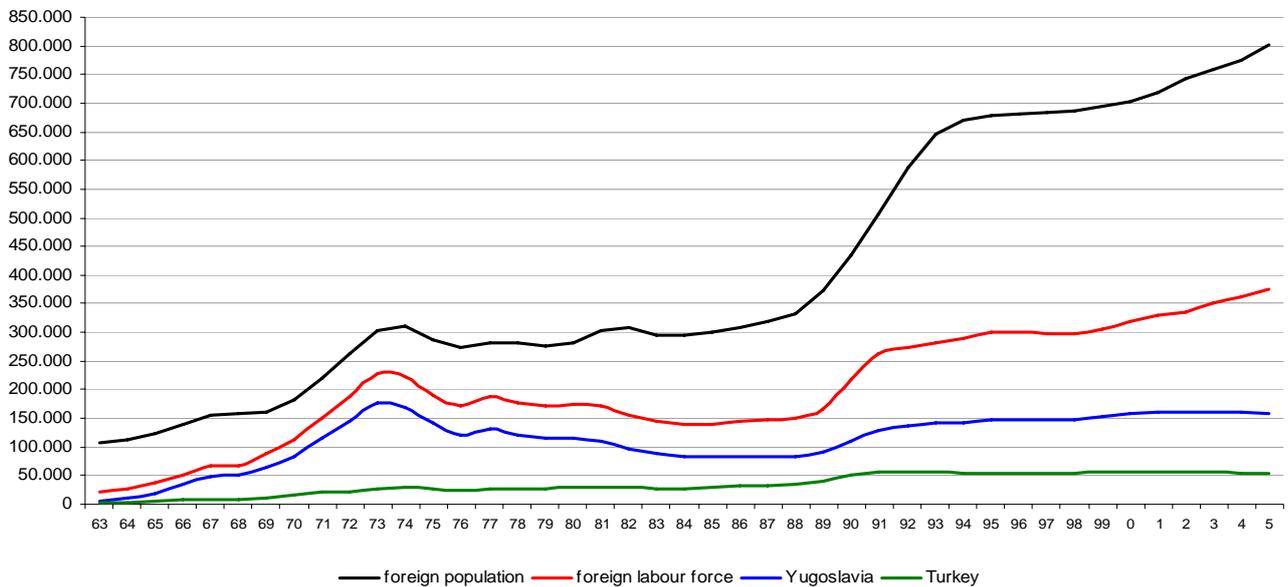
Nowadays there is more or less no possibility for a “normal” immigration of workers from outside the EU. The majority of flows remains devoted to EU-internal migration, asylum seekers and family reunification. The question about the amount of irregular immigration happening outside the described ports of entry remains open. Contrary to other European countries, the control measures in Austria are numerous: every gainfully employed person has to be registered at National Security and there are unannounced checks at building sites, in restaurants and hotels, etc. that are meant to determine whether the present members of the staff are really registered. Economists calculate that only 9 per cent of the GDP is generated through irregular employment relationships, with this proportion also including illegal employment of Austrians.

Austria introduced a legalization programme at the beginning of the 1990s. In the course of a so-called “sanitation action” all legally present foreign citizens who were pursuing an illegal occupation could register in order to get a legal work permit. 25,000 persons did so, a very small number that remained far below all expectations. This may be seen as an indicator that illegality is usually overestimated also in Austria, but maybe it also has to do with the logic of illegal activity – such that is only profitable for both the employer and the employee if the additional costs (taxes and other contributions) are kept low or at zero (see Nowotny 2007: 50).

1.4 Evolution of the immigrant population

For the following analysis of the development of the foreign population in Austria, censuses from 1961 until 2001 have been used because they still represent the best data source on the structure of the population, including variables no other source can offer and because of excellent comparability. Unfortunately, the question concerning place of birth was not included in 1981 and 1991, therefore only citizenship can be considered. Figure 1 gives a preliminary overview of the development of the foreign population and the foreign labour force from the beginning of the 1960s until 2005.

Figure 1: Foreign population and labour force in Austria 1963–2005



Source: Statistics Austria, own design.

1.4.1. Evolution of the immigrant population by national origin

The 1961 census counted a share of foreign citizens in the total population of only 1.4 per cent, a little more than 100,000 persons in absolute terms. The majority came from Western European countries with all the other countries of origin playing an insignificant role. Being successful in recruiting foreign labour, Austria saw a first wave of guest worker immigration in the middle of the 1960s with an annual growth of more than 10,000 foreign workers from 1965 (11,200) until 1967 (14,700). This number rose to around 40,000 in the years 1971–1973, thus representing the heyday of guest worker immigration. The economic boom continued and the employment of foreign labour reached its peak in 1973 with around 227,000 persons, of which 78.5 per cent was from Yugoslavia only. Guest workers made up for about ten per cent of the total Austrian labour force.

Concerning the stock of the foreign population in the early phase of the guest worker immigration period, the census only gives limited information. Guest workers whose families still resided in their country of origin were not counted as parts of the resident population, which is also characteristic for the way politicians and decision makers dealt with guest worker migration. But there was an additional inquiry among those whose families were still back home and a publication also containing information on “guest workers living in Austria but not belonging to the resident population” (Statistisches Zentralamt 1974: 3). While the share of foreigners was only 1.4 per cent before the change from a country of emigration to immigration (1961), it had doubled to 2.8 per cent in 1971, with the census already reflecting a predominance of immigration from the Balkans.

A comparison of the composition of the population in 1961 and 1971 clearly shows that the total increase in the foreign population (more than 100,000 persons) to a great extent resulted

from immigration from Yugoslavia and Turkey. Yugoslavia was the main sending country, with 44 percent of the 211,896 foreign nationals residing in Austria in 1971. All in all, the guest workers made up 52 per cent of the total foreign population. Western Europe accounted for one-third of the foreign resident population in 1971. The number of Turks was still comparatively low at the beginning of the 1970s, with 16,423 only incoming Turkish citizens.

Table 4: Foreign population in Austria 1961–2001 according to countries/regions of origin

Country/region	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>absolute</i>					
EU-14	59.215	64.594	57.823	79.437	106.173
Yugoslavia	4.565	93.337	125.890	197.886	322.261
Turkey	217	16.423	59.900	118.579	127.226
Visegrad	6.498	6.853	11.722	58.731	67.092
Other	31.671	30.689	36.113	63.057	88.174
Total	102.166	211.896	291.448	517.690	710.926
<i>in %</i>					
EU-14	58,0	30,5	19,8	15,3	14,9
Yugoslavia	4,5	44,0	43,2	38,2	45,3
Turkey	0,2	7,8	20,6	22,9	17,9
Visegrad	6,4	3,2	4,0	11,3	9,4
Other	31,0	14,5	12,4	12,2	12,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
as % of total population	1.4	2.8	3.9	6.6	8.9

Visegrad: Poland, Romania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary.

Source: Censuses 1961–2001, Statistics Austria.

The economic crisis at the beginning of the 1970s led to measures aiming at a reduction of the guest worker quotas and the “exportation of unemployment”. More than 31,000 guest workers left in 1975 and another 19,000 did so in 1976. This reduction continued – with only two years showing an increase in foreign labour (1977, 1980) – until 1984, when the foreign labour force comprised only 139,000 persons, 40 per cent less than ten years before. Yugoslavs were more affected than Turks: the number of employed Turks only dropped from 30,000 (1974) to 27,700 in 1984, whereas more than 50 per cent of the Yugoslav labour force left Austria and its labour market (1974: 169,400, 1984: 84,144). Since naturalizations did not yet play an important role in quantitative terms, one can assume that these guest workers really went back home or tried to seek employment somewhere else.

The census results of 1981 show that the process of family reunification had increased the number of women from Yugoslavia and Turkey, with almost 45 per cent women for Yugoslavia and 40 per cent for Turkey. Those who had not left after the oil crisis decided to stay in Austria for a longer period of time and therefore realized the plan to bring their families to Austria. Thus – and despite the successful attempts to reduce the foreign labour force – the size of the foreign resident population grew from 212,000 in 1971 to 291,000 in

1981 (or by 37 per cent). With 63.8 per cent in the total foreign population, the dominance of the guest worker migration was prolonged.

The time period between 1985 and 1994 saw two huge political changes that had massive effects on the development of international migration, not only for Austria but for Europe as a whole. First of all, the fall of the Iron Curtain in the late 1980s brought about freedom of travel for the people of the former Eastern Bloc, causing the old paths of East-West-migration to be recovered. Furthermore, at the beginning of the 1990s, the wars in Croatia (1991–1995) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992–1995) forced millions of refugees to flee from their countries. The annual net migration of foreigners grew from +12,000 in 1985 up to +85,000 in 1991 and remained rather high until 1994 (+13,200). Immigration received a real boost in the first half of the 1990s with a net migration of more than a quarter of a million people.

