

# Youth Work in the Context of Integration

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Report on the current situation of immigrant youth in Austria  
– demography – education – labour market – housing –  
health.

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This report provides an overview of the social statistical data available for immigrant youth (in accordance with how *youth* is defined by the Austria Youth Report: 14–30-year-olds). The fields covered are: demography, participation in education, labour market participation, housing and health. It must be said that when searching library databases, it becomes clear that there are no specific studies on the situation of young immigrants. Existing studies on the situation of immigrants do not analyse that of youth in particular, and studies on the situation of youth contain barely any information on that of immigrant youth. Therefore, this report is based mainly on the analysis of publicly available, free-of-charge data from public bodies: in particular, relevant datasets from Statistics Austria and the Austrian Federal Ministry for Labour, Health, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection.

Statistics Austria provides a range of datasets which are relevant to this report. The Population Register – which contains all persons registered in Austria for longer than three months – enables queries to be run by age, gender, country of birth, nationality and place of residence. The reference date for the query can be the beginning of any year or quarter from 1.1.2002 onwards. Education data can be retrieved by applying the variables of nationality and household language. The most recent data available on housing is based on Austria's Register-Based Census 2011.

In a range of publicly available tables, Statistics Austria has combined countries of origin into groups which have been arranged on the basis of long-term Austrian immigration trends. Due to the long history of guest worker recruitment from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, the countries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, Croatia, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia have often been combined for statistical purposes as *Former Yugoslavia (without Slovenia)*. A further common group is *pre-2004 EU member states*: such countries had been a source of mainly highly qualified immigrants up until the turn of the millennium. The EU accession countries from 2004 and post-2004 are also combined as a group. From the 1990s onwards, these accession countries became a significant group of countries of origin (in some cases Bulgaria and Romania are shown under a separate heading). There are a number of tables in this report in which countries have been grouped as described above.

Information on employment and unemployment is based on the analysis of data from a publicly accessible database called BALI, maintained by the Federal Ministry for Labour, Health, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection. This database contains relevant datasets from the Federation of Austrian Social Insurance Institutions and the Austrian Public Employment Service (Arbeitsmarktservice).

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## 2. Definitions

Definitions used here are based on the nomenclature used by the Austrian authorities and are explained below.

### 2.1 Population flows

Statistics Austria has been providing annual statistics on migration since 2002. These record all persons who have been registered with their main place of residence in Austria for over 90 days. In this way, Statistics Austria takes the same approach as the UNO, by recording long and short-term migrants in this database. In addition to the usual demographic information on age, gender, country of birth and nationality, this database provides information about the countries from which immigration to Austria took place.

### 2.2 International migrants

The UNO defines an international migrant as a person who moves to a new place of residence, across an international border. "An international migrant is any person who changes his or her country of usual residence. A person's country of usual residence is that in which the person lives, i.e., the country in which the person has a place to live where he or she normally spends the daily period of rest." (United Nations Dept. of Economics and Social Affairs 1998, pg. 9). Stays in the new country of residence of 3–12 months are short term; those longer than twelve months are classed as long-term migration.

Although this definition is used in Austria when annual migration flows are measured (moving into Austria from abroad or moving abroad from Austria for longer than three months), it has not been applied in the datasets on population. In this case, Statistics Austria provides data on country of birth, and nationality. Place of birth is recorded on the official, statutory residence registration form, but it is not used for analysis purposes; it is merely a point reference should it be necessary to trace relatives (e.g. in case of death). This means that there is no information on the breakdown by place of birth for those sections of the population born abroad.

In public and academic debate, *born abroad* is usually taken as a proxy for immigration and the number of people born abroad referred to as if it were the number of immigrants living in Austria. This means that this data does not record instances where people who were born in Austria have moved abroad and then returned to Austria. It is not possible to address this lack of accuracy by using data from the publicly available database *statcube*.

In the absence of alternative datasets, this report also uses the data on people born abroad as data for the number and distribution of the immigrant population. For linguistic convenience, the term *migrant* is generally understood as meaning *international migrant* and as synonymous with *immigrant*.



## 2.3 Youth

There is no generally authoritative definition for the term *youth*. It is only precisely defined from a legal perspective, with the *Mündigkeitsalter* (age of legal capacity), which in Austria is the age of 14, and the *Volljährigkeitsalter* (age of majority) at 18. At 14 years of age, a child, who for all legal matters is completely dependent upon their parent or guardian, becomes a youth who may dispose over their own property and income. Then, with their 18<sup>th</sup> birthday comes the transition to adulthood, with full legal capacity and responsibility before the law.

From a social science perspective, defining youth purely in terms of chronological age does not appear useful. The term youth is understood as a stage in people's lives between childhood and adulthood, during which the transition from one stage to another appears open and fluid (Hurrelmann & Quenzel 2016, pg. 18). Instead of a fixed age limit, there is a transition from a child's complete dependence on their parents and other adult caregivers to the independence of adulthood, to autonomy, and for the most part, to economic independence from their parents (see Biffl & Zentner 2016, pg. 16). This stage begins in the second decade of life and can extend into the fourth.

In Austrian youth policy, the target group is defined as young people from 14–30 years and the core group as 14–24 (Biffl & Zentner 2016, pg.14). This report has adopted this definition and compiled the available data and literature dealing with the situation of those 14–30-year-olds born abroad.

## 2.4 Migration background

Statistics Austria publishes an annual estimate of the *population with a migration background*, while defining a person with a migration background as someone whose parents were both born abroad. Furthermore, it differentiates between those belonging to the first generation, who were born abroad, and those from the second generation, who were born in Austria. If the parents came from two different foreign countries, then the mother's country of birth takes precedence. There is no category covering this last scenario in the statcube database.

## 2.5 Nationality

The category *nationality (citizenship)* is found in the Population Register as well as in various other datasets. In fact, labour market participation and unemployment data are only available in relation to nationality: there is no specific data available on those born abroad.

Some 29% (507,216) of the 1,728,554 people who live in Austria but were born abroad have Austrian citizenship. At the same time, Austrian citizenship law, which largely adheres to the principle of *ius sanguinis*, means that children born in Austria to foreign parents acquire their parents' nationality only. As of 1.1.2019, there were 217,595 Austrian-born foreign nationals living in Austria (14.7% of all foreign nationals).

As of 1.1.2019, approximately 14.5% of young people born abroad had Austrian citizenship.



**Table1: Young people born abroad (14–29) by nationality, 1.1.2019**

Gender	Nationality				Total
	Non-Austrian	%	Austrian	%	
Male	155,492	86.24	24,809	13.76	180,301
Female	140,878	84.71	25,421	15.29	166,299
<b>Total</b>	<b>296,370</b>	<b>85.51</b>	<b>50,230</b>	<b>14.49</b>	<b>346,600</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s calculations.

Due to the level of social and economic integration which has to be demonstrated and the minimum residency requirement, naturalisation is a very socially selective process and primarily used by those who are already well-integrated (Stern 2011, Stadlmaier 2018). The share of the socially advantaged among naturalised citizens is higher than among the foreign national population in general. Due to the prevalence of naturalisation of families, children from socially advantaged families or those well-established in Austria have greater opportunity for naturalisation than children from families with lower socio-economic status, or from families which have not been resident for so long.

This means that a large share of socially advantaged youth born abroad disappear from the statistics in a systematic manner, leading to a large number of systematic distortions.

Therefore, it cannot be assumed that data on youth with foreign nationality in the education system and on the labour market are representative of the group of young immigrants as a whole. Due to this systematic under reporting of socially advantaged youth born abroad and the known correlation between social background and educational success, the overall picture of educational integration of young immigrants presumably suffers a negative distortion. In order to acquire a realistic picture of the situation of this group in both education and on the labour market, it would be necessary for Statistics Austria to evaluate their participation in education and on the labour market based on the variable *born abroad*, as opposed to that of *nationality*.

## 2.6 Household language

The demographic information contained in the Austrian Education Registry on pupils in Austria includes the variable *household language*. This records the language which pupils use most at home. This variable is recorded by the teacher or the headteacher on the basis of a conversation when the pupil is registered at school. This means that it is recorded through indirect means and is not updated annually, meaning that changes to household language over time are not recorded. In addition to general issues with indirect data collection – possible misunderstandings during communication with



the pupils, or distorted perceptions on the part of teachers – a further problem should be noted here: the proportion of pupils who do not use German at home is a significant factor for the allocation of resources for remedial education at individual schools. This has created a systematic incentive to over report this variable.

Since there is no data on pupils' place of birth for the school sector, the use of data on household language, in combination with the variable *nationality*, is the only way to estimate the number of immigrant pupils, even approximately. Therefore, the available data has been used for this report, with the caveat that data quality is problematic and leads to distortions.



## 3. The demography of the 14–29-year-old population born abroad

### 3.1 Introduction

Based on an analysis of the publicly available demographic database, *statcube*, from Statistics Austria, this chapter provides an overview of the demography of the section of the youth population in Austria who were born abroad, and of the four federal provinces selected for the project (Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Vienna). The database contains information on age, gender, country of birth, nationality, place of residence and federal province. Due to the high proportion of naturalised citizens among young people and low relevance of citizenship for accessing youth work services (except for asylum seekers), the variable *born abroad* rather than *nationality* has been used as the central differentiating feature in this analysis.

While reading this chapter, it should be borne in mind that the data referenced here only applies to the first generation, i.e. young people who were themselves born abroad. In the case of immigrants from former Yugoslavia and Turkey, but also immigrants from neighbouring eastern European countries, there is now a large second and third generation of children born in Austria, who are not recorded as such in the publicly available databases. The data referenced here only affords a limited and partial view of the demographic composition of youth work target groups; this is partly because it is not the country of birth but the age and self-classifying/being classified by others as belonging to a group which is of core relevance for youth work; and additionally because social status determines to an enormous extent whether (open) youth work services are used. It is obvious that such target groups also include the second and third generations. A (paid-for) bespoke analysis of the data from the Population Register to capture the situation of these groups could resolve this deficit and would be highly desirable.



### 3.2 Young people in Austria – the big picture

As of 1.1.2019, the population of Austria was around 8,859,000 people. Of those, around 1.7 million were 0–19 years old; around 5.5 million were 20–64; and around 1.7 million were 65 years old or older.

Some 1.06 million were 14–24 years old and 1.66 million 14–29 years old.<sup>2</sup> Youth, by their broadest definition (14–29), make up around 18.7% of the total population, and 14–24-year-olds around 11.9%. At around 19.6%, the proportion of young men among the total male population is markedly higher than the proportion of young women among the total female population (17.9%). Within the 14–29-year-old age group too, there is a shift in the sex ratio towards young men; while 49.2% of the total population is male and 50.8% is female, among 14–29-year-olds, 51.4% are male and 48.6% female. In 2014, these proportions were 50.9% to 49.1%. This shift can be explained by the large proportion of young men among the refugees settling in Austria during and post-2015.

The following table shows the number of young people aged 14–29, by age group (five or six-year age groups), gender and share of the overall population.

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<sup>2</sup> The definition of *youth* in the Youth Report defines the target group as young people from 14–30 years old (Biffi & Zentner 2017, pg. 14). Therefore in statistical terms, this concerns the 14–29-year-old age group, as the word *between* sets the the 30th birthday as the cut-off point.



**Table 2: 14–29-year-olds by gender and proportion of the population, 1.1.2019**

Age	Proportion of the total population	14–24-year-olds	Proportion of the total population	14–29-year-olds	Proportion of the total population	Total population
<b>Gender</b>	%		%		%	
Male	7.09	544,535	12.50	853,367	19.59	4,357,003
Female	6.55	511,479	11.36	806,378	17.91	4,501,742
<b>Total</b>	<b>6.81</b>	<b>1,056,014</b>	<b>11.92</b>	<b>1,659,746</b>	<b>18.74</b>	<b>8,858,775</b>

Age	14–19-year-olds	Proportion of the total population	20–24-year-olds	Proportion of the total population	25 bis 29 Jahre
<b>Gender</b>		%		%	
Male	27,123	6.23	27,331	6.27	30,882
Female	25,403	5.64	25,745	5.72	29,489
<b>Total</b>	<b>52,525</b>	<b>5.93</b>	<b>53,076</b>	<b>5.99</b>	<b>603,708</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



### 3.3 Young immigrants

#### Age and gender

As of 1.1.2019, there were 346,600 14–29-year-olds who were born abroad, but are living in Austria. The age distribution among the immigrant population diverges from that of the overall population in several respects. There is a somewhat lower proportion of 14–19-year-olds and a somewhat higher proportion of 20–24-year-olds than in the general population. Also, the proportion of the 25–29-year-old age group is markedly higher than in the overall population (9.41% versus 6.81%). In the case of both 14–24-year olds and 14–29-year-olds, the proportion of young men among all male immigrants is markedly higher than the proportion of young women among all female immigrants. Also in the case of young people born abroad, the share of young men is markedly higher than that of young women: while there are more women born abroad living in Austria than men (51% versus 49%), among 14–24-year-olds in this group, 53% are young men and among 24–30-year-olds, 52%. Due to the migration of refugees during and after 2015, there is a marked preponderance of young men among immigrant youth – a trend which needs to be reflected in youth work practice on the ground.



**Table 3: 14–29-year-olds born abroad by gender and proportion of the population, 1.1.2019**

Age	14–19-year-olds	Proportion of immigrants	20–24-year-olds	Proportion of immigrants	25–29-year-olds	Proportion of immigrants
<b>Gender</b>		%		%		%
Male	3899	4.61	5867	6.93	8264	9.76
Female	3335	3.78	5296	6.00	7999	9.07
<b>Total</b>	<b>72,343</b>	<b>4.19</b>	<b>11,162</b>	<b>6.46</b>	<b>16,264</b>	<b>9.41</b>

Age	14–24-year-olds	Proportion of immigrants	14–29-year-olds	Proportion of immigrants	Total born abroad
<b>Gender</b>		%		%	
Male	97,658	11.54	1803	21.30	84,638
Female	86,307	9.78	1663	18.85	88,217
<b>Total</b>	<b>18,397</b>	<b>10.64</b>	<b>3466</b>	<b>20.05</b>	<b>1,728,554</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



The Statistics Austria database does not enable a query to be run on the basis of migration background; this means that the data presented here only includes people who settled in Austria themselves and not children born in Austria to immigrant parents. Statistics Austria publishes an overview only of these groups; this overview is shown below.

