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Urban education in Austria – 'repression' of the topic and a 'reversed' political agenda

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Introduction

The concept of urban education is not familiar in the Austrian and the wider German speaking discourse either. This can be shown by literature search, which is hampered by the fact that not even an expression in the German/Austrian language exists for this concept.[1] We find two exceptional occasions when the concept was highlighted: at a 2000 conference in Vienna carrying this name (Achs, 2001), and at the 2011 European Conference for Educational Research in Berlin (ECER, 2011) with the same general conference topic. A recent OECD publication gives a specific position of Austria in the urbanisation trend, as the displayed indicators show a tendency of below average achievement in urban contexts, whereas in most countries these areas rather show overall advantages, often also related to polarised structures within the urban contexts (OECD, 2014, p.3)

Whereas urban education gained prominence in the 1960s and 1970s in the English speaking discourse, the urban-rural polarity is rather reversed in Austria. The rural schools (*Landschule*) were a central topic of Austrian education policy in the 1950s (Göttlicher, 2016); however, the concept of urban schools (*Stadtschule*) is mainly a historical term, used for the emergence of specific schools in the cities of earlier historical times up to the 19th century. Accordingly searching 'urban education' and 'rural education' in the ECER webpages[2] finds only references to some recent/current research projects dealing with rural schools. Two phenomena stand out with this polarity, first the discourse models the urban school as the (average) reference unit without naming it explicitly as such, and the rural as

[1] Literature searches using the terms ‚urban education' and 'rural education' in titles and all text were run in the EBSCOHOST Education Research Complete database, also using 'Austria' as additional term. The searches found primarily items from the US, with some predominance of urban over rural education since the 1960s (without a disappearance of the latter); specific Austrian contributions to the international discourse were not found. Searches in the German PEDOCS database found very few contributions that focus on regional aspects; wider reviews and analyses about education research mostly do not take the rural-urban dimension as a specific topic, if they consider it, the proportions are very low (e.g., among 800 key words over four periods between 2000-09, 200 per period, only one incidence of 'regional' and 'Bundesland' was found by Dees, 2014; among 8.600 educational research projects the topic 'regional planning' counted 0,2% in Weishaupt & Rittberger, 2012).

[2] See for the general search: http://www.eera-ecer.de/search/; and for ECER Berlin about 'urban education' http://www.eera-ecer.de/ecer2011/?no_cache=1

the exception which should be treated in some special ambiguous way (either supported or 'normalised'); related to this, the broader issues of urbanisation are more or less neglected, and regional policies have focused towards the support of the non-urban regions. The second phenomenon demonstrates a kind of conceptual '*repression*' in the old Freudian manner, as the main topics addressed in the international discourse about urban education related to disadvantage, stigmatisation, conflict, etc., are not tackled as serious and legitimate issues to be resolved, but rather marginalised and de-legitimated as incompetent malfunctions of Austrian schools and those responsible for them.

Whereas urban education is not emphasised as a deliberate topic, regional issues are heavily contested and politicised in Austria. Main messages by the policy makers and the researchers at the mentioned 'Urban Education'-Conference 2000 clearly indicate this situation. Leaders from the Viennese board of education defend better urban opportunities by the more diverse and more complete supply against unsubstantiated and unjustified political critique based on rhetoric of a healthy and idyllic world in the countryside that in fact would restrict opportunities because of the missing education supply. They also point to fights about resources between the concentrated urban contexts and the strongly regionally dispersed and thus more expensive rural structures.