As the census data reveal, the size of the foreign resident population has grown enormously between 1981 and 1991, namely from 291,000 to 518,000 (+227,000 persons). With a share of more than 60 per cent in the total foreign population it was once again Yugoslavia and Turkey playing a dominant role with regard to the composition of the stock of foreigners in Austria in 1991. At this point, the massive wave of immigration that came as a consequence of the Balkan War had not even started. Concerning other regions of origin, the number of people from the Eastern neighbouring countries - as well as Romania and Poland - residing in Austria was four times higher in 1991 compared to the results of 1981, but in absolute numbers still very low.

The comparison between the 1991 and 2001 stock data shows that the foreign population had grown again by around 190,000 persons. They made up nine per cent of the total population in 2001, although the number of naturalizations had been very high in the 1990s and many foreign nationals of 1991 became Austrians in 2001. With regard to the composition of the foreign population residing in Austria, the situation did not change much between 1991 and 2001: 63 per cent of all foreign nationals still have their roots in one of the classic sending countries, that is, Yugoslavia and Turkey.

1.4.2. Evolution of the socio-demographic composition of the immigrant population

Compared to the native Austrian population, foreign immigrants have a highly diverse age and sex structure. In general, the immigrant population is much younger than the native population, but one has to differentiate between two main groups: if the migration is oriented towards labour, the dominant age group is between 15 and 45 years. If the immigration includes family members, the age group below 15 years gains relative importance. Generally speaking, males are dominating the field of labour migration, in particular in the early phase of immigration. In many cases, males are acting as “pioneers”: for the case of guest worker migration to Austria, males were recruited selectively, which is also reflected in the census results.

Table 5: Foreign population in Austria 1961–2001 by sex

Sex	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>absolute</i>					
Males	55,660	128,312	161,934	293,161	374,389
Females	46,499	83,584	129,514	224,529	336,537

Total	102,159	211,896	291,448	517,690	710,926
<i>in %</i>					
Males	54.5	60.5	55.6	56.6	52.7
Females	45.5	39.5	44.4	43.4	47.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Censuses 1961–2001, Statistics Austria.

Despite family reunification in the 1970s – when many citizens of Turkey and the Western Balkans came into the country as typical labour migrants – there are still more men than women in this group. The results of the 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 censuses display a clear male dominance in general, but the trend is changing. Increasing rates of immigration from Western neighbouring countries and inflows from the newly acceded neighbouring countries from 2004 and 2007 mean that the share of females is increasing. The higher percentage of women among the recent EU-10 citizens seems to be connected to a specific demand for female workers in old-age care, health care, tourism or domestic services.

The age structure of the foreign population clearly corresponds with the already described picture. In general it is a matter of a young population with a clear dominance of persons aged between 15 and 44 years. The share of immigrants aged 60 and more years is below 10 per cent in all censuses from 1971 to 2001: a low percentage compared to the Austrian population. Something that has changed in the recent decades is the share of children and teenagers that has been growing in the course of family reunification of the 1970s and the 1990s. The acquisitive immigration of young males changes towards a demographically “normal population”.

Table 6: Foreign population in Austria 1971–2001 by age

Age	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Absolute</i>				
0 – 14	31,436	64,274	95,670	142,674
15 – 44	134,146	170,504	325,062	391,006
45 – 59	25,345	36,601	64,568	127,338
60 and more	20,969	20,069	32,390	49,908
Total	211,896	291,448	517,690	710,926
<i>in %</i>				
0 – 14	14.8	22.1	18.5	20.1
15 – 44	63.3	58.5	62.8	55.0
45 – 59	12.0	12.6	12.5	17.9
60 and more	9.9	6.9	6.3	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Censuses 1971–2001, Statistics Austria.

At the beginning of guest worker immigration it was first and foremost low skilled labourers who entered Austria, a fact that is clearly reflected by the census results. In 1971 as well as 1981 the share of foreign citizens with primary school education only was around 70 per cent. With the fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria's accession to the EU, other new groups came in which resulted in a growing share of university graduates and a diminishing proportion of people with basic school education only. Also in 2001, the share of people with low education levels is still higher than in the Austrian population: more than three quarters never had access to higher education.

Table 7: Foreign population in Austria 1971–2001 aged 15+ by completed educational level

Educational level	1971	1981	1991	2001
<i>Absolute</i>				
University, college	6,050	11,461	26,038	44,422
Vocational academies or the like	142	549	2,371	4,737
Vocational secondary modern school	2,847	3,527	12,216	16,218
General secondary modern school	14,400	16,187	34,383	39,832
Vocational middle school	6,535	10,823	22,495	28,252
Apprenticeship	22,199	25,742	70,784	118,847
Primary school	128,287	158,885	253,733	315,944
Total	180,460	227,174	422,020	568,252
<i>in %</i>				
University, college	3.4	5.0	6.2	7.8
Vocational academies or the like	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.8
Vocational secondary modern school	1.6	1.6	2.9	2.9
General secondary modern school	8.0	7.1	8.1	7.0
Vocational middle school	3.6	4.8	5.3	5.0
Apprenticeship	12.3	11.3	16.8	20.9
Primary school	71.1	69.9	60.1	55.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Censuses 1971–2001, Statistics Austria.

1.4.3. Evolution of the immigrant population by legal status

The development of the immigrant population by legal status can only be outlined, as the census never collected this kind of information. Therefore we have to rely on information on the origins (see table on the foreign population in Austria from 1961 until 2001 according to countries/regions of origin), as origin is often linked with legal status, in order to answer this question. But other statistical sources are also introduced. The model on different legal gates introduced in chapter 1.3 is suited for the classification.

1. The immigration from the EU-15, re-migration of Austrian citizens and the inflow from new member states have all strongly increased. Nowadays half of the total inflow comprises this legal type. On the one hand, this is directly related to Austria's economic prosperity: the

income disparities between Austria and Germany from the beginning of the 1960s have disappeared. On the other hand, Austria's accession to the EU also resulted in an enlargement of the single market and, subsequently, in the freedom to settle. A further enlargement of the migration area occurred in 2004 and in 2007, even though the gainful employment of the citizens of the new member states still subject to some restrictions.

2. Family reunification is the second most important gate into Austria and thus a legal status of significance. The definition of family reunification and the legal status of family members have changed repeatedly in the period being considered here, most of all after Austria's EU-accession in 1995. However, family reunification was and still is mostly related to immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey. Persons from these regions mostly came as male guest workers who by and by brought their families to Austria. In particular after the end of active recruitment, family reunification represents the only legal possibility to facilitate labour migration of close relatives.

3. Last but not least the entry of asylum seekers has to be listed as the third gate. This gate is rather narrow and only allows for a small number of entries resulting in permanent settlement. According to the Geneva Convention few persons can be legitimately considered to be political refugees. Evidence of personal persecution and a convincing line of argument is essential, but is sometimes hard for the persons concerned. However, from 1961 until 2006, Austria was the target for more than half a million asylum seekers. While the numbers were very low during the 1960s and 1970s – at an average below 5,000 and around 3,000 applications per year – they grew considerably during the 1980s, stayed more or less stable in the 1990s and reached a peak in the early 2000s.

4. The “labour migration” gate has been undergoing severe changes. Though it was the most important port of entry during the 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s, it is nowadays more or less completely closed. Labour migrants are coming as EU-citizens with a right to take up residence, as family members and sometimes also as asylum seekers. An active recruitment of “normal” employees does not take place anymore, apart from qualified persons and executives. The substitution of guest worker migration by an EU-internal migration which is demand-oriented and flexible is visible, meaning that circular migration is becoming a substitute for traditional settlement migration.

1.4.4. Evolution of the immigrant population by duration of stay

The development of a more demand-oriented, flexible and circular migration is also connected with a shortened duration of stay, or so goes the assumption, for which there is no empirical proof. The length of stay also is not covered by the census and the micro-census can only capture the duration of stay of the population present in the country. The period of stay of those who already have left Austria again remains undisclosed. But it is the one which would possibly show a shorter duration of stay. Migration statistics derived from the Central Population Register generally allow for the analysis of this feature of returning and leaving persons, but only in recent years.

Table 8: Period of arrival by citizenship/region

	Born abroad, Austrian citizen	EU-15 (without Austria)	EU-10	Western Balkans* and Turkey	Others	Total
<i>in %</i>						
-1960	23.4	2.1	0.1	0.0	0.8	10.3
1961-1970	8.7	2.7	0.4	3.9	1.2	5.3
1971-1980	15.7	6.9	1.1	13.7	1.6	11.5
1981-1990	24.8	13.0	16.6	19.7	6.3	19.5
1991-2000	23.7	30.0	37.6	39.2	23.8	29.9
2001-2006	3.7	45.2	44.1	23.4	66.3	23.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>absolute</i>	491,992	129,778	98,328	319,847	113,492	1,153,437

* without Slovenia.