**Table 4: Population aged 15 – 29 by migration background 2018**

Variable	Overall population	Migration background <sup>3</sup>		
		Combined	First generation immigrants	Second generation immigrants
<b>Men</b>	<b>4,268,830</b>	<b>976,531</b>	<b>708,145</b>	<b>268,387</b>
15–29-year-olds	788,910	212,874	131,753	81,121
Proportion of respective category	18.48	21.80	18.61	30.23
<b>Women</b>	<b>4,409,747</b>	<b>1,045,709</b>	<b>784,401</b>	<b>261,307</b>
15–29-year-olds	756,710	214,166	131,385	82,781
Proportion of respective category	17.16	20.48	16.75	31.68

Source: Statistics Austria<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In the case of the population with a migration background, these figures are estimates.

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.statistik.at/web\\_de/statistiken/menschen\\_und\\_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung\\_nach\\_migrationshintergrund/index.html](http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_migrationshintergrund/index.html) (June 2019)



As the table shows, around 81,100 young men and around 82,800 young women aged 15–29 have one or two immigrant parents. While in the case of first generation immigrants, there are more 15–29-year-old men than women of the same age, in the case of second generation immigrants, there is a slightly higher proportion of women in this age group. Overall, around 38% of young people with a migration background are second generation immigrants.

### **Regions of origin**

Some 44 per cent of the youth population who were born abroad come from the EEA<sup>5</sup> or Switzerland, with some 56% from third countries. Somewhat over a third (36%) of immigrant youth from the EEA plus Switzerland<sup>6</sup> come from the EU 15 (except Austria) and about two thirds from the 2004/post-2004 EU member states; only a small fraction (around 1.5%) come from the EFTA countries Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Over half of young EEA plus Switzerland immigrants are over 25 years old, which leads to the conclusion that a high proportion of these have settled in Austria as young adults in order to work or study. However, given the lack of available data on the duration of their residency in Austria, it is not possible to determine whether these 25–29-year-olds have actually grown up in Austria, or merely settled there from the age of 25 onwards.

Age group distribution among European third countries is similar to that for young immigrants from the EEA plus Switzerland. The majority of young, non-European immigrants (75%) have come from the Asian region. In this group, the proportion of 14–24-year-olds is almost double that of 25–29-year-olds; this has to be understood as a clear indication that the movement of refugees during and post-2015 has had an impact on the age structure on the youth population who were born abroad.

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<sup>5</sup> The EEA comprises the EU member states plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway. Switzerland is a member of EFTA (together with Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway), but not of the EEA.

<sup>6</sup> For Switzerland, a similar legal framework applies in Austria as for the EEA countries.



**Table 5: 14–29-year-olds born abroad by group of countries and proportion of the total population born abroad, 1.1.2019<sup>7</sup>**

A)	Country of birth	Total born abroad	EU and EFTA countries	%	Third countries	%	
	<b>Year</b>	<b>Age</b>					
	2019	14–19-year-olds	72,343	28,297	39.12	44,046	60.88
		20–24-year-olds	111,622	48,645	43.58	62,977	56.42
		25–29-year-olds	162,635	74,896	46.05	87,739	53.95
		14–24-year-olds	183,965	76,942	41.82	107,023	58.18
		14–29-year-olds	346,600	151,838	43.81	194,762	56.19

<sup>7</sup> Table 5 (A-C) shows a breakdown of the demographic data by different groups of countries of birth.



B)	Country of birth (EU and EFTA countries)	EU 15 (except Austria)	%	2004/post-2004 EU member states	%	EFTA member states and associated micro-states	%
Year	Age						
2019	14–19-year-olds	11,975	16.55	15,589	21.55	733	1.01
	20–24-year-olds	21,746	19.48	25,961	23.26	938	0.84
	25–29-year-olds	30,785	18.93	42,915	26.39	1196	0.74
	14–24-year-olds	33,721	18.33	41,550	22.59	1671	0.91
	14–29-year-olds	64,506	18.61	84,465	24.37	2867	0.83



C)		Country of birth (by continent)	African countries	%	Asian countries	%	Other	%
Year	Age							
2019	14–19-year-olds	3445	4.76	18,724	25.88	2349	3.25	
	20–24-year-olds	4583	4.11	24,199	21.68	3139	2.81	
	25–29-year-olds	5397	3.32	27,481	16.90	4376	2.69	
	14–24-year-olds	8028	4.36	42,923	23.33	5488	2.98	
	14–29-year-olds	13,425	3.87	70,404	20.31	9864	2.85	

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



### **Main countries of birth**

The ten main countries of birth for young immigrants (most common first) are Germany, Romania, Turkey, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Hungary, Syria, Poland and the Russian Federation. However, the compositions of age for these countries of birth vary markedly. In the case of countries which have a long-standing history of supplying guest workers: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Turkey, the proportion of 14–24-year-olds ranges from 35% to around 50%. This means that half or a comfortable majority are older than 25. In the case of EU countries of birth, the proportion of 14–24-year-olds and the over 25-year-olds is roughly equal; while in the case of those born in Afghanistan and Syria, the proportion of 14–24-year-olds is roughly two thirds.


**Table 6: 14–29-year-olds born abroad, ten main countries of birth, 1.1.2019**

Country of birth	Germany	Romania	Turkey	Afghanistan	Bosnia and Herzegovina
Age					
14–19-year-olds	8182	5199	3536	6608	2764
20–24-year-olds	14,987	9238	7266	8862	5169
25–29-year-olds	21,912	14,008	12,030	7154	14,295
14–24-year-olds	23,169	14,437	10,802	15,470	7933
14–29-year-olds	45,081	28,445	22,832	22,624	22,228

Country of birth	Serbia	Hungary	Syria/SAR	Poland	Russian Federation
Age					
14–19-year-olds	4720	3016	5158	1836	3742
20–24-year-olds	6867	5068	5296	3362	3436
25–29-year-olds	9498	8607	5680	5870	3309
14–24-year-olds	11,587	8084	10,454	5198	7178
14–29-year-olds	21,085	16,691	16,134	11,068	10,487

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s own calculations.

There are also marked differences to be seen when comparing the age distribution for the ten main countries of birth. While the proportion of 14–29-year-olds in the case of immigrants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey, Serbia and Poland is around 15% – an indication of a long established migration corridor whose significance is waning – for immigrants from Germany, Hungary and Romania, it is around 20%; immigration from these countries only began to gain momentum during the 1990s.



In the case of immigrants from the Russian Federation and Syria, the proportion of 14–29-year-olds is around a third. In the case of those from Afghanistan, it is more than half due to the large share of young men among immigrants from these countries.

**Table 7: Proportion of 14–29-year-olds among immigrants from the same country of birth, ten main countries of birth for young people, 1.1.2019**

Ten main countries of birth	Total	14–29-year-olds	Proportion of 14–29-year-olds in %
Germany	232,236	45,081	19.41
Romania	121,115	28,445	23.49
Turkey	159,682	22,832	14.30
Afghanistan	43,073	22,624	52.52
Bosnia and Herzegovina	168,465	22,228	13.19
Serbia	143,239	21,085	14.72
Hungary	79,048	16,691	21.12
Syria/SAR	48,450	16,691	21.12
Poland	75,602	11,068	14.64
Russian Federation	34,677	10,487	30.24

*Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s own calculations.*

The sex ratios for young people from the ten main countries of birth display some specific features. These ratios are more-or-less balanced for young people from most of these countries and so in keeping with demographic expectations, which can be understood as an indication that most young people moved to Austria as children or under family reunification rules. That said, there is a marked divergence from this in the case of Afghanistan and Syria, and a slight divergence from what might be expected in the case of the Russian Federation, Serbia and Hungary.

In the case of young Afghans, somewhat more than three-quarters are male; in the case of Syria, the share is around 62%. This is explained by the fact that most of this group are refugees from regions embroiled in war or crisis, and so comprise a high proportion of young men.

By contrast, there is a slightly higher proportion of young women among young people from Hungary, Serbia and the Russian Federation. Since this is particularly the case among 25–29-year-olds, the assumption is that members of this group have moved to Austria fairly recently for work-related or private reasons (to start a family).

**Table 8: Sex ratios in the young population from the ten main countries of birth, 1.1.2019**

Country of birth	14–19-year-olds		20–24-year-olds		25–29-year-olds		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Germany	4143	4039	7056	7931	10,909	11,003	22,108	22,973
Romania	2675	2524	4548	4690	6922	7086	14,145	14,300
Turkey	1806	1730	3522	3744	6135	5895	11,463	11,369
Afghanistan	4977	1631	7213	1649	5055	2099	17,245	5379
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1418	1346	2499	2670	7130	7165	11,047	11,181
Serbia	2359	2361	3345	3522	4599	4899	10,303	10,782
Hungary	1518	1498	2350	2718	3780	4827	7648	9043
Syria/SAR	2986	2172	3505	1791	3562	2118	10,053	6081
Poland	965	871	1746	1616	3001	2869	5712	5356
Russian Federation	1935	1807	1557	1879	1309	2000	4801	5686

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



## **Nationality**

Across all country of birth groups, the majority of young people (around 85%) who were born abroad are also foreign nationals. For one, this is the effect of Austrian citizenship law, which has relatively long residency requirements for naturalisation; for another, as has been described repeatedly in the literature (Reichel & Perchinig 2015; Stadlmair 2017), nationals of EU member states do not generally display a high level of interest in becoming naturalised in other EU member states. In keeping with this, the share of young people who were born abroad but have become naturalised Austrian citizens is markedly higher for third country nationals than for nationals of EU member states.



**Table 9: Country of birth and nationality by region and age group, 1.1.2019**

Nationality	Country of birth	14–19-year-olds		20–24-year-olds		25–29-year-olds		14–24-year-olds		14–29-year-olds	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Abroad	EU 15 (except Austria)	4229	4140	8718	9790	13,766	13,345	12,947	13,930	26,713	27,275
	2004/post-2004 EU member states	7392	7248	11,777	12,879	19,035	21,480	19,169	20,127	38,204	41,607
	EFTA member states	174	166	240	268	348	393	414	434	762	827
	Third countries (including Turkey)	8267	7975	11,609	13,264	18,154	19,249	19,876	21,239	38,030	40,488
	Africa	1256	833	2326	1097	2648	1728	3582	1930	6230	3658
	America	538	621	918	1132	1496	1712	1456	1753	2952	3465
	Asia	10,839	6164	15,282	6800	14,951	9667	26,121	12,964	41,072	22,631
	Oceania	28	44	58	61	91	70	86	105	177	175
	Unknown	414	269	467	257	471	226	881	526	1352	752
	<b>Total</b>	<b>33,137</b>	<b>27,460</b>	<b>51,395</b>	<b>45,548</b>	<b>70,960</b>	<b>67,870</b>	<b>84,532</b>	<b>73,008</b>	<b>155,492</b>	<b>140,878</b>



Nationality	Country of birth	14–19-year-olds		20–24-year-olds		25–29-year-olds		14–24-year-olds		14–29-year-olds	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Austria	EU 15 (except Austria)	1829	1777	1577	1661	1792	1882	3406	3438	5198	5320
	2004/post-2004 EU member states	460	489	633	672	1150	1250	1093	1161	2243	2411
	EFTA member states	197	196	197	233	227	228	394	429	621	657
	Third countries (incl. Turkey)	1310	1287	2782	2 663	6056	6324	4092	3950	10,148	10,274
	Africa	634	722	574	586	518	503	1208	1308	1726	1811
	America	540	503	449	456	446	487	989	959	1435	1446
	Asia	848	873	1030	1087	1459	1404	1878	1960	3337	3364
	Oceania	35	40	22	43	31	43	57	83	88	126
	Unknown	2	4	7	7	4	1	9	11	13	12
	<b>Total</b>	<b>5855</b>	<b>5891</b>	<b>7271</b>	<b>7408</b>	<b>11,683</b>	<b>12,122</b>	<b>13,126</b>	<b>13,299</b>	<b>24,809</b>	<b>25,421</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



In relation to the ten main countries of birth, young people born abroad become naturalised at markedly different rates. While 30% of young people born in Turkey and 23% of young people born in Bosnia and Herzegovina are Austrian citizens, the rate for young people from Germany is 17% and for young Russian Federation and Serbian nationals, it is about 10–12%. At 4–5%, a relatively low proportion of young people born in Hungary, Poland or Romania have Austrian citizenship. The relatively high proportion of naturalised Afghans (4.41%) is a reflection of the low but steady immigration and naturalisation of Afghans prior to 2015. By contrast, the low proportion (1%) of naturalised youth born in Syria is in keeping with the immigration data, which shows hardly any immigration from Syria to Austria prior to 2015.

**Table 10: Ten main countries of birth, by nationality, 1.1.2019**

10 main countries of birth	Nationality		
	14–29-year-olds	Austrian (%)	Non-Austrian (%)
Germany	45,081	17.39	82.61
Romania	28,445	4.65	95.35
Turkey	22,832	30.05	69.95
Afghanistan	22,624	4.41	95.59
Bosnia and Herzegovina	22,228	23.03	76.97
Serbia	21,085	11.99	88.01
Hungary	16,691	3.99	96.01
Syria/SAR	16,134	1.15	98.85
Poland	11,068	4.80	95.20
Russian Federation	10,487	10.51	89.49

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



Austrian citizenship law favours the principle of naturalisation of families, in so far as if one parent is granted citizenship, this is extended to their spouse and all children who are still minors. Once a young person reaches the age of majority at 18, they are themselves subject to the general requirements for naturalisation.

However, the data available in the statistics database does not enable any analysis to be made of the impact of these rules in relation to 14–29-year-olds. As shown by the table below, the share of naturalisations through extending citizenship to include children before they reach the age of majority decreased from 2009–2018 from around 42.5% to 34.2%; the share of naturalisation at the age of 18–24 remained fairly stable, around 9–11%.