The researchers focus on the equity and efficiency issues related to the uneven regional opportunity structures and on the question of better/worse social background conditions in different regional aggregates. Austria has an early tracked school structure at the lower secondary level with a separation of a common (Hauptschule-HS) and a selective upper level academic school (Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule-AHS) starting at age ten after four years of primary school. The composition of this lower secondary structure in compulsory schooling, and related to this the role and composition of the schools of the two tracks, differ fundamentally between urban and rural contexts, and these structural differences are related to the density of the regional supply of school types. The academic schools are concentrated in urban regions and the common schools are more widely dispersed in rural regions, thus the academic participation is much higher in towns and cities. This unequal regional participation is reflected in a regionally different composition of common schools. The rural ones include a wider spectrum of students, whereas the urban common schools concentrate on disadvantaged youth, who were selected out from further educational careers. The big political contest concerns the attitudes towards these differences, one camp around the more rurally oriented Christian-Democrats favouring a more selective academic school and a strengthening of the common track, whereas the other around the more urban Social

Democrats criticise the restricted opportunities in rural regions and advocate a reform of the tracked structure towards a (more) comprehensive school. Empirically the distribution of opportunities is contested because of a lack of data and information.[3] The opportunities related to the two tracks are to some degree less unequal than the structure suggests, because the common school also provides a route towards upward mobility mainly through a track of upper secondary vocational colleges (Berufsbildende Höhere Schulen-BHS) that provide credentials at the same level as the academic track (AHS), and effective access to higher education. The contributions of the researchers at the 'Urban Education' conference have pointed to the problems resulting from the tracked structure, and the polarised ideological convictions related to them, which hinder progression towards a solution of the problems in either direction. Empirical analyses indicate on the one hand that the distribution of abilities in the rural common school is much broader than that of the urban academic schools, with much overlap in the upper range; thus, if the academic school provides more elaborate opportunities for learning and progression, the more able students of rural common schools are denied part of their potential opportunities (Eder, 2000, 2012). On the other hand, the meritocratic pull towards the academic track in the urban regions drives the common school towards a high degree of concentration of disadvantage that deprives the participants in this track from part of their potential opportunities because of the related aggregation effects (Schrodt, 2014).

Overall, the rural-urban polarity appears flawed in some fundamental ways in the Austrian perceptions and discourses about educational challenges. On the one hand the discourse is focused on an aggregate perspective of the national formal structure of education, driven by the tracked vs. comprehensive polarity; on the other hand the various stakeholders involved in the actors constellations of education policy and practice are in different ways embedded in different kinds of national, regional and local communities, thus perceiving the educational structure from different angles. Because of the regionally biased structure, very different evaluations of the status-quo arise, implicitly addressing rather four categories of schools than the formal two ones academic and common, i.e. urban academic schools, rural common schools, rural academic schools, and urban common schools; more or less neglected is the complex area in between, in the regions around the bigger cities, which we might call a sub-urban one. The protagonists at the poles of the tracked-comprehensive polarity argue on a

[3] The Austrian education statistics do not include data and information about the social background of students, thus it was the gradually increased participation in the International Assessments (TIMSS, PISA, PIRLS) that has provided this kind of information, and a more recently started big endeavor of the periodical recording of educational standards at grades 4 and 8 provides also punctual social background information.

basis of different images of the school structure, somehow both neglecting the topics of urban education: the advocates of the tracked structure have the generalisation of the rural types of a selective academic school and a diverse common school in mind both of which were never common, as will be shown below, whereas the protagonists of the comprehensive structure rather argue from the perspective of the urban structure of diverse (common) academic schools and marginalised common schools, which do not reflect the challenges of the rural structure. A political focus on a change of the average formal system structure will not be appropriate to both sides of the rural-urban polarity. As a general consequence, there is no common ground in the political discourses, and a common strategy of finding solutions cannot be found, partly because of these different 'languages'.

This overall interpretation will be deconstructed in the chapter at some levels of analysis, in order to show the complexity of forces behind the polarised discourses, trying to tackle the tensions between ideologically founded perceptions and – also to some extent ideologically biased – 'realities' that create a kind of confusion. Institutionalism in a loose version is used as a theoretical and methodological lens of looking at the rural-urban polarity by assuming that the various institutional frameworks (political actors and structures, schools and their administration, administrative structures, etc.) involved in the double sense of organisational and normative structures are representing and at the same time influencing the meaning of the regional spaces, and are interrelated in complex ways (intersectionality). In this perspective the regional divisions are part of the actors and their practices in the various interrelated societal fields. The following interrelated dimensions are considered:

- First, the phenomenology of the urban/rural structures as an aggregating-distributing mechanism of the population and the societal environments including the distribution of educational institutions is analysed in greater detail. In the Austrian discourses the shape and development of urbanisation is more or less taken as a given that is not further questioned as a reality shaping phenomenon.
- Second, the historical legacies of the political conflict related to the educational structure are conceptually embedded into the also historically evolved broader political structures that reflect the regional divisions and the social actors attached to them (centralist-federalist state structure, agriculture-industry-services, political organisations, religious attachments to these elements, etc.). In this perspective the urban-rural division of schools cannot be conceived as a separate functional issue, but is part of a complex wider structure.
- Third the current issues in urban education are related to the political (in)capacities to cope with the problems (ideological, normative and structural constraints, distributional issues in

financing, etc.). At this level the federalist governance structures are of concern, which include the rural-urban polarity because the capital of Vienna as the biggest urban entity is one of nine political and administrative units in the Austrian federalism, whereas the majority of other federalist units only include none or much smaller urban agglomerations.
- Since the late 1960s (im)migration has emerged as a specific topic concerning urban education, which was repressed as an explicit issue for a long time. However, the topic has increasingly received attention because of the emerging diversity among students, and different effects on rural and urban schools (demographic dynamic, language policy, cultures, etc.); since the 1990s these issues have also become politicised in a polarised way, thus hampering functional solutions.
The intersection of these dimensions turns the urban-rural polarity into such a complex phenomenon that is neither easy to understand nor to tackle in a reasonable and functional way. In the following these dimensions are discussed and analysed more deeply.

Urban/rural structures and the educational institutions

The discourse about urban education is strongly driven by images of big metropolitan agglomerations, in the diction of the OECD by the emergence of megacities. In the regional, economic, and innovation related fields that deal with 'competitiveness' on a global scale the urban regions have been distinguished as a separate level of discussion beyond the national level. The metropolitan or city regions are devised to compete among each other on a global scale, and in parallel also to cooperate with each other (e.g., the Eurocities project). In this sense, the bigger city agglomerations are to some degree conceptually disembedded from their national contexts (Florida 1999), and at the same time pushed into a new action structure that includes multiple comparisons among each other (e.g., various city rankings). A key discourse concerns innovation (e.g., regional innovation systems) and the contribution of higher education institutions (which have also become object of various global rankings). The universities are deemed to have undergone waves of 'academic revolutions' (Etzkowitz 2004), the most recent one under the auspices of 'academic capitalism' (Rhoades & Slaughter, 2004). Within the discourses of the knowledge economy and society, and more recently the 'knowledge triangle' of research, education and innovation the (urban) educational structures and institutions are tightly involved as a feeding device into higher education which in turn is expected to be globally competitive. Higher education institutions should at the same time also be more strongly embedded into the local environment by

developing multiple interactions and relationships with the surrounding economy and society through the 'third mission'.

In relation to the national urban-rural dynamic in the frameworks of education, these discourses point towards a pooling of resources, and also towards regional concentration, thus changing the previous regional policy paradigm of more even distribution of resources among different aggregates towards the global competitiveness of the urban agglomerations. This change poses questions about consequences for the urban-rural relationships at a national or regional level: does it promote the agglomeration tendencies, and the flow of resources towards them? How is higher education distributed among the agglomerations of different space and concentration? How are the rural regions affected by a (cyclical) dynamic of pull-effects from the agglomerations vs. investments into being a better feeder for them? Overall, in the polarity of the assets (strengths) and challenges (weaknesses) of urban education, this discourse increases the demand for improvement, and at least in short sight also might pose decisions about where to distribute (additional) resources with the highest effects. These questions seem more pressing for small countries, as the investment potential into big centres of research and innovation is substantially smaller simply because of the scale of the available resources.[4]