1.5 Labour market insertion and unemployment

In 2006, 390,695 foreign nationals were officially employed in Austria. Their share in the total number of gainfully employed persons amounted to 12 per cent. Almost 215,000 employees are subject to regulation and the quota. Concerning citizenship, inflows from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey are still dominating, comprising more than half of all gainfully employed foreigners. Nevertheless, the EU-15/EEA is gaining importance, with more than 70,000 employed persons in 2006.

Taking a look at the labour market insertion of different migrant groups, marked differences can be observed: EU-internal immigration from Western and Eastern neighbouring countries displays the highest proportion of employed persons. This is once more a clear sign for a flexible and demand-oriented immigration that is clearly and primarily connected with taking up a job. Guest workers and their family members display a different employment profile, namely, a higher proportion of children and teenagers, more unemployed persons and thus fewer employed.

Table 9: Employment status by citizenship/ region

Employment status	Austrian citizens	EU-15 (without Austria)	EU-10	Western Balkans* and Turkey	Others	Total
<i>in %</i>						
Employed	48.0	58.0	56.1	46.6	37.0	48.0
Unemployed	2.0	3.1	5.7	6.2	7.5	2.4
Not economically active	34.0	26.2	24.6	26.1	32.8	33.3
Conscripts, civilian serv.	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0.3
Persons aged under 15	15.6	12.7	13.7	21.1	22.7	15.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Absolute</i>	7,389,226	149,859	106,614	409,292	127,240	8,182,231

* without Slovenia (Source: LFS 2006; own calculations).

In Austria, foreign nationals – especially those from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia and from the “rest of the world” – have a higher risk of being unemployed than Austrians. Both males and females show higher unemployment rates, with the difference being more marked for men. There are three main reasons for this: foreign employees are mainly unskilled or semi-skilled workers in those parts of craft and industry that are characterized by regression. Depending on their experience, they have only limited chances of finding new employment due to their poor qualifications. At the same time they are working in those branches that are affected by a high seasonal unemployment (building industry, tourism). Furthermore the low educational level of parts of the immigrant population diminishes their chances in the competition on the labour market.

The LFS allows for a more detailed analysis of the current employment situation, not only according to employment status, but also regarding the required qualification. This illustrates a two-sided situation: more than three quarters of the Turkish citizens working in Austria are employed as semi-skilled or unskilled workers or as lesser-qualified labourers. On average, the labour market position of citizens of the Western Balkans is higher, but the lesser-qualified segment nonetheless prevails here as well. In the upper levels we find immigrants from the EU-15: two thirds of the immigrants are self-employed or work in middle or high white-collar positions. Only 15 per cent are employed as blue-collar workers.

EU-10 citizens find themselves in a middle position on the Austrian labour market. Their employment is not as qualified as that of EU-15 immigrants. At the same time however, it does not display the characteristics of the lower end of the socio-economic scale that is typical for the majority of Turkish and ex-Yugoslav immigrants. Furthermore it remains striking, that EU-10 citizens hold jobs – and in some cases are forced to hold jobs – below their level of qualification. Almost 40 per cent are employed as semi-skilled or unskilled workers even though almost 90 per cent have completed an education by far exceeding compulsory schooling. Hence de-qualification is another attribute of the new East-West migration. Finally, the high percentage of self-employed persons among EU-10 citizens in Austria is remarkable. One in six economically active persons is self-employed, which is also due to the restrictive transitional regime limiting access only to employment.

Table 10: Employment status with qualification by citizenship/ region

Employment status with qualification	Austrian citizen	EU-15 (without Austria)	EU-10	Western Balkans* and Turkey	Others	Total
<i>in %</i>						
Self-employed	14.1	13.6	15.9	2.7	12.0	13.5
Apprentice	3.5	1.5	1.5	3.9	3.1	3.5
Emp. low qual	7.2	6.6	8.0	6.4	13.6	7.3
Emp. medium qual.	30.6	28.2	19.9	7.8	16.8	29.1
Emp. high qual.	11.2	13.3	5.7	1.4	9.6	10.6
Emp. Leading	9.4	20.8	3.5	.9	8.1	9.1
Unskilled worker	4.3	1.7	15.0	34.3	19.9	6.1
Emp. Worker	9.4	6.3	15.7	28.0	12.8	10.4
Skilled worker	10.3	8.0	14.8	14.6	4.1	10.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Absolute</i>	3,543,606	86,872	59,828	190,822	47,137	3,928,265

* without Slovenia (Source: LFS 2006; own calculations).

The middle position of EU-10 citizens between the ‘high end’ migration from Western Europe (EU-15) and the ‘low end’ migration from the Western Balkans and Turkey also becomes apparent in the sectoral allocation of employees. On the one hand EU-10 citizens in Austria can be found in key areas of a modern services society, namely in real estate and in business-oriented services. On the other hand they can also be found in the sectors which are increasingly avoided by the resident population: construction, material goods production, accommodation and catering trade. Add to that health and social care, which are increasingly filled with workers from EU-10 and EU-15 countries.

Sectors such as agriculture and forestry,² energy and water supply, credit and insurance, public administration and social insurance as well as, to some extent education, seem almost exclusively reserved for Austrian citizens. Only in the field of education, specifically in university and non-university-related research and science, can an increasing amount of non-Austrians be found.

Table 11: Sectoral position of Austria’s resident population by citizenship/ region

Sectoral position	Austrian citizen	EU-15 (without Austria)	EU-10	Western Balkans* and Turkey	Others	Total
<i>in %</i>						
Agriculture and forestry	5.9	1.8	2.6	1.2	1.8	5.5
Mining	0.2		0.5	0.4		0.2
Material goods production	18.5	19.1	18.7	25.8	18.6	18.9
Energy and water supply	0.9			0.1	0.4	0.8
Construction	7.8	4.9	16.6	16.0	2.7	8.2
Trade and repair	15.8	13.7	10.7	13.8	14.1	15.5
Tourism	5.4	8.6	12.9	12.5	22.2	6.2
Transport	6.2	6.2	6.0	5.5	4.0	6.2
Bank, insurances	3.7	2.0	0.4	0.3	0.2	3.4
Real estate, other business services	8.5	12.9	11.3	14.3	12.5	8.9
Public administration	7.0	1.8	2.4	0.9	0.9	6.4
Education	6.0	5.9	1.0	0.9	6.4	5.7
Health, social services	9.0	12.7	11.2	3.7	6.5	8.9
Other public or personal services	4.7	8.4	5.4	4.0	4.6	4.8
Private households	0.2	0.3		0.3	1.0	0.3
Extern. Organizations	0.1	1.6	0.2	0.3	4.2	0.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Absolute</i>	3,543,606	86,875	59,831	190,823	47,137	3,928,272

*without Slovenia (Source: LFS 2006; own calculations).

Positions within the labour market are to a large extent, dependant on educational levels. In this respect a clear polarisation between immigrants that come from guest worker sending countries and those from the European internal market can be observed. The differences in

² There is, however, a considerable number of seasonal workers from EU-10 countries (most of all neighbouring nations) in agriculture and forestry. In general they only work in Austria for a few weeks and are barely taken into account by the LFS.

education between the different immigrant groups are distinctive: on the one hand, nearly 75 per cent of the Turks in Austria have only completed compulsory education, compared to almost 50 per cent of citizens of the Western Balkans. On the other hand, only 7.6 per cent of Turkish citizens in Austria have completed secondary or higher education, compared with 13.3 per cent of Western Balkan citizens. In comparison, almost 50 per cent of EU-10 citizens have completed secondary or higher education and no more than 12.7 per cent have only achieved compulsory education. Contrary to the labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s, people coming to Austria from the EU-10 are well-educated and qualified. This is also due to the differentiated school system in Central Eastern Europe. Since immigration is predominantly demand-oriented, less qualified workers with limited possibilities of professional establishment in Austria are less in demand and therefore also immigrate less frequently.

Table 12: Educational status of Austria's 15+ years resident population by citizenship

Educational status	Austrian citizen	EU-15 (without Austria)	EU-10	Western Balkans* and Turkey	Others	Total
<i>in %</i>						
Elementary school	26.9	11.3	12.7	54.4	35.6	27.8
Apprenticeship	36.4	25.6	30.6	28.6	13.5	35.5
Middle school	13.5	10.0	7.4	5.2	7.8	12.8
High school	16.1	23.1	34.4	9.9	17.4	16.2
University	7.1	30.0	14.9	2.0	25.6	7.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Absolute</i>	6,234,529	130,768	92,043	323,004	98,404	6,878,748

* without Slovenia (Source: LFS 2006; own calculations).