**Table 11: Naturalisation by age group 2009–2018**

Age groups	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
<b>Total</b>	<b>7990</b>	<b>9450</b>	<b>9271</b>	<b>8626</b>	<b>8265</b>	<b>7693</b>	<b>7418</b>	<b>7107</b>	<b>6754</b>	<b>6190</b>	<b>7990</b>
<b>Up to 14 years old</b>	<b>2669</b>	<b>2667</b>	<b>2894</b>	<b>2582</b>	<b>2560</b>	<b>2492</b>	<b>2187</b>	<b>2029</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>1927</b>	<b>2669</b>
<b>15–17 years old</b>	<b>729</b>	<b>569</b>	<b>564</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>571</b>	<b>516</b>	<b>614</b>	<b>544</b>	<b>539</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>729</b>
<b>Proportion up to 17 (%)</b>	<b>42.53</b>	<b>34.24</b>	<b>37.30</b>	<b>37.19</b>	<b>37.88</b>	<b>39.10</b>	<b>37.76</b>	<b>36.20</b>	<b>37.83</b>	<b>40.10</b>	<b>42.53</b>
<b>18–24 years old</b>	<b>851</b>	<b>975</b>	<b>825</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>791</b>	<b>760</b>	<b>755</b>	<b>771</b>	<b>660</b>	<b>635</b>	<b>851</b>
<b>25–34 years old</b>	<b>1471</b>	<b>1755</b>	<b>1739</b>	<b>1690</b>	<b>1665</b>	<b>1612</b>	<b>1503</b>	<b>1528</b>	<b>1431</b>	<b>1224</b>	<b>1471</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



### 3.4 Young immigrants in Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Vienna

The proportion of young people born abroad varies in the four federal provinces covered in this report. While the proportion of young people born abroad in terms of all youth in Upper Austria, Salzburg and Vorarlberg lies between 16.3% and 20.14%, more than a third of all young people in Vienna were born abroad. In all four federal provinces and among all age groups, the proportion of young male immigrants in terms of all immigrants is slightly higher than that of young female immigrants.

**Table 11: Young people born abroad by gender and age group in the federal provinces of Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Vienna, 1.1.2019**

		14–19-year-olds	20–24-year-olds	25–29-year-olds	Total	Proportion of all youth (%)
Upper Austria	male	5549	7607	11,451	24,607	17.06
	female	4718	6482	10,613	21,813	16.27
Salzburg	male	2259	3510	5074	10,843	20.14
	female	1889	2974	4969	9832	19.42
Vorarlberg	male	1864	2431	3277	7572	19.42
	female	1501	1850	3139	6490	17.95
Vienna	male	14,905	25,536	35,176	75,617	37.64
	female	13,532	24,928	34,952	73,412	37.11

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



As the table below shows, the ten main countries of birth for immigrants in all four federal provinces are similar and reflect the main corridors of countries from which immigrants have been drawn to Austria over many years (Croatia, Serbia and Turkey: guest worker recruitment; Bosnia and Herzegovina: guest worker recruitment and Yugoslavian Wars; Germany: immigration post-1990; Hungary, Slovakia, Poland and Romania: EU enlargement in 2004 and 2007; Russian Federation: immigration since 2000; Afghanistan and Syria: movement of refugees during and post-2015). Even if there are slight differences between the specific breakdown from one federal province to another, refugees from Afghanistan are to be found in the top five so-to-speak, in all four of them.

However, measured against the total number of young people, the proportions for the five main countries of birth are small and lie between 0.87% (Romanians in Vorarlberg) and 4.03% (Germans in Vorarlberg). Even the large refugee groups of recent years make up only a very small share of all young people in the federal provinces (country of birth Afghanistan: 1.05%–1.17%; country of birth Syria: 0.62%–1.53%).



**Table 12: Main countries of birth in the federal provinces of Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Vienna, 1.1.2019**

		Romania	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Germany	Afghanistan	Turkey	Hungary	Serbia	Syrian Arab Republic	Croatia	Russian Federation
Upper Austria	Male	2706	2529	2356	2429	1493	1289	949	1112	507	478
	Female	2581	2437	2400	828	1455	1478	995	608	507	532
	Total	5287	4966	4756	3257	2948	2767	1944	1720	1014	1010
	Proportion of all youth (%)	1.9	1.78	1.71	1.17	1.06	0.99	0.70	0.62	0.36	0.36
		Germany	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Afghanistan	Romania	Hungary	Syrian Arab Republic	Serbia	Turkey	Russian Federation	Slovakia
Salzburg	Male	1739	810	1272	703	614	640	464	373	166	126
	Female	2075	824	218	666	629	357	494	356	250	161
	Total	3814	1634	1490	1369	1243	997	958	729	416	287
	Proportion of all youth (%)	3.65	1.56	1.43	1.31	1.19	0.95	0.92	0.70	0.40	0.27



		Germany	Turkey	Afghanistan	Syrian Arab Republic	Romania	Hungary	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Russian Federation	Serbia	Poland
Vorarlberg	Male	1545	798	784	480	329	278	295	257	154	94
	Female	1486	802	130	307	326	333	282	244	159	119
	Total	3031	1600	914	787	655	611	577	501	313	213
	Proportion of all youth (%)	4.03	2.13	1.21	1.05	0.87	0.81	0.77	0.67	0.42	0.28
		Germany	Serbia	Turkey	Afghanistan	Romania	Syrian Arab Republic	Poland	Bosnia & Herzegovina	Russian Federation	Hungary
Vienna	Male	7131	6538	5377	6233	3850	4941	3851	2894	2271	2188
	Female	7762	7058	5261	2460	4255	2841	3643	3225	3060	2813
	Total	14,893	13,596	10,638	8693	8105	7782	7494	6119	5331	5001
	Proportion of all youth (%)	3.74	3.41	2.67	2.18	2.03	1.95	1.88	1.53	1.34	1.25

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



### 3.5 Inward and Outward Migration

As the table below shows, inward and outward migration to and from Austria has clearly been influenced by under 30-year-olds. While the proportion of 14–29-year-olds in terms of overall immigration was 42%–45% between 2009 and 2018, the proportion of outward migration was markedly lower at 36%–40%. In 2009 and 2010, the proportion of youth in net immigration (inward migration minus outward migration) was 86% and 70% respectively. From 2011–2016, it fell to 52–62% and varied between 48% and 50% during 2017 and 2018. This data is clear proof of the preponderance of 15–35-year-olds in international migration, which is well-known in migration research (Zaiceva & Zimmermann 2008).

**Table 13: Inward and outward migration 2009–2018 total and proportion of 14–29-year-olds**

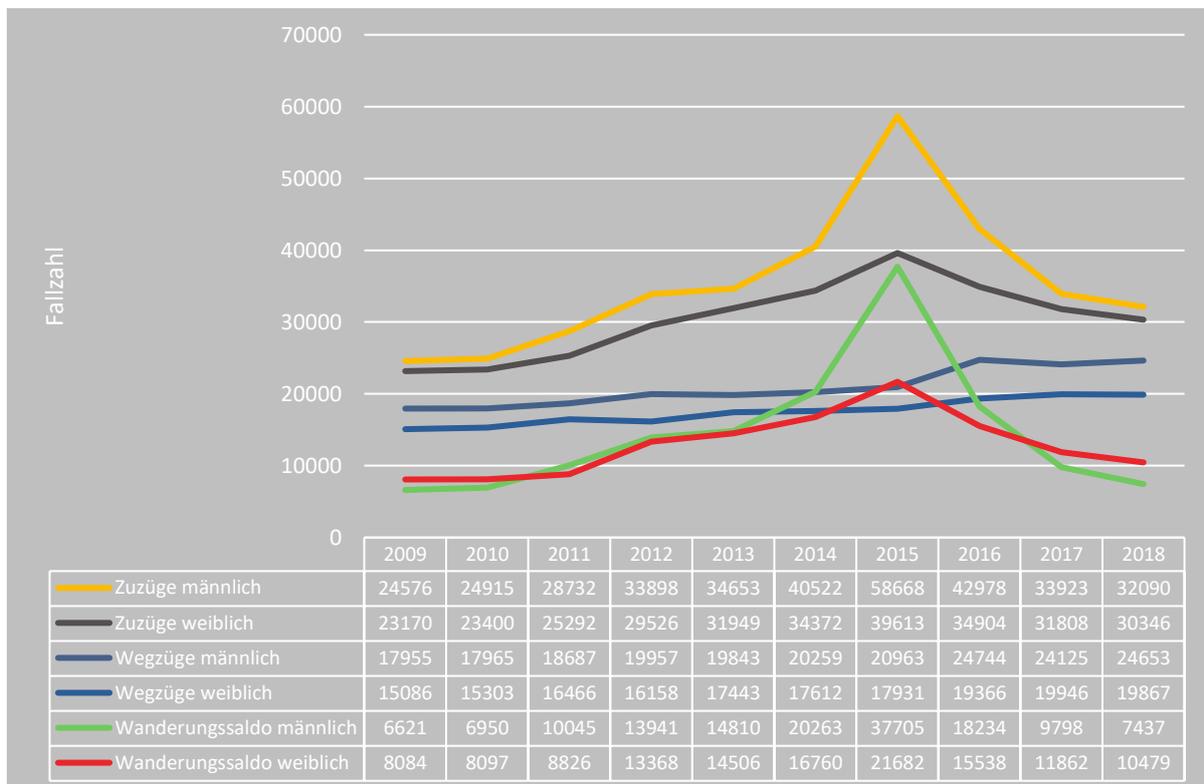
	Total inward migration	Proportion of youth (%)	Total outward migration	Proportion of youth (%)	Total net immigration	Proportion of youth (%)
2009	107,523	44.41	90,470	36.52	17,053	86.23
2010	112,691	42.87	91,375	36.41	21,316	70.59
2011	124,619	43.35	93,914	37.43	30,705	61.46
2012	140,358	45.19	96,561	37.40	43,797	62.35
2013	151,280	44.03	96,552	38.62	54,728	53.57
2014	170,115	44.03	97,791	38.73	72,324	51.19
2015	214,410	45.84	101,343	38.38	113,067	52.52
2016	174,310	44.68	109,634	40.23	64,676	52.22
2017	154,749	42.48	110,119	40.02	44,630	48.53
2018	146,856	42.52	111,555	39.91	35,301	50.75

*Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s calculations.*

The migration data clearly shows the shift in the sex ratio arising from the movement of refugees during and post-2015. While the sex ratio had remained somewhat balanced up until approximately

2013, both in the case of inward migration and net immigration, from 2014–2016 there was a marked increase in male immigrants; the impact of this on net immigration was dampened by a slight increase in male outward migration from 2015 onwards. Although there was a marked increase in inward migration and net immigration in the years 2014–2016, in the meantime, the levels are now only slightly higher than they were in 2009 and 2010.

**Graph 1: Inward and outward migration of 14–29-year-olds 2009–2018**

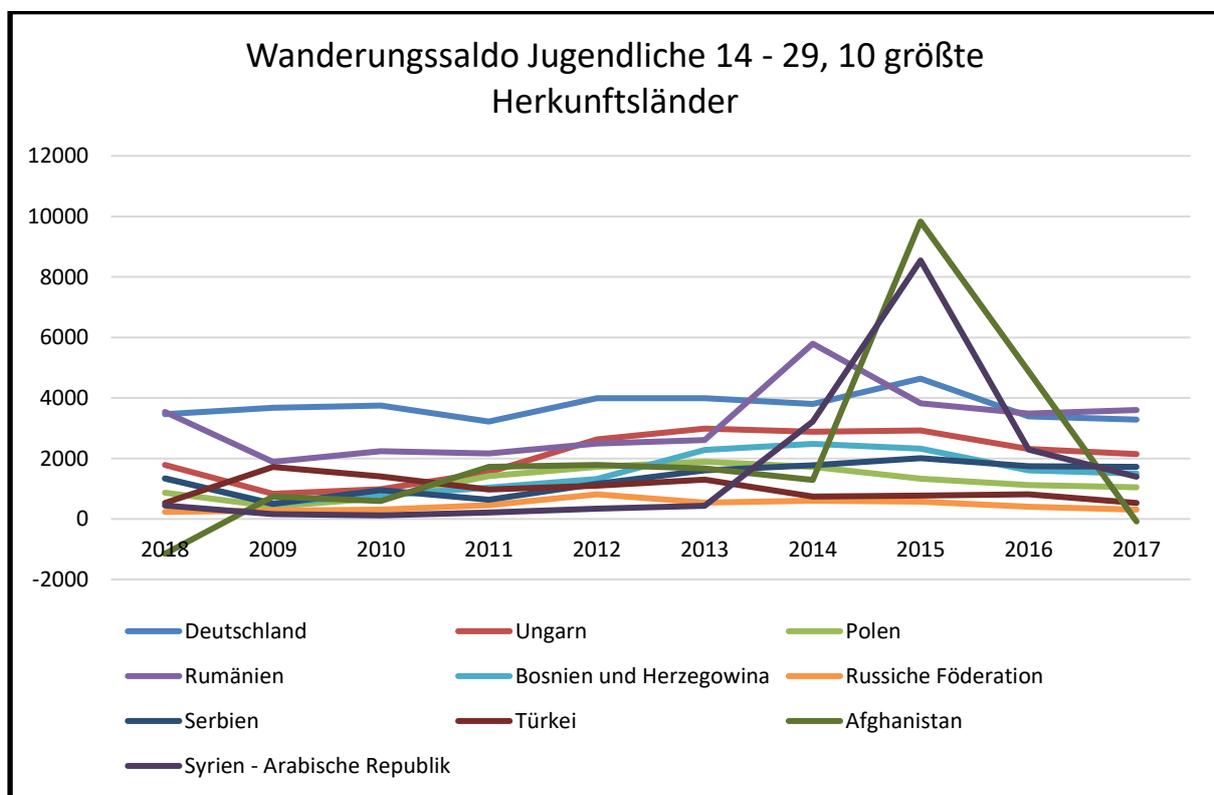


Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



As the graph below shows, the increase in net immigration for 2014–2016 is almost entirely due to the migration of refugees from Afghanistan and Syria. In 2013–2015, there was also a significant increase in net immigration for young Romanians. This was partly due to the end of transition arrangements for labour market access, and partly due to increasing numbers of young Romanians working in 24-hour care, which meant their being registered as resident at the households of those they were caring for (Sekulová & Rogoz 2019, pg. 9f.). By contrast, youth immigration from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, Poland and Turkey decreased.

