

Intercultural Policies

CLIP: Cities for Local Integration Policies

VIENNA

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1 Foreword

In 2006, the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, and the City of Stuttgart created a European network of Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants (CLIP). The project aims at collecting and analyzing innovative policies and their successful implementation at the local level, supporting the exchange of experience between cities. The network enables local authorities as well as national and European policymakers to learn from each other and thus to pursue more effective integration policies for migrants.

Starting with module 3 the CLIP network is now supported by six migration research institutes in Bamberg (coordinator), Amsterdam, Wrocław, Turin, Swansea and Vienna. The researchers at the Institute for Urban and Regional Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna are responsible for this report on Vienna.

A lot of information which was the basis of this case study was forwarded by MA 17 Municipal Department for integration and diversity affairs). This is the department of the Vienna City Administration in charge of initiating measures and projects to improve equality and provide equal opportunities for migrants and supporting the city administration in developing their intercultural competence and quality of services to make them accessible to all residents regardless of ethnic or language background. Together with the main contact person of the Municipality of Vienna Dr Ursula Struppe head of the Municipal Department 17 an enormous effort has been undertaken to find all necessary data for this report. The authors of this report would like to thank all those who have cooperated with us in giving precious information and comments. The coordinating officers for this case study were Dr Karin König and Dr Theodora Manolacos, in cooperation with Dr. Almir Ibric and Prof. Borko Ivankovic, all MA 17, to whom and in particular to the head of the Department, Dr Ursula Struppe, we are very thankful for the extensive information and the valuable suggestions which we have got.

In addition to the expert interviews the ISR organized a Round Table Meeting focused on "Intercultural Policies and Intergroup Relations" with local politicians, representatives of religious confessions, City officials, heads of NGOs, a police officer etc on March 30th 2009. We further thank MA 17 for the precious support in contacting Muslim organizations for the participation at this round table meeting in the Academy of Sciences.

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2 Introduction

The topic of this report of the 3rd Module of CLIP has to do with phenomena of urban life that are related to the multi-national, multi-ethnic and multi-religious structures of urban populations which challenge the ability of municipalities to establish or keep peaceful relations among the different segments of the population. In present day political discourse, relations between different ethnic and religious groups, immigrants and natives predominantly are discussed in terms of "intercultural dialogue" and/or "interreligious dialogue".

In this Module of the CLIP Project two dimensions of intergroup relations are of particular interest: conflict between groups and policies to avoid or solve conflict between groups, i.e. conditions of social cohesion in a city. Relevant groups are the city administration, the city council, political parties, churches, labour unions, welfare organizations foundations, local media and anti-immigrant movements in the majority society. On the part of the minorities it includes religious groups and national minorities. Among the religious groups Muslim com-

munities find particular attention. Where Muslims are not the most relevant group another faith – based community is of interest in our research. It is noteworthy that most of the religious groups are organized on an ethnic basis (see Heckmann 2008).

The central topics of this report are intercultural dialogue in general, the dialogue with Islamic communities and the problem of political and religious radicalisation. Intercultural dialogue is a normative frame that spells out certain principles for establishing peaceful relations between different cultural and religious groups. As to the research questions of intergroup relations studies it is evident that this research is also motivated by interests in peaceful relations between groups and individuals. These rather recently in Europe established religious groups are a result of immigration processes. Some of the CLIP cities (e.g. Zagreb, Prague, Budapest) do not yet have much immigration, but have national minorities within their population that originate from the multi-ethnic structure of their country's population. This means that also "old" ethnic minorities are in the focus of the 3rd Module of CLIP.

3 Background information on the country

3.1 History of migration and composition of the migrant populations

Since the Austro-Hungarian monarchy Austria is a country of migration. After the end of the Second World War, some 1.4 million foreigners (e.g. foreign workers, war refugees, and German refugees from Eastern Europe) stayed in Austrian territory. Between 1945 and 1989 Austria was one of the main transit countries for refugees fleeing communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe. About two million people found temporary shelter in Austria during this period. The economic boom of the 1960ies led to a growing demand for labour force. Austria started to recruit so-called "guest-workers". In 1973 227,000 "guest-workers" were counted of whom 178,000 came from Yugoslavia and 27,000 from Turkey.

The oil crises of 1973 and 1981 and economic recession radically reduced the demand for labour force. In the early 1990ies profound political and economic changes were transforming Europe and new integration measures have been introduced. The fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria's accession to the European Union brought more open borders, and temporary migration as well as transnational mobility. The Balkan Wars produced massive inflows of refugees from areas to Austria's southeast. These flows came in addition to a rapidly rising number of asylum seekers. As a matter of fact Austria's population has become even more diverse in recent years. In 1990 a regularization of the employment status of hitherto illegally employed foreigners took place. As a result of the rising numbers of Yugoslavs and Eastern Europeans that entered the country during this period, the number of non-nationals in Austria doubled, from 344,000 in 1988 to 690,000 in 1993, while the share of foreign workers of all employed people rose from 5.4% to 9.1%.

According to the 2001 census, more than 730,000 (or 9.1%) of Austria's about eight million inhabitants, were foreign residents. With 12.5 % Austria's proportion of foreign-born residents in 2001 was even higher than that of the United States. 62.8 % of them came from the two traditional recruitment regions, Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey. The 330,000 foreigners employed in Austria in 2001 were 10.5 percent of total employment. Half of them moved from former Yugoslavia, 20% came from Turkey and 11% were EU nationals, mostly Germans. The number of asylum-seekers has risen sharply after 2000, to 30,100 in 2001, 39,400 in 2002, and 32,400 in 2003, but decreased during the last years. In 2006 the number was 13,350 only. The main sending states were Serbia, Russia, Afghanistan, Moldavia and Turkey.

Since January 1, 2003, non-EU foreigners with residence permits have been required to speak basic German or pay half of the cost of German language courses. Immigration is subject to a numerical limit (for example 8,050 in 2004), and the two major streams of newcomers are fur-

they categorized into key personnel and family reunification and then assigned to Austria's nine provinces. People who want to immigrate because they intend to work in Austria have to be such key personnel. All kinds of first applications for a settlement permit are limited by quota (except for third-country nationals who are family members of EU, EEA and Austrian citizens). Third-country nationals (except EU and EEA citizens) who want to live in Austria permanently require a settlement permit. Estimations about unauthorized foreigners in Austria are differing considerably.

Table 1: Population of Austria by citizenship (01-01-2007 and 01-01-2008 compared)

Citizenship	01-01-2007	01-01-2008*	variation 2007 ¹⁾	
			absolute	in %
Total	8,298,923	8,334,325	35,402	0.4
Austrians	7,472,910	7,478,617	5,707	0.1
Foreign nationals	826,013	855,708	29,695	3.6
EU-countries (26)	275,884	302,104	26,220	9.5
"old" EU (14)	161,803	175,064	13,261	8.2
Germany	113,668	124,270	10,602	9.3
EU accession countries 2004 (10)	84,123	90,185	6,062	7.2
EU accession countries 2007 (2)	29,958	36,855	6,897	23,0
Non-EU countries	550.129	553.604	3.475	0,6
Europe (non EU)	442.010	440.073	-1.937	-0,4
Former Yugoslavia	297.141	292.546	-4.396	-1,5
Turkey	108.808	109.764	956	0,9
Africa	20.897	21.471	574	2,7
America	16.898	17.790	892	5,3
Asia and Oceania	56.165	59.771	3.606	6,4
unknown	14.159	14.499	340	2,4

Source: Statistik Austria; http://www.statistik.at/web_de/dynamic/statistiken/bevoelkerung/029982.

Table 1 shows the population structure by citizenship and a comparison between 2007 and 2008. During the year 2007 the proportion of foreign nationals living legally in Austria rose by 3.6%. The increase in EU nationals was extremely sharp during this period. In absolute numbers more than 26,000 immigrants from EU countries moved to Austria of whom Germans are by far the biggest group. Though the stocks of citizens from former guest-worker countries are still considerable the rates of increase of Turkish and former Yugoslav citizens were moderate in 2007. Immigrants from the new EU accession countries of 2007 (Romania, Bulgaria) were the group with the most remarkable increasing rate of 23%, whereas migration flows from Africa are still modest. Non-EU immigration was increasing by only 0.6% from 2007 to 2008.

As an important focus of this report is on religion the following numbers will give an overview about the results of the Census 2001 regarding religious affiliation: Among the Austrian residential population Roman Catholics (= Roman Catholic Church) constituted the numerically most important group (762.089 persons; 49.2%), second came the Protestants (= Protestant church) with 72.492 persons (4.7%) and Muslims (Islamic religious community) were

ranking next (7.8%). 8.0% belonged to other religious confessions. This category includes other Catholic (united) churches, orthodox churches, other Christian communities, Jewish religious community and other non-Christian communities. The not indicated group amounted to 65.705 persons (4.2%). An important and steadily rising group in Austria are people without any religious affiliation (397.596 or 25.7%).¹

3.2 National policy context

Immigration and integration have been discussed very controversial in Austria. Austria's immigration policy can be characterized by some ambivalence manifested in measures that both welcome and restrict immigration. The official line continues to be that Austria is not a traditional country of immigration, and recent immigration policies reflect that ambivalence. On the one hand, the growing discontent of large parts of the population with the high levels of immigration during the first part of the 1990s was met with policy proposals of "zero immigration". Consequently, traditional labour migration and family reunification programs were severely curtailed. At the same time, new measures were introduced that should ensure a better integration of immigrants. The introduction of the principle of consolidation of residence by the same law reduced status insecurity of migrants and enhanced their integration. On the other hand, the government facilitated the recruitment and employment of seasonal labour. Added to the mix since that time are new integration measures, the country's accession to the EU and its regime of more open borders, and the admission of thousands of temporary seasonal workers. A positive step taken by the government was the reduction of the waiting period for family members of migrants to gain access to the labour market.

The government initiated a series of legislative reforms. These covered all areas related to immigration. In 1990, a quota for the employment of foreigners was introduced, defined as a maximum share of foreign workers in the total workforce. In 1992, a new Aliens Act tightened up regulations on the entry and residence of foreigners. In 1993 the Residence Act established contingents for different categories of migrants. The Aliens Act of 1997 merged the 1992 Aliens Act and the 1993 Residence Act into a single law. The aim of the reform was to promote the integration of aliens already present in Austria, in the place of new immigration. This concept was called "integration before immigration", and the law became known as the "integration package". The most important factor introduced by the law was the principle of "successive" consolidation of residence in increments of five, eight, and 10 years. Only convictions for major criminal offences would allow the state to take away the residence right of such a migrant.

In 1998 a new Naturalization Act was passed. The immigrant has to show that he is sufficiently integrated into Austrian society. The migrant has to prove that he is economically self-sufficient and is not in need of social assistance and is sufficiently proficient in German. A migrant may since then acquire citizenship after a period of 15 years on grounds of good integration. In 2002 a population register system was implemented which allows a more detailed description of migration processes and a differentiation of population by citizenship and country of birth. In 2006, there has been a reform of the citizenship law. Since January 1, 2003, non-EU foreigners with residence permits have been required to speak basic German or pay half of the cost of German language courses. Immigration is subject to a numerical limit, and the two major streams of newcomers are further categorized into key employees and family reunification and then assigned to Austria's nine provinces.

A particular legislation regulating intercultural dialogue is not existent but there is a rich legislation on confessional matters. Austria provides religious freedom for all confessions. Although Roman Catholicism is preponderant, the state is secular. Currently, Austria has one of

¹ Source: Census 2001 (see <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/religion.html>).

the most tolerant legal regulations concerning the expression of religious beliefs and practices in the public realm in Europe (Schima 2005: 117; McGoldrick 2006). Although religious signs publicly displayed indicate the privilege of Christian faith and especially the importance of the Catholic Church in the public realm, the concept of “pluralistic inclusion” does not only refer to the Christian religions. In Austria, the historically established framework of state-church relations consists of an institutionalized cooperation between state authorities and religious associations.

The Austrian state currently recognizes thirteen religious bodies as religious communities: the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant Church, the Islamic Community, the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Syrian Orthodox Church, the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Jewish Community, the Old Catholic Church, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), the New Apostolic Church, the Methodist Church of Austria, and the Buddhist Community. Besides these officially recognized religious communities, the state also recognizes ten religious groups as “confessional communities” (*Bekenntnisgemeinschaften*) (Permoser et al. 2008). Confessional communities also possess several special rights, privileges, and responsibilities under Austrian law. These are, however, not as extensive as those of the religious communities.

The legal status of Muslims in Austria is unique in Europe. With its history, as a part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire Austria’s relations with Islam as a religion have been relatively unproblematic compared to other European countries. A law of 1867 guaranteed respect for all religions throughout the empire, giving Muslims the right to establish mosques and practice their religion. Religious organizations were established by the 1874 so-called Law on Recognition of Churches (*Anerkennungsgesetz/RGBl 68/1874*) and the Law on the Status of Religious Confessional Communities. All religious communities recognized by this law are formally granted the same treatment and entitlements by the Austrian state. Thus, the “Recognition Law” implements a very specific form of freedom of religious expression as a group right (Kalb et al. 2003: 6 ff.). The law of 1874 gave Muslims various rights and privileges, including the right to organize and manage their community affairs independently through municipal councils and to establish Islamic endowment funds. Muslims also occupied good positions within the Austrian civil service, and the first mosque was already built in Vienna in 1887 with the government’s assistance to service Muslims enlisted in the k.u.k. Army.

With the annexation of Bosnia–Herzegovina in 1908, a considerable Muslim population became members of the intruding Austro-Hungarian Empire. Owing to the lack of an organizational constitution of Muslims, Islam was recognized as an official religion by a special law, the so-called Islam Law. This law entitled people practicing Islam to certain rights, as, for instance, advantages concerning taxation, school- and work-laws, or military service (Heine & Kroissenbrunner 2001: 22). In 1919, the rights and privileges of Islam were enhanced by the signing of the Saint Germain treaty.

It was not until the 1960’s that demands for the creation of an Islamic organization started to be voiced by an active group of Muslims in Austria. References to these historical developments finally allowed in the 1970s for the approval of the appeal made by a small Muslim organization, the “Muslim Social Service”, to obtain the status of a recognized religious community by a “formal” administrative act.

In 1979, the Islam Law of 1912 was the basis for the recognition of Islam as a religious organization and community and a corporation under public law, in which also the proclamation of a Constitution of the Islamic Religious Body and the establishment of the first Viennese Islamic Religion Community was, announced (“*Anerkennungsgesetz*” = “Law of Recognition”). This law implies that all recognized religions are treated the same way. Despite some difficulties of legal nature, the Islamische Glaubensgemeinschaft in Österreich (Islamic Faith Community Organization in Austria, German acronym = IGGiÖ) managed to acquire the legal status as a corporation in public law representative of all Muslims present within the

Austrian territory. In May 1979, the IGGiÖ was recognized by the Federal Ministry of Education and Culture and established as the official representation of all Muslims residing in Austria (Balic 1995: 42). In particular during recent years there is increasing doubt among the heterogeneous Muslim communities living in Vienna to what extent this organization is in fact representing all Muslims. More liberal Muslims in general² and Turkish Muslims (Sunrites and Alevites as well) in particular don't feel to be well represented by the IGGiÖ.

In 1998, a change to the federal law on Islam was passed, clarifying which religious schools in Islam were to be accepted and covered by the Law on Islam. By Law on the Status of Religious Confessional Communities organizations were categorized as religious societies, religious confessional communities, and associations with distinct legal status. Until then, only the Bosnian *Hanafi* School of jurisprudence had been accepted. The Austrian government amended the "Law of Islam" to recognise all the Islamic theological schools in addition to the *Hanafi* School (Abdel-Fattah 2004). Classification as a religious society allows the participation in the state-run contribution system, the provision of religious instruction in public schools and financing for private schools.

Austria has tolerant regulations concerning the expression of religious beliefs and practices in the public realm. The status of a legally recognized religious community and the constitutional guaranteed individual rights provide several privileges for adherents of the Islamic faith (Gresch et al. 2008). In contrast to international developments, the liberal legal regulations have been even strengthened during the recent years on the basis of the law on regulations of disguise during public gatherings of 2002 or the re-issuing of a governmental decree prohibiting any restrictions on veiling of pupils in public schools in 2004 (Keplinger 2002; Gresch & Hadj-Abdou 2007). Austria's Muslim soldiers at the Federal Army also gained the right to take paid vacations for the Islamic holidays of *Eid Al-Fitr*, which marks the end of the fasting month of Ramadan, and *Eid Al-Adha*.³

Austria has a long tradition of active involvement in a dialogue with Muslim communities. In June 2003 the First Conference of European Imams and of Leaders of Islamic Centres took place in the capital of Styria Graz. In April 2006 the second Conference of European Imams also took place in Austria. In May 2006 a Dialogue Conference of the Ministry of the Interior entitled "The Dialogue of Cultures and Religions" was organized. Since July 2007 the Austrian Foreign Ministry (bmeia) installed a TASK FORCE "Dialog der Kulturen" ("Dialogue of cultures") for the continuation and intensification of intercultural dialogue activities.⁴ Austria was involved in a lot of activities in the context of the year of intercultural dialogue 2008 in co-operation for example with Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures, within the Framework of ASEM and the Conference "Europe and the Arab World - Connecting Partners in Dialogue" (Dec. 2008). The former Minister of Foreign Affairs Ursula Plassnik held a speech about the importance of intercultural dialogue and the topic of dealing with diversity at the "Islam in Europe"-Conference (Plassnik 2007).

²See Initiative liberaler Muslime Österreich – „ILMÖ“ (initiativeliberalermuslimeoest@gmail.com) and Radio Afrika (13-02-2009).

³ See <http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/austria/>.

⁴ See <http://www.bmeia.gv.at/aussenministerium/aussenpolitik/auslandskultur/dialog-der-kulturen.html>.

4 Background information on the city

4.1 Brief description of the city

Vienna is one of the nine federal states of Austria with a population of 1,678,435 (more than 2.2 million within the metropolitan area) on 01-01-2008. Vienna is the capital and by far the largest city in Austria as well as its cultural, economic and political centre and is the seat of many international organisations (official UN seat, OECD headquarters). Vienna is both a city and a federal province. The city is composed of 23 districts. The Social-Democratic party has been dominating the Viennese local government since the 1920ies. The City Councillors, currently 14, are part of the City Senate and politically responsible for specific areas. A consensus oriented political culture is typical for Vienna. It is rooted in the establishment of “social partnership”. This is a specific Austrian form of corporatism – a network consisting of the state and employees (unions, chamber of work), as well as the employers’ association (chamber of commerce, Federation of Austrian Industry).

Vienna is an economically important metropolis. It accounts for 27% of total added value generated in Austria, some 23% of all workplaces and some 25% of all employees. This makes Vienna the economic and job centre of Austria. 2005 most employees could be found in public administration (138,559 or 18.3%). The tertiary sector determines to a very high degree the urban economic structure. 2004 the purchase power index in Vienna was 112.5 (Austria = 100), the second position was held by Lower Austria with 102.1. The economic development shows not only a marked expansion of sectors with low qualification requirements and a very high share of female employees (e.g. in retail trade, tourism), but also a rise in know-how intensive sectors in technology and business-related (consulting) services. The development and structure of the urban labour market reflects the structural change towards a service-oriented job center supra-regional importance. 200,000 commuters come from the surrounding regions to Vienna.

4.2 The city’s migrant population and its characteristics

Vienna is a city of immigration. It can look back to a long-standing tradition of cultural and linguistic diversity, since Vienna attracted many people when it was the capital of the Habsburg Empire.

Vienna boasts a variety of immigrants. 40% of foreign nationals living in this city do not come from the – for Austria – classical countries of origin, i.e. former Yugoslavia or Turkey. Independent of their citizenship, approx. 1/3 of the entire Viennese population has a migration background one way or other (either they themselves or their parents were born abroad) nowadays.