Only the immigrants from Western EU member states (EU-15 without Austria) have higher average qualification. 30 per cent hold a university degree; another 23 per cent successfully finished secondary school. On average, both EU-10 citizens living in Austria and EU-15 citizens (without Austrians) are better qualified than Austrian citizens.

1.6 Geographical distribution and spatial mobility

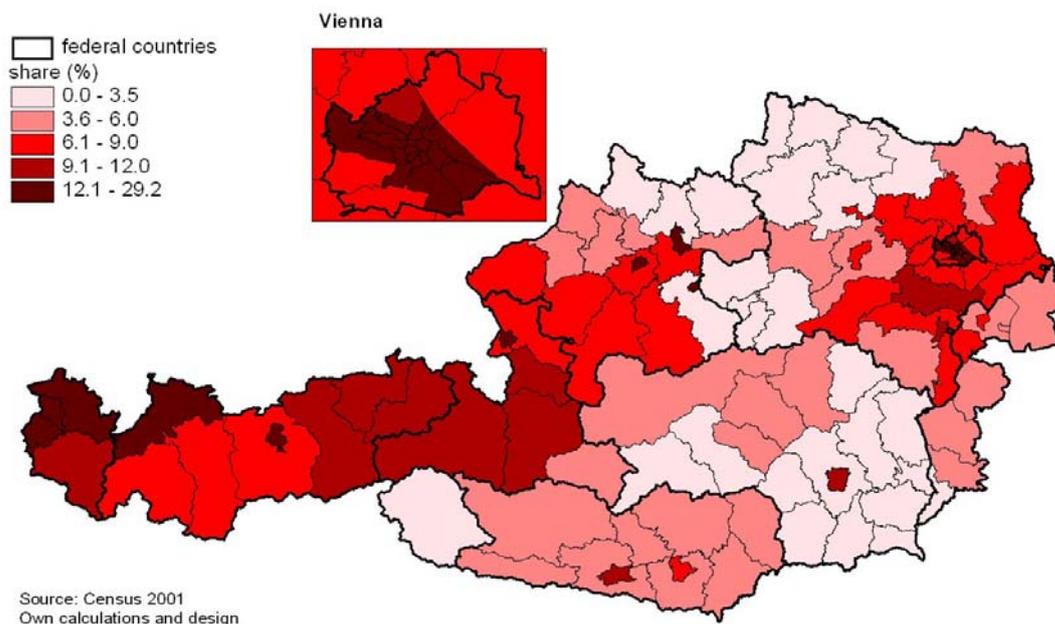
Migration to Austria clearly is directed towards cities and most of all towards Vienna. More than one third of Austria's total foreign population resides in its capital. Generally speaking, big cities offer the best chances to find a place to stay and one to work, with an almost constant demand for labour in the service sector and in industry. But there are also other factors that influence geographical distribution, such as the distance between country of origin and destination. Spatial patterns remain relatively stable over time. The existing distribution of the migrant population determines the distribution of future immigration, with the existence and further development of ethnic networks acting as a decisive factor.

The results of the 2001 census show the dominance of Vienna and the capitals of the other provinces. While the share of migrants is low in the rural areas of Styria as well as Lower and Upper Austria, it is Vienna in the East and the Tyrol and Vorarlberg in the West that display

high shares. Vorarlberg was an early receiver of guest workers in the textile industry while the Tyrol requires foreign labour for all kinds of services in tourism.

Immigrants from the EU-15 are concentrated in the West of Austria, which proves the distance argument, and in the Vienna region. Most of them originate from Germany and either work or have a second home close to the Bavarian border. According to the distance factor, migrants from Eastern Europe display a diametrically opposed distribution. They are found in the Vienna region and along the border with the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, with Western Austria playing an insignificant role.

Figure 2: Share of foreign citizens in the total population in the political districts, 2001



For labour migrants from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, the distance factor does not play an important role anymore as their home countries are too far away. Their distribution is influenced by the spatial economic structure. Job opportunities in industry, tourism and the service sector brought them to the cities; ethnic networks let newcomers follow the paths of their forerunners.

1.7 Naturalization and citizenship trends

During recent years naturalizations have been playing a very important role in Austria. Their number was relatively stable until the middle of the 1990s and then went up sharply, reaching a peak in 2003 with almost 45,000. This wave of naturalisations has to be seen in relation to the strong immigration ten years earlier and the fact, that naturalisation was a relatively easy process after ten years of permanent residence in Austria. With immigration decreasing after 1993, the number of naturalisations went down accordingly since 2004.

Table 13: Naturalizations in Austria 1983–2006

Period	Total	Annual	% Yugoslavia	% Turkey	% Other
1983–1991	74,406	8,267	23.9	7.6	68.5
1992–2001	185,362	18,536	30.3	30.5	39.2
2002–2006	182,972	36,594	46.1	30.8	23.1

Source: Statistics Austria; own calculation.

As was already shown in chapter 1.2, the number of foreign born Austrian citizens currently amounts to 530,000 (6.3 per cent of the total population). Most of them are naturalized immigrants, though some may be Austrian citizens born abroad, and their number is negligible. 85 per cent were born in another European country and 8 per cent in Asia. Typically, former guest workers are dominating, with 13 per cent of naturalized persons originating from Turkey and 25 per cent from former Yugoslavia.

1.8 Identification of major phases in the migration experience

In retrospect it becomes clear, that at least three phases of immigration, public perception and political (re)actions in Austria's migration experience can be distinguished. In a simplified way these three phases can be defined as an initial phase, an intermediate phase and a new stable phase.

Table 14: Demographic and geographical characteristics of immigration to Austria

Phase	Duration	Quantitative dimension	Demographic characteristics	Geographical origin
Initial phase	1960 up to 1973	emerging immigration, gets more important than emigration, but is still related to cyclic phenomena, high fluctuation of balances	young males migrating as single persons; demand-driven immigration into employment	Ex-Yugoslavia; regions of origin shifted from the North to Serbia and Montenegro
Intermediate phase	1973–1993	high fluctuation of balances; shift from male labour migration to family unification and more balanced migration; dominance of the traditional guest worker countries	shift from a male dominated migration to family migration	Turkey became an important region of origin due to family reunification
New stability	1994 until today	immigration is a constant phenomenon; with the accession to the EU the EU-internal migration becomes more important	migration of young employees; dominance of 15–35 age groups; male and female migration	spread of regions of origin; relative loss of importance of the traditional guest worker countries

Source: own scheme.

Phase 1

In Austria the initial phase had its inception at the beginning of the 1960s. Immigration started due to a generally growing national economy in many European countries that raised the demand for additional labour on the one hand and a demographic development that led towards a diminishing internal labour supply on the other. Immigration was and still is coupled with economic cycles and thus fluctuates strongly. The public and politicians willingly accepted this additional labour force as these people were taking over jobs that were poorly paid – thus helping domestic enterprises. The increase in demand driven labour migration appeared to be formally regulated (recruitment agreements) and was accompanied by the unregulated immigration of irregular workers. At this stage the migration regime was still poorly developed, in the case of guest worker countries, often through a revival of the “Fremdarbeiter”-regime.

The initial phase brought individual young males to Austria, who were not able to find employment in their home country after having finished school or who were interested in earning more money abroad. Most immigrants came from larger cities in the northern republics of Yugoslavia, with high proportions of Slovenes and Croats. The quantitative increase from 1969 onwards went hand in hand with a social and geographical expansion. More and more older people with poor qualifications from rural areas in the South-Eastern parts of Yugoslavia (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia) were involved in the process. The motives of these guest workers were all the same: maximizing income and at the same time minimizing the costs of the stay abroad in order to be able to send as much money as possible back home (Fassmann 1992: 102).

This kind of immigration was not perceived as a regular inflow but as an exceptional phenomenon in a booming economy. The term “guest work(er)” signalizes the temporary limitation. In the early intermediate phase the public perception almost completely ignored immigration as the immigrants were predominately single males and thus not visible in the public space or in schools. Furthermore they were residing in the outskirts on construction sites and in barracks.

Phase 2

As the intermediate phase was proceeding, immigration became a constant phenomenon and more and more came to the attention of the public. The structure and character of immigration changed from single males to family migration, and they moved from the outskirts to inner city areas. Turkey gained importance as a country of origin. The reactions of the public ranged from surprise to indignation. Arguments like “We are flooded”, “We will lose our culture” or “Foreigners are a threat to social peace” could often be heard and were nothing more than an expression of the slow recognition of a new situation concerning immigration. Another part of the public was pleased by the cultural enrichment coming along with immigration or felt sympathy for the poor immigrants and their socially problematic situation in the host country. All in all this resulted in political polarizations and legal measures that were oscillated between liberalization and accentuation.