**Graph 2: Net immigration for 14–29-year-olds from the ten main countries of origin 2009–2018**



Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s calculations.



## 4. Participation in Education

### 4.1 Introduction

In Austria, data on participation in the school system is not collected in relation to place of birth, but rather in relation to the language spoken at home and nationality. This means that this data includes those young people who were born in Austria, but use a different first language to German at home; however, it does not record those immigrant school pupils who use German at home, and have Austrian citizenship. By contrast, data on the number of apprentices is only available in relation to nationality, meaning that there is no record of young people born abroad who have become naturalised citizens. In the studies cited, the term *youth* diverges from the definition used in the Austrian Youth Strategy: the report *Kinder & Jugend – Statistiken zu Migration & Integration (Children and Youth – Statistics on Migration and Integration)* (ÖIF 2016, pg. 12) uses the term *youth population* for everyone from 0–24. In many publications, the term *migration background* is used, which conflates even recent immigrants with children from immigrant families with the same country of origin<sup>8</sup>.

Quite apart from these limitations, a further significant question presents itself: how relevant in actual fact are the variables country of birth, nationality and language spoken at home to young people's educational careers? As detailed analyses in the Austria Education Report 2015 on the educational participation of youth with migration backgrounds show, it is not migration background per se which is the decisive factor behind their position in the education system, but rather the low social status and low level of formal education of the parents of young immigrants from third countries (Neubacher et al 2018, pg. 211f.) In this regard, the background variables demonstrate hierarchical, tiered effects:

*"The likelihood of a 17-year-old attending a school where the programme leads to the Austrian secondary school certificate (Matura) increases if their parents are graduates and (further to that) have high professional status. Overall, the range of probabilities is from 18% for girls with parents who are not in employment, who have a compulsory education qualification at best and a migration background, up to 90% in the case of boys without a migration background whose parents are in management positions and have themselves completed higher education. (...) If their parents have a compulsory education qualification at most, the likelihood of young people in this group attending a school which prepares them for the secondary school certificate is 54%; if their parents have an apprenticeship qualification, this likelihood rises to 59%. Where the parents themselves have a secondary school certificate from a selective secondary school or a vocational upper/post secondary, this likelihood increases to 83%; while if their parents are*

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<sup>8</sup> The definition of the term is not standardised in official publications. Statistics Austria defines a *person with migration background* as someone whose parents were *both* (emphasis by the author) born abroad (Statistics Austria 2019). The Fourth Integration and Diversity Monitor of the City of Vienna (*4. Wiener Integrations- und Diversitätsmonitor*) published by the City and Federal Province of Vienna defines *migration background* as a combination of the factors of foreign nationality, being born abroad and the country of birth of at least *one* immigrant parent (author's emphasis) (City of Vienna, Municipal Department 17). For further discussion of the definition of the term *migration background*, see Perching & Troger 2011.

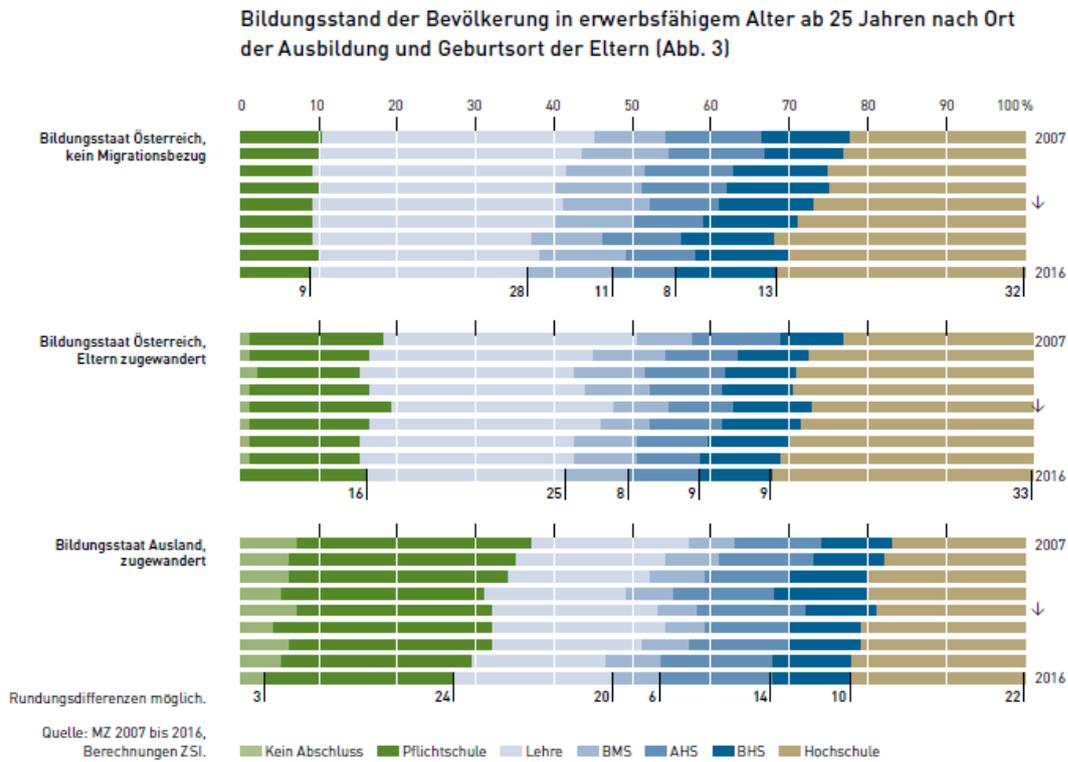


*graduates, it is 87%. (...) By contrast, migration background has only a low impact on participation in education by 17-year-olds in comparison with the education and professional status enjoyed by their parents. There is a tendency for children from parents without a migration background to be somewhat more likely to attend a selective secondary school or a vocational upper/post secondary school, but this effect is not statistically significant in a multivariate regression model.” (ibid.)*

Among immigrant youth, there is a clear differentiation between the educational careers of those young people who started their school education in Austria, and those who came to Austria after or during their compulsory education. The country where an immigrant has been educated is markedly more relevant to social positioning than the country of birth: someone born abroad who goes to school in Austria has at least nine years to learn German and receives the same educational qualifications as an Austrian; the later someone arrives in Austria, the less time they have to learn German and the greater the barriers to achieving the standard required. The graph below, from the 4<sup>th</sup> Vienna Integration and Diversity Monitor (City of Vienna – Municipal Department 17 2017), illustrates this issue: among people 25 years old or older, living in Vienna – an age group who have for the most part already completed their education – the distribution of qualifications in the case of those who have a migration background but have been educated in Austria converged with the distribution among people without a migration background, gradually, between 2007 and 2016, in the case of higher education; however, for the share of the group who had completed compulsory education at best, marked differences remain. By contrast, in the case of people with a migration background who have been educated abroad, a much higher proportion have only completed compulsory education and a much lower proportion are graduates (City of Vienna – Municipal Department 2017, pg 70).



**Graph 3: Level of education by migration background and place of education: Vienna 2007–2016**



Source: City of Vienna – Municipal Department 17, 2017: 4<sup>th</sup> Vienna Integration and Diversity Monitor. Vienna (MA 17), pg. 70

The education statistics, which have been collected and managed by Statistics Austria since 2001 record all parameters which would be required for analysing educational careers in terms of the variables nationality, country of birth, country of education and language spoken at home; however, these statistics are not publicly available without payment and have never actually been analysed in these respects. Therefore, it has not been possible to present an analysis of this kind in this report. From the perspective of research into integration, a special analysis of educational statistics from this perspective would be highly desirable.

In this report, it is only possible to present an analysis in relation to nationality and the language used at home. This is partly because there are no studies on education and migration which relate specifically to 14–29-year-olds who have settled in Austria, while taking their country of education into account, and also because the data in the education statistics is not publicly available and so cannot be analysed here. In the face of the argument set out above, this analysis can only be seen as a rough approach to the issue and does not represent an adequate description of the education situation for immigrant youth.



## 4.2 Young migrants in the school system

### Basic structure of the education system

In Austria, compulsory schooling ends after nine years, as a rule with the 15<sup>th</sup> year of life. While it is obligatory for primary schools and new middle schools (lower secondary) to take any pupil of compulsory school age, the selective secondary schools (*Gymnasien*) have no such obligation. After completing four years of primary school and four of new middle school, pupils can progress to an upper secondary school (selective secondary school, vocational upper/-post secondary, vocational middle school), or embark on an apprenticeship (in-work training and attendance at vocational school). If the pupil does not progress from middle school to one of the education options given above, compulsory schooling can be completed by undertaking a pre-vocational training course. With the introduction on 1.1.2016 of compulsory training up until the age of 18, a range of inter-company vocational training options have been created.

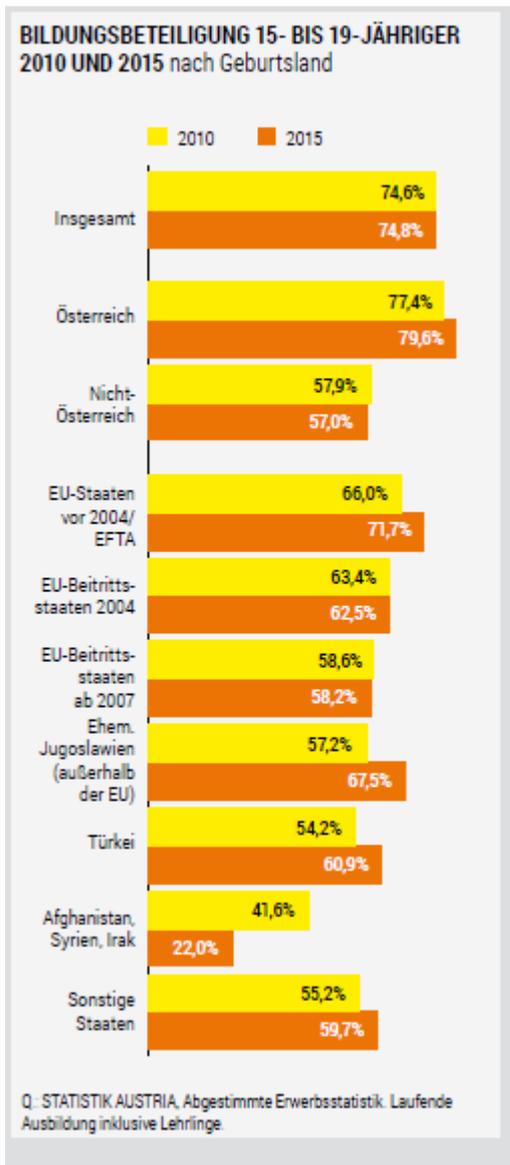
The education authorities have an obligation to place every young person of compulsory schooling age in an educational institution which will support their development and to ensure attendance at school or in training. The legal status of the young person's residency is not relevant.

Overall, participation in education is lower in the case of young people born abroad than for those born in Austria; however, there are clear differences according to region or country of origin. Over time, there has been a marked improvement in participation in education.

The proportion of all youth (Austrian and foreign nationals) born in Austria in training increased for the 15–19 age group from just over 77% to almost 80%, between 2010 and 2015. During this time, there was also a marked increase for most youth born abroad. This meant that the proportion of young people in training from former Yugoslavia (excluding Croatia and Slovenia) increased by over 10 percentage points (from 57% to 68%). A similar increase took place in the case of young people born in Turkey (from 54% to 61%), as well as among immigrants from the EEA (from 66% to almost 72%). Meanwhile, participation in education by 15–19-year-olds from the 2004/ post-2004 EU member states stagnated (BMEIA 2018, pg. 46).



**Graph 4: Participation in education by 15–19-year-olds by country of birth 2010 and 2015**



Source: BMEIA 2018, pg. 47.

However, these positive trends have been cancelled out by the significantly higher rate of young people without a compulsory education qualification. Around 8% of pupils who do not have German as their household language and were already 14 years old at the beginning of the 2013/2014 school year, had still not completed compulsory schooling two years later (by the end of the 2015/2016 school year). By contrast, the same figure for pupils with German as a household language was not even 3% (ibid.).



### 4.3 School attendance and educational career

#### School attendance – analysis by country of origin group

As has already been explained, the statcube database does not provide any data on pupils who were born abroad and only enables a list to be made of pupils attending school in Austria by nationality and the household language mostly used in their daily life. There is a complete lack of data on the country where they were educated, if any, before settling in Austria. In order to obtain an approximate overview of young immigrants<sup>9</sup> school attendance despite this, the statistics available in the statcube database have been regrouped to combine data on pupils with foreign nationality, differentiated by German and non-German household language, with those of Austrian nationality who do not speak German at home, as these are most likely families of naturalised immigrants. Even if that means that a large number of pupils who were born in Austria but speak a different language at home are included, this imprecision has to be accepted: not including this data would mean that the large number of young people born and naturalised in Austria would also have been excluded.

As Table 15 shows, in 2017 around 200,000 foreign national pupils and Austrian pupils for whom German is not their household language attended a secondary school, a new middle school or the lower secondary level of a selective secondary school; a pre-vocational training school, a vocational upper/post-secondary or the upper secondary level of a selective secondary school, a middle school or a vocational school. Some 45% of these pupils are Austrian citizens for whom German is not their household language.

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<sup>9</sup> The data on school attendance at the NMS (new middle schools) and AHS-Unterstufe (selective lower secondary schools) also includes pupils under 14. It is not possible to set a threshold for pupils from their 14<sup>th</sup> year when using the publicly available datasets from Statistics Austria.