Table 1: The residential population of Vienna 1980–2007

	total		Austrians		foreign citizens		Proportion of foreigners
	population	1980=100	abs.	1980=100	abs.	1980=100	
1980	1.535.145	100.0	1.424.405	100.0	110.740	100.0	7.2
1981	1.528.631	99.6	1.412.376	99.2	116.255	105.0	7.6
1982	1.510.634	98.4	1.399.450	98.2	111.184	100.4	7.4
1983	1.499.866	97.7	1.389.870	97.6	109.996	99.3	7.3

1984	1.494.874	97.4	1.381.875	97.0	112.999	102.0	7.6
1985	1.490.956	97.1	1.373.686	96.4	117.270	105.9	7.9
1986	1.485.484	96.8	1.366.157	95.9	119.327	107.8	8.0
1987	1.484.258	96.7	1.359.760	95.5	124.498	112.4	8.4
1988	1.485.777	96.8	1.350.020	94.8	135.757	122.6	9.1
1989	1.492.636	97.2	1.339.701	94.1	152.935	138.1	10.2
1990	1.502.772	97.9	1.330.837	93.4	171.935	155.3	11.4
1991	1.522.449	99.2	1.325.120	93.0	197.329	178.2	13.0
1992	1.537.523	100.2	1.320.648	92.7	216.875	195.8	14.1
1993	1.549.436	100.9	1.319.152	92.6	230.284	208.0	14.9
1994	1.542.667	100.5	1.311.953	92.1	230.714	208.3	15.0
1995	1.539.002	100.3	1.305.009	91.6	233.993	211.3	15.2
1996	1.542.191	100.5	1.305.758	91.7	236.433	213.5	15.3
1997	1.540.875	100.4	1.304.955	91.6	235.920	213.0	15.3
1998	1.542.252	100.5	1.303.518	91.5	238.734	215.6	15.5
1999	1.548.537	100.9	1.305.870	91.7	242.667	219.1	15.7
2000	1.553.956	101.2	1.306.287	91.7	247.669	223.6	15.9
2001	1.562.737	101.8	1.308.044	91.8	254.693	230.0	16.3
2002	1.583.814	103.2	1.314.932	92.3	268.882	242.8	17.0
2003	1.598.626	104.1	1.321.662	92.8	276.964	250.1	17.3
2004	1.626.440	105.9	1.333.084	93.6	293.356	264.9	18.0
2005	1.651.438	107.6	1.342.254	94.2	309.184	279.2	18.7
2006	1.657.559	108.0	1.345.196	94.4	312.363	282.1	18.8
2007	1.670.749	108.8	1.345.798	94.5	324.951	293.4	19.4

Sources: Statistics Austria – residential population according to population prognosis (Bevölkerungsforschreibung); own calculations.

Table 1 shows the variations in the numbers and proportions of foreigners in the Viennese population from 1980 to 2007. By the end of 2007 1,670,749 people lived in Vienna, including 324,951 foreign nationals. This was a percentage of 19.4 % of the entire population living in Vienna. A constant increase of the proportion of foreigners can be observed. The percentage rose from about 7 or 8% during the 1980s to proportions between 10 and 15% during the 1990s and reached its peak in 2007, when 19.4% of Vienna's population consisted of foreign nationals. The absolute numbers of foreigners in 2005 were three times higher than 1980. In 2007 the index rose up to 293.4. After a period of stagnation or even numerical decrease of the total population during the 1980s it was primarily the positive migration balance which caused an increase of Vienna's population since the 1990s. And the positive demographic trend is still going on – Vienna is one of the very few Austrian federal provinces with rising birth rates and increasing numbers of children in schools and kindergartens.

Table 2: Foreign residential population in Vienna 1981–2005

Nationality	1981	1991	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	in % of total foreign popula- tion 2005
<u>“guest-worker”</u>	78.297	131.234	153.428	157.214	155.540	157.090	159.557	51,6
Former Yugoslavia	58.587	87.358	114.811	117.395	115.348	117.362	119.656	38,7
Turkey	19.710	43.876	38.617	39.819	40.192	39.728	39.901	12,9
<u>East-west-migration“</u>	5.528	21.907	31.256	34.754	38.694	46.266	52.491	17,0
Poland	2.653	11.056	13.646	14.031	14.504	18.258	21.610	7,0
Hungary	1.117	3.539	4.149	4.428	4.621	4.941	5.271	1,7
Czech Republic ¹	753	2.619	1.839	2.012	2.114	2.224	2.362	0,8
Slovakia	-	-	3.300	3.927	4.448	5.427	6.360	2,1
Romania	350	2.532	3.809	4.882	6.109	6.961	7.796	2,5
GUS ²	417	1.357	2.096	2.495	3.331	4.366	4.741	1,5
Bulgaria	238	804	2.417	2.979	3.567	4.089	4.351	1,4
<u>EU-15</u>	-	-	26.243	28.531	30.947	34.178	37.776	12,2
Germany	6.374	9.017	13.398	14.759	16.014	18.094	20.417	6,6
other EU countries	-	-	12.845	13.772	14.933	16.084	17.359	5,6
<u>Middle East and Northern Africa</u>	3.909	7.179	8.313	8.698	8.789	8.629	8.542	2,8
Egypt	1.003	2.736	3.067	3.152	3.142	3.121	3.240	1,0
Iran	2.096	3.088	4.055	4.295	4.330	4.210	4.026	1,3
Israel	810	1.355	1.191	1.251	1.317	1.298	1.276	0,4
<u>Asian Countries</u>	2.770	6.694	10.129	11.778	12.914	13.623	14.463	4,7
India	624	2.008	3.778	4.219	4.347	4.425	4.615	1,5
Philippines	981	1.842	2.157	2.310	2.468	2.646	2.870	0,9
Japan	655	1.074	1.169	1.275	1.326	1.364	1.421	0,5
Peoples Republic of China	510	1.770	3.025	3.974	4.773	5.188	5.557	1,8
<u>USA and Canada</u>	2.218	2.600	3.096	3.235	3.378	3.562	3.827	1,2
<u>Others)</u>	14.321	18.021	22.228	24.672	26.702	30.008	32.528	10,5
<u>Foreign nationals total</u>	113.417	196.652	254.693	268.882	276.964	293.356	309.184	100,0

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

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

In Table 2 the variations in the structure of the migrant population during the period 1981 to 2005 is shown. In 2005 more than 80% of all foreign nationals came from European countries (incl. Turkey). The most numerous group are the former guest-workers who constituted 51.6% of the total foreign population in 2005. About 120,000 persons (38.7%) came from former Yugoslavia, about 40,000 (12.9%) were Turkish citizens. With more than 52,000

(17%) East-West migrants were another numerically important component of the immigrant population with the Poles as the greatest group. Middle and upper-class migrants are mainly from Germany and North America and often are only temporary migrants e.g. in case of business or studies. 12.2% of the migrant stock of 2005 was EU-15 citizens, with the Germans as the traditionally most important sub-group. As compared to 2001, the number of German nationals has increased considerably. The number of citizens coming from the new EU-member country Romania was also increasing. Migrants from Asia, Subsaharan Africa, Latin America and from the Middle East still constitute numerically smaller groups but their numbers were significantly growing. The Nigerian nationals are the largest African group, followed by the Egyptians. The most prominent Asian countries of origin are China, India, Iran and the Philippines. For example the figure of immigrants from India rose from 624 in 1981 to 4,615 in 2005. In 2005 there were ten times more Chinese people living in Vienna than 1981 and about three times more Filipinos.

4.3 The city's Muslim population and its characteristics

Islam in Austria has a long history. Muslim immigration to Austria, especially from Turkey and Eastern European countries, increased after the 1878 Berlin conference, which assimilated Islamic populations into the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. After 1964, "guest workers" came in particular from Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia, as well as, though less, from Arab countries as Egypt. A considerable wave of Muslim immigrants arrived in the early 1990s, in particular from Bosnia.

Due to migration patterns, the composition of the Muslim community has changed over the last decades. In 1971 only 0.3% of the Austrian population were registered officially as Muslims. In 1991, 158,776 Muslims (2% of the population) population declared to be of Muslim faith. There was almost a duplication of Muslims in Austria from 1991 to 2001. Muslims are now the largest religious minority in Austria with 4.22 % of the population in the 2001 census (IGGiÖ 2002; Strobl 2006). According to the Census 2001 there were 338,988 Muslims living officially in Austria (resident population: 8,032,926). The number of Muslims with Austrian citizenship was 96,052. The biggest group is of Turkish descent (134,210 Turks), followed by Bosnians (96,210 persons). New forms of migration, mainly family reunion, changed the composition of the Muslim community as well as the aims of life of first- and second-generation Muslim migrants. During the last decades, Iranians, Arabs and Pakistani became a considerable part of the Muslim population in Austria too.

From the spatial perspective the western federal province of Vorarlberg with its former industrial dominated towns has the highest share of Muslims in Austria (8.36 %; 29,334 persons), according to the 2001 survey (IGGiÖ 2005). Vorarlberg is followed by Vienna with 7.82% (121,149 persons). The provinces of Salzburg (4.5%, 23,137 persons), Upper Austria (4.0%, 55,581 persons), Tyrol (4.0%, 27,117 persons) and Lower Austria (3.2%, 48,730 persons) follow with shares of Muslims around the average. Fewer Muslims live in the south and the east of the state: in Styria (1.6%, 19,007 persons), Carinthia (2.0%, 10,940 persons) and Burgenland (1.4%; 3,993 persons).⁵

In the last census in 2001 7.8% or 121.149 persons of the Viennese population declared themselves as Muslims. 43.612 have a Turkish background (according to their country of birth), 36.919 indicated Austria as their country of birth and 11.550 were born in Bosnia-Herzegovina.⁶ The main problem is that the variables country of birth and citizenship do not allow certain conclusions about the religious confession of the immigrants of that origin. Statistics of MA 5 which are based on information given by the IGGiÖ estimated a Muslim population of 103,000 for 1999, which increased to 150,000 (2006). For 2007 the respective estimation of

⁵ See <http://www.euro-islam-info/country-profiles/Austria/>.

⁶ Source: <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/rtf/religion-mitglieder.rtf>.

the IGGiÖ was 150,000 Muslims living in Vienna.⁷ Among the Muslim population theological (Sunnites, Shiites, Alevites etc) and ethnic differences and there are more secular and more traditional and religious sub-groups and even very nationalistic associations.

In Vienna exact data on age, gender, generation, household and family structures in the context of religious affiliation are not available. The existing data refer to citizenship which is no valid basis for calculations because of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious structure of the population of many countries of origin (e.g. India, Nigeria, Egypt). With respect to gender one can say that the Austrian Muslim community is still male dominated: In 2001, 45% of the Muslims were women (Statistik Austria 2006: 54 f.). It is probable that the gender structure in Vienna is very similar to this.

For Vienna no relevant official data about the socio-economic status of the Muslim population exists. Generally it can be said that many Turks still constitute a socioeconomic marginalized part of the population. Many Iranians are highly qualified. The Iranian immigrants came in several waves to Vienna. Some families came as early as after 1900, others during the 1950ies and 1960ies. Those were usually economically very successful as they could transfer all their possessions to Austria. Many of them migrated after 1979 when Shah Reza Pahlevi left the country (Czarnowski 2008). Among the Egyptians the number of self-occupied newspaper sellers and flower sellers was once extremely high but has decreased during the last decade. Now, many Egyptians are successful shopkeepers. The Bosnians are a heterogeneous group with a high proportion of working-class people who migrated during the guest-worker era of the 1970s and higher proportions of highly qualified who left the country during the Balkan wars of the 1990s (compare Kroissenbrunner 2005, Majdoub 2004, Oring 2006).

The OECD collects data on education from various statistical agencies within the country, the majority of which comes from census data from the year 2001 and refers to Austria and not to Vienna only. Probably the socio-economic structure of Muslims in Vienna may be very similar so a short overview shall be given there.⁸ This data source is not reported by religion, but does have country of origin as reported by the respondent. It is thus possible to construct an approximate picture of the educational achievement of the population from predominately Muslim countries. Some countries, have large Muslim populations but the immigrant population cannot be readily classified as Muslim or non-Muslim. As such, the educational data is split by predominately Muslim origin, predominately non-Muslim origin, and a category for those for whom classification would not seem justified. Proportions are for all reported data, individuals with no reported ancestry or education are excluded. Among the Muslim population 6% are high educated, 30% can be classified as medium education and 64% have low education only. Thus, compared with the non-Muslim segment (11% higher education, 55% medium and 34% low educated) of population the level of education of Muslims is lower. In the religious indeterminate group the education structure is as follows: 8% high education, 32% medium and 60% low. Of course, the number of well-educated Muslims is increasing. This is also due to the fact that the self-confidence of the Muslims has quite changed in the past years. In the younger generation the proportional part of persons with qualified graduations rose, and a educated elite came into being.⁹

Although, there are no readily available statistics for Muslim unemployment in Vienna (such data is also available only on the basis of nationality), the IGGiÖ (2003) estimated unemployment rate is approximately more than 1.5 times as high for the Muslims compared with non-Muslims. In particular women, dressed according to Islamic dress codes, face problems in

⁷ See <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/rtf/religion-mitglieder.rtf>.

⁸ The OECD classifies educational achievement using the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED): ISCED 0/1/2: Less than upper secondary; ISCED 3/4: Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary; ISCED 5A: Academic tertiary; ISCED 5B: Vocational tertiary; ISCED 6: Advanced research programs. 0-2 is considered low, 3-4 as medium level, and 5 and above are considered high.

⁹ Compare. <http://www.euro-islam.info/country-profiles/austria/>.

participating in the labour market. Often, employers announce that they are unable to employ women in Islamic dresses, regarding a lack of tolerance on the side of their customers and business partners.

In 1979 the Islamic Religious Community in Austria (IGGIÖ - Islamische Glaubensgemeinschaft in Österreich) was recognized as the official representative for the dialogue of the Austrian state with the Islamic religious community. The institutional implementation of the IGGIÖ avoided an informal development of several Islamic associations and the formation of exclusive religious associations. This institutionalization enables public control and influence. In this context the cooperation between Islamic associations and the IGGIÖ is seen important for the integration policy (Pötz 2007: 339). The IGGIÖ has its main seat in Vienna. Its actual President is *Anas Schakfeh*. Regional committees select the organization's leadership. They also have the right and task to organize and send teachers for education on Islam and Islamic issues which takes place at public schools. Those teachers are also paid by the Austrian state.

The IGGiÖ, according to its founding charter, claims to represent all Muslims in Austria, yet reality shows that executive offices of the important *Shura* Council are exclusively staffed by Sunni Muslims. A point of conflict can be found in the fact that since 8 years there were no formal elections within the IGGiÖ and for a long time it lacked a formally approved legistic constitution.¹⁰ During February 2009 there were ample public discussions going on about the findings of a dissertation on among others the attitudes of Islamic teachers towards democratic rights and freedoms.¹¹ After this a critical Islamic teacher even lost his job after he had criticized the IGGiÖ.¹²

It is not clear to what extent the Islamic Religious Community represents all Muslims in Austria. There are internal debates about the exclusive role of the IGGiÖ regarding the question as to whom and how many Muslims the Community really represents (there are estimations reaching from 1% of the Muslim community or 80 persons to several hundred) (Radio Afrika 13-02-2009). There are some religious groupings among the Muslims, e.g. the Alevites and Shiites, who doubt the claim of sole legitimation. Muslims argue that a uniform Islam does not exist and that a sole legitimate representation is not possible (e.g. ILMÖ 2009).

Islamic education institutions include the Islamic Academy in Vienna, founded in 1998, and the *Al-Azhar* Institution in Vienna, founded two years later. Vienna has 15 Islamic schools of different national orientations which is a quite considerable number. After the first European Imam Conference in June 2003, the IGGIÖ organized its first Austrian Imam Conference in April 2005 in Vienna, which contained standpoints and resolutions concerning "Islam in Austria."

5 Local intercultural policies in general

5.1 General approach and responsibility for relations to ethnic and religious organisations in the city

Associations in general have a long history and tradition. They are often the only way for non-Austrian citizens to participate in socio-political issues. And being an association is a fundamental precondition for funding and for legal proceedings, i.e. for the legal approval of being a religious community. In Vienna there exists a wide range of migrants associations and

¹⁰ See http://www.sicherheit-heute.de/gesellschaft,261,Oesterreichs_Top-Muslime.

¹¹ For details compare <http://www.derislam.at/> and Khorchide (2009).

¹² See Diepresse (25-02-2009).

organisations. They can have a cultural focus, a political, a religious or a sportive one. Referring to the study of Waldrauch & Sohler (2004) three main forms of organisation can be identified for Vienna: (a) organisations based on common national background, (b) those on common religious affiliation and (c) those on common ethnic background. The survey was made between 2001 and 2003 and covers 728 migrant organizations of which 279 were analyzed on the basis of their political and legal frameworks, their history of founding, their members and aims. Many immigrant groups are organised in so-called self-organisations as an attempt to empower themselves, through identifying their own needs and articulating them. The first migrant organizations of Yugoslavian and Turkish guest-workers were founded during the 1960s.

The City of Vienna in its policies and practises makes little distinction between ethnic, national and religious organisations of migrants. Ethnic and religious organisations are considered as a valuable and essential expression of Vienna's increasingly diverse population and civil society's activities. They are all considered as equally important partners for dialogue and implementation of measures and actions to promote integration as well as target groups for the City's measures and actions taken in the field of integration and diversity (see Wiener Integrationsfonds & Sarig 2001). Moreover they contribute to strengthen the participation of migrants in all spheres of political, social and economic life in Vienna, hence in the general integration process in Vienna. Basically religious groups and associations are regarded in an equal or similar way as those groups that organize along national and/or ethnic lines. There is a basic difference in terms of organisation and support by the federal state if these religious groups are officially recognized by the state (14 groups overall).¹³

Vienna's Social Democratic Party has a long tradition in maintaining and supporting a dialogue between religious groups in the City. It is an important goal of the City not to drive religious associations in confessional ghettos. It is also highly appreciated that religious instruction at schools is a governmental controlled affair and not held in the form of private instructions. There is a fruitful dialogue between many migrant associations and also between Muslim and Jewish Communities, which is sometimes disturbed by developments in the Near East.

The official representatives of the City government and council regularly cooperate with and take part in events organised by migrant organisations. The primary responsibility for the relations of the city towards ethnic and religious organizations lies with MA 17 in the context of the diversity policy of the City and its inherent principle of "intersectionality" ("Querschnittsmaterie") of the integration and diversity issue, several other departments are also responsible for relations to ethnic associations in the municipality, for example MA 7 the department for cultural and intercultural affairs. As the migrant organizations do a lot for the support of the local ethnic communities there was already a lot of support to migrant organisations by the Vienna Integration Fund, which was continued by the MA 17 (Holler 2002). The city of Vienna considers those types of local ethnic organisations as important

- which represent the large and also the smaller immigration groups (in Vienna for example immigrants with a Turkish background, with a background from former Yugoslavia, Albanian, Arabic, Chinese, other Asian and African countries);
- which enable the City to get into contact with these groups and make its activities, services and interests known to these communities and which further mutual understanding, getting to know the situations, strengths and problems and the interests of these residents;
- which have a focus on activities furthering integration and respectful co-existence in the city of Vienna, a focus on participating and engaging in the life of the city and its institutions, on engaging in civil society life in Vienna and

¹³ For more information see the website of the Austrian Ministry for Education, Arts and Science <http://www.bmukk.gv.at/ministerium/kultusamt/index.xml>.

- which have an interest in cooperating with the city and its institutions.

There are elected representatives in the city council stemming from local ethnic communities, though they are only few, however these take an active role in integration policies. On the local level of districts there are more active representatives and many of them act as “integration speakers” for the political party they belong to.

5.2 Issues, demands and interests

Major issues in relation to migrant organizations’ activities can be found in social needs in the contexts of housing, employment and health, in education matters including host country language learning and in a broad variety of sport activities. Further issues are cultural and folklore activities such as art, film, theatre, dance, literature, minority languages, in all kind of festivals, in the context of the practice of religion and in activities in the area of integration. In the Viennese case development aid e.g. twinning to the city of origin does not play a role.

There are a great number of support activities which contribute to providing ethnic group members a place to meet, have leisure and festive activities, get information on many issues of daily life, contacts, feeling at ease etc. According to our informants the following aims and demands are very important:

- the improvement of the socio-economic situation of migrants especially in the area of education, labour market status, income, social security and housing,
- the improvement of their legal status,
- to further efficient anti-discrimination laws and bodies,
- the setting of positive measures such as equality targets in the area of employment,
- a strong political representation and political voting rights also for third country citizens,
- more representation in the media (mainstreaming issues) and
- the improvement of the climate of public and political debates on issues such as migration and integration.

Some of the activities that take place in cooperation with the City are funded or otherwise supported by the city of Vienna, in particular the support of MA 17. As examples of important initiatives shall be mentioned:

- Initiatives of migrant women’s associations to deal with the issues which are of special concern to them (e.g. dealing with gender roles and their changes, self-empowerment, strengthen their voices in the public and participation in all spheres of life, provide them with support to be able to further and achieve their aims). A network of women’s associations was initiated and is supported by the MA 17.
- Diverse sport and other leisure activities for children and youngsters with a special focus on girls and young women.
- Activities to present themselves to the indigenous populations such as days of open doors of mosques and other associations, participation in district regional or social fora and integration platforms – communication bridges in the cases of conflicts and mediation work.
- A special initiative by the City of Vienna, a cooperation of MA 17, 42 and 49, is called “**Barbecue Masters in the Mother Tongue**” (“Muttersprachliche Grillplatzmeister”). This project was started in 2005 and has the aim to mediate in conflicts between migrants using common barbecue places and indigenous Austrians who often feel disturbed by these activities in particular during Sundays and holidays.