Phase 3

Finally the intermediate phase passed into a new phase of stability. With the EU-accession in 1995, immigration from other EU-countries was getting more and more important and immigration turned into EU-internal migration. It is recognized as a necessary supplement to a demographically decreasing working population. The public is not surprised anymore and comes to an arrangement with a culturally heterogeneous society. Extreme expressions of opinion into one way or the other are losing popularity and a new political rationality finds its way. This can also be seen in the rather differentiated way of regulating immigration. While during the intermediate phase there was only the type of “labour migrant”, a whole panoply of residence and settlement titles has meanwhile been developed.

2. Migration and integration policies

2.1 Description and analysis of admission legislation and policies and its evolution over time

Phase 1

In the initial phase of the guest worker regime, the Austrian Social Partners agreed upon contingents for the employment of guest workers in 1961, with the goal of letting them in only on a temporary basis and sending them back in the case of an unfavourable economic development. They were just to act as additional temporary workers. Generally speaking, the Austrian migration policy was a mere question of the labour market in this first phase of guest worker immigration. Migration policy as such was not an issue and was dominated by the interests of the entrepreneurs, guest workers were welcomed and seen as an additional source for wealth but not as a part of the Austrian society. Integration was not on the agenda and long-term residence of the imported labour force was not intended.

In the so called ‘Raab-Olah-Agreement’³ from December 1961, a contingent of 47,000 foreigners was defined, for which enterprises did not have to prove, that there was no Austrian labour for a certain position, as they had to do earlier, due to a regulation dating back to the 1930s. The labour unions were very hesitant in agreeing and only did so provided that (Bauböck 1996: 12) foreigners were employed under the same conditions concerning wage and working, foreigners should be dismissed before Austrian nationals and they should generally only be allowed to work in Austria temporarily, namely for one year. The so-called rotation principle formed the basic idea at the beginning of the immigration of guest workers. They should stay only on a temporary basis with no permanent settlement, family migration or societal integration. But this idea failed due to resistances from both the employers’ and the employees’ side. Enterprises did not want to do without the workforce they had instructed, and so the migrants stayed since they had a job they had no reason to give up and made more money than they would have at home.

³ Basically this agreement was a contract between Austrian employers and employees that marks the beginning of the institutionalization of the Social Partnership by incorporating the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, the Chamber of Agriculture, the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions and the Chamber of Labour. In 1961, Julius Raab was Federal Chancellor and Franz Olah was the head of the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions.

Table 15: General legal trends and specific measures

<i>phase</i>	<i>General legal trends</i>	<i>Specific measures</i>	
1960 up to 1973	No specific immigration policies at hand; labour market policy is dominating	1962	Raab-Olah-Agreement with the dominance of the rotation principle
		1964	Recruitment Agreement with Turkey
		1965	Recruitment Agreement with Yugoslavia
		1968	First Austrian Asylum Act
1973–1993	Oscillating between liberalization and tightening of political measures	1975	Aliens Employment Act introduced a system of stepwise access to different types of permits
		1991	Asylum Act, introducing the principles of ‘safe third countries’ and ‘safe country of origin’
		1993	Residence Law marks the beginning of a controlled immigration system following the American example
1994 until today	Differentiated legislation with a multitude of ‘channels of immigration’ to control migration more efficiently	1997	Revision of the 1991 Asylum Act, abolished the heavily criticized ‘safe country of origin’ principle and provided for the inclusion of the Schengen Agreement and the harmonization of the Austrian asylum law with the 1990 EU Dublin Convention
		1997	Aliens Act, merged the 1992 Aliens Act and the 1993 Residence Act into a single law. The main aim of the reform was to promote the integration for aliens already living in Austria, in the place of new immigration. This concept was called ‘Integration before immigration’, and the law became known as the ‘Integration Package’
		1998	Naturalization Act retained the core elements of the previous regulations: principle of <i>ius sanguinis</i> and a regular waiting period of 10 years for naturalization. It shifted the burden of proof to the individual immigrant, who now has to prove that he/she is sufficiently integrated into Austrian society, is economically self-sufficient and has a sufficient command of German language
		2005	Aliens Law Package, a comprehensive legislative reform on order to implement EU directives and strengthened measures against irregular immigration and fraudulent marriage and adoptions. The reform contains among others the Settlement and Residence Act, the Aliens Police Act and the revised Aliens Employment Act

Source: own scheme.

The Austrian recruitment of labour migrants happened later than in the rest of Europe, e.g. in Germany, Switzerland or Scandinavia. The first intergovernmental recruitment agreements were set up with Spain in 1962, which remained irrelevant for the most part, Turkey in 1964, and Yugoslavia in 1966. In practical terms the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber established recruitment centres in the sending countries and in 1967 a provisional employment centre was installed directly at the train station in Vienna (Ostbahnhof). But this concept of direct recruitment became increasingly unimportant over time, with the ongoing immigration and the formation of networks with enterprises and guest workers already present

in Austria recruiting friends and relatives in the sending countries (Bauböck 1996: 13). These new labourers entered Austria as tourists but under the economic boom conditions of the early 1970s it was quite easy for them to get an employment permit.

Phase 2

In the first half of the 1970s, the economic situation changed enormously due to two parallel developments. The economic stagnation after the first oil price shock in 1973 led to growing unemployment, reduced working hours, increased inflation and public debts as well as crashing enterprises. Furthermore the arrival of the baby-boom cohorts on the labour market marked the end of the internal labour shortage. From 1974 to 1976 there were massive attempts to reduce the foreign labour force in Austria and, as a consequence, the official recruitment was stopped completely. The failure of the rotation principle and the trend towards a permanent settlement became apparent. Contrary to official political plans and expectations, the recruitment ban led towards a consolidation of residence for a part of the foreign workers, who had previously gone back and forth depending on the labour market situation and now – in fear of losing the right to live and work in Austria – have decided to stay permanently (Münz, Zuser & Kytir 2003: 23).

In 1976 the Aliens' Employment Act (Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz) that regulated the admission of foreigners to the Austrian labour market became operative. It determined the primacy of Austrian nationals on the labour market and substituted the decrees of the Ministry for Social Affairs and the 'Reichsdeutsche Ausländerverordnung' dating back to 1933. The Aliens' Employment Act was based on the determination that foreigners may only be employed if the situation on the Austrian labour market as well as public and overall societal interests allowed for further immigration. The basic idea still was that labour migrants would only stay for a limited period of time. Immigration went on to be a mere question of the needs of employers, overall rules for immigration to Austria or any idea about integrating immigrants were not in sight.

The Aliens' Employment Act introduced a system of stepwise access to different types of permits with differing durations: first the employment permits (Beschäftigungsbewilligung), after one year a work permit (Arbeitserlaubnis) and a certificate of exemption (Befreiungsschein) after five years of employment. The amendment of the 1976 Aliens' Employment Act from 1988 brought a further differentiation of newly arrived labour migrants and those already integrated in the system. Most of all the members of the second generation should be integrated by means of a license of exemption (Befreiungsschein) while new immigration should be impeded. Furthermore the illegal employment of foreigners should be stopped through the punishment of employers (Grussmann 1992: 69f.).

Phase 3

The beginning of the third phase was marked by the decree of the Aliens Act of 1993 and the so-called Residence Law, which in fact was an immigration law. Against the background of the migration movements after the political changes in Europe it aimed at regulating and restricting new immigration without securing the resident foreign population legally (König & Stadler 2003: 226). Policy started to move towards a system of controlling migration. The core of the Residence Law was an annual quota for new immigration that was established and potential immigrants were divided into different groups, basically along origin lines, whether they were EU- or third country nationals. Persons wanting to immigrate to Austria needed a residence permit and had to provide evidence of their means of subsistence as well as a place

to stay. This means that potential immigrants from outside the EU already had to have employment before arriving. The residence permits were subject to the already mentioned quota and the first application had to be filed from the country of origin. Persons from outside the EU and the EEC were subject to a selection procedure. Priority was given to spouses, underage children and parents of foreigners residing in Austria as well as to persons with special qualifications that were needed on the Austrian labour market. In case of an abrupt shortage of labour the Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs was entitled to grant short-term permits outside the annual quota.

First-time immigrants got a residence permit for six months which could be extended for another six months and then for another two years. Only after five years were they entitled to an unlimited stay. As soon as third country immigrants lost their employment or their accommodation and were not able to find something new in a short period of time, the residence permit expired – a situation that could possibly lead to cases of hardship, as they could be forced to leave the country.