**Table 14: Pupils with foreign nationality and Austrian pupils for whom German is not their household language, by type of school and region of origin, 2017**

	Type of school	New middle, non-selective secondary	Special school	Pre-vocational training school	Lower selective secondary	Upper selective secondary	Vocational upper/post-secondary	Middle school	Vocational school	Total
Nationality	Household language									
EU and EFTA member states	German	2427	305	212	2773	3006	2220	948	1989	13,880
	Non-German	11,283	779	830	4262	4388	4983	2071	3739	32,335
European third countries	German	245	41	41	240	190	303	193	221	1474
	Non-German	13,360	1466	1211	2990	2884	5395	3140	5874	36,320
Africa	German	9	7	1	15	24	44	28	11	139
	Non-German	943	125	81	222	491	211	279	331	2683
America	German	17	2	-	30	55	22	16	5	147
	Non-German	304	23	11	139	804	133	65	151	1630
Asia (except Turkey and Cyprus)	German	66	13	10	83	89	108	82	67	518
	Non-German	7826	511	831	1183	2854	1494	1669	2280	18,648
Oceania	German	5	1	-	4	5	2	-	-	17
	Non-German	10	-	-	8	63	4	3	2	90
Stateless/unknown	German	123	23	11	9	10	7	9	30	222
	Non-German	1714	132	171	176	170	87	91	209	2750
<b>Total</b>		<b>69,180</b>	<b>6023</b>	<b>5536</b>	<b>25,672</b>	<b>24,391</b>	<b>29,882</b>	<b>15,158</b>	<b>23,737</b>	<b>199,579</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



Pupils from the various country of origin groups are distributed across the various types of schools in different ways. While at lower secondary level, some two thirds of all pupils attend a new middle school or a secondary school, this proportion for young nationals of European third countries including Turkey is around 74%, and in the case of Asian nationality, it is some 82%; meanwhile, in the case of EEA nationals, it is around 63%. By contrast, the percentages of young people from the various groups of foreign nationals attending a selective secondary school are as follows: around 28% of young Austrians whose household language is not German and 32% of young EEA country nationals; but only around 18% of young nationals of European third countries and only 13% of young nationals of Asian countries (which include mostly Afghan, Iraqi and Syrian nationals). By comparison, the proportion of all young Austrian citizens attending the lower secondary level at a selective secondary school is around 36%. In the Austrian school system, pupils transfer at markedly lower rates from a new middle school into the upper secondary level of a selective secondary school or a vocational upper/post-secondary school, than from the lower secondary level of a selective secondary school into the upper secondary level of a selective secondary school. Young people leaving new middle schools make up the majority of those starting an apprenticeship after compulsory schooling. In conjunction with the selectivity of the types of schools based on origin, the Austrian education system allocates educational pathways toward higher education primarily to Austrians and EEA nationals, while directing third country nationals mainly to educational pathways which will lead to an apprenticeship.



**Table 15: Foreign pupils and Austrian pupils without German as a household language: lower secondary level, by school type and region of origin, 2017**

	Type of school	New middle school, secondary school	%	Special school	%	Lower selective secondary	%	Total
Nationality	Household language							
Austria	Not German	30,848	65.66	2595	5.52	13,538	2.82	46,981
EU and EFTA member states	German	2427	62.81	305	4.97	2773	32.23	5505
	Not German	11,283		779		4262		16,324
European third countries	German	245	74.17	41	8.22	240	17.61	526
	Not German	13,360		1466		2990		17,816
Africa	German	9	72.07	7	9.99	15	17.94	31
	Not German	943		125		222		1290
America	German	17	62.33	2	4.85	30	32.82	49
	Not German	304		23		139		466
Asia (except Turkey and Cyprus)	German	66	81.51	13	5.41	83	13.08	162
	Not German	7826		511		1183		9520
Oceania	German	5	53.57	1	3.57	4	42.86	10
	Not German	10				8		18
Stateless/unknown	German	123	84.38	23	7.12	9	8.50	155
	Not German	1714		132		176		2022
<b>Total</b>		<b>69,180</b>	<b>68.58</b>	<b>6023</b>	<b>5.97</b>	<b>25,672</b>	<b>25.45</b>	<b>100,875</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



There is an even more marked differentiation found for upper/post-secondary education routes. Around 60% of young EEA nationals in upper/post-secondary education and 58% of Austrians without German as their household language in post-secondary education are visiting an upper level selective secondary school or a vocational upper/post-secondary; meanwhile, the proportion of young European and Asian third country nationals are only 45% and 48% respectively. Conversely, around 37% of Austrian youth without German as their household language and 36% of young EEA nationals attend a vocational school or a vocational middle school, while the proportion of young European third country nationals undertaking vocational training without the secondary education certificate is around 48%; in the case of young Asian nationals, it is 43%. In comparison, 62% of all young Austrians in post-secondary education are attending an upper secondary school to prepare for the secondary education certificate.

An especially high proportion of young Asian and European third country nationals attend a school for special education needs. Since special schools are an educational dead end which make further school or vocational education de facto impossible, the high proportion of the aforementioned groups attending them give particular pause for thought.



**Table 16: Foreign pupils and Austrian pupils without German as a household language: upper/post-secondary education, by school type and region of origin, 2017**

	Type of school	Pre-vocational training school	%	Upper selective secondary, vocational upper/post-secondary	%	Vocational school, middle school	%	Total
Nationality	Household language							
Austria	Not German	2126	5.09	24,227	58.04	15,392	36.87	41,745
EU and EFTA member states	German	212	4.27	5226	59.86	2937	35.87	8375
	Not German	830		9371		5810		16,011
European third countries	German	41	6.44	493	45.10	414	48.47	948
	Not German	1211		8279		9014		18,504
Africa	German	1	5.46	68	51.30	39	43.24	108
	Not German	81		702		610		1393
America	German		0.87	77	80.35	21	18.78	98
	Not German	11		937		216		1164
Asia (without Turkey, Cyprus)	German	10	8.87	197	47.92	149	43.21	356
	Not German	831		4348		3949		9128
Oceania	German			7	93.67		6.33	7
	Not German			67		5		72
Stateless/unknown	German	11	22.89	17	34.47	39	42.64	67
	Not German	171		257		300		728
<b>Total</b>			<b>5.61</b>	<b>54,273</b>	<b>54.99</b>	<b>38,895</b>	<b>39.41</b>	<b>98,704</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



### School attendance and school type

The divergences in the school careers of young people from various regions of origin brought to light by analysing the groups of countries of origin are also confirmed by an analysis of the types of schools. Viewed overall, in 2017, 13.8% of all 14–29-year-old pupils were foreign nationals. There is a marked variation in the proportion of foreign nationals at the various types of school.

**Table 17: Proportion of foreign national pupils/students from 14–29 years old, by type of school, 2017**

School type	Pupils/students	Proportion of foreign nationals (%)
New middle and non-selective secondary schools	19,214	36.38
Special schools	4078	21.60
Pre-vocational training schools	15,183	22.35
Lower selective secondary	3621	24.55
Higher selective secondary	93,551	13.32
Vocational upper/post-secondary and similar	158,923	9.59
Vocational schools	112,827	12.81
Middle schools	47,124	16.71

*Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s calculations.*

As the table shows, at 37%, the share of foreign nationals over 14 years old at new middle schools and non-selective secondary schools is markedly higher than at the lower selective secondary schools (approx. 25%). It is especially striking that there is a high proportion of these pupils at the special schools and the pre-vocational training schools; both types of school are considered problematic with regard to accessing further education. More than two thirds of foreign national pupils at these schools are third country nationals. By contrast, the proportion of these pupils at the upper level of selective secondary schools, or at a vocational upper/post secondary – both of which prepare pupils for the secondary education certificate – is markedly lower. While in the case of the upper level of selective secondary schools, some 60% of pupils who are foreign nationals are nationals of EEA countries and



some 40% are third country nationals, the proportion at vocational upper/post secondary schools is more balanced, with 55% EEA and 45% third country nationals. At vocational schools and vocational middle schools on the other hand, just over 45% of foreign nationals come from third countries.

### **Educational standards**

The educational disadvantages faced by young immigrants are also reflected in the data collected on educational standards. According to the data from the Austrian Educational Standards Survey 2017 (school year 8), 57% of young people without a migration background fulfilled the educational standards in mathematics; 7% exceeded them; and 11% had considerable difficulties with the subject. In the case of pupils with a migration background, 33% fulfilled the standards, 2% exceeded them, but 30% failed the test and were not able to solve even routine tasks satisfactorily. Some 42% of pupils who were not able to fulfil the standards had a migration background (ÖIF 2018, pg.8).

With access to the various types of schools, migration background plays a minor role as an explanatory variable in comparison to socio-economic factors and parents' educational status. That said, performance on the Educational Standards correlates quite clearly with migration background and pupils' household language. While among Austrian primary school pupils, only 10% fail to fulfil the Educational Standards for reading and only 9% for mathematics, among second generation immigrants (themselves born in Austria), the percentages are 25% for reading and 23% for mathematics; among the first generation primary school pupils who were born abroad, they are 32% for reading and 27% for mathematics. For year 8 pupils, the results are even worse: around half the pupils with a migration background or for whom German is not their household language, do not fulfil or only partly fulfil the Educational Standards for reading and mathematics. In the case of young people who have themselves settled in Austria, it is actually more than two thirds (Neubacher et al. 2018, pg. 250f.). These results confirm the 2015 PISA Study, which found indications that across the countries of the OECD, pupils with a migration background, and who spoke a language other than that of the test at home, scored at least 20 points fewer than pupils with a migration background, who spoke the language of the test at home (OECD 2018, pg.34).

### **Apprenticeships**

In Austria, the dual education system for apprenticeships (on the job and at vocational schools) is an important part of the education system. As of 1.1.2018, there were 203 occupations for which an apprenticeship is available, with a duration of between two and four years (although most of these are intended to involve an apprenticeship of three years (BMDW 2018, pg. 6). The share of 15-year-olds who begin an apprenticeship varies markedly from one federal province to another: while in Lower Austria and Vienna, 28% and 33% sign an apprenticeship contract, in Upper Austria and Tyrol, 45% do so and in Vorarlberg 50% (Dornmayer 2017, pg.2).

As of 31.12.2016, there were a total of 107,000 apprentices being trained at around 28,000 companies, of which some 10.7% were foreign nationals (Dornmayer 2017, pg.1, ÖIF 2018, pg. 6). There is no information available on apprentices born abroad; the data referenced here is not representative of the overall group of young immigrants, but rather only of young foreign nationals. This is because of



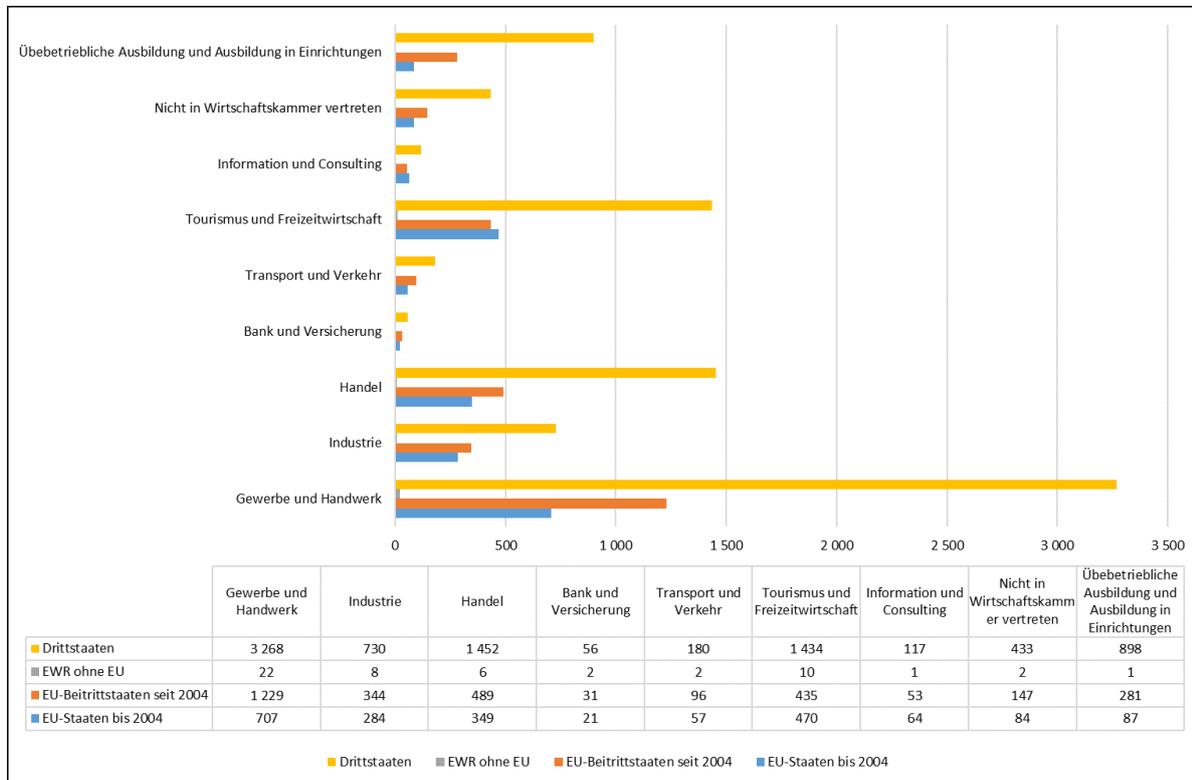
the high number of young people who were born abroad but have been naturalised and the social selectivity of this naturalisation process.

In 2016, the largest share of foreign national apprentices were found in the fields of education and teaching (21.6%, mostly office work), hotel accommodation and gastronomy (16.4%), as well as other services (14.7%) and health and social work (12.7%). The share in retail, construction and financial services are around 10% each, while in public administration and energy, it is only around 3% (ÖIF 2018, pg.6).

As an analysis by ibw Austria shows, some three-quarters of all apprentices for 2008–2014 completed their apprenticeship by passing the final examination; 5% completed the apprenticeship, but did not take the exam; 4% failed the exam. The proportion who dropped out of their apprenticeship was 16%. The proportion of apprentices who completed their apprenticeship, but did not take or did not pass the final examination was markedly higher among foreign national apprentices than among Austrians: 77% of all Austrians passed the final examination, and the same percentage for German nationals was 61%, for nationals of Bosnia and Herzegovina it was 63% and for Croatian nationals it was 62%; however, in the case of Serbian and Turkish nationals, the proportions are only 52% and 47% respectively (Dornmayer 2017, pg. 3).