- The participation in the MA 17 “**Start Coaching project**” (www.StartWien.at) and many other activities by which the City aims at furthering and improving participation of migrants in the City of Vienna. These activities include programs to learn the German language, programs to specially reach out to women with children, the support of youngsters’ participation in education and professional training, economic activities, the furthering of migrant enterprises etc.
- A special focus of the cooperation and support is put on Roma associations with the aim to improve children’s and youngsters’
- access to (higher) education and professional training and to support parents also in this process.

One important demand of all migrant associations is that against discrimination. For that purpose the “Klagsverband” (“Litigation Association of NGOs against Discrimination”) was founded. This is a litigation association which offers support for victims of discrimination and links to advice centres. This association also intervenes in cases of discrimination of Muslim women wearing the *hijab* (Klagsverband 2006). A problem is that migrant organizations did up to now not join this association.

Besides more general demands there are also demands of specific groups as of organizations of migrant women (for example from Latin America, see LEFÖ 1998), of Africans, Muslims, Sikhs, Chinese¹⁴ etc. LEFÖ is a Counselling- and Education Centre for Migrant Women from Latin America (but not only). It also offers health prevention for migrant sex-workers (Project TAMPEP), has an Education Centre for Women from Latin America and also an Intervention Centre for Female Victims of Trafficking. This organization does a lot of public relation work to raise awareness for the mechanisms which enable the exploitation of female migrants within society and to counter clichés and prejudices associated with female migration and trafficking in women which prevail in the media. Its aims and demands are to enhance the integration of female migrants, to improve the living and working conditions for migrants in Austria and to empower female migrants to get out of relations characterised by violence, addiction or exploitation. In special programmes it tries to improve working conditions for migrant sex-workers which currently often violate human and women's rights. In many successful cases it reached protection of female migrants from violence, exploitation and human rights violations through various measures.

The association „Miteinander Lernen – Birlikte Ögrenelim“ (see Stangl-Mähner 1995) which was founded 1984 and is financially supported by the City is a good example for an organization working for the interests of specific groups, in this concrete case - Turkish women and children. It is an advice, education and psychotherapy centre for women, children and families. Here specialists offer problem solving strategies which are oriented towards the special socio-cultural background of Turkish immigrant women. Such strategies are developed on the basis of an integrated concept which is oriented towards the specific needs of that group. The organization offers promotion and education measures for women and what is very important, child care too (see also Weikert 1995).

The number of self-organisations or self-organised initiatives of people of African descent or background in Vienna has increased during recent years, in attempts to fight against discrimination in all its forms, to press for political will in this area and to move away from victimisation towards active citizenship.¹⁵ The 2nd generation of people of African descent (or the “African diaspora” as one initiative of young people calls itself, PAMOJA) have started analyzing the structural foundations of discrimination, not only taking into account recent devel-

¹⁴ For the Chinese compare Kreissl (1999).

¹⁵ Compare AFRA – International Center for Black Women’s Perspectives (www.blackwomenscenter.org) and Pan-African Forum (Panafrikanisches Forum, www.panafa.net) as only two examples.

opments, but also historical processes of racial discrimination in Austria.¹⁶ Because of recent incidents (e.g. derstandard 10-03-2009) Africans are especially interested in a dialogue with police representatives to prevent police assaults in the future. For a better communication with immigrants in general and Africans in particular Vienna's Land Office of Criminal Investigation together with African migrant organizations founded an association for cooperation and better understanding ("Project fair and sensible"). An important function is the involvement in education and sensibilization workshops in the Police Academy and the establishment of an advice centre. This association also organizes multicultural events and information campaigns among police officers and immigrants as well. Regarding to the interests of religious organisations and in particular Muslims see the chapters on Muslims in Vienna.

In general the aims of ethnic and religious organizations are part of the Vienna Integration and Diversity Policies and are therefore welcomed by the City. The right to vote at district level for third country citizens is a traditional political request of the City of Vienna. The City is highly interested in establishing and keeping good and continuous contacts and dialogue fora with the numerous ethnic and other migrant organisations. A special focus of the work of MA 17 is dedicated to this aim (district and neighbourhood work). Via the integration platforms and the numerous contacts with ethnic and other migrant organizations for the purposes of funding of projects and initiatives the City aims at knowing their interests and aims of the organisations. The platforms and talks serve as a forum to channel these interests and react to them by developing new projects, initiatives and information channels. Many aspects of the work of MA 17 have been established that way. The whole diversity policy of the City is in a way an expression of that approach. The migrant organizations are also considered as important stakeholder groups and their aims and interests are part of the political debate in Vienna and influence that debate and the policies which are partly shaped on that.

Since 15 years there are fruitful co-operations between the Austrian Federal Economic Chamber, the Viennese Economic Chamber and a steadily increasing number of migrant associations, in particular the Advice Centre for Migrants, the Umbrella Organization of Serb Associations, the Viennese Integration Conference, ATIB, ATIS, the Union of European Turkish Democrats in Austria, the Umbrella Organization of Latin American Associations, the Chinese Association, the Association of the Chinese Gastronomy etc. The co-operations cover economic interests of both the Chamber and the migrant associations. So-called "Ethnic Advisors" and "Integration Ambassadors" further the contacts and interactions with the migrant organizations in organizing events for special economic branches, pilot projects, network meetings and workshops related to economic and entrepreneurship affairs. The integration ambassadors play an important role in promoting and organizing cooperation seminars for covering the special interests of the different immigrant groups. In the Chamber a special Diversity Department was installed which is embedded into a broader program called "Vienna's economy lives diversity". Among the Muslim organizations it is the Turkish association ATIB which is very active in cooperating with the Economic Chamber for the benefit of the Turkish community. In Vienna and Upper Austria the program "Mentoring for Migrants" is an outstanding example of successful labour market-oriented fostering. Starting in spring 2008 this program helped more than 400 immigrants to gain an adequate foothold on the Austrian labour market and to prevent de-qualification. Because of its outstanding success this program will be extended to the other federal states of Austria too.¹⁷In addition to this wide range of activities the Viennese Chamber of Commerce cooperates with migrant organizations in the form of a special Founder's Service and of experts acting as Apprenticeship Advisors. The Chamber distributes information materials about the importance of hiring apprentices in the main immigrant languages and tries to motivate ethnic entrepreneurs to invest in

¹⁶ For further information see the work of the Research Group of Black Austrian History and Presence, a working group of Pamoja, Movement of the Young African Diaspora in Austria, <http://remappingmozart.mur.at/joomla/content/view/23/40/lang,en/>.

¹⁷ See http://portal.wko.at/wk/format_detail.wk?StID=375107&AngID=1.

apprenticeship training of young people. This offers more young people with migration background the chance to pass an apprenticeship in certain professions.¹⁸

5.3 Forms of relations and dialogue

Vienna regards all kinds of involvement as a vehicle to reach empowerment among migrant communities and participation in the political process and elections in particular. An explicit policy aimed at improving intercultural relations is a part of the City's Integration and diversity policy that was started in 1992 with the founding of the Vienna Integration Fund and continued, further developed and strengthened in 2004 within the framework of the city's new integration and diversity policies. The objective of improving intercultural relations, networking, cooperation with and the support of the large and also smaller communities is an essential part of MA 17's daily work in the districts. At seven different locations MA 17 staff, some 25 persons, many of them have a migration background themselves and with a knowledge of a multitude of languages, work on site. They create networks between migrant and district associations, carry out integration projects in cooperation with them and serve as contact points for inquiries, ideas, suggestions and problems in the daily lives of all district residents. Recently a Regional Department for Integration (Integrations-Regionalstelle) was started in the Magistrate of the 5th district which is a district with a high proportion of immigrant population (see Scheuch 2009). MA 17 staff members create networks between migrant and district associations, carry out cooperative integration projects and serve as contact points for inquiries and problems. Considerable amounts of money and ample funding are provided each year by the City of Vienna to support many activities, initiatives and integration projects of migrant organizations with the following aims:

- a) Measures to promote intercultural sensitivity and competence such as
 - Promoting the peaceful coexistence of people from different backgrounds,
 - Cooperation between different groups,
 - Raising awareness in the field of migration/integration/diversity.
- b) Assisting migrants with integration and taking up residence, for example
 - Language acquisition measures,
 - Education and orientation, in particular improving basic and key competencies (literacy) and measures to facilitate access to the Austrian labour market,
 - Counselling in specific legal matters regarding the status of new migrants (residence, employment, citizenship).
- c) Participation, for example
 - Measures to increase the willingness and ability of migrants to participate in social, economic and political life and
 - Supporting associations and initiatives along the lines of "helping people help themselves".

In Vienna no formal consultation bodies of the City and ethnic and religious organizations exist but there is a lot of dialogue and cooperation within regular informal platforms. Ethnic or religious groups cooperate in the context of association platforms and the Vienna Integration Conference. They also work together on a district level ("Vereinsplattformen"), on certain topics (for example in health care: there exists a multiethnic working group of medicines working together on an information programme) and in media (M-media and cultural events etc. Thus, important examples for strong regular contacts with ethnic and religious organizations are:

- **Association platforms:** These platforms act as forums for integration and bring together migrant associations and district institutions at a local level. The meetings en-

¹⁸ Informations were given by the Chamber of Commerce representatives Margit Kreuzhuber and Edwin Schäfer.

able migrant associations to create networks and initiate or maintain contacts with the district councils and institutions. With these platforms MA 17 wants to strengthen migrant participation in the daily life in the districts. In the 5th, 15th and 16th districts for example migrant associations participate in the district's festival weeks ("Bezirksfestwochen"). A further example is the "**Youth platform**" in the 2nd district. Representatives of migrant associations carrying out youth work in the district participate for the first time and enable communication and dialogue between the Vienna City Administration and Islamic associations.

- MA 17 staff moreover coordinates **regional or district platforms**, where different communities, NGOs and local politicians address the development of their district. The district chairpersons and other politicians have therefore a direct cooperation with the ethnic communities and migrants get a chance to participate in social and political life as equal partners. Vienna regards such kinds of involvement as a vehicle to reach empowerment among migrant communities and participation in the political process and elections in particular.
- **Vienna Integration Conference – Networking Office**: The umbrella organization of many migrants' organizations "Vienna Integration Conference – Networking Office" embraced more than 250 migrant organizations. This organization represented the interests of those associations which were declared in a detailed Integration charter and at public events. Its main mandate was to lobby for issues concerning immigrants and to promote networking of their members. There was a lot of cooperation which was supported and subsidized by the City from 2004 to 2008.¹⁹ In the year 2008 for example and "Education Fair 2008" under the slogan "Multilinguality and education potentials" took place. The "Migrants' Academy" organized 13 Modules with a strong focus on information and further education. Module 13 was oriented towards migrant organizations as enterprises and event management. These activities were oriented towards furthering the improvement of the socio-economic situation of migrants in the areas of education and labour market status.

Because of the quite considerable number of migrant organisations which are in touch with the city administration only a few examples can be given there:

- **Beratungszentrum für MigrantInnen** ("Consultation Centre for Migrants"): Was founded in 1983 and has a strong focus on labour market integration of immigrants. Per year more than 13,000 intensive individual consultations take place there. This Centre provides legal advice activities in particular on the right of establishment, the employment of foreigners in Austria, legal access to the labour market etc. It is strongly connected with the AMS ("Labour Market Service"), the BFI, WIFI and many other relevant institutions which offer qualification and education opportunities in general or those specifically for immigrants. There is also a Competence Centre for New Immigrants and special advice for women and asylum seekers. This centre supports education measures and labour market integration programmes for migrants.²⁰
- **Peregrina – Verein zur Beratung ausländischer Frauen** („Association for advice to foreign women"): was founded 1984, has a strong focus on migrant women and their specific problems; is active in psychological, legal and social advice, organizes education and qualification programmes (for example PC German lectures), in language acquisition courses, offers therapy possibilities for women in need, organizes anti-racism workshops and is active in the fields of information about migration and against xenophobia.

¹⁹ See <http://www.wik-vernetzungsbuero.at/wik/index.php?id=12>.

²⁰ Information from Norbert Bichl, Head of the Consultation Centre for Migrants.

- **Initiative für Minderheiten** („Initiative for Minorities“): is a voice of all minorities not only for migrants; organizes a lot of events, participates in projects (“New perspectives. Migration in central and southeastern Europe”; “Intercultural search for tracks. Pupils do research in Migration histories.”), publishes since 1991 the periodical “STIMME von und für Minderheiten“ (“Voice of and for Minorities”); two times each month there is a special broadcasting transmission called Radio “Stimme”.
- **M-Media**: is an organization which is oriented towards the promotion of contacts between the Austrian mainstream media and the migrant communities. It is based on self-organization of the migrants who want to cooperate with the media, to write articles there, to influence which pictures of migrants are presented in the public, and how want to organize and to participate in further education opportunities in the media sector. This association organizes a mass media fair in Vienna, 10th-11th Sept. 2009 (see M-Media 2007).
- **ENARA – European network against racism Austria**: It is an anti-racism platform for individuals and organizations. Is no umbrella organization but a network between the European and the national or regional levels. Among the main aims are equal rights for all, promoting the integration of local anti-racism activities in the broader European context and to establish countermeasures against exclusive policies.
- **Bunte Demokratie für Alle – BDFA (Wien)** („Coloured Democracy for all“): is an organization which was founded 2000 as a representation of the general and special interests of migrants in the Chamber of Work. It is fighting for the interests of immigrants in the labour market and against all kind of discrimination. For the year 2009 the application for a free admission to the labour market of migrants who got a residence permit in the context of the right of continued abode in Austria is planned. A further application concerns the afternoon care for children and the naturalization of older migrants who did not work on the Austrian labour market.
- **WUK – Interkultureller Bereich** („Intercultural Section“):²¹ The intercultural Section is one of the 7 Departments of one of the greatest self-governing socio-cultural centres of Europe for cultural events and arts. The following organizations are participating in the Intercultural Section: AFCU (African Cultural Union), Afrooriental, Asylum in Need, Umbrella Organization for intercultural Initiatives in Vienna, Iranian Cultural House – House of the Book, KOHAK, Centre for Social Activities, Tadschikian Association for Democracy, Association of Ethiopians.

The City’s attitude towards all these organizations is very positive. MA 17 city provides annual financial support for some of these institutions and for a considerable number of other associations in this field. Most of the activities and initiatives of MA 17 are aimed at preventing social exclusion as are many of the measures of the City of Vienna as a whole in the area of social, welfare, education and economic policies. The Social-democrats as well as liberal, green and left-wing parties and Muslim organizations try to enhance better understanding and to fight discrimination against Muslims, confronting a negative image in the political discourse, by organizing a number of intercultural dialogues. Vienna’s Green Party regularly initiates City-Experts-Talks (“StadtexpertInnengespräch“) in the Vienna City Hall. On one of these occasions, the director of the Vienna public transport organization assured Muslim women to wear a headscarf together with their uniform when working in public transport in Vienna. Actually a female tram driver in Vienna is regularly wearing her *hijab* without problems (see IGGiÖ 2003).

There are institutionalized **interreligious fora** in the districts 2, 5, 6, 11 and 16. These fora consist of members of religious associations and churches (e.g. Bosnian and Turkish

²¹ See http://www.wuk.at/index.php/idee/daswuk/interkulturell/daswuk_gruppe_interkulturell.html.

mosques, catholic and protestant parishes, Serbian and other orthodox churches). One central point is the intercultural and interreligious exchange (e.g. the exchange of information on customs and traditions). Further important groups in this dialogue are the Iranian community, African “free churches” and Jewish organisations. Muslim communities started organizing “**Open Mosque Days**”. On 8th April 2000, a very successful Open Mosque Day was launched at the Islam Centre (Islamisches Zentrum) in Vienna and attracted more than 1,000 visitors. Meanwhile, many smaller Islamic communities have also started organizing similar events.

An event of particular significance in the context of interreligious dialogue is the *iftar* the dinner at the end of **Ramadan**. Since 2002 it became more and more a visible sign of the good interreligious relations and of a well-functioning dialogue between Austrian politicians and the Muslim community of Vienna. As an effort to promote integration and understanding, Vienna’s Communist Party already held an *iftar* feast in Ramadan 2002 in which the party leader highlighted the importance of Muslims’ participation in elections and noted their tangible role in Austrian life in general. Altogether, the Austrian People’s Party held three *iftar* banquets during Ramadan 2003 for the Turkish Muslim community. In 2003 Vienna’s Mayor Michael Häupl invited for the first official *iftar* dinner in the Town Hall. This initiative was continued not only by the Mayor but since 2004 also by the Austrian President Heinz Fischer who initiated an inter-religious dialogue in the Vienna Hofburg where representatives of Jews, Muslims and the Christian confessions met. Fischer extended invitations to 60 members of the Muslim community²² to attend a collective *iftar* banquet on *Ramadan 26*. The *Id-ul-Fitr*-reception and the banquet were also attended by senior government officials, a step seen as a sign of Muslims’ integration in the Austrian society and respect for the minorities’ rights.²³ Since that time it became very common among different institutions and organizations to organize *iftar* dinners for the purpose of intercultural meeting and dialogue with representatives of different religious confessions and various ethnic groups. Since 2006 further *iftar* receptions were also held by Andreas Khol the President of the National Council and the Chamber of Work.

A further important signal of interreligious dialogue was the Imam Conference on 24th April 2005. 160 Imams, among them also about 25 women, met in Vienna. By the members of the Conference a detailed statement about Islam in Austria was formulated, in which was said: 1) the participants of the conference emphasize their sticking to constitutional principles in the Republic of Austria, enclosed in it and particularly stressed the equality of all citizens before the law, pluralism, democratic parliaments and rule of law. 2) The acknowledgment status of Islam in Austria and the practical advantage associated with it: the right to free and public worship, the internal autonomy of the Islamic Religious Body, the religious education in schools, and the consideration of religion e.g. in the federal army (see IGGiÖ homepage).

The Office of the Vienna integration conference has introduced and established in 2005 the 25 October which is the day before the Austrian National Holiday as a day for the acknowledgement/appreciation of the contributions of migrants to society in Vienna. This day is called the “**Immigrants’ Day**” (“ImmigrantInnentag”).²⁴ Important to note is also the participation of migrant organisations in the district festival weeks (“Bezirksfestwochen”) of the City of Vienna in May/June of each year in order to present themselves, their organisation and whatever they think is important for the indigenous population to know about themselves; this includes among other things traditional, cultural and religious aspects. The city gives a lot of financial support for these activities. The responsible departments are municipal depart-

²² It must not be neglected that there was also some criticism about the list of guests which included persons affiliated to PVÖ, the Palestinian Association in Austria (Sicherheit-heute 2007).

²³ Compare Tamer Abul Einein (<http://www.islamonline.net/English/News/2004-11/03/article04.shtm>).

²⁴ For further details see <http://www.wik-vernetzungsbuero.at/wik/index.php?id=11>.

ment no. 7 (culture, department for intercultural and international affairs)²⁵ and the districts' cultural commissions²⁶. The main part of giving active support for these activities lies with the MA 17 district offices which all year long cooperate with these associations on a wide range of issues and serve as contact and information point towards the city's institutions and events.

The city pursues also a policy directed towards the majority population for improving relations with ethnic minorities. An important strategy of the city for improving relations with ethnic minority groups is the coordination of the regional or district platforms (see above). In this context local political decision-makers, immigrant communities and relevant NGOs are involved in the development of their district. On the one side these platforms give the migrants the chance to participate in social and political life as equal partners. The politicians stand in a direct cooperation with the different ethnic communities, who reach empowerment and participation in the political process. Important to note are also the Association Platforms as forums for integration bring together migrant associations and district institutions at a local level and the Vienna Integration Conference – Networking Office.