In 1997, a bill on aliens which merged the Aliens' Law and the residence and immigration laws, the Aliens' Act (Fremdengesetz 1997) was passed.⁴ The guiding political principle was 'integration before new immigration' which meant that there was a clear emphasis on measures concerning those who were already there. New immigration should be avoided. The

Aliens' Employment Act remained more or less the same, but there were changes in the employment insurance law and the asylum law. Basically the Aliens' Act contained the right to residence regardless of subsistence after eight years of permanent residence in Austria, but at the same time the situation for those living in Austria for less than eight years got more complicated.

The Naturalization Act of 1998 (amendment) also stands in line with the policy makers' ideas of integrating immigrants: *ius sanguinis* was not changed and the waiting period of ten years of non-stop residence before naturalization could take place also remained the same as before. The new feature was a test for Austrians-to-be, that was in the German language and in some federal countries was also on the history and traditions of the new home country. Furthermore, applicants had to prove that they were independent economically and did not need social benefits.

Enacted in 2005, the Aliens' Law Package ("Fremdenrechtspaket") comprises the Asylum Act, the Aliens' Police Act and the Settlement and Residence Act and has been influenced by five EU directives (long-term residence, family reunion, free movement of EU-citizens, students, et al.) that had to be fulfilled as soon as possible (König & Perchinig 2005: 2). In the Aliens' Law Package the Integration Agreement is included that refers to all third country nationals (thus exempting EEC- and Swiss nationals), newcomers as well as persons who wanted to renew their residence title. They have to comply with this agreement that consists of two modules, the first one focussing on alphabetization (reading and writing) and the second one on the German language with the goal to be able to "participate in the social, economic and cultural life of Austria". In case of not taking part or not passing these courses within five years, immigrants are threatened with sanctions such as exclusion from more

⁴ In 1995 Austria entered the European Union and the EEC. This brought about fundamental changes in the definition of 'who is what kind of foreigner?' and which rights have to be given to whom. Like in many other EU-countries, a trichotomy was established: Austrians, EU-nationals and third country nationals with EU-nationals have the same rights in terms of residence and employment as Austrians.

secure residence titles or even the loss of the residence permit, which means expulsion from Austria.

The Settlement and Residence Act distinguishes between settlement and residence according to the length and the purpose of the stay. In case of a preliminary and terminable residence for more than six months without finding a permanent settlement, a residence permit ('Aufenthaltsbewilligung') is needed, that can be linked to certain types of employment (rotational workers, self employed persons, artists, scientists). A residence becomes a settlement after a five year permanent stay in Austria.

2.2 Characterization of the migration regime

At the beginning of the 1960s, Austria followed the German example and implemented a guest worker regime. The Social Partners agreed upon contingents for the employment of guest workers, with the goal being to let them in only on a temporary basis and send them back in the case of an unfavourable economic development. They should just act as additional temporary workers. This policy development was described earlier.

Austria was directly guided by the German and Swiss example and both countries tied in with the tradition of seasonal work in agriculture. In boom phases of farm labour, manpower was recruited that had to leave again after having fulfilled its duty. Switzerland did not only define temporal restrictions for the recruitment of seasonal workers but only allowed them for specific regions. The guest worker regime aims at a circular migration of the labour force. Family members joining the guest workers are not included in this concept. This is exactly

what the superior objective is all about: maximising the economic benefit and at the same time minimising social follow-up costs.

From 1973 the guest worker regime turned into an immigration regime. Both the end of active and direct recruitment and the selective downsizing of the foreign labour force were clear signals that circular migration was not possible anymore. Guest workers who wanted to stay simply did not go back but brought their families to the country of destination. This kind of immigration is not about the needs of the labour market but was directed by the reunification of families of guest workers present in the country. Public authorities thus lost the possibilities to control immigration and a stronger emphasis was put on access to the labour market. In doing so a situation of a legal residence with a simultaneous interdiction of taking up a legal employment was created.

With the beginning of the 1990s and most of all with Austria's accession to the EU the migration regime underwent the third and most decisive change. Being a part of the EU also meant losing the possibility to control the immigration of EU-citizens and their family members, even if they came from third countries. As a result, Austria reduced all other possibilities for immigration. Now it is harder for asylum seekers to get to Austria and be accepted as political refugees. Furthermore, the inflow of other labour is strongly limited. The only exception is highly qualified persons who still enjoy privileged access. Once more Austria is following the German example and couples immigration with the promise of the employer to pay a relatively high annual income.

In order to balance the situation once more a system of short-term stays for the purpose of working has been created. The employment of seasonal workers is expanded in order to meet

the needs of tourism and agriculture. This system is working rather well because most of these seasonal workers come from the new accession countries and the now open borders allow for an unproblematic coming and going. The seasonal workers go back home again and can use the achieved income with an increased buying power. Under such conditions the circularity of migration can work.

2.3 Analysis of changing policy orientations and their determinants

The reasons for the political changes in the migration regime are mainly to be found in three areas:

1. At the beginning of the 1990s, public opinion was heavily surprised by the amount of immigration. The fall of the Iron Curtain and the Balkan War directly at the Austrian borders led towards a sudden and rapid increase of immigration of both labour force and war refugees. The populist, right wing Freedom Party (FPÖ) capitalized on this public spirit and made use of the “foreigner theme”. They advocated a complete stop of immigration in addition to the repatriation of at least a part of the foreign population present in Austria. The subsequent electoral success led towards a general shift to the political right-wing. Migration control, deportation of rejected asylum seekers and refoulement at the border were no longer stigmatized but turned into a quality factor behind successful politics.
2. The second reason can be found in the failure of the guest worker model. With the change of guest workers into a part of the resident population that stays in Austria for good, the idea of a “rotating” population group finds its end. The system did not include the idea of family reunification – which generates costs for education – and health care systems. In addition, accommodation for whole families also have to be taken from the social overhead. In order to control family migration, the steering of migration has to restrict new immigration. As soon as new immigrants are in the country they also have the right to bring their families. Therefore the migration regime is very restrictive in the field of new immigration of labourers but relatively generous with seasonal workers who do not consolidate their residence.
3. The third reason for a change from a guest worker regime to an immigration regime with little new inflow lies in the political will only to let in qualified people on a demand-oriented basis. The unqualified segment of the labour market is met by seasonal workers and family reunification. Income limits draw the line from which new immigration is allowed. There is also a consensus among the Social Partners in this field. The needs of the economy for low-qualified and low-paid labour (in tourism and agriculture) are met by seasonal workers, who do not “disturb” the normal labour market. The claims of the trade unions for higher wages for the labour force are met by less immigration and thus a limitation of the “industrial reserve army”.

2.4 Analysis and evaluation of the efficacy of control policies.

Evaluation of the degree of consistency between admission policies and effective outcomes

The question about the efficacy of control is difficult to answer. The costs for border controls, the legal proceedings concerning asylum seekers and the execution of various laws concerning immigrants can be numbered, but the earning side has to remain undefined. What is the “value” of an asylum seeker who is safe from political persecution?

Staying on a more general level, the system turns out to be not necessarily efficient, but rather consistent with the system. Immigration to Austria increasingly turns into European internal migration that responds to job vacancies and higher income levels. In order to keep this liberal migration space free, immigration from the outside has to remain controlled and limited, most of all in order to restrict family reunification, which is difficult to foresee in quantitative terms. This is the direction that the legal framework has gone in and it seems to be tuned in a functional way.

2.5 Integration policies

The discussion about migration policy, its implementation, and its execution are very relevant issues in the Austrian political debate and there is some vague consensus. However, there is no consensus about a consistent and comprehensive integration policy. Politicians at the local as well as national level and all party programmes emphasise the need for integration but avoid clear statements of what, exactly, they mean with this term. In fact, the term “integration” is used as a black-box that allows reaching a consensus on a general level and defies political discussions in detail. Therefore it would be an oversimplification to talk of a consensual Austrian integration concept.

Nevertheless, we can identify a common denominator: the dominant integration paradigm is the idea of assimilation. The conservative parties as well as the social democratic party implicitly understand “integration” as a process of one-sided adaptation to the Austrian way of life. Foreigners should learn to be Austrians – whatever this means – in detail, they should learn the German language and adapt to the ‘Austrian’ way of life. Cultural deviation is more or less regarded as a barrier on the necessary path of assimilation. Hence, most political parties and politicians unknowingly follow the ideas of the Chicago school formulated back in the 1920s.

The only exceptions are the small Green party and the city government in Vienna. The Greens represent around 10 per cent of the voters and act as opposition in parliament. They oppose the idea of assimilation underlying the integration concepts of the other parties and instead promote cultural diversity and multiculturalism, which they regard as an added value in a modern society. However, the Greens avoid defining the limits of diversity and multiculturalism. Their programme does not address the daily and general conflicts between the values and norms of the host society, on the one hand, and of the society of origin, on the other hand. It is probably due to this vagueness that the multicultural concept of the Green party is accepted only by a minority of the Austrian (and foreign) population.