The apprenticeship-related statistics from the Federal Ministry for Labour, Social Affairs, Health and Consumer Protection do not contain any information on the age of apprentices, meaning that they include a small number of apprentices over 30 years old. However, they do enable a breakdown by nationality and sector. According to these statistics, the annual average number of foreign nationals on an apprenticeship in 2018 was 13,850. Of those, around 62% were third country nationals; around 22% were nationals of a 2004/post-2004 EU member state and around 15% were nationals from the EU 15 (except Austria). Apprenticeships in industry, trades, commerce or tourism and leisure are among the most commonly chosen apprenticeships.

**Graph 5: Foreign national apprentices by sector, annual average for 2018**



Source: Federal Ministry for Labour, Health, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection; BALI database; author's calculations.



## Early drop outs

*Early drop outs* are defined as young 18–24-year-olds who are not currently in education or training and do not have any qualifications over and above those from compulsory education. (Steiner et al. 2015, pg. 5). It is clear that young people with a migration background make up a three times higher share of early drop outs (30.2%) than young people born in Austria (9.7%)<sup>10</sup>. However, there are major differences between federal provinces: Burgenland: 26.5%, Upper Austria: 35.4% (1.1.0., pg. 187). Furthermore, there are considerably fewer young people with a migration background among those who return to education and training after dropping out (ibid., pg. 195).

Over recent years, the spotlight has been turned upon education research into 15–29-year-olds who are not in employment, education or training, referred to as NEETs. The proportion of NEETs among young people is a major defining indication of the ability of the education system to prepare young people for an independent adult life. Divergence between various groups with regard to this indicator clearly demonstrates for which groups the education system is failing to fulfil this task.

In a comparison across the OECD, Austria performs relatively well with NEETs making up 10.8% of all 15–29-year-olds (OECD average: 13.4%, figures for 2017). However, Austria is also one of the OECD countries with the highest divergence between the percentages for those born in the country and those abroad. While the proportion of those born in Austria is 7.7% (OECD average: 12.7%), that for those born abroad is 23.9% (OECD average: 18.4%). Furthermore, in the case of young people born abroad, there are marked differences between those who settled in Austria before their 15th birthday (20.2%; OECD average: 16.4%) and those who have settled in Austria after compulsory schooling age (26.9%, OECD average: 27.1%). The latter value, which is in keeping with the OECD average, can be read as a general indication of the challenges which arise when switching from the school system of the country of origin to the education system or labour market of the country of destination; however, the clear divergence from the OECD average in the case of under-15-year-olds, shows that the Austrian school system is not well-positioned in all respects to deal with the challenge of integrating young immigrants who have moved to Austria after the age at which children start school (see OECD 2018, pg. 73–78; data: OECD 2018, pg.83).

Detailed analysis shows for the issue of early drop outs, as for other issues, that the indicator *migration background* alone is not a strong determining factor and it only becomes relevant in combination with socio-economic background and educational pathways. There is an especially clear difference between young people who have spent their entire schooling in Austria and those who have had to change from one education system to another, because they settled in Austria after beginning compulsory schooling: the risk of dropping out for those who have undergone their entire compulsory education in Austria is only half that for those who have settled in Austria just before the end of compulsory schooling age. Around a fifth of the impact of having a migration background does not arise from being born abroad, but from the fact these young people have undergone a large part of their compulsory

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<sup>10</sup> The studies available on this topic do not provide a breakdown by groups of countries of origin in their results.



schooling abroad – a result that places the critical evaluation of the OECD report in context to some extent (Moser et al. 2016, pg.136).

### **Higher education**

The data in the statcube database on students at Austrian state universities and universities of applied science contains information about students' countries of origin and the examination which has qualified them to study, including foreign secondary school qualifications. This makes it possible to identify those students who were born abroad, but acquired a qualification entitling them to study in higher education in Austria. This group covers almost all young immigrants who have grown up in Austria; while young people with a foreign secondary school qualification have usually come to Austria in order to study.

The table shown below shows that in the 2018 summer semester, around 82% of foreign students came to Austria in order to commence their studies; some 18% of foreign students had an Austrian secondary education qualification or other preparatory education qualifying them to study. The share of those students with a secondary education qualification acquired in Austria is 26% for American nationals, 28% for 2004/post-2004 EU member state nationals and 36% for EFTA state nationals; these percentages are much higher than the average. In the case of European third countries, it is 20% and it is 22% for Asian countries, so lying slightly above the average.

Some 50% of foreign students came from the EU 15 (except Austria) and from Germany in particular; some 17% came from a European third country and 16% from a 2004/post-2004 EU member state.



**Table 18: Students at state universities in Austria, by nationality and region where the qualification entitling them to study was obtained, summer semester 2018.**

Nationality	Austrian qualification or other preparatory education	%	Foreign qualification or other preparatory education	%	Total
EU 15 (except Austria)	5553	13.22	36,461	86.78	42,014
2004/post-2004 EU member states	3749	28.09	9598	71.91	13,347
EFTA member states and associated micro-states	382	36.11	676	63.89	1058
European third countries (incl. Turkey)	2958	19.96	11,861	80.04	14,819
Africa	225	18.28	1,006	81.72	1231
America	690	25.60	2005	74.40	2695
Asia (except Turkey and Cyprus)	1741	21.46	6370	78.54	8111
Oceania	13	11.71	98	88.29	111
Stateless, unknown, unclear	112	39.44	172	60.56	284
<b>Total</b>	<b>15,423</b>	<b>18.43</b>	<b>68,247</b>	<b>81.57</b>	<b>83,670</b>

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



In the past, the number and the proportion of foreign students in Austria has steadily increased. In the mid-1990s, around 27,000 foreign nationals were studying at an Austrian university; by the 2018 summer semester as many as 83,700 were registered, representing some 29% of all students at Austrian state universities. In the 2016/2017 academic year, there were around 8600 foreign nationals registered at a university of applied science, meaning that the proportion of foreign nationals was 17%.

With around 27,000 students (36%), German nationals are the largest group of foreign students in Austria, followed by 8800 (12%) Italians, mostly from the province of Alto Adige (South Tyrol). Additionally, in 2016/2017, there were almost 3200 students from Bosnia and Herzegovina, around 3000 from Turkey, over 2600 from Croatia and just under 2500 from Hungary studying in Austria. In total, around 89% of all foreign students came from European countries (BMEIA 2018, pg.48).



## 5. Labour market participation

### 5.1 Introduction

As in the field of education, the situation regarding data on young immigrants' labour market participation is unsatisfactory. The BALI database is publicly available on the website of the Austrian Federal Ministry for Labour, Social Affairs, Health and Consumer Protection; it contains labour market relevant data from the Federation of Austrian Social Insurance Institutions and the Austrian Public Employment Service. The datasets are available free of charge and contain data on employment, unemployment and the labour market. While all data can be sorted according to *nationality*, neither the variable *country of birth* nor *country of education* is available. This means that there is no specific data available on young people who were born abroad, but have become naturalised citizens in Austria, or on those who have been through the Austrian education system. As an analysis using data from statcube shows, this means that some 14.5% of 14–29-year-olds who were born abroad are not recorded as such. Furthermore, the BALI database does not enable 14-year-olds to be recorded separately, so data for the group *14 and under*<sup>11</sup> is used instead. Since hardly any under-14s have completed their compulsory schooling, the distortion which can be expected as a result is negligible.

### 5.2 Labour market participation

As the table below shows, in 2018 there were nearly 200,000 young foreign nationals employed on the Austrian labour market. Somewhat less than half of these young people were third country nationals; somewhat more than a third were nationals of a 2004/post-2004 EU member state; and around a sixth were nationals of the EU 15 (except Austria). In comparative terms, 56.2% of young people born abroad were born in a third country; 24.4% in a 2004/post-2004 EU member state; and 18.6% in the EU 15 (except Austria).

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<sup>11</sup> De facto, there are no under-14s on the Austrian labour market.



**Table 19: Young foreign nationals in employment (14 and under–29), annual average 2018**

Gender	Nationality								
	EU 15 (except Austria)	%	2004/post-2004 EU member states	%	EAA without EU	%	Third countries	%	Total
Male	17,740	14.87	44,673	37.44	384	0.32	56,527	47.37	119,377
Female	15,041	19.56	29,318	38.13	361	0.47	32,163	41.83	76,941
<b>Total</b>	<b>32,781</b>	<b>16.71</b>	<b>73,991</b>	<b>37.71</b>	<b>745</b>	<b>0.4</b>	<b>88,690</b>	<b>45.2</b>	<b>196,318</b>

Source: Austrian Federal Ministry for Labour, Health, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection: BALI database; author's calculations.



As table 21 below shows, the share by nationality group varies slightly in the four federal provinces included in the project. The proportion of young people with a third country nationality among employed youth ranges from around 46% in Salzburg to around 59% in Vorarlberg; the proportion of those with a 2004/post-2004 EU member state nationality lies between 21% in Vorarlberg and almost 34% in Upper Austria.

While in all federal provinces, the number of young men in employment in the case of third country nationals is almost 50% higher than that of young women in employment, for young employed men from 2004/post-2004 EU member states, it is only slightly higher. In the case of EU 15 (except Austria) nationals, the number of young women in employment in Upper Austria is actually markedly higher than the number of young men in employment from those countries.



**Table 20: Young foreign nationals in employment (14 and under–29), federal provinces of Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Vienna, annual average 2018**

	EU 15 (except Austria)	%	2004/post-2004 EU member states	%	EEA without EU	%	Third countries	%	Total
<b>Upper Austria</b>									
Male	1439	8.3	5922	34.18	34	0.20	9933	57.3	17,328
Female	2432	21.42	3818	33.63	23	0.20	5079	44.74	11,352
<b>Total</b>	<b>3871</b>	<b>13.50</b>	<b>9740</b>	<b>33.96</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>0.20</b>	<b>15,012</b>	<b>52.34</b>	<b>28,680</b>
<b>Salzburg</b>									
Male	1554	19.07	2454	30.11	26	0.32	4117	50.51	8151
Female	1482	25.66	2021	35.00	14	0.24	2258	39.10	5775
<b>Total</b>	<b>3036</b>	<b>21.80</b>	<b>4475</b>	<b>32.13</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>6375</b>	<b>45.78</b>	<b>13,926</b>



	EU 15 (except Austria)	%	2004/post-2004 EU member states	%	EEA without EU	%	Third countries	%	Total
<b>Vorarlberg</b>									
Male	1083	17.56	1150	18.64	42	0.68	3893	63.12	6168
Female	841	22.23	949	25.09	47	1.24	1946	51.44	3783
<b>Total</b>	<b>1924</b>	<b>19.33</b>	<b>2099</b>	<b>21.09</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>0.89</b>	<b>5839</b>	<b>58.68</b>	<b>9951</b>
<b>Vienna</b>									
Male	4505	13.00	9546	27.56	110	0.32	20,480	59.12	34,641
Female	4406	17.16	8061	31.40	119	0.46	13,085	50.97	25,671
<b>Total</b>	<b>8911</b>	<b>14.77</b>	<b>17,607</b>	<b>29.19</b>	<b>229</b>	<b>0.38</b>	<b>33,565</b>	<b>55.65</b>	<b>60,312</b>

Source: Austrian Federal Ministry for Labour, Health, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection: BALI database; author's calculations.



## Unemployment

As the table below shows, the average 2018 numbers for all young job seekers registered in these four federal states were as follows: Upper Austria 2400, Salzburg 1100, Vorarlberg 746, Vienna 11,000<sup>12</sup>. At between 60% and 70%, the share of third country nationals among all unemployed youth was markedly higher than their share among employed youth. The proportion of 2004/post-2004 EU member state nationals among young unemployed foreign nationals was similar to their proportion among the employed; however, the proportion of unemployed youth from EU 15 member states (except Austria) was markedly lower than that of those in employment. This is in keeping with the assumption that a higher percentage of young nationals from the EU 15 (except Austria) are not active on the labour market because they are in higher education.

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<sup>12</sup> Unemployed asylum seekers are not included in these statistics, since – with the exception of very limited community work, etc. – they do not have any labour market access. Only once asylum has been granted can they be registered as job seekers with the Public Employment Service Austria. The data available on asylum seekers does not enable differentiation based on the variable *seeking work*.



**Table 21: Young foreign nationals (14 and under–29) registered at the Public Employment Service Austria as seeking work, in the federal provinces of Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Vienna, annual average for 2018**

	EU 15 (except Austria)	%	2004/post-2004 EU member states	%	EEA without EU	%	Third countries	%	Total
<b>Upper Austria</b>									
Male	72	5.43	388	29.28	1	0.08	864	65.21	1325
Female	76	6.80	412	36.88	1	0.09	628	56.22	1117
<b>Total</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>6.06</b>	<b>800</b>	<b>32.76</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>1492</b>	<b>61.10</b>	<b>2442</b>
<b>Salzburg</b>									
Male	60	9.38	131	20.47	1	0.16	448	70.00	640
Female	63	13.07	150	31.12	1	0.21	268	55.60	482
<b>Total</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>10.96</b>	<b>281</b>	<b>25.04</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>716</b>	<b>63.81</b>	<b>1122</b>



	EU 15 (except Austria)	%	2004/post-2004 EU member states	%	EEA without EU	%	Third countries	%	Total
<b>Vorarlberg</b>									
Male	52	12.04	62	14.35	2	0.46	316	73.15	432
Female	56	17.83	84	26.75	3	0.96	171	54.46	314
<b>Total</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>14.48</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>19.57</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0.67</b>	<b>487</b>	<b>65.28</b>	<b>746</b>
<b>Vienna</b>									
Male	299	4.53	1358	20.56	5	0.08	4943	74.84	6605
Female	298	6.87	1369	31.58	7	0.16	2681	61.85	4355
<b>Total</b>	<b>597</b>	<b>5.45</b>	<b>2727</b>	<b>24.88</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>7624</b>	<b>69.56</b>	<b>10,960</b>

Source: Austrian Federal Ministry for Labour, Health, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection: BALI database; author's calculations.



A closer look at nationality shows that the wave of refugees who arrived in Austria during and post-2015 is beginning to be reflected in labour market statistics. Of the approximately 61,000 young third country nationals registered as unemployed in these four federal provinces, 1823 (11.9%) are Syrian, 1590 (10.4%) are Turkish and 1289 (8.4%) are Afghan. This means that young Syrians, Turks and Afghans make up the three largest groups of young unemployed foreign nationals.