In Vienna diverse measures preventing social exclusion are set. Thus, a quite considerable number of successful cases of good practices can be mentioned so only a selection of a few examples are presented there:

- **„Rat und Hilfe (NEU)“** (“Advice and help (relaunched)”): Since 2005 the MA 17 organized together with the Federal Police Department of Vienna the project “Rat und Hilfe” (“Advice and Help”). This initiative was continued as “Rat und Hilfe NEU” and is based on the community policing strategy, which includes joint visits by MA 17 staff, local police officers and prevention officers to migrant associations and religious communities as well as information events and debates on selected topics such as safety and security in the neighbourhood. With the help of regional workers of the MA 17, police officers meet on a regular basis to discuss neighbourhood issues and matters of security. These meetings also take place in mosques. The strategy of “community policing” is based on standards from the U.S. which are oriented towards the philosophy of community empowerment and power-sharing. The project aims to increase mutual understanding and provides intercultural training through personal involvement and face-to-face meetings. In the 3rd district for example the following migrant institutions were visited in 2004: Polish Church, Mosque Haci Bayram, Serbian-orthodox Church, Romano Centro etc., in the 16th and 17th districts there were meeting with/in the following organizations: Mosque Sultan Ahmet Camii, Mosque Mescidi Ebu Bekir, Mosque Hicret Camii, Osmanli Mosque, Association of Albanian Muslims, Hindu Tempel “Snatana Dharma/Mandir Sihd Jog Baba Balak Nath Ji”, the African Association “The Light of God Ministries”, Serbian-orthodox Church etc. The initiative was very successful evaluated by the migrant organizations as well as by the city officials for example the district councillors (see Bouzek 2005, 17 ff.).
- **Language initiatives:** In the framework of its language initiative the City of Vienna has supported German courses for migrants for many years. The courses are voluntary, target-group oriented, and low-threshold. There is a strong cooperation with migrants associations, to reach the target group but also to support on-site lectures.
- **“Bezirksfestwochen” (“district’s festival weeks”):** Every year these festival weeks take place for approximately 5 weeks. In close cooperation with the 23 districts of Vienna and cultural associations about 2,000 (!) events are organized. Every year a new Program is presented consisting of for example “Street theatre in the park”, classical music or dance, “Art exhibition in the hospital”, “Children in the schoolyard”, “Jazz in the café”, “Cabaret in the ballroom” and so on.

²⁵ See <http://www.wien.gv.at/amtshelfer/kultur/kulturabteilung/foerderungen/interkulturell.html>.

²⁶ See <http://www.wien.gv.at/amtshelfer/kultur/kulturabteilung/foerderungen/bezirk.html>.

- **EURO (“European soccer championship in Vienna”):** This event was held for the first time in Vienna in June 2008. Vienna as “host city” invited opinion leader und important cooperation partners (districts chairmen, taxi drivers’ organisations etc) to presentations to spread information in preparation of the event (traffic, fan zone, security etc). MA 17 organized this presentation also to be held for the Serbian and Turkish community in the City Hall. The events were held on two different dates for each group in German and the identical presentations were done by the same presenters for the other groups. The basic idea behind these events was to promote the acceptance of and the respect for the different communities in the form of inclusion in normal City life. For the successful realisation of this event Vienna needed the support of 50 Viennese with Serb and 90 with Turkish background. The migrants appreciated very much this inclusive approach, which means not only to talk about “integration”, but to go the way about soccer championship and to address them simply as Viennese.

All of our informants evaluated these initiatives as very successful, but one has to admit that there were not only successful initiatives. The “Vienna Integration Conference” and its “Networking Office” was already cited. Though this umbrella organisation funded by the City has worked effectively for several years and initiated a lot of precious activities the city’s subsidies were stopped because of strong inner tensions between different organizations and cases of rivalry.

5.4 Relationship between different ethnic groups in the city

One has to concede that there are some irritations among the indigenous population due to increasing immigration during the 1990ies. Legitimate interests are being voiced on the one hand, on the other there are openly hostile attitudes which have often been instrumentalized by right wing political parties. A great deal of efforts, communication and social and political work will in the long run be necessary to improve the climate as a whole and to support the social issues of those parts of the population who are or feel to be in a weak social position and have most fears of changes. On the other hand it is necessary to support and strengthen those individuals and groups who are threatened to be victims of racist and discriminating attitudes, speech and actions.

In terms of racism, examples of racially motivated direct and severe violence are rare in Vienna (or are rarely documented). In addition to direct forms, immigrants and minorities sometimes suffer on a daily basis from the lower-level racisms that often go unnoticed. The public transport system is a place where immigrants have reported several attacks (ENARA 2006, 16 f.). Civic courage is lacking in such situations. Some victims are even afraid to take legal action. In 2007, the ZARA Counselling Centre dealt with and documented 831 racist incidents in Austria (no separate data for Vienna available). Compared to the numbers from previous years, there have been fewer cases reported (1,504 in 2006). The majority of 58% were in public space (among the 476 cases recorded in this category, 251 were racist graffiti) and very often in public transport facilities, 12% refer to incidents in the field of housing and also includes all events regarding the access to bars and restaurants, shops and service providers. 11% were at work, 8% were offenses against anti-racism work, 6% referred to the police and 5% to other public authorities (ZARA 2007, 11 ff.; see also ZARA 2002–2006).

There are frictions between ethnic groups that run along traditional conflict lines that exist in the countries of origin (e.g. Serbs vs. Albanians, Serbs vs. Croats, Kurds vs. Turks). With regard to the numerically important group of migrants from former Yugoslavia one could say that there are not so many contacts between the different ethnic groups and, therefore, few conflicts (see also Vrglevski et al. 2008). As far as the city administration is concerned, it is no major problem to communicate with them and bring them together on common issues regardless of their ethnic, religious or other background which may separate them. Tradition-

ally, many conflicts in the countries of origin had less impact on Vienna than they had in other European countries (for example in the case of Kurds and Turks).

Most of the conflicts arise in everyday actions and thus are difficult to influence by official political measures of the city. Open conflicts largely depend on the extent of individual political-ideological sensibilization. There were from time to time critical phases in the Turkish/Kurdish relations in Vienna which were influenced by political developments in Turkey (PKK) and Iraq. Open manifestations of the Turkish/Kurdish conflict arose in the context of political demonstrations because of the occupation of Northern Iraq. Thus, in 2006 for example cases of violence against some persons happened. In the meantime a trend to pacify the conflict was observable.²⁷

Of course there are organizations which are clearly bound to a certain ethnic or religious affiliation. On the other side there are also a considerable number of organizations which try to include Turkish as well as Kurdish members. Those organizations make a precious contribution to a better understanding between both ethnic groups. Beside exclusive mosque associations there are also ethnically mixed mosque associations of both groups in Vienna. A good example for peaceful cooperation is the Association of Turkish entrepreneurs (“Verband der türkischen Wirtschaftstreibenden”) which is a network of successful businessmen of both Turkish and Kurdish origin.²⁸

An important fact is the integrative role of the Alevite religion to which belong about one third of the migrants from Turkey living in Vienna, exact numbers do not exist. Estimations speak of about 60,000 persons (Beig 09-04-2009: 3). The *Cem-House (Cemevi)* and Cultural Center of the “Alevitischer Kulturverein” (Alevite Cultural Association, Schererstrasse, 21st district) is also oriented toward the membership of both ethnic groups. Political more left-wing oriented Kurdish or Alevite organizations are generally more open for dialogue and even towards the membership of ethnic Turks than the more right-wing Turkish groups who are usually exclusive. Concerning the Alevites there was a fundamental change during the last 20 years when many politically left oriented Kurdish organizations lost their importance in the migration situation. Many former politically oriented Kurds are today organized in the more religious and less politically oriented Alevite movement.²⁹

5.5 Public communication

The City of Vienna is very active in public communication. It follows an ambitious public communication strategy which is called “**Vienna speaks many languages**”. Within its overall diversity policies this communication strategy is an important cornerstone. The overall message that shall be conveyed is that Vienna is and regards itself as an international and multi-lingual city and welcomes and appreciates the diversity of its population. This attitude is also reflected in a whole range of activities and services the City provides for its foreign born population. Only a few examples for Vienna’s multi-linguality can be given: The City of Vienna offers its information in web-based services “www.wien.at“ in English, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Turkish. As customers of the City Administration are using the Internet more and more frequently, the City has set up this new online service to provide new immigrants with important facts as early as possible. Current information from all areas of life, including addresses, phone numbers and links, help migrants to make a new beginning in Vienna. The Internet pages in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Turkish provide legal information on migra-

²⁷ Compare; <http://oe1.orf.at/inforadio/82881.html?filter=3> and <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/0,1518,515323,00.html>.

²⁸ Interview with Maria Six-Hohenbalken.

²⁹ See Reiser 1997, 2000 and interview with Maria Six-Hohenbalken.

tion matters and where to find German language classes, but also general information on women's issues, children, further training, health care, emergencies, everyday life, and leisure.

The city also provides a large number of brochures and services in some of the major migrant languages. The communication measures aim at optimising the services so that they can be used by everyone who lives in Vienna, no matter where those people were born. There is also a strong cooperation between ethnic and local media (newspapers, radio and TV) as well as regular cooperation and information by the City and its departments with media that are published in the mother tongue of migrants in Vienna.

A very important initiative is the **“Multilingual Glossary of the City of Vienna”**³⁰. This glossary comprises almost 500 terms regarding the city administration in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Turkish, English and German, from A to Z. The aim was to find standard translations in the various languages for the typical city administration terminology. The glossary should be a help for anyone who works in the field of translation. It is a reference for translators, counsellors and anyone who is interested in this field. The glossary aims to set a standard in the translation of official language terms.

In addition, the City publishes the wien.at magazine **“Welt & Stadt”** (“World and City”) four times a year. This free magazine provides important legal information and a variety of tips on how to get by in Vienna. The magazine is written in German and features summaries in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Turkish and English.

The **“Intercultural Calendar 2008”**³¹ gives an overview about the important holidays of the largest religious and ethnic Groups living in Vienna. It is a communication and activation project to promote good neighbourhood and respectful and peaceful living together.

Very successful initiatives are also the two **“Feeling at Home” Projects** “Daham am Leberberg” (“Feeling at home at Leberberg”) and “Daham in Stadlau” (“Feeling at home in Stadlau”). The two “Feeling at Home” projects in Vienna’s 11th and 22nd district started in May 2007. What is special about these projects is that the people (migrants as well as non-migrants) who live in the neighbourhoods support the projects with their ideas, initiatives and commitment. Municipal Department 17 supports the implementation of individual small projects and initiatives. The people who live in these neighbourhoods as well as local companies, institutions, and schools are motivated to carry out tasks they think will improve the quality of life in the area and the relationships between the people who live there. The “Feeling at Home” projects motivate people to identify with the neighbourhood they live in and to be proud of their homes.

Many efforts are made by the City authorities to promote the city’s diversity in a number of periodicals. Thus, the general attitude towards migrant and religious organizations is good and the media practice is usually positive. There are periodical articles about migrants’ careers or biographies and there are series of articles in different papers and magazines (“Bezirksjournal” and “Wiener Bezirksblatt” with local editions for each of the 23 Viennese districts, further “Wien at.” etc) that also provide information and stories about members of migrant or minority groups and their organizations and activities.

Photo 3: Title page of the weekly magazine “profil”: “The image of the wicked Muslim”

³⁰ For further information see: <http://www.wien.gv.at/english/social/integration/glossary.html>.

³¹ See <http://www.wien.gv.at/english/social/integration/calendar/index.html>.



Source: ESI.

As a detailed source for media practices compare the ZARA Reports on Racism (2006: 25 f.; 2007: 29). High-level print media (“Die Presse”, “Der Standard”, “Kurier”, “profil”, “Wiener Zeitung” etc.) as well as the ORF³² do not only have members of minority groups as journalists but are always trying to avoid discrimination of any kind in their media practice. This is especially obvious in the context of debates about the building of mosques, the status of Muslim women, cases of forced marriage but also in the discussions about Islam in general. While Muslim women are stereotypically seen as victims, Muslim men are often considered to be fundamentalists and terrorists (see Photo 3).

Those high-level media also cooperate with M-Media³³ an organization which is oriented towards the promotion of contacts between the Austrian mainstream media and the migrant communities. It is based on self-organization of the migrants who want to cooperate with the media, to write articles there, to influence which pictures of migrants are presented in the public, and how want to organize and to participate in further education opportunities in the media sector. This association organizes a mass media fair in Vienna 2009 (see M-Media 2007).

Though discriminatory media practices are avoided recently there were rather critical articles for example about the education and attitudes of Islam teachers (oe1 2009; Beig 2006, Kurier 29-01-2009 and many others) and about Islamic “parallel societies” (Beig 17-03-2009). Of course in the “Boulevard press” which is represented by the “Kronen Zeitung”, “Österreich”, “News” and others the reporting practices are sometimes not always as objective and anti-discrimination oriented as in the high quality media.

One can state that the media dispute on Islam is moderate. The Muslim headscarf has received increasing media attention in the present decade. Media usually frame the headscarf as a no-problem issue. While the two biggest national quality newspapers “Die Presse” and “Der Standard” published in sum only three articles on veiling in 2000, the number rose already to 22 in 2003 (Gresch et al. 2008). Controversies in Germany and France on the issue and the following prohibitive decisions were central catalysts for Austrian media debates too.

³² See for example: ORF Religion, Anteil der Muslime seit 1991 verdoppelt http://religion.orf.at/projekt02/news/0507/ne050715_alrawi-statistik.htm, accessed 03-07-2007).

³³ For details compare <http://www.m-media.or.at/>.

The DAI (“Documentation Archive of Islamophobia”) documented acts of Islamophobic discrimination in Austria and protests against them in written commentaries. In the summer of 2006, the DAI systematically analysed daily newspapers during the period in which an “integration survey” (see Rohe 2006) was carried out at the request of the former Minister of the Interior Minister Liese Prokop. The survey was released in daily newspapers on 13th May 2006. It came to the conclusion that 45% of Muslims in Austria were “not willing to integrate”. There were intense public discussions as a result of his conclusions.

There is ethnic minority staff in all major local media but no quantitative data is available about the exact proportion. In Vienna there exists a lot of media cooperation between m-media, a migrants’ organisation with a focus on media and media cooperation, and the Austrian daily newspaper “Die Presse”. Every week authors with a migrant background write an article or a report for the newspaper “Die Presse” about issues that concern migration, integration and diversity issues.³⁴ Another very precious initiative in the sector of media is “Radio Orange Radiodialoge – Stimmen der Vielfalt” (“Radio Orange Broadcast Dialogues – Voices of Diversity”).³⁵ In Austrian TV there is a special Editorial Department for Minorities (“ORF – Minderheitenredaktion”) which is specialized on investigation in minority, migrant and integration matters. The transmissions refer to traditional Austrian minorities (Roma, Croats, Slovenes) as well as to topics in the context of more recent immigration.³⁶ On every Sunday there is a special transmission called “Heimat, fremde Heimat” which presents a broad variety of topics in the context of immigration, ethnic and religious diversity with a focus on Vienna. An important initiative is called “OKTO TV”.³⁷ This is a community TV offering opportunities to different non-commercial interest groups and the civil society to make their own programme. Different groups with migration background are among the groups involved. The programme is at least partly done in the migrants’ own languages.

Most ethnic media are concentrated in Vienna where the variety of local ethnic media is considerable. Detailed surveys of immigrant media in Vienna were made by Böse et al. (2002) and Bratic & Inou (2008).³⁸ Groups with a long tradition of migration to Vienna which are more numerous are as like represented with local media initiatives as migrants who more recently moved to Vienna (e.g. Africans who are very active in this field) and who constitute smaller communities. A list of examples of media and new media run by migrants shall be given as follows. In the field of print media “Vesti”, “Novi Glasnik”, “Polonika”, “Hürriyet – Turklook Medien”, “ZAMAN”, „Yeni Vatan Gazetesi” and many other Turkish papers which are partly done by international media houses, partly by Austrians. An important newspaper of the second and third generation of young migrants is “Das BIBER” as well as the paper of the association “Verein ECHO”. The list of minorities’ print media has to be continued with “Öneri”, „Die Bunte Zeitung“, the “Stimme von und für Minderheiten der Initiative Minderheiten” (“Voice of and for Minorities of the Initiative for Minorities”) and the Roma newspaper „Zeitschrift Romano Centro”.³⁹ In the sector of broadcasting Africans are a very active group with their station “Radio Afrika” (Tribüne Afrikas). Other important stations are “Radio Stimme”, “Radio Orange” with various programs for different ethnic groups and “OKTO TV”.

³⁴ For details see <http://www.m-media.or.at>.

³⁵ Compare <http://o94.at/projects/Radiodialoge> and <http://www.radiodialoge.at/rda/index.php>.

³⁶ See <http://volksgruppen.orf.at/uebersicht/> and <http://tv.orf.at/tschuschenpower/>.

³⁷ Compare <http://okto.tv/>.

³⁸ A detailed list of migrant media in Vienna is provided: http://www.m-media.or.at/files/Migranten_Medien_Reader.pdf.

³⁹ www.glasnik.at; www.vesti.com; www.zamanavusturya.at/; www.yenivatan.com; <http://www.dasbiber.at/>; <http://www.gumpendorferstrasse.at/indexuser.php?id=46>; <http://www.huseyin-simsek.com/de/artikels-article/53/wir-wolle.html>; <http://www.buntezeitung.at/>; www.radioafrika.net; <http://okto.tv/>.

Of course the World Wide Web gained increasing importance as a source of information during recent years. Some examples of Websites of different immigrant groups shall be given: <http://www.m-media.or.at/>, www.afrikanet.info and www.blackaustria.at (both for Africans in general); www.blackwomenscenter.org and www.schwarzefrauen.net (both in particular for African women), www.russianvienna.com (for immigrants from the GUS) and <http://www.vereinsafran.at/> of the “Association of the Young Generation – Iran Austria”. This association was founded 2006 as a platform of the 2nd generation. Its focus lays on networking activities between young migrants with an Iranian background and Austrians who are interested in intercultural dialogue. This organization furthers career networking as well as leisure activities as exhibitions of young artists and photographers (see Czarnowski 2008).

5.6 Summary and lessons learnt

In Vienna there exists a wide range and considerable number of migrants associations. The City of Vienna makes little distinction between ethnic, national and religious organisations of migrants. Religious groups and associations are regarded in an equal way as those groups that organize along national lines. They are all considered equally important partners for dialogue and implementation of measures and actions to promote integration as well as target groups for the City’s measures and actions taken in the field of integration and diversity.

Among the broad variety of demands of migrant associations the following are considered as the most important by the city officials: the improvement of the socio-economic situation of migrants especially in the area of education, labour market status, income, social security and housing, the improvement of their legal status, efficient anti-discrimination laws and bodies, more representation in the media (mainstreaming issues) and the improvement of media reporting and public debates on issues as migration.

An explicit policy aimed at improving intercultural relations is a part of the City’s Integration and diversity policy that was started in 1992 with the founding of the Vienna Integration Fund and continued, further developed and strengthened in 2004 within the framework of the city’s new integration and diversity policies. The objective of improving intercultural relations forms an especially important and essential part of the activities and objectives of MA 17. Local politicians directly cooperate with the ethnic communities and the migrants get a chance to participate in social and political life as equal partners. There is a lot of dialogue within regular informal platforms as the Association Platforms, the District Platforms and the Vienna Integration Conference (until 2008) which can be recommended as examples of good-practice.

The general evaluation of intercultural dialogue by the authors of this report is very positive. Due to the numerous and intensive efforts to establish and strengthen good relations between the city and ethnic and religious groups as well as between those groups the overall state of affairs is obviously good. In Vienna ethnic and religious organisations play an important role in the integration process. Organizations serve as “multipliers” within their wider communities. They are also important stakeholder groups and their aims and interests are part of the political debate in Vienna and influence that debate and the policies which are partly shaped on that.

Concerning public communication and local media the picture is also positive. The City of Vienna is very active in this field. It follows successful public communication strategies. The overall message that shall be conveyed is that Vienna appreciates the diversity of its population. The City offers information in web-based services and provides a large number of services in the major migrant languages. There is also a strong cooperation between ethnic and local media as well as regular cooperation by the City and its departments with media that are published in the mother tongue of migrants in Vienna. There is also ethnic minority staff in all major local media and the number and variety of local ethnic media is considerable.

One must admit that besides all these positive findings there are also irritations among the indigenous population. Legitimate interests are supported by the City, but there are also openly hostile attitudes which have often been instrumentalized by right wing political parties. Interethnic conflicts between certain groups (Turks vs. Kurds) happened but are still a rare phenomenon.

6 Local intercultural policies towards Muslim communities

6.1 Major issues, demands and interests

In general, as Austria's Muslims are gradually increasing their demographic presence and their role in political life they become more important for the big political parties, who make greater efforts to win their political support and votes (Abdel-Fattah 2004). Thus the demands of the immigrant groups with Muslim background are more and more respected. The list of demands of the Muslim organisations is closely related to the major issues of other immigrants' associations. Muslims are far from being a monolithic group and thus there is no uniformity of the interests of Muslim organizations as it is often wrongly anticipated by non-Muslims.⁴⁰

For a long time no Muslims had been elected to the national or European legislatures. There were only very few numbers of Muslims active in regional parliaments throughout the main three parties (Social Democrats, Conservatives, Green Party). Until the 1980ies it was even not unusual that *imams* reflected in their Friday prayers about the question whether or not Muslims should participate in Austrian elections. This mood has fundamentally changed. Actually, many *imams* call their communities to use their right to vote as Austrian citizens. The Islamic community thus made efforts to play a role in the country's political life, and several Muslims qualified themselves to assume distinguished positions inside parties and governmental bodies. A major turning point was the election of the Vienna municipal parliament in 2001 (see IGGiÖ 2003).