The second exception to the rule of assimilation is the city government in Vienna. The city is governed by an absolute majority of the social democratic party that positioned the city government as a counter-model to the conservative federal government in several policy areas; integration policy is one of these. The cultural diversity of the Viennese population is increasingly seen as a strength of the city. “The diversity-oriented integration policy of the City of Vienna is committed to the principles of a pluralistic society and aims at equality and equality of opportunities of all residents irrespective of their gender, ethnic origin, religion, age, sexual orientation, disability or fundamental beliefs” (“Weltanschauung”; König & Perchinig 2005: 13). The explicit or implicit aim of the integration process is not assimilation, but the peaceful living, separately, of different cultures. However, again the concept of cultural diversity remains vague. Moreover, the political reality in Vienna does not seem to provide evidence that this concept engenders concrete policies. It might just be a slogan serving to counter the concept of assimilation.

Due to the lack of a consistent Austrian integration concept equipped with clear and explicit goals, there is not a single legislative or constitutional base. Several institutions deal with different aspects of migration and integration. “The integration debate is characterised by inconsistencies – there are inconsistencies between the positions of the federal and provincial governments, and inconsistencies within ministries. What is more, integration is only partly reflected in legislation, if at all, making this already complex topic even more complex in Austria” (König & Perchinig 2005: 11).

Without describing these different juridical regulations in detail, we may identify one thread that all of them have in common. The idea of integration underlying them is an asymmetric and one-sided process of adaptation to the values and norms of the Austrian society. References to this idea can be found in the Settlement and Residence Act which makes language training in German compulsory. All non-EU immigrants and those who have been residing in Austria since January 1, 1998, except for “key personnel” children, the elderly and any immigrant demonstrating suitable knowledge of German, will have to attend such language courses. If the courses are not completed successfully within four years, the immigrant may lose his or her residence permit. Hence, a good command of the German language is seen as a necessary prerequisite to be put on the integration track towards “Austrianisation”.

If foreigners residing in Austria follow this track successfully and are assimilated at the end of the process, they are eligible to receive Austrian citizenship. Again this proves that Austrian legislation on integration relies on the idea of assimilation. The Citizenship Act describes naturalisation as the completion of the integration process, formally inscribed into the law by examinations in German and in basic knowledge about Austria and the European Union as preconditions for the granting of Austrian citizenship. Moreover, the Citizenship Act aims to reduce the possibility of receiving Austrian nationality prior to the ten years of residence laid down in the law and to avoid dual nationality.

2.6 Analysis of the determinants of policies (with special attention to public opinion and relevant actors)

Until the end of the First World War, the German-speaking Austrians felt as a part of the German ethnic community. The same language, the same culture and a common history had a connective effect. With the sovereignty of Austria the recourse to Germany became less and less opportune. Most of all, after the Second World War and the regaining of sovereignty, the

process of reshaping of the Austrian nation had begun. One important component in this process is the construction of “the Austrian” as a felicitous melange of all the peoples of the monarchy. The amalgamation – and so the imagination – brought along a new “type”, namely the Austrian.

Those who came later had to adapt to the Austrians, because the times of a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic structure of society was left behind with the fall of the Danube Monarchy. Especially in a young nation, not much clearance can be granted and assimilation is the target that a large part of the population and also the political parties want to address.

Besides this long-term explanation, there are also actual determinants that have to be considered. Public opinion has already been addressed. In the course of the 1990s, many people experienced a rapid change in their formerly culturally homogenous residential area into a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic urban neighbourhood. Many did not understand this development. They did not get proper answers to the questions of how this had happened and why these changes did not really have to be a threat for them. They were negative and sceptical about the Turkish extended family, the Polish construction worker, the marketer from the Balkans, the concierge from the former Yugoslavia but also about the concern director from France, the Netherlands or the USA and remained longing for the short historical period when their city or neighbourhood had really been culturally and ethnically homogenous.

In this phase of change and uncertainty the right wing Freedom Party offered simple explanations and postulations. “Vienna must not be Chicago” was one of their maxims. Islam was seen as a threat in particular after the terrorist attacks in 2001. It was clear that the election success of the FPÖ increased political pressure and the claim for assimilation turned into a subordinate maxim.

3. Migration impacts

The question of migration impacts can be answered more or less exactly according to different topics and points of view. The simplest determination is that of the demographic impact:

1. Without immigration, Austria’s population number would be smaller and the age structure less young. Immigration contributed to slower ageing and brought about a growth in the population number of more than one million. It was and still is most of all the city of Vienna where immigration helped to keep the size of the population constant – which is rather important for tax yields and the utilization of the social infrastructure (schools, kindergartens).
2. From an economic point of view, the immigration of recent decades also led to an increase in economic output. If more people are employed the GDP grows automatically. Of course the growth of the GDP per capita is rather modest and always depends on the development of productivity and not on the number of employees anymore. Particular economic impulses – by means of huge investments or innovations – are not necessarily linked with immigration. This is also connected with the fact that the majority of immigrants entered Austria as low qualified labourers. Immigrants of the first and second generation seldom came as entrepreneurs and these remain the exception rather than the rule.

3. In sociological terms, the immigration of guest workers led to a status promotion of the domestic population. This trickle-down effect, described first by Hoffmann-Nowotny for the Swiss society, could also be observed in Austria. Guest workers underlie the existing employment system and thus elevate the existing positions. The Austrian unskilled worker moved up to the position of foreman as soon as guest workers were employed. With the establishment of the guest worker and the subsequent competition in the labour market this trickle-down effect came to an end. This is why the generally positive attitude of Austrian workers during the 1960s in the early phase of recruitment changed over time. One of the factors behind the success of the right wing Freedom Party was its addressing these frustrated workers.

4. The political impact of immigration was also that Austrian political parties were moving father and father apart. For many decades consensus had been the leading principle but now Austria was developing into a competitive democracy. It was particularly the controversy about immigration that polarized the political landscape. This, in turn, had direct consequences for the attitudes of the population, with mass demonstration for one political extreme or the other, although Austria normally is one of those European countries where strikes and demonstrations remain rare.

4. Integration outcomes

It is difficult to evaluate the current integration outcomes in Austria because they are not systematically monitored. Selected studies and a semi-official migration and integration report (Fassmann & Stacher 2003; Fassmann 2007) offer overviews. These emphasise some of the main characteristics of the Austrian situation:

1. Integration (in terms of assimilation) happens but it happens by accident. The newly arrived migrants are left to their own devices. Some migrants stick to their culture of origin, others assimilate very fast and others live in-between cultures. Many migrants do not know what the host society expects from them. They are kept in an ambivalent situation. Are they immigrants who can stay or guest workers who will have to leave again at some stage? When you ask foreign residents whether they want to stay in Austria forever, their answers betray a high degree of uncertainty. Clearer signals from the political sphere would be important for them and the situation as a whole.

2. Integration (once again in terms of assimilation) works differently in different groups. Indicators like interethnic marriage rates or labour market positions clearly show that migrants from Turkey marry within their own ethnic community and remain at the bottom of the employment system, whereas migrants from Western and also from Eastern European countries are on the fast track to the middle class. These differences can be traced back to a number of factors: a mixture of culturally defined behaviour and of structural deficits in the Turkish migrant population and prejudices within the majority population towards the Turkish migrants are among the most important. Once again the differentiation between dependent and independent variables remains problematic.

3. Integration is a never-ending process. It means learning and adapting to new circumstances, not only for the migrant population. However, the majority of Austrian natives seems to believe that integration should be completed within a few months or several years at the most.

In reality, this process requires decades or even generations, especially in a society where ancestors, family names and titles are important to be accepted. But politicians have to have success within one legislative period. That is why they concentrate on the management of migration flows, which seem to be easier and faster to influence, rather than on developing a sustainable integration scheme – a trend observable not only in Austria!

4. The educational level of the population with a migration background shows the problem of the second and third generation of guest worker families, that have been born in Austria. Up until now it was not possible to foster them in such a way that the differences in education levels would disappear. This is especially true for the descendants of the guest workers. Facilitating their school careers on the one hand and the necessary willingness in their families to promote their school careers on the other are both pre-conditions for better integration in this respect. The low education levels are directly linked with an underprivileged position on the labour market and the occupational position leads to a specific level of income. They are not among the top earners in Austria, but their income remains below the average. Not being an Austrian citizen more than doubles the risk of being poor, being a foreign national from a third country produces the same effect. Housing would be another indicator consistently pointing in this direction. An above-average share of the guest workers live in the worst category of flats with bad sanitary conditions.