A comparison of the unemployment rate<sup>13</sup> by groups of countries shows marked differences in how far young people are affected. For the whole of Austria, the unemployment rate for third country youth is more than double that for young Austrians, while for young 2007 EU member state nationals, it is just under double. The unemployment rates for young people from the 2004 EU member states, the EU 15 (except Austria) and the rest of the EEA is around the same as that for Austrian youth.

In Upper Austria and Salzburg, the unemployment rate for young male third country nationals is around double and that for young female third country nationals is almost three times as high as the rate for Austrian youth. There are similarly high rates among young female 2004/post-2004 EU member state nationals, while the difference between unemployment rates for young men from these countries and those for Austrian youth is markedly lower. In Vorarlberg, unemployment among young men from the EU is actually lower than among Austrian youth, and that of young women varies from slightly higher to markedly higher than that of their Austrian peers.

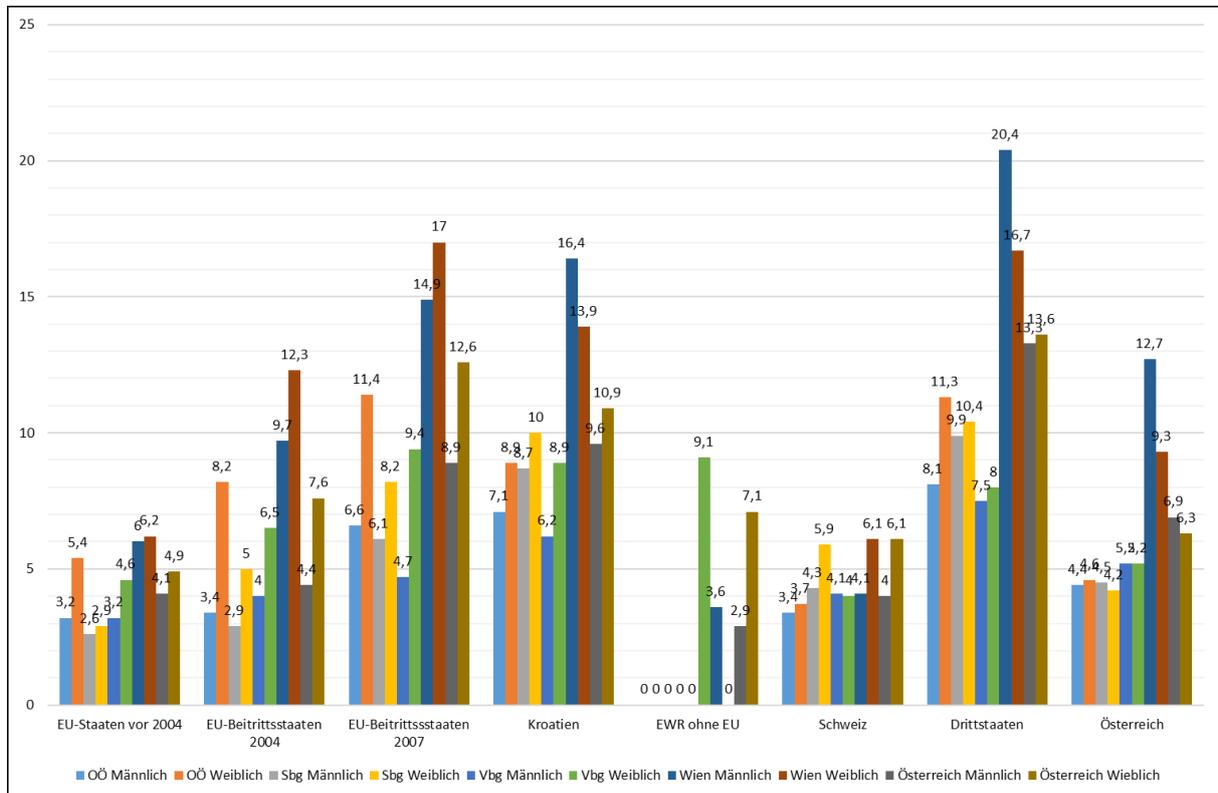
With 12.7% for young Austrian men and 9.3% for young Austrian women, Vienna has almost double the youth unemployment rate for Austrian youth as the other three federal provinces. In the case of young men from third countries, this rate rises to 20.4%, while for young women from third countries, it is 16.7%. The unemployment rates for male youth from the EU 15 (except Austria), from 2004/post-2004 EU member states and the EEA are lower than that for Austrian youth; those for young women – with the exception of the EU 15 (except Austria) and the EEA – are similar to those for young women from third countries.

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<sup>13</sup> For the Austrian unemployment statistics, every person is counted as unemployed if they are registered at a regional office of the Austrian Public Employment Service on the last working day of the month. In order to calculate the unemployment rate, the ratio is calculated between the number of people so registered and what is referred to as the potential labour force. The potential labour force is the number of people registered with the Austrian Public Employment Service as seeking work, those working in an employment relationship and those in basic or further training arranged by the Austrian Public Employment Service. In official publications, the term “Registarbeitslosigkeit” (registered unemployment) is used.



**Graph 6: Unemployment rate for young foreign nationals in Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg and Vienna, annual average 2018**



Source: Austrian Federal Ministry for Labour, Health, Social Affairs and Consumer Protection: BALI database; author's calculations.



## 6. Housing

### 6.1 Introduction

There are no up-to-date studies on housing and the housing situation for young immigrants. The regularly published Statistical Yearbook on Migration and Integration and reports drawn up by the Austrian federal provinces provide information on the housing situation of immigrants in general, but not on that of young immigrants specifically. The Federal Youth Report does not contain any specific information on the housing situation of this group either.

Statistics Austria's publicly available database *statcube* also contains housing-related datasets from the Register-Based Census<sup>14</sup> for 2011. This enables in-depth analysis of housing for 15–29-year-olds, but not for 14–29-year-olds. In the same way, analysis by country of birth in the version of the database which is available free of charge is limited to the country of birth groups of Austria, EU 15 (except Austria), 2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia), former Yugoslavia (without Slovenia), Turkey and finally, other countries. An analysis of housing situation according to a single country of birth or selected group of countries is not possible.

Despite these limitations and the long period elapsed since it was compiled, the Register-Based Census 2011 is the best source of information on the housing situation of young immigrants and therefore provides the data underpinning the following chapter.

### 6.2 Size of homes

As shown by the tables below, the usable floor area (UFA) per person by country of birth for 15–29-year-olds varies markedly. While the differences between countries of birth are relatively small for the category UFA from 20m<sup>2</sup> up to 30m<sup>2</sup>, varying from 24.64% (EU 15 except Austria) and 29.59% (former Yugoslavia), the differences for high and low UFA are marked: only 0.94% and 4.10% of young people born in Austria have use of a UFA of under 10 m<sup>2</sup> or from 10m<sup>2</sup> up to 15m<sup>2</sup>; however, 7.57% and 23.30% of those born in Turkey are living in these kinds of cramped conditions.

By contrast, immigrant youth, those from the EU 15 (except Austria) excepted, are markedly underrepresented in the category of those young people with a UFA of 30 m<sup>2</sup> or over available to them; this is especially true of those from Turkey. Viewed as a whole, this means that nearly a third of young immigrants have succeeded in moving up into housing's "lower middle class", so to speak, while only young people from the EU 15 (except Austria) are to be found in the "upper middle class" or "upper class" in similar numbers to Austrian youth. At the same time, a massively higher proportion of young people from the 2004/post-2004 EU member states, former Yugoslavia, Turkey, and other third countries have a very small UFA at their disposal, than is the case for their Austrian peers. However, the publicly available datasets do not enable an analysis to be made of whether the relatively small

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<sup>14</sup> Since 2011, the census held every ten years is no longer carried out by face-to-face surveys, but as a register-based census instead, by which the various official registers (e.g. the Population Register, the Austrian Education Registry, the Employment Registry) are linked together. The next Register-Based Census is scheduled for 2021.

UFA is due to a higher average number of people in the household, or due to smaller size homes per household.

**Table 22: Usable floor area (UFA) per resident with their main registered place of residence in Austria, population aged 15–29 by nationality group, Register-Based Census 2011, Austria, in per cent**

UFA in m <sup>2</sup> per household member, with main place of residence	Below 10 m <sup>2</sup>	10 up to 15 m <sup>2</sup>	15 up to 20 m <sup>2</sup>	20 up to 30 m <sup>2</sup>	30 up to 40 m <sup>2</sup>	40 up to 60 m <sup>2</sup>	Over 60 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Country of birth</b>							
Austria	0.94	4.10	8.79	28.19	25.93	21.52	10.53
EU 15 (except Austria)	1.40	4.61	8.28	24.64	22.42	22.67	15.99
2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)	5.17	12.98	16.20	27.71	16.65	13.54	7.75
Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)	5.26	18.53	23.70	29.59	11.18	7.93	3.82
Turkey	7.57	23.30	25.87	26.78	8.73	5.42	2.34
Other (incl. not known)	5.61	16.47	18.44	25.93	14.53	11.82	7.20

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.



The available UFA per person is usually lower on average in the towns and cities than in more rural areas. Due to the varying settlement structure among the federal provinces, this means that major differences could be expected between the data for the City of Vienna and the predominantly rural province of Vorarlberg. However, a comparison of the federal provinces shows similar differences in distribution in relation to available UFA. In particular, three to seven times as many young people with a Turkish background have very little UFA available to them (up to 15 m<sup>2</sup>) in comparison with those born in Austria. Up to around a fifth of young people from the new EU member states and from former Yugoslavia also have very little UFA. While between a quarter and almost a third of young people born in Austria have more than 40 m<sup>2</sup> available to them, only between 6% and 9.5% of young Turkish people have homes of that size. By contrast, young people from the EU 15 (except Austria) are markedly more often to be found in the largest UFA category than their Austrian peers.

**Table 23: UFA per member of household with main registered place of residence, population 15–29 years old by nationality, Register-Based Census 2011, Upper Austria, Salzburg, Vorarlberg, Vienna, in per cent**

UFA in m <sup>2</sup> per household member with main place of residence	Below 10 m <sup>2</sup>	10 up to 15 m <sup>2</sup>	15 up to 20 m <sup>2</sup>	20 up to 30 m <sup>2</sup>	30 up to 40 m <sup>2</sup>	40 up to 60 m <sup>2</sup>	60 up to 80 m <sup>2</sup>	over 80 m <sup>2</sup>
<b>Country of birth</b>								
<b>Upper Austria</b>								
Austria	0.70	3.27	7.42	26.95	27.36	23.24	7.26	3.81
EU 15 (except Austria)	1.10	4.39	7.63	24.66	22.70	24.86	9.13	5.53
2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)	3.71	11.61	15.66	29.02	17.18	14.80	4.89	3.13
Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)	4.06	16.18	24.36	31.47	11.33	8.56	2.55	1.49
Turkey	4.59	19.65	26.03	30.09	10.08	6.36	1.71	1.49
Other (incl. not known)	5.11	17.16	18.80	25.55	14.38	11.62	4.24	3.14
<b>Salzburg</b>								
Austria	1.14	4.85	10.84	31.62	24.92	18.78	5.26	2.59
EU 15 (except Austria)	1.62	4.75	9.07	27.03	20.54	21.02	8.92	7.04
2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)	5.86	12.26	19.68	26.42	15.36	11.52	5.12	3.77

Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)	4.21	16.51	27.53	31.51	11.26	6.40	1.85	0.73
Turkey	5.34	19.75	27.65	31.95	8.39	5.13	1.18	0.62
Other (incl. not known)	5.87	16.87	19.49	25.82	13.16	10.26	4.60	3.93
UFA in m <sup>2</sup> per household member with main place of residence	Below 10 m <sup>2</sup>	10 up to 15 m <sup>2</sup>	15 up to 20 m <sup>2</sup>	20 up to 30 m <sup>2</sup>	30 up to 40 m <sup>2</sup>	40 up to 60 m <sup>2</sup>	60 up to 80 m <sup>2</sup>	over 80 m <sup>2</sup>
Country of birth								
Vorarlberg								
Austria	0.75	3.89	9.61	31.80	27.45	18.93	5.26	2.31
EU 15 (except Austria)	1.99	4.38	8.56	27.09	24.32	21.99	7.49	4.18
2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)	3.46	8.48	12.46	31.31	21.28	15.74	4.15	3.11
Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)	2.54	8.72	24.56	40.70	12.86	7.56	1.74	1.31
Turkey	3.44	16.05	28.60	35.58	10.18	4.62	1.04	0.49
Other (incl. not known)	2.66	8.99	16.30	31.58	18.57	15.57	4.26	2.08
Vienna								
Austria	1.65	7.22	12.41	28.20	20.42	19.55	7.14	3.41
EU 15 (except Austria)	1.32	4.94	8.58	22.83	22.59	23.81	9.75	6.17

2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)	6.53	15.01	17.50	26.71	15.20	12.51	4.25	2.30
Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)	6.81	22.27	23.68	26.42	10.05	7.54	2.28	0.95
Turkey	10.97	28.85	25.14	21.05	6.82	5.11	1.46	0.60
Other (incl. not known)	6.33	18.07	19.11	25.27	13.71	10.98	3.90	2.62

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s calculations.

The data on number of rooms per resident reinforces this picture of a housing hierarchy with Austria and the rest of the EU 15 at the top and Turkey and former Yugoslavia at the bottom. While only around 11.4% of young people born in Austria and around 12% of those born in the rest of the EU 15 have less than one room available, for those born in Turkey or former Yugoslavia, this figure is around 38% and 31% respectively. By contrast, around 40% of young people who have settled in Austria from the rest of the EU 15 and 32% of Austrian-born youth have more than two rooms per person available in their household; but the percentage for those born in Turkey is only around 10% and for former Yugoslavia, it is around 15%.