A famous Muslim politician in Vienna is *Omar Al-Rawi*, a Muslim parliament member for the Social Democrat Party of Austria (SPÖ). *Al-Rawi* entered the municipal parliament in 2002. In the following national parliamentary elections, he received a considerable number of votes. At the last elections, however, also other parties had recognized the potential of Muslim voters and tried to campaign in Mosques and Muslim centres as well. In Vienna's SPÖ *Nurten Yilmaz* with a Turkish background is Municipal Councillor. The Austrian People's Party of Vienna (ÖVP) has a Turkish representative (*Sirvan Ekici*), too. She fought for the right of Muslims not to work on Islamic holidays, such as *Eid Al-Fitr* or *Eid Al-Adha* (IGGiÖ 2003). The Green Party was until 2008 represented by *Alev Korun* with a Turkish background who after the last elections moved to the National Council.

Muslims differ not only by their country of origin and denomination, but also by strength of their religiosity. This fact is also mirrored in the structure of existing Muslim organizations. From the legal point of view organizations are categorized as religious societies, religious confessional communities, and associations with distinct legal status. Classification as a religious society allows participation in the state-run contribution system, the provision of religious instruction in public schools and financing for private schools. All or most of the Islamic organisations have ethnic and/or national affiliations/backgrounds. The largest associations in Vienna were founded by Turkish, Arabic and Bosnian Muslims. The first Islamic Centre in Austria was built in 1968. Its Trustee Council was formed under the chairmanship of *Hassan Al-Tuhamiy*, Egypt's Ambassador in Austria at the time, who later became secret-

⁴⁰ Statement of Ursula Struppe, Round Table Meeting, 30-03-2009.

ary-general of the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). The Centre was inaugurated in November 1977 and played an important role in the field of religious teaching of Muslims in Austria (Abdel-Fattah 2004).

Waldrauch & Sohler (2004) provided a detailed descriptive overview not only about the structure but also about the interests of Muslim organizations. Reiser focused his informative PhD thesis on the interests of Turkish migrant organizations in Vienna (2000). After the national acknowledgment of Islam as corporation under public law, various associations were created. There are Islamic associations sponsored by different Muslim countries as Turkey, Saudi-Arabia etc. The activities of non-state unions are confined to religious and educational activities, and their institutional structures do not include any mechanisms for political action. These organizations range between local private clubs and supra-regional organizations. Sometimes the same group operates several mosques, which can be accommodated in several places, and may be registered as separate “associations”: For further actual information about Muslim interests and demands one has to refer to the homepages of IGGiÖ, ATIB (Turkish Islamic Union for Cultural and Social Cooperation in Austria), of Islamic Federation in Vienna (“Islamische Föderation in Wien), Islamska Zajednica Bosnjaka u Austriji (Dachverband der Bosniaken in Österreich) and Islamic Liga of Culture, Initiative of Muslim Austrians (Initiative muslimischer ÖsterreicherInnen), Muslim Youth Austria (Muslimische Jugend Österreich) as only a few examples.⁴¹

The “Muslim Youth Austria”⁴² for instance, that launched at the end of the nineties an Islamic youth organization throughout Austria, and is close to the IGGiÖ, defines itself as Islamic, independent, multi-ethnic, constitutional and German-speaking, places the work “by and for young people” into the centre of its activity. Apart from the official Islamic Religious Body, some groups or individuals act independently of the umbrella organization, such as *Muhammad Abu Bakr Müller*, an Austrian who converted to Islam, who represents a radical interpretation of Islam⁴³ and also the Islamic Documentation and Information Centre (IIDZ) of Günther Rusznak, also an Austrian convertite who cooperates with the Alevites. The following organisations are the largest with regard to different ethnic backgrounds:

- Typical for the Turkish immigrants is the great number of regional and local oriented organizations. Their members often migrated from the same region or even the same small town or village and are often socially strongly interrelated. Some Turkish-Muslim groups can be considered as branches of the pan-European organization *Milli Görüş* (“European National View Organization”). The Austrian group is not a registered association, but an alliance of mosques. The umbrella organization of this alliance is the 1988 created **Österreichische Islamische Föderation**, (Austrian Islamic Federation, AIF-Avusturya Islam Federasyonu). It is the biggest and most important association of Turkish Muslims in Vienna and cooperates with the IGGiÖ. It has a coordination function. Their ideology is relatively strict but concentrates in its practical work mainly on the social integration of Muslims.
- **Türkisch-Islamische Union für kulturelle und soziale Zusammenarbeit in Österreich** (short ATIB, Turkish Islamic Union): In 1990 31 member associations of ATIB founded the ATIB Union. This organization is the most important Turkish organization with a considerable number of members. It is affiliated to and financed by the Turkish state and controlled by the official Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs. Thus, it is well equipped with financial resources, though the number of ATIB mosques in Vienna is modest compared to Tirol, Upper Austria and Vorarlberg. It

⁴¹ See www.derislam.at, www.atib.at, www.ifwien.at, office@izb-dachverband.com, www.ligakultur.net, www.islaminitiative.at_www.mjoe.at.

⁴² This organization is highly controversial debated because of a case of terrorist threat of a young Muslim couple against the Austrian state (see Diepresse 18-09-2008, Pentz 2008, www.mjoe.at).

⁴³ See www.islam.at.

considers itself to be in charge of all Turkish Muslims residing in Austria regarding their social, cultural, religious, sports and educational affairs.⁴⁴ ATIB is successfully cooperating with important Austrian institutions as the Commercial Chamber and the Chamber of Work.

- **Union Islamischer Kulturzentren in Austria** (Union of Islamic Centres). This association has also a Turkish background but is not supported by or affiliated to the Turkish state.
- **The Islamic Centre – Mosque** (Am Hubertusdamm, 21st district): Was the first architectural visible mosque⁴⁵ in Vienna and was founded and financed by Saudi Arabia (King Faisal bin Abdul Aziz) and other Islamic countries in 1979. It has a minaret of 30 m and was built-up without any protests of the local population (Lippitsch 2008). This is a place where Muslims from various national backgrounds meet since the Friday prayers are delivered in several languages⁴⁶
- Moreover there are 6 **Bosnian mosque associations** in Vienna and an umbrella organisation of Bosnian mosques in Austria (Islamska Zajednica Bosnjaka u Austriji).
- The **Alevites**, a major group among Turkish citizens from Kurdistan (according to estimations about one third of all Turkish migrants in Vienna, others came from Iraq and Syria), do not take part in the activities of the IGGIÖ in general. The Kurds founded “FEYKOM” („Association of Kurdish organizations in Austria“) in 1992 but those organizations are not explicitly religious but more political and cultural oriented (Feykom 1998; Waldrauch & Sohler 2004: 269). In April 2009 the application of Alevite groupings for their approval as “Islamic-Alevite Faith Association in Austria” was made.⁴⁷

From our interviews we learned that many organizations are gendered in the sense that they have special branches for male and female members. In Alevite and Kurdish associations often women have outstanding positions in the organization’s hierarchies and have many official functions. Politically successful and highly educated Kurdish women are very active and in particular women of the 2nd generation want to be represented. Of course there exist also ethnically mixed women’s associations and their number is rising.

Contrary to the Turkish organizations most of the Iranian organizations are in particular not declared as “Muslim” associations. They are explicitly non-political and non-religious oriented which is used by many Iranian migrants and the associations’ representatives as an explicit difference to the Turkish organizations. The single purely religious organization of the Iranian Shiites is the *Imam Ali(as)* Mosque (Islamisches Zentrum *Imam Ali(as)*) which is officially supported by the Iranian government and represents the official religious line of the Iranian regime. There are not only special branches for men and women but also mixed associations with a different clientele. Usually later immigrants who were socialized in the context of the Islamic Republic are less interested in participating in organizations than migrants who left Iran during the 1960ies and 1970ies. All the organizations in Czarnowki’s survey (2008) have good and regular contacts to the City administration. MA 17 gives a lot of financial support to many of their events, as concerts, intercultural exchange meetings and the big *Newrooz* Concert and Meeting in Vienna’s Austria Centre.

According to information from the Austrian Trade Union (ÖGB) some mosque associations (e.g. ATIB, Islamische Föderation und Union Islamischer Kulturzentren) set initiatives for the

⁴⁴ www.atib.at/index.php?id=13.

⁴⁵ According to Dr. Almir Ibric (MA 17) the very first Mosque in Vienna was founded by the “Islamische Sozialdienst” (about 1968).

⁴⁶ Dr. Ibric (MA 17) pointed to the fact that the Arabic organizations which have not founded an umbrella organization yet are really much more important than the Mosque Hubertusdamm with estimated 2,000 members.

⁴⁷ See Gemeinsame Pressekonferenz 07-04-2009, Diepresse (02-04-2009) and Sterkl (03-04-2009).

information and welfare of their members on the Austrian labour market.⁴⁸ There are associations who develop projects centred on the improvement of labour market integration, furthermore information campaigns about labour legislation and social law but also cultural events (e.g. book exhibitions, concerts). Those initiatives are financially and organisationally supported by the Austrian Trade Union. The ÖGB is also involved in the training of employee representatives which is also held in Turkish language, in general labour related advice and support and in the recruitment of new ÖGB members. Those activities are initiated by the Muslim organizations themselves and then executed in cooperation with the Austrian Trade Union but from the side of the ÖGB there are no special support measures for Muslims. Many Turkish employee representatives are more or less secular oriented and not very religious. The Austrian Trade Union also intervenes in specific Muslim problems for example in cases of problems of women wearing the headscarf or if religious people want to hold their prescribed prayers five times each day on their work place. In such cases of conflict between Muslims and their non-Muslim colleagues or entrepreneurs usually Trade Unions representatives act as mediators and try to solve the problem by mutual consent. In most cases an acceptable solution was found.

The main issues from the perspective of the Muslim associations are:⁴⁹

- The Muslim organizations want to establish good relations and links with the City's institutions. They are interested in participation, and in gaining relevant information.
- Muslims expect non-discrimination because of religion, dress codes, traditions and exercise of their religion.
- They furthermore want to achieve employment in the public service.
- They expect that their visibility is widely accepted and to get infrastructure for the free exercise of religion (building of mosques, extension of buildings, cemeteries).
- They aspire good relations with their non-Muslim neighbours and they are oriented towards a climate of a good dialogue with the other religious groups and the City.

From the city's perspective the major issues in the city's life in relation to Muslim organisations or resulting from reactions of local populations are:

- the building of new mosques or the extension of already existing buildings⁵⁰, which also arises the question of the visibility of Islam in public space (e.g. the height of minarets);
- traditional dress codes and the discrimination on the labour market because of such dress codes (the question of the "*hijab*") or religious usances;
- the question of traditional versus modern gender roles,
- Cemetery and burial rules,
- religious slaughtering and "*halal*" food,
- problems or conflicts with neighbours which sometimes arise in the housing sphere.

A field which usually requires interventions from City authorities are **Mosque controversies**. Most mosques are simply prayer rooms. These spaces of religious practice have a significant social role as well. Often, prayer rooms are based in "backyards" and are therefore not visible in public. The organizations generally have also a leisure club, and a shop. In recent years however, Muslims have begun to move out of their often hidden places. An example is the construction of a Mosque cultural centre in Vienna's Pelzgasse (15th district), powered by the Turkish Union. There the inner courtyard of a Founder's period building was roofed over and decorated very similar to the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul. Nevertheless, exact member numbers of these organizations are difficult to get since the group of sympathizers expresses

⁴⁸ Interview with Azem Olcay (Austrian Trade Union).

⁴⁹ See www.derislam.at, www.atib.at, www.ifwien.at, office@izb-dachverband.com, www.ligakultur.net, www.islaminitiative.at, www.mjoe.at.

⁵⁰ There is a terminological discussion if the prayer rooms can be really classified as mosques.

its affiliation usually not by membership dues, but by the Islamic alms-tax (*Zakat*). The question of mosque building or of the height of minarets led in the past years repeatedly to discussions. In Vienna there were some cases of concern with regard to the enlargement of mosques. In autumn 2007, for example, a conflict over the enlargement of a mosque (20th district, in Dammstraße) run by the Turkish organization ATIB triggered a national debate on Austrian values in contrast to Islamic values. In the course of this debate, the BZÖ took for the first time a prominent standpoint on headscarves and demanded a prohibition of Muslim veiling practices. In the case of the Mosque Dammstraße there was also some political mobilisation by the FPÖ. On 14-05-2009 there was a further demonstration pro/contra this Mosque which resulted in physical violence between proponents and opponents and six casualties.⁵¹ There were also conflicts concerning the mosque (Islamic Center) at Hubertusdamm in the 21st district (see photo 4), where local population and neighbours have been complaining for a long time about disturbance due to noise (exclamations of the *muezzin*) and heavy traffic at the time of the Friday prayers.

Photo 4: The Mosque at Hubertusdamm (built 1979), 21st district



Source: ISR

But these problems are not a specific problem of Mosques. Similar protests arise when the Viennese Sikh community decided to build a Temple in the 22nd district.⁵² MA 17, in the case of the Mosque Dammstraße mainly its neighbourhood centre for the 20th district, is regularly engaged in mediating these conflicts, bringing the involved parties together and to create agreements on a certain behaviour to minimize the conflicts between both sides. Thus, MA 17 follows an informal strategy of de-escalation. There was, for example, also advice and inter-

⁵¹ See "Islamischer Verein will nicht Spielball sein", Wiener Zeitung, 16-05-2009, p. 14.

⁵² Statement of Ursula Struppe, Round Table Meeting 30-03-2009.

vention by MA 17 when two Muslims bought a terrace house in a residential area of the 10th district and intended to reconstruct it in a Mosque.⁵³

Remarkable is, that in the 21st district the worldwide first (!) official recognized Alevite prayer house (Cem-House or *Cemevi*) and Cultural Centre of the “Alevitischer Kulturverein” (“Cultural Association of Alevites”) is situated since 2007. Of course there exists a great number of other *Cemevi* all over the world but none of them is officially recognized as a house of god and worship. The others are only declared as simple meeting rooms (derStandard.at, 20-10-2007). There are no serious conflicts reported about it because the Alevite community tried to find a consensus with the neighbours.

Concerning the *hijab*, the Austrian legislation does not know any restrictions on wearing it, if it is clearly related to religious reasons. The *hijab* is not legistically forbidden (Pötz & Schinkele 2005). Compared to other European countries there has not been significant controversy over it. Women are permitted to wear the *hijab* at work and in public ceremonies, in educational institutions and public offices as well as on photos for public documents if the face is clearly identifiable ((Bundesminister für Inneres 2002; Kubelka & Schian 2004; Skjeie 2007). Especially the SPÖ (Social Democratic Party) has taken some standing in the evolving debate, claiming that wearing the *hijab* is not disputable due to the legal tradition of the Austrian state–church relationship. Irrespective of the clear legal regulation there are some reported conflicts about the *hijab*. These concerned pupils wearing the headscarf in public schools but also people wearing headgear in labour market contexts like in public hospitals. In 2004/5 there was a temporary discussion about wearing the *hijab* at school (John & Klenk 2005; orf 2005). One has to admit that *hijabed* women face difficulties in everyday life (Gresch & Hady-Abdou 2007; Heine 2005, 105).

With respect to the private labour market, the situation is more differentiated. The Austrian Labour Market Service (AMS) Vienna and the Austrian Trade Union (ÖGB) both admit that women wearing the *hijab* are often unlikely to be hired⁵⁴ (diestandard 2006; KMU 2007). Veiled women rarely appear in visible job positions and they sometimes face problems⁵⁵ (Hofstätter 2004, 18; Kalb et al. 2000, 632). One case that gained some public attention was a conflict in the AMS. This semi-private agency suspended the salary for women participating in a work-program with private employers after they refused the request of their employer to unveil. This decision was drawn after it became public and had to be revoked (diestandard 2006).

The public health service in Vienna is an area where the right to wear the headscarf has been explicitly approved due to a classification of the Muslim headscarf as religious expression: After the request of a Muslim hospital employee in 2004 to be allowed wearing the headscarf at work and following disputes, she was finally able to do so (Kubelka & Schian 2004, 61). In addition, the Viennese “Association of Hospitals” (Wiener Krankenanstaltenverbund) advocated for a non-prohibitive attitude in an internal binding decree in 2006 (GED-104/2006/BGD) (see Gresch 2008). In February 2009 a *hijabed* medical doctor got a payment of 4,500 Euros by judgement of the Equal Opportunities Commission (“Gleichbehandlungskommission”) because she did not get a job in the health resort of Bad Tatzmannsdorf (Burgenland). She is now occupied in Vienna’s General Hospital (AKH) and has no problems here (Die Presse, 27-02-2009).

Concerning Vienna's public transportation enterprise, the question of headgear was discussed not with regard to Muslim women but to Sikh men. Although Sikh men were first not permit-

⁵³ Information from of Ursula Struppe, Round-Table-Meeting, 30-03-2009.

⁵⁴ See www.euro-islam.info, Country profiles Austria, December 2006.

⁵⁵ Statement of Azem Olcay 31-03-2009.

ted to wear a turban, the Viennese public transportation enterprise finally allowed wearing the turban during work (Kubelka & Schian 2004, 62).

Islamic **gender roles** offer a wide field of misunderstanding and are frequently reported about in media. The City subsidizes and supports all those organizations who work for the benefit of girls and women, e.g. women advice centres, women shelters etc (see Miteinander Lernen/Birlikte Ögrenelim 1995)⁵⁶. The city also supports education measures and labour market integration programmes for women. Thus the City is very active in the field of women's promotion as far as it is in the competence of the city's authorities and the city is concerned by it. More conservative Muslim families, of course, still follow traditional gender roles and sometimes media report cases of forced marriage of Muslim girls and of their limited chances in achieving higher education (Hofbauer 2009; Sawerthal 04-07-2009). Those traditional orientations can be found among all ethnic groups of Muslim origin but are mostly reported in the case of the Turks because of their numerical importance in Vienna (Bukovec & Hacker 2009).

Of course there were some discussions caused by animals' rights activists against *halal* slaughter but as a whole this question did not cause much excitement in Vienna (compared to cities in other European countries) because of the legal status of the Muslim community. *Halal* slaughtering is legal if certain rules of animal protection law are strictly observed. Those rules have also to be observed by the Jewish community (Kalb et al. 2003, vol. 2; Potz et al. 2001).⁵⁷

There are also special interests of certain groups. With respect to the organizations of the Iranian community in Vienna one can say that their representatives in general emphasize their good relations to the City of Vienna and their estimation of good cooperation with all the other migrant organizations if secular or religious. Some representatives would like to get more financial support for their activities (Czarnowski 2008).

The City of Vienna is supporting Muslim organisations with a broad variety of measures:⁵⁸

- The City initiates information campaigns on various issues, including legal ones, which also take place in different mosques.
- The city provides supervision and support for the construction of Mosques.
- There is a lot of political mediation between the City and the organisations.
- MA 17 coordinates dialogue platforms.
- Mediation in conflicts is an important activity, mainly concerning the conflict about the Islamic district centre in the 20th district and with regard to the Islamic Centre (Am Hubertusdamm, 22nd district; the oldest one in Vienna).
- During *Ramadan* a **Ramadan Information bulletin** is provided by MA 17 for the population and city institutions. It informs about the duration of *Ramadan*, the expected increase in traffic volume and shortage of parking place. The Mosque organizations distribute these Information bulletins to their neighbours. During last *Ramadan* already 30 Mosques made use of this information initiative for neighbours.
- Once per year during the holy month of *Ramadan* an *iftar* (evening meal) with Muslim and City officials, the Mayor, important politicians etc is organized.
- An important question is also the **cemetery**. A great step forward was done in the year 2008 when the City of Vienna provided the premises for the establishment of a new Islamic cemetery in the 23rd district. This first Islamic cemetery in Austria was officially opened on 08-10-2008 and was much welcomed by the Muslim

⁵⁶ <http://hilfe.wien.gv.at/content/de/10/Institutions.do?senseid=83>.

⁵⁷ <http://www.derislam.at/haber.php?sid=3&mode=flat&order=1>.

⁵⁸ See also: <http://www.wien.gv.at/english/social/integration/funding/index.html>.

communities. The project was financed by OPEC-Founds and the State of Qatar but also by a considerable number of small donators (diepresse 04-08-2008).

Photo 5: Front view of the new Islamic cemetery building in Vienna



Source: Fassmann, ISR.