5. Structural characteristics

Austria still can clearly be characterized as a social welfare state. Public funds are absorbing more than 40 per cent of incomes in order to reallocate them and finance social services. In recent years the reforms following the Maastricht Criteria brought about some reductions in the social sphere, but from an overall point of view the general architecture of the welfare state has not changed much. Austria guarantees free access to schools and it is not until university that a relatively small tuition fee has to be paid. Furthermore, Austria offers almost cost-free access to the health system for employed persons and their co-insured family members and provides a financial system of guaranteed minimum incomes for all persons not linked to a gainful employment. In addition, there are financial subsidies in the fields of housing and pensions and an often free use of the public infrastructure. Austria's social overhead is markedly well developed and the question of who is allowed to participate is rather important and constantly on the agenda.

The discussion about immigration is always conducted against this background. What is the immigrants' contribution to the social overhead? How much do they gain from it? And how many people are immigrating just to participate in this rich social overhead? Immigration to a social welfare state can thus not be compared with the one to the USA for example, as there is only little to be distributed from the social overhead. The understanding of strict migration controls and the prevention of irregular employment can only take place against this background. Irregular immigration has to be hampered as it does not contribute to the social overhead and even possibly extracts services and money.

6. Attitudes

The picture of and attitudes towards newcomers and also those who have already been here for decades are to some extent polarized. Many Austrians think that there are enough foreigners in Austria, others think of the cultural diversity in the immigrants' districts of the cities as an enriching element. The characteristic thing is an evaluation depending on personal concern. A close friend with a migration background or with foreign citizenship is normally perceived as friendly and willing to integrate, whereas the anonymous mass of immigrants is seen as a problem or even a threat. Empirical evidence shows that xenophobic attitudes are not necessarily to be found where most immigrants live, but rather in areas, where this is not the case.

The most important personal factors influencing the attitudes towards foreigners are age on the one hand and the level of education on the other. The older people are, the more negative are their attitudes; the higher the education is, the more positive are their attitudes. A proclivity for authoritarianism goes hand in hand with a rejection of immigrants and depends again on age and education. Austrians tend to be rather proud and patriotic which goes with ethnocentrism by combining a positive self-evaluation with a devaluation of foreigners. Austrians moan a lot about immigration and the foreign citizens residing in "their" country but on a general level this moaning seems to have less relevance in terms of concrete assaults than in other Western European countries.

An interesting question in this respect is also, when, in the course of immigration, the theme as such raised public awareness. For a long time immigration was overlooked or regarded as a outlier that was not really relevant. In a newspaper article from June 1965, it is argued that Austria is only a 'transit country for guest workers' on their way to Germany and Switzerland, as it is not so attractive for them in terms of income. Other articles tell about the relief they bring to the labour market (July 1965). While people from (the former) Yugoslavia and Turkey were more or less tolerated in times of good economic performance, the public increasingly perceived them as a threat and as those who shortchange the welfare system. The placard "Kolaric" could be seen in the streets of Vienna in 1973 and is famous until today. The man in the picture whose name also in reality was Kolaric and who was working in a Vienna slaughter house, is asked by a little obviously Austrian boy, why they call him "Tschusch" (a swear word for people from the Balkans), though they have the same name. Launched by the "Aktion Mitmensch" of the Austrian advertising industry, the placard is an early example for the promotion of tolerance and the integration of migrants.⁵

Public discussion about immigration reached its peak with the beginning of the 1990s and the severe changes that took place directly led to changes in public opinion about immigration driven by fears of Austria being "flooded by foreigners" and later on in marked reforms of migration policy. The right wing party FPÖ increased its share of voters from five per cent to 26.9 per cent at the end of the 1990s, and in 1992 they launched a referendum called "Austria first", that was signed by 416,500 Austrians (7.3 per cent of all eligible voters). In the referendum, among others, the following requests were formulated: an expulsion of delinquent foreigners, a more severe naturalization act and a complete stop to immigration. An immediate reaction of those opposing this referendum was the "sea of lights" on the Heldenplatz in Vienna in January 1993, where about 300,000 persons took part. Organized by

⁵ Quelle: <http://www.mip.at/de/dokumente/2067-content.html>.

the NGO “SOS Mitmensch” people demonstrated against xenophobia and racism in the biggest protest the Second Republic had ever seen.

The times of these extreme expressions and demonstrations calmed down during the phase of new normality. Currently, the discussion about migrants is focussing on asylum. Cases of asylum seekers and their families who applied several years ago and are expelled after having integrated arouse public discussion, with some people wanting them to be expelled and others wanting them to have the right to stay in Austria. The crucial differentiation between economic refugees and refugees after the Geneva Convention made the still polarized undertone transparent.

7. Conclusion

After years characterized by naïve and one-sided either right or left wing considerations, Austria also witnesses the development of a differentiated discussion about the added value of immigration apart from asylum seekers, about immigration control and integration measures. In doing so it becomes clear that immigration does not only offer opportunities and advantages but also brings along socio-political frictions. More and more it is agreed in consensus that different migration flows with different cultural and geographical backgrounds bring about different consequences. And it has also been understood that there is a need for a clearly formulated migration policy that should be pro-active, forward-looking and long-ranging and be accompanied by an equally evident integration policy. Immigrants have to be offered a clear life perspective and concrete integration measures have to be implemented and also demanded. An adaptation of the migrants is as necessary as the preservation of the ethnic and social capital they bring along, as pluralism and unity do not have to be contradictory. Austria is on a good path, with the common principles of an integration policy formulated by the Commission proving to be helpful.

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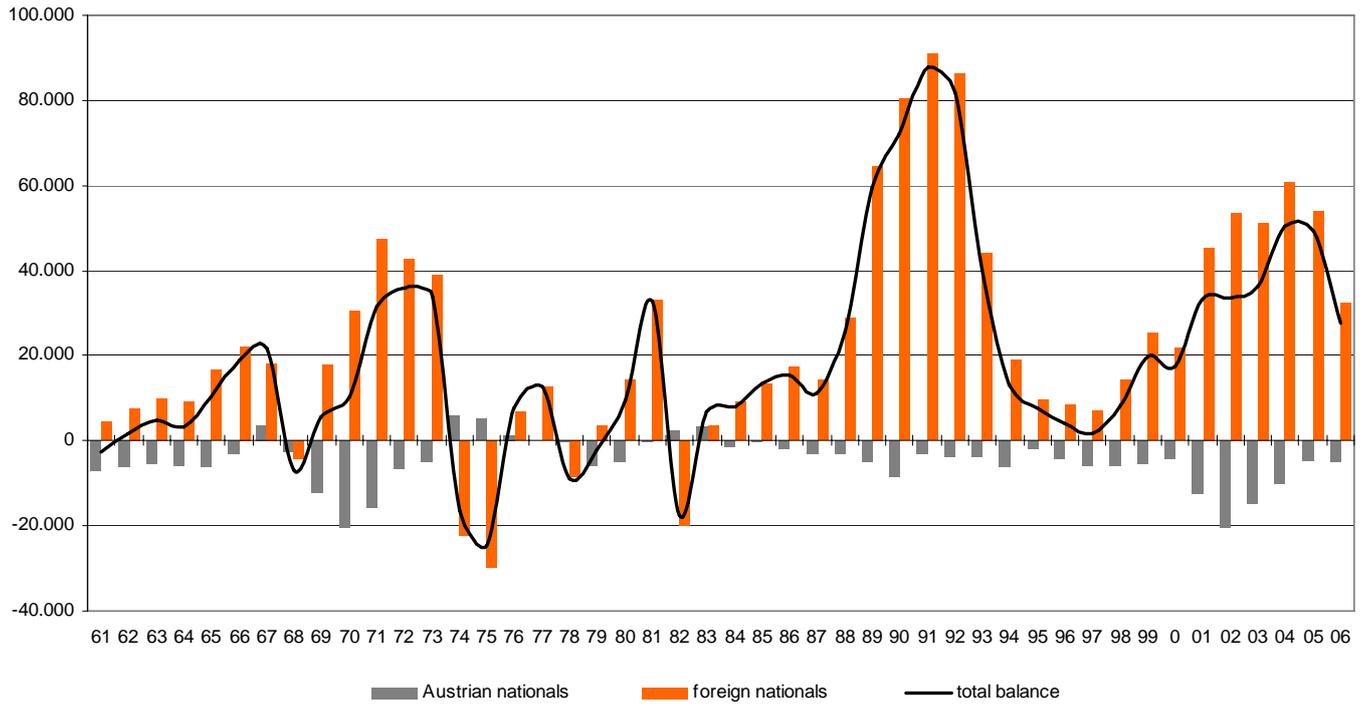
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Appendix

Migration balance of Austrians and foreign nationals 1961–2006



Source: Statistics Austria.