**Table 24: Number of rooms per household member with main registered place of residence, population aged 15–29 years old, by groups of nationalities, Register-Based Census 2011**

Number of rooms per registered household member (main residence)	Up to 0.5 rooms	0.5 up to 1 room	1 up to 1.25 rooms	1.25 up to 1.5 rooms	2 up to 2.5 rooms	More than 2.5 rooms
Country of birth	%	%	%	%	%	%
Austria	1.12	10.30	19.40	16.35	21.17	16.38
EU 15 (except Austria)	1.77	10.34	19.33	10.76	17.06	18.57



<b>2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)</b>	<b>6.12</b>	<b>21.62</b>	<b>23.47</b>	<b>10.45</b>	<b>13.71</b>	<b>12.46</b>
<b>Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)</b>	<b>5.96</b>	<b>30.58</b>	<b>26.75</b>	<b>11.35</b>	<b>10.53</b>	<b>8.01</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>8.08</b>	<b>37.72</b>	<b>25.55</b>	<b>10.00</b>	<b>8.57</b>	<b>5.66</b>
<b>Other (incl. not known)</b>	<b>6.88</b>	<b>27.01</b>	<b>23.77</b>	<b>9.58</b>	<b>11.80</b>	<b>10.28</b>

*Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author’s calculations.*

Less dramatic, but still very distinct are the differences in the quality of housing with respect to housing categories. While around 92% of all young people born in Austria and 90% of all young people born in the rest of the EU 15 live in a home with central heating, a bath or shower and an indoor toilet, this is only true for around 83% or around 85% of of young people from former Yugoslavia, Turkey, and from the new EU member states. Conversely, around 7–7.5% of young people from these countries still live in a home without an indoor toilet or running water.



**Table 25: Standard of flats as category A,B,C,D, population aged 15–29 years old, by nationality, Register-Based Census 2011**

Standard (flats)	Central heating, bath/shower, indoor toilet (category A)	Bath/shower, indoor toilet (category B)	Indoor toilet and running water (category C)	No indoor toilet or running water (category D)
Country of birth	%	%	%	%
Austria	92.20	6.03	0.47	1.31
EU 15 (except Austria)	90.47	5.76	0.83	2.94
2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)	84.97	6.73	1.08	7.22
Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)	83.80	8.10	1.14	6.96
Turkey	83.43	7.80	1.28	7.48
Other (incl. not known)	87.56	5.73	1.24	5.48

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.

Differentiations with a clear relationship to groups of country of birth are to be found with respect to tenure as well. Just over half of young people born in Austria live in an owner-occupied house and around 10% in an owner-occupied flat. It is much less typical for young immigrants to live in an owner occupancy: only 23% of former Yugoslavian and 19% of Turkish youth do so; in the case of immigrants from the EU 15 (except Austria) and 2004/post-2004 EU member states, the rates are much higher at 38% and 28% respectively.



A large majority of immigrants (born in Turkey: 72%, born in former Yugoslavia: 67%) live in rented housing with a (legally secure) main tenancy agreement, as do more than a third of those born in Austria.<sup>15</sup> In the case of *other legal relationship*, there are only small differences: between 5.7% and 8.5% of young people use their home on the basis of an insecure contract relationship.

**Table 26: Legal relations for tenure, population aged 15–29 by nationality group, Register-Based Census 2011**

	Owner-occupied house	Owner-occupied flat	Main tenancy (not sublet)	Other legal relationship
Country of birth	%	%	%	%
Austria	47.60	9.85	35.19	6.74
EU 15 (except Austria)	23.77	14.01	49.11	8.44
2004/post-2004 EU member states (except Croatia)	16.39	11.37	58.26	7.85
Former Yugoslavia (except Slovenia)	11.03	11.64	67.12	6.80
Turkey	9.88	9.19	72.24	5.67
Other (incl. not known)	11.84	10.73	57.61	6.35

Source: Statistics Austria – statcube; author's calculations.

<sup>15</sup> Due to the high share of rented flats in Austrian cities (80% in Vienna) and the very secure legal situation for main tenants, owner occupancy is of limited use as an indicator for socio-economic integration in Austria.



Viewed as a whole, this presents a picture of a partial move upwards into housing similar to that available to the average Austrian, in particular in the case of immigrants from former Yugoslavia, with immigrants from Turkey left behind once more. There are no publicly available data sources on housing for the refugees from 2015 and post-2015; however, due to their socio-economic situation and the qualifying period required for social housing, it can be assumed that in many cases, their housing situation is still precarious and far removed from the standard enjoyed by Austrians. This has been confirmed by a few qualitative studies: one qualitative study on the housing search strategies of Vienna-based refugees has shown that they not only belong to a particularly vulnerable group on the private housing market, but also have hardly any access to social housing. Those refugees who have appropriate housing found it most often with help from civil society, while housing accessed through the open market was considerably overpriced. Additionally, they often had no access to council housing services, due to the requirement that it is necessary to be registered with an address in Vienna as a main residence for at least two years in order to qualify (Aigner 2019, 799).



## 7. Health

There are no detailed studies on the health situation of young immigrants in Austria. The most recent available Health Report (Griebler et al. 2017), Youth Report (Biffl et al. 2016) and Child and Youth Health Report (Griebler et al. 2016) only occasionally deal specifically with the target group of young immigrants. The reports mostly refer to the group of youth with migration background, whereby in all three reports migration background is defined as having been born abroad or both parents having been born abroad. All three reports note that the insufficiency of data mostly makes it impossible to make differentiations within this group.

The Report on the HBSC (Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children Study) Survey 2018 (BMASGK 2018) does provide a differentiated picture of the health of Austrian school pupils at the ages of 11, 13, 15 and 17; however, because of the study design the results are of course restricted to that age group.

The Health Report presents the health of the Austrian population in detail, in relation to differences in income, level of education and migration background, but does not include any specific analysis by age group in combination with migration background. Viewed overall, the Health Report shows that in the case of people with a migration background, there is a lower incidence of high blood pressure and obesity as for Austrians without a migration background. However, this can be explained by the lower average age of the immigrants. It remains the case that immigrants' health literacy is weaker and they make less use of preventative services. Additionally, since there is a high correlation between migration background and low household income, they are affected to a greater extent by those socio-economic factors which have a negative impact on health: more so than Austrians without an immigration background (Griebler et al 2017, pg. 222–226).

Part B of the 7<sup>th</sup> Austria Youth Report has developed a composite index on young people's quality of life (*Better Life Index*; Biffl et al. 2016, pg. 27–51). One sub index of this composite Index concerns the field of health.

Viewed as a whole, when material living conditions are excluded, with 78.2 from 100 points, young people as a whole attain a markedly higher score than middle-aged adults (75.6 points). Significant differences arising include those between young people/young adults with a migration background (72.2 points) and young people/young adults without a migration background (79.0 points) (*ibid.*, pg. 52). However, these differences are not statistically significant in the areas of health, education and quality of social organisation, rather they concern the other areas of life studied (*ibid.*, pg. 60). Young immigrants are also slightly under rather than over represented in the risk group for low subjective health. However, due to the high level of heterogeneity for this group, it is not possible to rule out that individual groups of young people with migration background may demonstrate a higher risk for poor subjective health. This could not be investigated further due to the low number of cases (*ibid.*, pg. 66).

The Austria Child and Youth Health Report 2016 (Griebler et al 2016) also addresses the areas of migration background in a small number of sub-chapters.



### Health literacy:

As a study from the Association of Austrian Social Insurance Institutions shows, 6% of 15-year-olds demonstrate excellent, 36% adequate and 58% limited health literacy: i.e. problematic (47%) or insufficient (11%). No differences appear by gender or migration background; however, young people from financially worse off families and those whose parents have lower qualifications have significantly poorer health literacy (Röthlin et al. 2013, cited from Griebler et al. 2016, pg. 75 f.).

### Risk of addiction: non-substance based addictions – gambling addiction

According to a study by Ikrath and Rohrer (2013), nine out of ten young Austrians (between 12 and 24) have gambled (including non-paid for services). Most often, this concerns commercial betting and gambling (72%) and gambling they organised themselves (poker or betting on sports with friends (70%). Some 44% of young people stated that they had placed a financial stake at least once (boys more often than girls, older youth more often than younger, people with an Austrian secondary education certificate or higher education more often than those with a medium or low level of education, and those with a migration background more often than those without) (Ikrath & Rohrer 2013, cited from Griebler et al. 2016, pg. 102).

Given that in the 2018 sample some 20% of school pupils had a migration background, the WHO-HBSC-Survey 2018 (BMASGK 2019) makes it possible to make a differentiated analysis of the influence of a migration background on the health-related behaviour of school pupils from 11–17.

A regression analysis was carried out, in which 23 independent variables, including gender, age, how well-off their family is etc. and migration background were used to investigate the dependent variables of life satisfaction, health burden, healthy eating, physical activity, tobacco consumption and alcohol consumption. This analysis showed that pupils' social relationships in the family and in school had the greatest influence on life satisfaction, yet that migration background is not significantly predictive for life satisfaction (BMASGK 2019, pg. 68). Neither is it a significant predictor for a range of other dependent variables, such as physical exercise (ibid., pg. 70), health burden (=intensity of physical and psychological problems ibid., pg. 70), or the high risk behaviour of smoking (ibid., pg. 71); in the case of alcohol consumption, there is a clear, inverse influence – migration background is a predictor for low or no alcohol consumption (ibid., pg. 72). However, due to the design of the study, these results are valid only for school pupils aged 11–17; it is not possible to extrapolate them across the whole population from 15–29.

Viewed overall, in the field of health in particular, there is a noticeable lack of broad monitoring studies which would allow a focus on the situation of young immigrants. However, those studies which do exist show no relationship or only a weak relationship between migration background and health status or perceived quality of life; in many areas, the influence of migration background is markedly less significant than the influence of socio-economic variables. More detailed studies would be necessary for a detail investigation of any links between health and migration background in the case of young immigrants.



## 8. Summary

As the picture of the situation of young immigrants regarding education, labour market and housing shows, this group is characterised by great diversity in terms of their background and circumstances – as are immigrants as a whole. In the 1980s and 1990s, individual immigrants lived in similar situations, relatively speaking, due to the significant role played by guest worker recruitment at that time. By contrast, it can no longer be assumed today that simply because a group of people are immigrants or were born abroad, they all live in similar circumstances. This means that in order to understand the situations in which young immigrants live, it is necessary to differentiate further, according to variables relevant to those situations. This means differentiating on the basis of e.g. social and educational background, immigration history, region of origin and duration of residency. In this respect, the country where immigrants have been educated is accorded particular importance: the differences in the qualifications achieved are, as the analyses show, not dependent primarily on the country of origin, but on the country where immigrants have been educated; people who attended school in Austria achieve a much higher level of education and therefore have much better opportunity to integrate than compatriots who have completed their education in their country of origin. Furthermore, in education, it is not the migration background per se, but rather coming from a family with a lower level of education which is the most predictive variable; migration background is primarily an additional, intensifying factor. In order to present data on this differentiation, at least to some degree, it would be necessary to have a – paid for – bespoke analysis from the datasets of the Population Register or detailed analysis of the Micro-census or the Labour Force Survey.

This differentiation is necessary in particular in relation to specific practice in youth work. As qualitative interviews with youth workers within the context of this project have shown, it is particularly young people from the second and third generation of guest worker immigration, along with recent immigrants from the refugee immigration of the last few years who are the main target group for open youth work. The common denominator for these two groups is not primarily that they have a migration background, but rather that these young people come from socio-economically and educationally disadvantaged sections of society<sup>16</sup>. The largest group of youth migrants in terms of numbers, immigrants from Germany, are hardly ever encountered in youth centres – German immigrants have traditionally belonged mostly to the middle and higher classes; moreover, many have come to Austria to study and so are not part of the target group for youth work. By contrast, civil society organisation

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<sup>16</sup> There are no studies which give an overview of the young people who make use of the youth work services available in Austria as a whole or in the individual federal provinces. As the study from GÜNGÖR and NIK-NAFS (Güngör & Nik-Nafs 2016, 30) on youth centres in Vienna shows, the most important common denominator for youth services users in Vienna is their relatively low level of education. This is true of young people with or without a migration background. Only a few of the young people in the survey attend a higher or post-secondary school. The majority enter the labour market, attend a pre-vocational training school or are on an apprenticeship. Grass roots youth facilities in Vienna provide a point of contact both for young people who are themselves immigrants and for increasingly diverse, Vienna-born youth. While it is true that groups with particular countries of birth or origin dominate, as does Islam as the most common religion, the 85% of Vienna youth who have a migration background represent some 50 countries of origin.



youth work mostly reaches non-immigrant youth, even if experts have reported an increasing broadening of scope to include immigrant target groups in recent years.

In demographic terms, high refugee immigration over recent years has led to a significant shift in the quantitative gender balance among young people in the direction of a preponderance of young men, particularly among those 24 years old or under. This imbalance is most visible in urban areas and should be taken into consideration in both open and civil society organisation youth work practice.

Young people with a refugee back story make up a very small proportion of all immigrant youth both across Austria as a whole, and in the federal provinces participating in this project; however, this background makes these young people particularly vulnerable. As experts report, they often need more attention than other young people at youth centres or in youth projects. This situation can lead to tension among young people being supported in a youth work context, and so requires particular awareness.

Education, labour market and housing data indicate a clear hierarchy, depending on immigrants' region of origin. Young people from the EU 15 (except Austria) make up the most favourably situated group – as do their parents; in fact, they have better housing than native Austrians. Young people from former Yugoslavia have closed the gap with the average population in many respects, while young people of Turkish origin appear as an underprivileged group in many datasets.

Viewed overall, this shows that if an analysis is based solely on the fact that young people were born abroad, or that one or both of their parents were, it cannot be expected to produce many relevant findings. Just as is true for the non-immigrant population, the situations in which immigrants live are highly differentiated; differences in social situation and circumstances are determined by diverse factors, one of which may be being born abroad and settling in Austria. An immigration or refugee back story is relevant above all, when they represent a factor which increases vulnerability. Therefore, an analysis of the situations in which young people live has to involve a multi-factorial approach, in which being born abroad or having immigrant parents is linked with a range of other factors. Additionally, it requires an in-depth analysis of the situations in which all young people live, enabling comparisons between a variety of biographical configurations, rather than limiting the focus to a particular group in advance. An analysis limited to immigrant youth alone is not equal to this task.



## 9. Annex

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