Now, what is the attitude of the majority population towards the demands of Muslim immigrants? One has to admit that the attitudes of many native Austrians towards Muslims are sometimes even hostile (see above). Native Austrians are often heard to say that those who live in Austria must incorporate the customs and values of the Austrian people and thus assimilate. Examples of issues where this argument has played a major role are mosque disputes and conflicts over the changing of opening hours of a public swimming pool in order to address the special needs of Muslim women. There are fears about Islam and negative emotions in some parts of the majority population. Islam is often felt as being “foreign”, and potentially a threat to democracy (see SWS 2006). The tolerant legal regulations are contrasted with right-wing parties that systematically foster sentiments against Muslim immigrants (see above). Some of our interview partners expressed the opinion that the attitudes towards Muslims in Vienna are influenced by international events as 9/11 and the media discourse about terrorism and fundamentalism. Thus, it is particularly important not only to take into consideration the official intercultural dialogue between organizations but the level of everyday interactions. Islam has become much more visible in Vienna during the last 5 to 10 years. The proportion of women wearing the *hijab* is increasing and this often causes negative attitudes and bewilderment. Thus, schools as regular meeting places of different cultures are playing the most important role in the context of intercultural dialogue. Intercultural dialogue has to start at school in a very early age because it is much more difficult to involve the grown-up people. The contribution of some politicians and media are often negative in the sense that prejudice is stirred up and instrumentalized for certain purposes instead of being reduced.⁵⁹

In a survey which was done in 2006 (SWS 2006) the respondents were asked whom among the immigrants they think that they would remain always strangers. For 30% the Turks are such a group, for 22% Muslims in general. In this context the religious confession seems to play a less important role than the country of origin but the factor of “visibility” is less im-

⁵⁹ Statement of Alev Korun, Round Table Meeting, 30-03-2009.

portant than religion. Only 17% classified “Black” Africans as a group who will remain strangers, 6% thought this about former Yugoslavs and only 2% about Asians.

For a study in 2001 (Zulehner & Denz) asked Austrians „Whom do you not want to have as a neighbour?” 24.7% of the respondents answered “Muslims”; only Roma (called “Gypsies” in the survey) were less popular (38.5%). Three years earlier and before 9/11, 9.3% less of the asked Austrian citizens verbalized problems with having Muslim neighbours (IGGIÖ 2003). In a survey which was executed by the KIM (2003) more than 50% of the Viennese respondents classified Turks and Kurds as less agreeable neighbours to live door by door. Neighbours of Arabic origin were even less appreciated. In this survey the ethnic belonging seemed to be more important than religion.

In recent years, the number of anti-Muslim campaigns increased. It can be argued that the attitudes of the majority population are fragile due to the re-framing strategy that describes Muslims in Austria as cultural or ethnic and not as religious “others” (Gresch et al. 2008). One can say that the 1999 national elections were a turning point when the FPÖ started a populist “foreigner campaign” (“*Ausländerwahlkampf*”). The party instrumentalized subtle popular fears of Islam and promoted slogans like “Stop Foreign Infiltration” (“*Stop der Überfremdung*”). In April 2000, Vienna’s Muslims, in collaboration with various political parties and authorities, organized a campaign to counter the attacks launched by the FPÖ against them. Leading up to the national elections held in Austria on 1 October 2006 the slogans of the FPÖ against immigrants (“foreigners”) as well as Muslims were very prominent during the election campaign. Thus Haider’s anti-Muslim strategy was continued by H. C. Strache (compare chapter 7.1). Prior to the national elections the same type of campaign was run in 2005 during the regional elections in Vienna and led to the founding of the Documentation Archive for Islamophobia (DAI, Dokumentationsarchiv für Islamophobie) in 2006 (ENARA 2006: 17).

The counter-framing is not restricted to right-wing parties alone. In 2005, the Minister of the Interior, Liese Prokop, initiated a controversial public debate on integration, especially emphasizing the problems concerning the integration of Muslims. She claimed a ban for veiled teachers (John & Klenk 2005).

The reports about racism in Austria, conducted by the ZARA organization (see ZARA 1999–2007), contain much information about the attitudes of Austrians towards Muslims but only about cases which are officially reported. ENAR (2002) reported that threatening and offensive comments against Muslims have become more common in particular since 9/11. Muslims face different sorts of concrete discrimination in everyday life. Thus, women with headscarves have difficulties finding jobs, and social acceptance of the headscarf has decreased in recent years according to data of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (2005). This has occurred even to the degree that employment offices have sometimes considered the headscarf as a kind of “disability” in job search. An EU report about changes in the Austrian’s attitude towards Muslims after 9/11, drew a positive conclusion, however. Altogether, the report says, very few violent attacks against foreigners occurred in recent years and there is a basically positive attitude for dialogue (IGGIÖ 2003). Recent information about Muslim discrimination contains the EU-MIDIS European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (FRA 2009).

There was done a lot of research about Islamic communities, Muslim organizations and the attitudes of the local population too. Some of these studies focus on Vienna, others are related to Austria but always with a strong focus on Vienna because the numerically most important Muslim community is located there. For detailed information compare the studies cited in the bibliography of this report.

One has to mention a more general study of Balíc (1995) about the history of Muslim immigration to Austria. From a socio-geographical perspective Schuster (1994) analyzed the Muslim communities in Vienna and formulated proposals for a development concept. Waldrauch & Sohler (2004) in their detailed study about migrant associations analyzed also a

great number of Muslim organizations, their structures and aims. Abid (2006a) presented a more general overview about Muslims in Austria from a historical and a contemporary point of view. The same author (2006b) is also interested in the topics of integration and participation of the Muslim minority in Austrian society. Feistritzer (2001) analyzed the attitudes of the Viennese population towards immigrants in general and Muslim immigrants in particular. Similar surveys were made by SWS (2006; see above) and Zulehner & Denz (2001). An interesting study about the attitudes of the local Austrian population towards Kurds was made in 2003 by KIM (Kurdish Institute for Migration Research). Graf & Antes (1998) analyzed the structures of interreligious dialogue with Muslims. Heine (2001) together with other authors made a research project about Turkish Imams, their living conditions and attitudes towards the Austrian society and dialogue. In 2005 Heine published an interesting article about Islam in Austria in the field between integration policies and persisting prejudices. Gresch and her co-authors (Gresch & Hadj-Abdou 2007; Gresch et al. 2008) concentrated their interest on the *hijab* discussion comparing Austria with other European countries. The question about the headscarf as a symbol of non-integration and its significance in the broader context of the integration of Muslims in Austria was also the focus of Pirsching's analysis (2006). Czarnowski (2007, 2008) collected abundant information about the heterogeneous Iranian sub-communit(ies) and associations in Vienna. Six-Hohenbalken (1993, 1999) investigated Turkish as well as Kurdish groups in Vienna. Kroissenbrunner is an expert for socio-political networks of Muslim immigrants in Austria and Muslim leadership among Turkish immigrants. From the purely logistic perspective of the Austrian religious law Potz (2007) and Potz & Schinkele (2005) made reflections about Islam, migration and integration in Austria. Reiser focused his study (1997) on the socio-political networks of Alevite immigrants and composed an informative PhD thesis about the interests of Turkish migrant organizations in Vienna (2000). Schakfeh (2005), since 2000 President of the IGGiÖ, published a more general oriented overview about Islam in Austria. Similar more generally oriented studies were made by Schmied (2005) and Strobl (2007).

Photo 8: Attitudes of Muslims vs. Austrians contrasted to attitudes of Austrians vs. Muslims



Sources: Rohe 2006, Gallup phone survey; <http://derstandard.at/?url=/?id=2454091>

.Seilerbeck (2006) wrote about young Muslims in Austria and their position between western world, liberalism and fundamentalism. Ornig finished 2006 a detailed analysis about the second generation of Muslims in Austria and the special problems in the context of their integration in the society. Rohe's survey (2006) about integration deficits of Muslim immigrants and which was financed by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior caused intense public discussions in the media as a result of his conclusions about their "unwillingness to integrate". The Muslims in the study were divided into the four categories Religious Conservative (18%), Traditional Conservative (27%), Moderate Liberal (31%) and Secular (24%). This analysis was heavily criticized by migration experts. It also caused an upheaval, especially among the Muslim communities, who immediately claimed that they were being victimized by the study. However, according to the co-author of the study, the point of the study was to identify a problem area. Shortly after and for the purpose of contrasting the results of the Rohe study Gallup made a phone survey about the attitudes of Austrians vs. Muslims which came to the result that Islamophobia is a widespread phenomenon among the Austrian population (see photo 8).

Tomenendal et al. (2007) analyzed Muslim NGOs in Austria in the context of the civil society dialogue about Muslim immigrants. The book publication of Stickler (2008) analyzed the IG-

GiÖ as an example of a “special model Austria” which refers to the unique status of Islam there. Rosenberger & Hadj-Abdou’s study (2008) was centred on the anti-Islamic campaign discourse of the far-right political parties in Austria. Vrglevski et al. (2008) wrote a popular article in “Biber” about resentments of migrant groups against each other and particular against Muslim immigrants.

Schmidinger & Larise (2009) recently provided a descriptive handbook which provides an overview over the political Islam. The PhD thesis of Khorchide (2009) about teachers of Islamic religion in Austrian schools recently got a lot of media and political attention and initiated a vivid discussion about the status quo of integration and the values of this group. Hofbauer’s (2009) report completes the list with his most recent popular publication about the Islamic communities in Austria and their “parallel worlds” reaching from harmless religious people to fundamentalist movements.

6.2 General approaches and policies improving the relations with Muslim groups

Concerning the improvement of intercultural relations with Muslim communities there is an explicit policy which is just like the case in general with all the other ethnic groups in the City. The City of Vienna considers all immigrant groups as equally important partners for dialogue and the implementation of measures and actions to promote integration as well as target groups for the City’s measures and actions taken in the field of integration and diversity (see Wiener Integrationsfonds & Sarig 2001). Basically religious groups and associations are regarded in an equal or similar way as those groups that organize along national and/or ethnic lines.⁶⁰ Organisations of the Muslims are considered by the Municipality as an important and indispensable partner in the City’s diversity, communication and information policies towards migrant communities which is an essential instrument of the process of implementing diversity management in the city administration. Often MA 17 is involved in contacts to Muslim organizations. In the association platforms, the regional and district platforms Muslim organizations are equally involved as the other NGOs. Until 2008 Muslim associations beside many others interacted very successful under the umbrella of the Vienna Integration Conference and its Networking Office. There are also institutionalized interreligious fora in the districts 2, 5, 6, 11 and 16 and “Open Mosque Days” in many Islamic communities. An important yearly event is also the annual *iftar* dinner at the end of *Ramadan* which takes place by invitation of the Mayor.

There are also successful contacts of the City to ZAMAN *Avusturya*, a worldwide represented Turkish media organization which is active in Vienna since 2004. On 19-11-2008 the Mayor Dr. Häupl was officially awarded by the Turkish media organization ZAMAN with the award for “Understanding and Co-existence” for his outstanding role in intercultural dialogue (ZAMAN 2008). A special recent example shall also be noted: The City Councillor for Integration Matters, Mrs. Frauenberger and Dr. Struppe, head of MA 17, met about 40 youth with Muslim background for a two hour dialogue in Vienna’s Town Hall. ZAMAN and MA 17 together made a survey among 200 young people (age 15 to 25 years) with Islamic background in respect to their attitudes and experiences in Austria, their chances on the labour market and their attitudes towards integration in general. The results of this survey were presented at this meeting (see ZAMAN 2009).

At the time of data collecting there was no official representation of Muslim organizations in local political organizations. Some officials in the city and district councils have a Muslim background and are affiliated to Muslim organisations. One example is *Omar Al-Rawi* who is

⁶⁰ For additional information see <http://www.bmukk.gv.at/ministerium/kultusamt/index.xml> (website of the ministry for education, arts and science).

an elected member of the Vienna city council, representing the Social Democrats. Other examples of politicians with a Muslim background are *Sirvan Ekici* (ÖVP), *Nurten Yilmaz* (SPÖ) and *Alev Korun* (since 2008 member of the National Assembly) from the Green Party. All of these women have a Turkish migration background and are in particular engaged in women's affairs (see chapter 6.1).

Concerning the financial support of Muslim organizations one has to say that the official IG-GiÖ is funded from abroad but no information could be gathered about the extent. Of course there is some funding for different Islamic projects, coming from Turkey or Arabic countries from private as well as from governmental sources. This concerns in particular money-consuming activities as the erection of new Mosques or prayer rooms: The Mosque of the Islamic Centre was built 1975-79 on behalf of the King of Saudi-Arabia *Faisal ibn Abd al-Aziz* who financed this project. It was built in Osman style and has a minaret of 32 metres. ATIB gets regular support from the government of Turkey, with the consequence that it is influenced by Turkish policy. Among the Iranian organizations it is only the *Imam Aliy(as)* Mosque which is officially supported by the Iranian. In regard to other organizations and projects it is very difficult to estimate, if and how much foreign money and influence from abroad is involved. The organizations themselves are not ready to prepare information about financial support from outside sources.

According to the City Administration no Muslim organisations exist with whom the City had no contact at all. There are more or less intensive contacts which are also determined by the extent of financial support from the City. Because of the considerable number of small Muslim associations in Vienna it is not possible to give an exact answer which organisations might have a more isolated status. On the basis of information gained from the interviews one can say that eventually not all Muslim organizations have regular contacts to the city.

6.3 Good practice examples of concrete activities and measures improving the relations with Muslim groups

The City of Vienna is oriented towards a general improvement of intergroup relations. MA 17 is developing a lot of initiatives especially on the district level and diversity policy oriented measures. An important activity are so-called "police projects" which try to achieve a sensibilisation of Vienna's policemen to the concrete needs of migrants and migrant institutions in general and Muslims in particular.⁶¹ A project of this kind is called "Rat und Hilfe neu" ("Advice and Help New") (see above). Further examples for measures of the city for improving relations between Muslims and other populations are:

- The City maintains regular contacts and talks between city representatives and Muslim organisations.
- During *Ramadan* an Information sheet is published.
- Many Mosques and Muslim organizations organize in cooperation with MA 17 "Tage der offenen Tür" ("Days of Open Doors") with meeting activities between Muslims and the other groups of the population. In November 2008 the Arabic Mosque in Praterstrasse organized a "Day of Open Mosque" for a better understanding and interreligious dialogue between Muslims and the other confessions. The same was made in May by the Islamic centre at Hubertusdamm. In November 2007 ATIB organized a day of the open door in the Islamic Centre Dammstraße.⁶²

There are also numerous activities by Muslim groups to improve intergroup relations in the city. Many of those are partly supported by the City, partly carried out by MA 17 at district

⁶¹ See also <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/social/integration/neighbourhood.html#example>.

⁶² See ORF on Volksgruppen 18-11-2008; ORF on Volksgruppen 20-05-2008; wienweb 08-11-2007.

level, including the already mentioned association platforms, days of open doors in many mosque associations, the *Ramadan* info bulletin for neighbours, police projects etc (see above): The results can hardly be quantified because there is no systematic outcome evaluation. The authors of this report mean that it is legitimate to say that all those intergroup activities and reports about them in local media are producing more interethnic tolerance and mutual understanding on both sides. Of course we don't live in an ideal world and thus not all groups of the non-Muslim as well as of the Muslim population can be reached by those activities.

6.4 Public communication

In the context of recent international events, the debates about the role of Islam attracted more public leverage and the consensus of not disputing religious rights has become more strongly contested. Owing to these developments, the Muslim issue has been situated in the field of struggle that embraces the broader context of Islam and Turkey's membership to the European Union. Anti-Islamic stereotyping and discrimination is neither new in the Austrian context, nor did it start with the events of 9/11 and the London and Madrid bombings in the year 2005. These stereotypes are even historical and date as far back as the 16th and 17th centuries during the war between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires referred to as "Turks wars".

The city has no special communication strategies for Islamic issues, but the general ones for issues of diversity and furthering the knowledge and information about Muslims and their interests among the whole Viennese population. Routinely in the Austrian public and media critical questions about "Austrian Islam" are asked whenever issues of "radical Islam" are debated (see Beig 2004, 2006, 17-03-2009; profil, see chapter 4.5). Thus each report on Islamic extremism and on questions about the Islam in the West has the undertone: How does it actually look with "our" Muslims in Austria? And are "they perhaps also as ready for violence as the Muslims in the media"? Thus, if acts of terrorism happen, also representatives of the Islamic Religious Body are asked for "official" statements (Hofbauer 2009). The "European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia" (EUMC) in Vienna, even observed that the events of the last years created "an atmosphere in which Muslims must constantly defend themselves and explain that they were not terrorists" (Strobel 2006). Other common themes in the media include the issue of ritual slaughter of animals, Islamic cemeteries, and problems in school and gym instruction. Here, conflicts may arise with cook instruction, if the Muslim children may not eat the food, which they should prepare after the Austrian curriculum, or with swimming instruction, because girls may not be in the same bath as boys. Problems occur also during outdoor projects and school meetings. Another media debate concerns the carrying of religiously motivated clothes. Discussions about the integration of Muslims flared up time and again, either in consequence of similar debates in other European countries or because of a terrorist attack or news about Islamic extremism. Eventually, general media debates on migration policy often reflect issues related to the integration of Muslims.

Following the events of 11th September 2001, Austrian officials as the then Austrian foreign minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner expressed their rejection of all forms of terrorism like their counterparts around the world but they refused to link the phenomenon with Islam. As in other European countries, there have been concerns that foreign imams are not well-integrated, speak little German, and may be spreading ideas that are violent. The IGGIÖ agrees to monitor mosques and professes the willingness to intervene, which they say has happened very rare the past. The Ministry of the Interior also plays a similar role in monitoring potentially problematic intentions.

In October 2007, Austrian authorities arrested a Bosnian suspect who attempted to enter the embassy with a backpack containing explosives and nails. The motive for the attack was not immediately clear but gained much media interest (diePresse 02-10-2007).

The case of the Muslim couple Mohamed M. and Mona S. in 2008 (see chapter 7.2.1.) found a lot of media resonance as it was Austria's first case of "home-grown" terrorist activity (Kleine Zeitung 13-02-2009).

As a positive example (among others) of very active Muslim media work in the intercultural dialogue sector the activities of the Islamic Federation in Vienna ("Islamische Föderation in Wien") shall be used. The IFW maintains public relations to other social groups and associations and has various media as DEWA, publication organs (Internet, radio, etc), the "College of Public Relations" and the "Tulip - Association for Intercultural Orientation". The maintenance of the web site www.ifwien.at is one of the main tasks of public relations of IFW. The bilingual (German and Turkish), free newspaper DEWA, gives opportunity for the members of the IAM and the interested parties, both in the form of a print medium, as well as on the home page at www.dewa.at, to learn about the latest events. Intercultural the IFW offers on the web site www.radyodewa.at a multifaceted program of actual issues in the cultural, religious and social spheres. To expand the Public Relations (PR) served in the German language is the College of Public Relations, whose emphasis is on interfaith dialogue, mediation from the political know-how and integration in the society. The core is the holding of training seminars, conferences, panels and symposia, with special offers (www.kollegium.ifw.at). The organization "Tulip" (Association for Intercultural orientation), is a kind of bridge between different cultures, which the intercultural communication in various areas such as literature, art, music, history and social sciences, is encouraged. It wants to encourage openness and tolerance.

6.5 Summary and lessons learnt

As Islam is an officially recognized religion since the law of 1912 the institutional implementation of Islam is sustained since many decades. Vienna has a long tradition of cooperation with Muslims and their organizations. Thus the demands of the immigrant groups with Muslim background are more and more respected.

There exist functioning networks of dialogue between the city officials and the representatives of the Muslim communities. Due to the institutionalisation of contacts the overall state-of-affairs in Vienna is rather calm though conflicts arise. There is no explicit strategy of the City in handling problems which are specifically related to Muslim religious manners but there is a great flexibility on the side of the city officials to mediate arising cases of conflict. The City has also no special communication strategy for Islamic issues, but the general ones for furthering the knowledge about Muslims among the Viennese population. In its relations with Muslim communities the City follows the same policy which is just like the case with other ethnic groups. Many conflicts are artificially exaggerated because of purely political interests. One has to admit that the attitudes of some native Austrians towards Muslims are even hostile. Muslims may have to face prejudices in social life and on the labour market. In mass media and the public discussion they are often confronted with the accusation of living in their own "parallel world".

MA 17 developed a lot of initiatives especially on the district level and diversity policy oriented measures. Examples of good-practice are information campaigns in different mosques, supervision and support for the construction of Mosques, political mediation between the City and the organisations, association platform, dialogue platforms, the *Ramadan* Information bulletins, *iftar* meals between Muslim representatives and City officials, police projects and the 2008 opened Muslim cemetery in the 23rd district, the first Islamic cemetery in Austria.

There are also numerous activities by Muslim groups to improve intergroup relations in the city such as days of open doors in many mosque associations, participation in dialogue platforms etc. An example of fruitful cooperation of Muslim organizations with Austrian institutions is the Turkish Islamic Union (ATIB) which is involved into programs for the benefit of

Turkish migrants initiated by the Commercial Chamber and the Chamber of Work. As a positive example (among others) of very active Muslim media work in the intercultural dialogue sector the activities of the Islamic Federation in Vienna (“Islamische Föderation in Wien”) shall be used. The IFW maintains public relations to other associations and has various media.

One deficit might be seen in the fact that the results of all these initiatives can hardly be quantified because there is no systematic outcome evaluation of any kind.

7 Intergroup relations and radicalisation

The City of Vienna has not answered the questions of this chapter and instead has pointed to the yearly reports of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Fight against Terrorism. The City has given the following explanation for this decision⁶³:

46“The City of Vienna has not answered these questions due to several aspects of this chapter: first and most importantly the term radicalisation is not at all defined. In the City’s opinion the term has foremost connotations with penal law, security and police issues which are all not within the competence of the City of Vienna. Moreover, the term and its consequences in legal regard and reactions are of utmost sensitivity – especially with regard to immigrant groups - and it is therefore not in the interest of the City to answer these questions in the way and format they were forwarded. In a broad sense the whole range of social and integration and diversity policies and measures of the city of Vienna – not only the measures of dialogue and communication described within that module - are geared towards preventing radicalisation of youngsters of the whole spectrum – be it right-wing extremism resenting immigration and immigrants or from immigrant communities turning to extremist forms of religious belief - by giving them appreciation and respect, and most of all equal rights and chances for participation in all spheres of life. In this regard much has been done and undertaken since the early 90ies, but by the same token much remains to be done in the years to come.[...] Important examples of initiatives by the City of Vienna against racism and racist radicalism that can be mentioned are the joining of and cooperation within the European Coalition of Cities against racism, the passing of a 10-point-actionplan against racism as well as the establishment of an immigration commission to further a fact-based public discourse on immigration and the engaged efforts of the City councillor for integration to mobilise a coalition of forces through all sectors of society and political parties against racism and racist radicalism.”

This part of the report is thus based on the available literature and the conclusions of the interviews with experts and not on information provided by the City government.

7.1 Radicalisation within the majority population

The dominant model of political participation in Austria is **party-centred**. Political participation is clearly focused on the electoral arena, direct forms of decision-making – e.g. popular initiatives – are available, but comparatively weak and most often initiated by the political elites (Müller 2006, 109 f.). Party membership rates are particularly high: In the late 1990s, about 17.7% of the electorate held a membership (Germany: 2.9%) (Mair & Van Biezen 2001, 9). In general, unconventional forms of political participation (e.g. demonstrations, strikes, illegal activities) are rare (Dolezal & Hutter 2007), although issues of migration, in-

⁶³ Comments of the City of Vienna to the draft report, submitted by email June 30, 2009.

tegration and racism since 1975 rank third-highest with regard to the size of participants of demonstrations (Dolezal & Hutter 2007, 345). The torch-light demonstration against the popular initiative of the Freedom Party against immigration in 1993 even was the third largest demonstration in the history of the Austrian Second Republic (Dolezal & Hutter 2007, 343).

In the literature, a combination of reasons for the **state- and party-centred political culture** of Austria is mentioned: First and foremost, the political opportunity structure is characterised by strong centralisation, weak parliamentarism and a clear dominance of government. A stable and relatively autonomous administrative system in combination with a well established system of corporatist reconciliation of interests of employers and trade unions within the “social partnership” widely restricts access of civic actors to areas of decision making (Dolezal & Hutter 2007, 339). As popular initiatives and instruments of direct democracy only can be initiated by Members of Parliament, civic actors only have limited means of influence, which makes aligning with a party a rational choice for issue making and agenda setting.

Furthermore, Austria’s political culture is characterised by **informal decision making**, a preference for consensus and incorporation of political contenders by informal elite-cooperation within the framework of social-partnership (cf. Talos 2006, 427 f.). Two parties never had been a part of the informal elite-cooperation in the system of social partnership: The Freedom Party (FPÖ), in the early 1980s an elitist far right-wing, German nationalistic party with an electorate of around 6% on the one hand, and the newly formed Green party, which in its early years comprised activist from the ecological movement with strong links to the catholic and protestant churches, human rights activists and disappointed former left-wing Social Democrats and activists from the radical academic leftist groups.

When in 1986 the late Jörg Haider was elected head of the FPÖ, he started to transform the former elitist party to a right-wing populist party with a mainly male working class electorate of up to 30%. The former German-nationalistic tendency of the FPÖ, which presented Austria as a part of the larger German nation and was strongly opposing minority rights for the ethnic groups traditionally settling in Austria⁶⁴ was replaced by an Austrian nationalism and a strict anti-immigrant position. On the other hand the Green party sharpened her profile in human rights, particularly with regard to immigrant integration. Thus migration issues, which formerly were regulated in the closed political framework of elite co-operation of the social partners, entered the parliamentary arena from the fringes: The transformed FPÖ and the newly founded Greens gained political profile by focusing on an issue neglected by the two big mass-parties dominating the parliament, the conservative ÖVP and the Social Democrats and transformed migration policies to a central political issue in the 1980s (Bauböck & Perchinig 2006, 733 ff.).

Since the early 1990s **mobilization against immigration** became an important agenda of the FPÖ, whose share of voters in the Viennese council elections had risen from 9.7% in 1987 to 22.5% in 1991⁶⁵. In 1992/93 the FPÖ organized a popular initiative under the slogan “Austria first”, calling for a restriction of immigration and tighter border and internal controls. In response, a wide range of NGO’s, public figures, church organisations and others, organized a mass-demonstration for tolerance and against xenophobia, the so-called “Sea of Lights”

⁶⁴ According to the Austrian Ethnic Groups Act, the following ethnic groups are recognised as “Volksgruppen” (ethnic groups) in Austria: The Slovenes in Carinthia and Styria, the Croats in the Burgenland, the Hungarians in the Burgenland and Vienna, the Czechs and Slovaks in Vienna and the Roma. Recognised ethnic groups may use of a set of cultural rights like e.g. the right to education in their language or the usage of their language(s) before the courts. To be recognised as “Volksgruppe”, several criteria, e.g. Austrian citizenship and the settlement on a given territory for at least three generations have to be fulfilled. Thus e.g. immigrants with a Roma origin cannot make use of the rights guaranteed to the Austrian Roma.

⁶⁵ <http://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/daten/pdf/grstimmenanteil.pdf>.

(Lichtermeer), in which some 300,000 people participated, making it the third-largest demonstration of the post-war period (Bauböck & Perchinig 2006, 733).

Photos 1 and 2: Examples of FPÖ election posters: „Vienna must not become Istanbul. He says what Vienna is thinking”; „Rational fears. We are we.”



Source: ESI

Since the 1990s campaigning against immigration was a major issue of the election-campaigns of the FPÖ, who gained 27.9% of the votes in the City Council elections in 1996 and declined to 20.2% in 2001 and 14.8% in 2005⁶⁶. Since the early years of the new millennium, anti-islamic positions gained prominence in the election campaigns of the FPÖ. In the election campaign for the general elections of 2006, the FPÖ widely published advertisements and posters stating “Daham statt Islam” (“At home instead of Islam”) and “Pummerin statt Muezzin” (The bell of St. Stephan’s cathedral, called “Pummerin”, instead of a *Muezzin*). In the election campaign for the general elections of 2008, the head of the FPÖ, Hans Christian Strache, argued, that in Austria there should be no place for mosques and minarets and complained about completely veiled women in Vienna’s streets⁶⁷. In January 2008, Susanne Winter, the head of the FPÖ of the Styrian capital, Graz, stated, that the “Islam should be thrown back where it came from, beyond the Mediterranean Sea” and that Mohammed today would be regarded as a child molester. These statements raised sharp criticism by the Catholic and Protestant Churches and the other parliamentary parties. Even President Heinz Fischer distanced himself from this statement.

Table 3: Share of votes of anti-immigrant parties in Vienna since 1985

⁶⁶ The “Bündnis Zukunft Österreich” (BZÖ) was founded after the split of the Freedom Party by former Freedom Party Members and presided by the late Jörg Haider. Whereas the BZÖ dominates the political landscape in Carinthia and the Freedom Party (FPÖ) only gained 3.7% at the provincial elections in 2009, the BZÖ only gained 1.2% at the City Council elections of 2005 in Vienna.

⁶⁷ <http://www.vienna.at/news/tp:vol:neuwahlen/artikel/ausschreitungen-bei-fpoe-kundgebung/cn/news-20080926-06443273>

City Council Elections	Share of votes (%)	
	Freedom Party (FPÖ)	Bündnis Zukunft Österreich (BZÖ)
1987	9.7	
1991	22.5	
1996	27.9	
2001	20.2	
2005	14.8	1.2

Source: Perching 2009

According to an analysis of the polling-institute SORA, for 73% of the voters of the FPÖ and for 75% of the voters of the BZÖ policies with regard to migration and integration were an important motive to cast a vote for the respective party at the general elections of 2008⁶⁸. At the Viennese Council elections of 2005, migration and integration issues were the main motive for first time voters for their voting decision, and in particular to cast a vote against the Freedom Party (SORA 2008, 21). Those mentioning migration and integration issues as a primary motive for their vote had a stronger preference for the Social Democratic Party and a higher turn-out rate (63%) as those who did not mention the subject. Migration and integration thus have been mobilizing issues as well for anti-immigrant and anti-FPÖ voters.

Whereas strong anti-immigrant positions have found a home within the local party-system, right-wing extremist anti-immigrant mobilization only has a low profile. According to the report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Fight against Terrorism (2007) right-wing extremist positions only find weak support among the public and there would be only rather limited success in recruiting of supporters (BVT 2008, 31).

Potential links between the Freedom Party and the right-wing-extremist scene have become visible in the protest against the construction of an Islamic centre in Vienna on September 13, 2007. On the site of their already existing building in the 20th district, the Turkish-Islamic Union for Cultural and Social Collaboration (ATIB) planned to construct a new Islamic centre including prayer rooms, but without a minaret.⁶⁹ After the plan became known, a citizens' initiative was founded, who argued against the construction fearing increased traffic and noise. The initiative set up a website against the plan called "Goodbye to the mosque" (www.moschee-ade.at), which was funded by the FPÖ, and organised a demonstration, which was supported by the FPÖ and the Conservative Party of the district. The demonstration was attended by approximately 850 persons, several dozens wearing Neo-Nazi outfit shouting "this is the march of the national opposition". H. C. Strache, the head of the Viennese FPÖ, who repeatedly has been accused to have contacts to Neo-Nazi-groups, also attended the demonstration and was acknowledge with great applause by the group of Neo-Nazis, who later were involved in a row with counter-demonstrators.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Institut für Strategieanalysen/SORA: Nationalratswahl 2008, available at: http://www.sora.at/images/doku/SORA_ISA_Analyse_NRW_2008.pdf, last accessed 09/04/2009.

⁶⁹ The construction was approved by the district building commission in March 2009.

⁷⁰ See <http://wien.orf.at/stories/221582/>.

According to the report of the Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA 2008), the number of officially reported and recorded incidents of racist violence and crime has oscillated between 322 and 528 cases in the period between 2000 and 2005 (FRA 2008, 123). Austria was one of the three EU Member States experiencing a downward trend in racist crime during the period 2000–2005 or 2005–2006 (FRA 2008, 124). The data provided by the report of the FRA are not broken down according to region or province.

The report of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia on Racist Violence in 15 EU Member States (EUMC 2005) links the general political climate with regard to immigration and right-wing extremism. Diagnosing a generally unfavourable climate for immigrants, “where anti-immigrant/asylum policies have become mainstream” (EUMC 2005, 121), the administration would focus on monitoring organised right-wing extremism and widely neglect ‘everyday’ examples of racism and racist violence (EUMC 2005, 122). On the basis of qualitative NGO and media reports, the report on racism indicates that a range of minorities are vulnerable to discriminatory practices in Austria. Black Africans are identified as being most at risk from racist crime, including police brutality (EUMC 2005, 124 f.).

The annual Racism reports published by the NGO “ZARA” since 2000 give the impression that discrimination based on ethnic or religious background is a widespread phenomenon and might also include acts of physical violence by discriminating individuals. Although most reported cases concern discrimination with regard to access to bars and clubs, flat- or job-hunting, a number of racial insults and harassment by neighbours or strangers, which often include an element of physical violence (ZARA 2000–2008). The data concern the whole of Austria and are not broken down by province.

In general, tapered anti-immigrant positions and attitudes present in the population mainly are enacted by voting for anti-immigrant parties like the FPÖ, and do not lead to organized political activities or violence. Organised anti-immigrant mobilization centred on the issue of the construction of an Islamic cultural centre in the 20th district. The demonstration against the construction of the Centre were attended as well by leading politicians of the FPÖ as by Neo-Nazis, and lead to a row with counter-demonstrators. According to the reports of the anti-racism-NGO “ZARA” acts of violence against immigrants result from individual encounters and are not systematically organised. In general, the impact of the election-campaigns of the FPÖ on the climate in the city is viewed negatively by the city-government, but there are no studies on their influence on the local integration of migrants and minorities available.

7.1.1 Radicalisation tendencies: who and what

7.1.2 General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

The general perception and attitude of the city towards anti-immigrant positions and groups focuses on investments in conflict reduction in everyday life and on the building of networks between the administration, immigrant associations and other civil society organisations on district levels (the so-called integration platforms). The political responsibility for integration policies lies with the City Councillor for Integration, Womens’ Affairs, Consumer Protection and Personnel, Mag. Sandra Frauenberger (SPÖ). Within the administration, the Department for Integration and Diversity of the Magistrate of the City of Vienna is responsible for the implementation of the integration- and diversity policy of the city.

The methods and measures used concentrate on **networking** between the administration, NGOs and politics, the establishment of dialogue platforms and for a and conflict mediation in districts where conflicts between different groups of the population occur frequently. Recently, the city has set up groups of mediators, which may be called in cases of conflict in housing areas. Furthermore, public relations campaigns in favour of peaceful coexistence are run frequently in the mass media.

7.1.3 Relations between groups

There are a number of NGOs which are active against anti-immigrant or anti-minority positions. The Catholic and the Protestant Churches and their humanitarian associations like the “Caritas” or the “Evangelische Diakonie” play an important role in the intercultural dialogue. They act as advocates of immigrants’ rights in public; organise advice-centres and language training courses; or provide shelter to asylum-seekers, refugees and immigrants in need. Another important association in the field of humanitarian work with immigrants is the humanitarian organisation “Volkshilfe” (Peoples’ Aid Organisation) with close connections to the Social Democratic Party.

Since the 1990s, several humanitarian associations engaged in the field of immigration and integration came into being. The umbrella-organisation “SOS Mitmensch”, which organised the torchlight demonstration against racism in 1993 – the third largest demonstration in Austria’s history – still is active, but somehow has lost political influence since. Their main activities are giving legal advice to immigrants and the publication of a monthly newspaper on integration issues. The Austrian League of Human Rights also has developed a strong focus on immigration and integration issues, their activities concentrate on organising workshops and the publication of a bimonthly newspaper on human rights issues. The Austrian Asylum Coordination, an umbrella group of NGOs working in the field of asylum, is also active against radicalisation and anti-immigrant positions. Their activities mainly concentrate on information and training in adult education centres and schools and the publication of a quarterly on migration issues. Other NGOs active in this field include the “Initiative Minderheiten” (“Minorities initiative”), whose activities concentrate on the organisation of exhibitions and cultural projects and the publication of a quarterly on minority issues, and the “Integrationshaus” (“House of Integration”), which hosts refugees and immigrants and organises vocational training for them, but also is engaged in intercultural work on the neighbourhood level. The “Intercultural Centre” is another NGO mainly active in organising intercultural activities at schools and within adult education.

The NGO ZARA (“Zivilcourage und Antirassismusbearbeitung”) concentrates on anti-racism trainings, documents cases of discrimination and runs an legal office for victims of racism and discrimination. Their annual “racism-reports”, which have been published since 2000, are the most important information source on the developments in this field.

Most of these organisations are partly also funded by the City of Vienna, either by contracts to carry out certain activities or projects or by direct funding. The City of Vienna e.g. is a main funder of the “House of Integration” or the anti-racist NGO ZARA. Until the end of 2008, the City of Vienna funded an office for networking of migrant organisations. The “Vienna Integration Conference” comprised more than 100 migrants’ and consulting organisations which aim to further political participation and represent and lobby for immigrants’ rights and interests and be a link to the municipality. Funding was stopped, as, according to the City of Vienna, organisations representing large groups of the immigrant population withdrew from cooperation due to internal conflicts.

According to the study of Waldrauch and Sohler on migrant organisations in Vienna (Waldrauch & Sohler 2003), a number of immigrant organisations focusing on antiracist and antidiscrimination activities have sprung up since the late 1990s and complemented the organisation based on national or ethnic origin or religion. A major trigger of this development was the foundation of the EU-founded “European Network against Racism” (ENAR) (Waldrauch & Sohler 2003, 416, footnote 597), Currently the Austrian chapter of ENAR (ENARA) comprises 22 organisations and acts as a platform of antiracist NGOs⁷¹.

⁷¹ <http://www.enar-eu.org/Page.asp?docid=15741&langue=EN>.

As mentioned earlier, integration platforms comprising immigrant organisations, the district administration and humanitarian and social NGOs have been set up in several districts, which also act to prevent radicalisation by organising dialogue and cooperation.

The City of Vienna has no responsibility for the local police. The City has given no information regarding their p.r.- and communication strategies in this field.

7.1.4 Summary and lessons learnt

The focus on networking with all relevant stakeholders and upholding sustainable informal communication and links to different associations has been regarded as successful means by the Head of the Department for Integration and Diversity of the City of Vienna at the round table on March 30, 2009.

7.2 Radicalisation within the migrant and/or minority population

7.2.1 Radicalisation tendencies: who and what

The Annual Report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Fight against Terrorism uses the heading “Extremism and Terrorism with relation to foreign countries” (BVT 2008, 48 ff) to describe activities related to terrorism of immigrants and their offspring. According to the report, **persons involved in these activities are most often Austrian citizens and member of the so-called “Second Generation”**. The majority of them originates from Arabic countries and the Near East (Egypt, Pakistan, Afghanistan), from the Balkans and from Turkey. In sporadic cases, converts to the Islam - particularly to the Salafiyya - have become active in extremist Islamic circles (BVT 2008, 49).

According to the report, the Internet has become a major tool to spread islamistic-extremist propaganda and to recruit new followers. The Internet also is used to publish manuals to build bombs or for training in martial arts and videos about terrorist attacks (BVT 2008, 50 f.).

According to the report The Global Islamic Media Front (GIMF), which was founded in 2004, is a major media platform for Islamic-extremist propaganda. Since 2005, the GIMF publishes a daily Internet-TV-broadcast under the label “Caliphate Voice Channel” (CVC), which focuses on jihadist propaganda and can be downloaded for free on the respective website. Since 2006, a German version of the GIMF is online.

Islamistic terrorist activities in Austria focused on broadcasts via the GIMF website. On March 9, 2007, the Caliphate Voice Channel published a video-message demanding the retreat of German and Austrian soldiers from the UN-Forces in Afghanistan. “Until now Austria was a safe country, but this situation might change soon”, the speaker stated with particular reference to Austria’s tourism industry (BVT 2008, 53).

Investigations of the state police lead to the arrest of two suspects, **Mohammed M, and Mona S.**, in September 2007. Both were Austrian citizens with middle-class family background in their early twenties, who were born and raised in Vienna. Mohammed S. had attended a private Islamic High School, Mona S. a public school. They had married according to an Islamic ritual, but not at the registrar’s office. Both were accused to have cooperated with Al Qaeda and of severe necessitation, necessitation of state organs and membership in a terrorist organisation. On March 12, 2008, Mohammed S. was sentenced to four years imprisonment and Mona S. to 22 months imprisonment for the accused crimes (BVT 2008, 54). On August 27, 2008, the Highest Court declared the sentences for null and void due to procedural reasons and demanded to repeat the trial (Pentz et al. 2008, 103 f.). On February 13, 2009 the trial was repeated and the sentences of the first trial were confirmed.

Mona S. had been excluded from the trial, as she refused to disrobe her *niquab*, which was seen as unacceptable by the judge, as the jury would have to be able to see the face of the accused and the witnesses. The judge had suggested to Mona S. to wear a headscarf instead, but she denied following this suggestion. The Highest Court confirmed the legality of the exclusion of Mona S. from the trial (Pentz et al. 2008, 80, 104).

The second aspect of radicalism mentioned in the annual reports of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and the Fight against Terrorism concerns the **Kurdish PKK**. According to the report, about 4000 persons living in Austria were sympathisers of the PKK. Their activities would focus on propaganda, public relations and demonstrations. The report also mentions an illegal demonstration at the site of the UN offices in Vienna in favour of Abdullah Öcalan. After 46 persons had violently entered the UN-premises and demonstrated in favour of the release of Mr. Öcalan, the police cleared the building and imprisoned one person. Furthermore, sympathisers of the PKK staged several, mostly peaceful demonstrations against the invasion of the Turkish Army in the Northern Iraq (BVT 2008, 63 f.).

The third aspect mentioned concerns radical activities with regard to the **Chechen conflict**. In April 2007, a 22 year old Chechen asylum seeker was killed by a 29 year old Chechen due to internal political conflicts within the Chechen refugee community. Furthermore, the police learnt about several cases of recruitment for suicide bombing among the Austrian Chechen community. Against two Russian citizens residing in Vienna charges were pressed because of alleged membership in a terrorist organisation (BVT 2008, 66). On January 13, Mr. Umar Israilov, a former officer of the private army of the Chechen president Ramzan Kadyrow, was shot on the street in front of his home. Mr. Israilov had asked for protection by the police, as he was on a death-list of the Chechen secret-service, but his request had been denied (Die Presse, 16.1.2009).

On 24th May 2009 the **murder of the famous Sikh Guru Sant Rama Anand** (an other *Guru* was seriously injured) in a Sikh *Gurdwara* in Pelzgasse, 15th district, caused serious inner disturbances among the Sikh communities not only in Vienna but even in the Indian region of Punjab. The causes that lie behind the violence were conflicts between pious and more moderate Sikh communities (Grolig & Schreiber 26-05-2009). On 15th June 2009 a suspicious Sikh gave a gunfight against the local elite police “Cobra” before he could be overwhelmed and imprisoned (Grolig & Wolf 19-06-2009).

There is only very scarce literature about religious radicalism in Austria. According to a study on political Islam in Austria, only a very small number of people are involved in radical *ji-hadist* activities. Even among Islamic groups with Arabic background, which represent a political understanding of the Islam, reformist orientations dominate (Schmidinger & Larise 2008, 103).

7.2.2 General approach, policies and measures towards these groups

The general perception and attitude of the city towards radicalism among immigrant and minority groups focuses on upholding sustainable relations with all immigrant organisations and fostering sustainable and continuous dialogue.

As explained by the head of the Magistrate Division on Integration and Diversity during the round-table on March 30, 2009, a main strategy of the city is **to invest in a good relationship and continuous dialogue with all immigrant communities and to build networks** between the administration, immigrant associations and other civil society organisations on district levels (the so-called integration platforms). The City of Vienna understands intercultural dialogue as a cross-sectional methodology applied in all policy areas. According to the city, sustainable dialogue is a main method to reach its general political goals, which have been mentioned as equal treatment, equality of chances, participation in all areas of society, including education, the labour market, social security and health, political participation and participa-

tion in civil society and access to public institutions. By this means the city intends to support the social advancement of immigrants and the acceptance of diversity, as opposed to demands to assimilation⁷².

The political responsibility for integration policies lies with the City Councillor for Integration, Womens' Affairs, Consumer Protection and Personnel, Mag. Sandra Frauenberger (SPÖ). Within the administration, the Department for Integration and Diversity of the Magistrate of the City of Vienna is responsible for the implementation of the integration- and diversity policy of the city.

The methods and measures used concentrate on continuous informal contacts and dialogue and on networking between the administration, NGOs and politics. Furthermore, the City funds a wide variety of projects involving immigrant associations and religious organisations like mosques. Staff members of the Department for Integration and Diversity regularly give lectures on integration issues in premises of immigrant associations and in mosques and religious building of other faith-groups.

7.2.3 Relations between groups

The already mentioned "Vienna Integration Conference" was a main tool of communication between different immigrant groups, but was abandoned in winter 2008. Now the main platform bringing together different immigrant organisations, NGOs and the administration are the integration platforms, which have been set up in several districts and act to prevent radicalisation by organising dialogue and cooperation. Intercultural or interreligious projects involving immigrant organisations are supported by the city. One of the organisations, whose projects have been i.a. supported by the City of Vienna, the "Association of Muslim Austrians", received the Lupac-Price for Democracy of the Austrian Parliament for their interreligious and intercultural activities in November 2009 (APA 197, 2008/11/10).

The City of Vienna has no responsibility for the local police. The City has given no information regarding their p.r.- and communication strategies in this field.

7.2.4 Lessons learnt

The focus on networking with all relevant stakeholders and upholding sustainable informal communication and links to different associations has been regarded as successful means by the Head of the Department for Integration and Diversity of the City of Vienna at the round table on March 30, 2009.

7.3 Radicalisation: Summary and lessons learnt

The dominant, party-centred political culture of Austria and the particular history of migration and integration policy making **have not left much room for the development of anti-immigrant and anti-minority groups outside of the parliamentary arena**. Instead, anti-immigrant parties have gained strength within the Austrian Parliament and the Viennese City-Council since the early 1990s. Thus migration and integration policy issues have become important topics at local elections campaigns influencing as well the decision to vote in favour of anti-immigrant parties as against them. The inclusion of tapered anti-immigrant positions into the party-system on the one hand made these positions acceptable for a large part of the electorate, and on the other hand did not leave much room for extremist groups outside the parliamentary system to mobilise on this agenda.

⁷² Comments of the City of Vienna to the draft report, submitted by email, June 30, 2009. In the context of integration and diversity monitoring MA 17 would be very interested in valid and proved indicators for measuring a "good coexistence/social climate" if such indicators are already available in other cities.

On the other hand, the political history of Austria has been shaped by a long tradition of corporatist conflict resolution through informal elite-cooperation, in particular with regard to class cleavages. A similar pattern of elite-cooperation and dialogue has shaped the reconciliation of the Catholic Church and the Social Democratic Party in the 1970s. Both the Catholic Church and the Social Democrats had been two antagonistic societal pillars in the civil war of the early 1930s, which particularly focused on the City of Vienna.

The current policy of the City of Vienna regarding radicalisation seems to be shaped by this historical pattern. In order to prevent radicalisation and a new pillarisation of society along the line of immigration, the city focuses on **measures to enhance the life-quality in districts with a high percentage of immigrant population and on mediation in every-day-conflicts potentially involving cultural misunderstandings.** This focus on conflict mediation in everyday life is regarded as a successful means against radicalisation by the city-government and is also intended to reduce voting for anti-immigrant parties.

Lack of communication and hardened positions characterised the failure to find an agreement with a local citizens' initiative in the case of the enlargement of an already existing Islamic centre in the 20th district. In this case, potential linkages between the FPÖ and Neo-Nazi-groups became visible and the situation escalated towards rows with demonstrators against the anti-Islamic protesters.

With regard to radicalisation among the immigrant population, the city follows the tradition of dialogue and elite cooperation. The main methods applied include the **establishment of communication channels** for informal conflict resolution on the elite level and the development of sustainable **dialogue fora** for all stakeholders - including immigrant organisations, the administration and NGO - particularly at the district level. The strong focus on communication and sustainable dialogue with all stakeholders demands a detailed knowledge of the informal structures of immigrant organisations and communities, which is secured by decentralised offices of the Department of Integration and Diversity and the employment of staff with immigrant origin there.

This approach also resembles the historical tradition of the **dominance of informal communication on elite-level as means of conflict resolution, which goes in hand with a strong focus on pragmatic ad-hoc solutions for acute problems.** Whereas this focus on the one hand allows utmost flexibility in finding solutions specifically tailored for each separate case, it may on the other hand convey a certain undervaluation of structural measures, scientific analyses, long-term concepts and scientific evaluation of results. The dominance of ad-hoc measures and the lack of clearly communicated policy goals may well lead also to the impression of a low degree of consistency and may handicap the evaluation of the efficiency and adequacy of the measures taken. In this respect, the withdrawal of funding for the "Vienna Integration Conference", which served as a platform for the cooperation of migrant organisations, in reaction to internal conflicts may serve as an example of the failure to consequently develop sustainable platforms for a formalised interaction with the migrant associations.

A communication-centred approach also relies on the capability to reach all potential stakeholders, which in a dominantly informal setting strongly depends on the personal capabilities of the actors involved. **The low number of radicalised individuals might be read as a sign of success,** although the involvement in terrorist activities of young Muslims born and raised as Austrian citizens in middle class families in Vienna may also hint to a lack of understanding of the process of radicalisation of the "Second Generation" as well as to the need to improve means to reach out to the part of the "Second Generation" susceptible for radicalisation.

8 Conclusion: Key challenges, lessons and learning for CLIP

In Austria the legal status of Muslims is unique in Europe because Islam is an officially recognized religion since the law of 1912. The historically established framework of state-church relations consists of an institutionalized cooperation between state authorities and religious associations. Consequently the city of Vienna has a long tradition of cooperation with Muslims and their organizations. **The state-of-affairs of interreligious dialogue is good.** There exist functioning networks of dialogue between the city officials and the representatives of the Migrant communities. Open conflicts are relatively rare. Regular contacts and the exchange of information about the interests of the migrant communities are seen as a key element in order to have good relations.

There exists an explicit policy which is just like the case in general with all the other ethnic groups in the City. The City of Vienna considers all immigrant groups as equally important partners for dialogue and the implementation of measures and actions to promote integration. **There is no explicit strategy of the City of Vienna in handling problems which are specifically related to Muslims but there is a great flexibility to mediate cases of conflict.** Many conflicts are anyway artificially exaggerated by right wing political parties because of purely political interests. The cases of conflicts with mosque building were mediated but still there are some protests. Compared to other European cities the headscarf debate is argued out relatively moderate. Wearing the headscarf is not disputed due to the legal tradition of the Austrian state-church relationship. But this conflict-free situation is just the official side of the coin. In everyday life the attitudes of many “native” Viennese and non-Muslim immigrants towards Muslims are often distanced and sometimes even hostile. Some Muslims have to face prejudices in social life and on the labour market.

An actual problem which is located outside the sphere of intervention of the City is the crisis of the IGGiÖ. Liberal oriented Muslims criticise the internal structure, the lack of democratic decision-making processes and the overrepresentation of Sunnites in this organization. Recently the IGGiÖ was seriously distressed because of accusations concerning a lack of control over Islamic instruction at schools and the employment of unqualified teachers. Moreover there are strong efforts on the side of the Alevites to establish an Alevite religious community which according to the Alevite leaders shall be completely independent from the IGGiÖ. Thus it is legitimate to say that the IGGiÖ actually goes through a critical phase.

Municipal Department 17 furthers a lot of initiatives especially on the spatial level of districts. There are also numerous activities by Muslim groups to improve intergroup relations. Many of those are partly supported by the City, partly carried out by MA 17. **District Platforms, Association Platforms, days of open doors in mosques, the Ramadan info bulletin for neighbours of Mosques and police projects can be recommended as examples of good-practice initiatives** which usually work well. The lack of conjoint formal consultation bodies of the City and ethnic and religious organizations must be classified as a deficit. There exists a lot of dialogue within the above cited platforms, and until 2008 within the Vienna Integration Conference.

Migrant organizations are classified as an important resource in the context of integration. The objective of improving intercultural relations forms an essential part of the activities of Municipal Department 17. Local politicians directly cooperate with the ethnic communities and there is a lot of financial and organisational support for all those organisations.

Among the considerable number of cases of good practices the initiative “Advice and help relaunched”, the “District’s festival weeks”, Language initiatives and EURO (“European soccer championship in Vienna”) have to be mentioned. Though the umbrella organisation “Vienna Integration Conference” funded by the City has worked really successfully for several years and initiated a lot of precious activities it was not successful in the long run. Among the vari-

ety of demands of migrant associations the improvement of the socio-economic situation of migrants especially in the area of education, labour market status, income, social security and housing, the improvement of their legal status, efficient anti-discrimination laws and bodies, more representation in the media (mainstreaming issues) and the improvement of the public debates on issues as migration are outstanding.

Vienna has a lot **of migrant media** and media cooperation between migrant organisations, mainstream media and migrant media. In this context m-media, a migrants' organisation with a focus on media and media cooperation is an important example of good practice.

The general evaluation of the authors of this report concerning the role of ethnic/religious organisations is very positive. The interethnic and inter-religious dialogue in Vienna plays an important role in the field of integration. Ethnic associations play an important role as **“multipliers” of measures and information** within their communities. The migrant organizations are also considered as important stakeholder groups and their interests are part of the political debate. It must not be neglected that some associations representing conservative branches of Islam may be problematic because of their possible proximity to fundamentalist ideologies but the city explicitly tries not to exclude any group from the dialogue.

Vienna is very active in the field of **public communication**. The communication strategy “Vienna speaks many languages” is an important cornerstone and is based on the principle of multilinguality. A further important initiative is the “Multilingual Glossary of the City of Vienna. The “Intercultural Calendar 2008”_and the “Feeling at Home” Projects are further initiatives to promote a peaceful living together. There is also a good cooperation between ethnic and local media (newspapers, radio and TV).

The interethnic relations between the migrant groups in Vienna are, as everywhere else in Europe, not completely peaceful. Of course there are traditional conflict lines between some migrant groups (e.g. Serbs versus Bosnians or Croats, Kurds vs. Turks). Traditionally, many conflicts in the countries of origin had less impact on Vienna than they had in other European countries. Contacts on an official level usually imply no problems but in everyday life the groups are much more separated from each other. Most of the conflicts are difficult to influence by official political measures of the city. Emotional rejection is hard to manage even by the most sophisticated official political measures.

A deficit can be seen in the fact that the results of the measures which are set by the City in the field of intercultural dialogue can hardly be quantified because there is no systematic outcome evaluation. This is a field where combined efforts in the future should be made. Furthermore one has to admit that besides all these positive findings there are still irritations among the indigenous population. The tolerant legal regulations are contrasted with racist attitudes within parts of the Austrian population and right-wing parties that systematically foster sentiments against (Muslim) immigrants. Legitimate interests of the natives are supported by the City, but there are also openly hostile attitudes which have often been instrumentalized. A great deal of further social and political measures will be necessary to improve the climate as a whole and to support the social issues of those parts of the population who are or feel to be in a weak social position (be it migrants or not) and have the most fear of changes.

The current policy of the City of Vienna regarding radicalisation the city focuses on measures to enhance the life-quality in districts with a high percentage of immigrant population and on mediation in every-day-conflicts potentially involving cultural misunderstandings. This focus on conflict mediation in everyday life is regarded as a successful means against radicalisation by the city-government and is also intended to reduce voting for anti-immigrant parties.

With regard to radicalisation among the immigrant population, the city follows the tradition of dialogue and elite cooperation. The main methods applied include the establishment of

communication channels for informal conflict resolution on the elite level and the development of sustainable dialogue fora for all stakeholders - including immigrant organisations, the administration and NGO - particularly at the district level.

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Czarnowski, Julia, PhD, researcher with focus on Iranians in Vienna, Institute for Iranian Studies, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Ekici, Sirvan, MA, Municipal Councillor, Austrian People’s Party of Vienna

Fidler, Gebhard, Ing., Journalist, Wiener Zeitung

Hafner, Astrid, MA, representative, Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs

Henhapel, Oliver MinRat MA, Principal, Austrian Federal Ministry for Education, Arts and Culture

Korun, Alev, MA, until 2008 Municipal Councillor, now Member of the National Council of Austria, Austrian Green Party

Kreuzhuber, Margit, MA, Austrian Chamber of Commerce (WKÖ), Dept. for Social Policy and Health

Krajlic, Alexander, MA, representative, Roman-Catholic Archdiocese Vienna

Kroissenbrunner, Sabine, MA, scientific expert, Head of the Task Force „Dialog of Cultures“ in the Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs.

Lein, Hansjörg, Superintendent, Evangelical Lutheran Diocese, Vienna

Olcay, Azem, PhD, Austrian Trade Union (ÖGB), Advice Centre

Osamwonyi, Doreen, MA, expert, Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior

Peyrl, Johannes, MA, Subject specialist, Chamber of Labour Vienna, Dept. for Social Affairs and Labour Market

Schäffer, Edwin, MA, Head of Diversity Department, Viennese Commercial Chamber

Six-Hohenbalken, Maria-Anna, PhD, senior researcher with focus on Kurds and Turks in Vienna, Social Anthropology Research Unit, Centre for Studies in Asian Cultures and Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Stix-Kern, Desiree, MA, representative, Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior

Struppe, Ursula, PhD, Head of Municipal Department 17, Integration and Diversity Matters

Stürzenbecher, Kurt, PhD, Municipal Councillor, Social Democratic Party of Vienna

Addendum

With the active cooperation of MA 17 a considerable number of representatives of Muslim organizations (e.g. Dipl.-Ing. Mouddar Khouja, IGGiÖ; Ali Cankaya, Föderation der Aleviten-Gemeinden in Österreich, ATIB - Türkisch Islamische Union für Kulturelle und Soziale Zusammenarbeit in Österreich, Irfan Buzar/Mr. Hasudin Atanovic/Mr. Samir Redzepovic, Islamska Zajednica Bosnjaka U Austrij, Islamische Gemeinde der Bosniaken in Österreich; Prof. Dr. Adnan Aslan, Islamische Religionspädagogische Akademie) and a representative of the "Israelitische Kultusgemeinde" were invited to participate in the Round Table Meeting on March 30th 2009. Unfortunately no representative was able to participate.

Minutes of the Round Table Meeting, 30-03-2009, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Dr. Ursula Struppe, head of MA 17, introduced the meeting with some statements concerning measures which promote the intercultural dialogue with Muslim communities, In addition she sketched out the basic lines of the dialogue-oriented policy of the city of Vienna. **Dr. Stürzenbecher** tied on his statement to the internal structure of the IGGiÖ and the point of view of the Social Democratic Party in Vienna. He emphasized that religion shall not be pushed away into a ghetto-like situation. **Mag. Korun** expressed her view that it is not only important to look at the official but also at the unofficial dialogue. Muslims became increasingly visible in Vienna during the last 5-10 years. She enunciated the problems in the context of the announcement of Mosque building or enlargement and the role of the politicians in this respect. **Dr. Kroissenbrunner** emphasized the diversity of Islam in Europe and the apprehension of dialogue in the Ministry of the Exterior. Furthermore she described the role of the Ministry in the preparation of the European Imam conference. In addition she sketched out the project about Turkish Imams in Vienna. She verbalized the important topic of the participation of women and youth in public and political life. **Mag. Henhappel** emphasized the good cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Prof. Aslan from the Muslim Pedagogical Academy. He points out the frictions between Muslims and the Orthodox Church since the Balkan wars. Furthermore he put into discussion the topics of the retreat of Muslim migrants into religion and the question of religious education in public and Koran schools. Afterwards a discussion about the definition of integration started between **Mag. Stix-Kern, Dr. Perchinig and Dr. Struppe**. Dr. Struppe accentuated that in Vienna the level of emotions remained concerning Islam remained relatively low compared to other European cities. **Prof. Fassmann** asked about planning instruments in the context of minaret building. **Dr. Kroissenbrunner** explains as an example the case of a minaret in Bad Vöslau. **Dr. Stürzenbecher** elaborates the logistic framework and the importance of a constant dialogue for reducing conflicts. He emphasized the question that some cultural values of Muslim communities are contradictory to basic and freedom rights in western constitutions. **Prof. Fassmann** asked once

again about a formal process of intervention of MA 17 cases of Mosque building. **Dr. Struppe** outlines the formal impossibility of such a framework. She emphasized the importance of informal intervention strategies. **Mag. Ekici** discusses the difference between integration and assimilation and criticizes the effects of a “snuggeling” strategy. **Mag. Henhapel** once again outlines the case of mosque building from the architectonic perspective. He expressed his opinion that the Osmanic style ATIB mosques cause more conflicts than more neutrally styled mosque buildings. **Mag. Korun** endorses his opinion that the minarets have to be seen in the context of a debate about symbols. She emphasized the heterogeneity of the Muslim communities and the necessity of internal discussions in those communities in cases of conflict about mosques etc. **Superintendent Lein** explains some examples of interreligious dialogue between the Christian churches and other confessions. **Dr. Kroissenbrunner** highlighted the importance of local integration processes and the role of increasing cooperation with the sending countries of the migrants. She also emphasized the importance of financial support from abroad in the context of mosque-building. **Mag. Kroissenbrunner, Dr. Perchinig and Dr. Stürzenbecher** once again started a discussion about the term “integration”. In the Viennese integration model integration is understood as a cross-section matter. In this context the topics of the *hijab*, integration of women etc. were elucidated. Lieutenant-Colonel **Böck** pleaded for a dialogue of all institutions which are involved in intercultural matters and addresses the problems of the African community in Vienna. **Mag. Henhapel** put up into discussion the interethnic contacts between different immigrant communities. He emphasized the importance of the creation of a common identity in Austria, comparable to the common US American identity. **Mag. Peyrl** explained the relevant aspects of intercultural dialogue from the perspective of the Viennese Chamber of Labour. **Mag. Ekici** pleads for a multiple Islamic discourse and a discussion about the IGGiÖ and its role. She verbalized some critics in the field of youth integration. **Mag. Stix-Kern** and **Mag. Korun** emphasized the importance of cultural plurality. **Dr. Struppe** in her final statement once again emphasized the flexible strategies of mediation the City of Vienna which has also contacts to groups which are seen as problematic by the IGGiÖ.