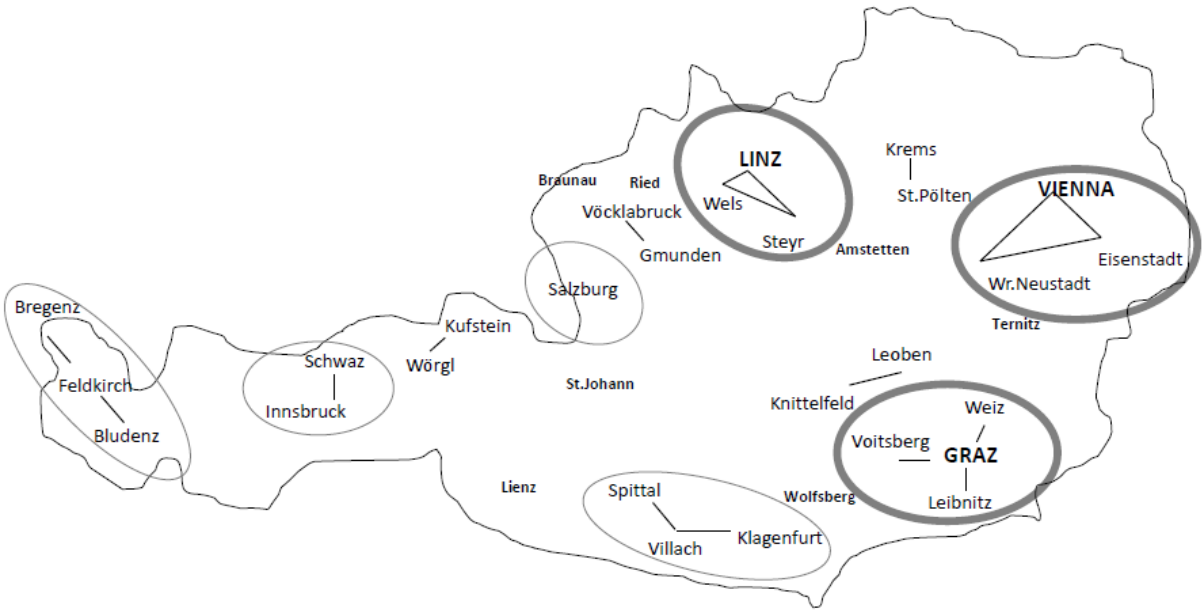
Looking at the regional structures in Austria, some observations can be made on a comparative[5] and on a national level. Vienna as the Austrian capital city hosts the biggest share of the national population compared to the other main Western capitals; however, the overall urbanisation of Austria stagnates on a low level, whereas it is increasing in most other regions and countries. This signifies an overall comparatively small degree of urbanisation, and a big difference between the capital metropole of Vienna and the other Austrian agglomerations. The national data support this picture (see ANNEX). Fig.1 and 2 show the structure, based on a distinction between the administrative town/city regions, the (functional) agglomerations in which they are embedded, and the 'pure' rural regions, which are also functionally separate from urban environments. A striking point is that the

[4] This point can be illustrated, if we look at the scale of the big global research universities in the US in relation to a 'normal' university in a small state (already times ago the budget of the University of California alone was similar to the whole Austrian higher education budget); looking at the global rankings, there are only few institutions in small countries that can fairly compete with the big US elite institutions (e.g. ETH Zurich), and Finland tries to step into this path with the development of the Aalto University (the success of which, however, cannot be reasonably predicted at this point).

[5] Comparisons of urbanisation are to some degree hampered by the fact that the demarcations of the cities from their greater environment might differ, consequently not the same units are compared if national definitions are the basis of the data (which is often the case; the European NUTS-Definition is a standardized one but restricted to EU member states).

administrative urban entities (enclosing 38% of the Austrian population) give an underestimating picture of urbanisation, as the greater urban regions which are functionally surrounding the towns and cities are adding further 28% living in de facto but not administrative urbanised regions (Fig.2). The small towns being not linked to bigger agglomerations, which are to some degree an influential paradigm of living environment in the public discourses and perception enclose only a small proportion of the population (3% in the administrative town regions plus 5% in their immediate surroundings), whereas the hidden urban agglomerations around Vienna and the other bigger towns/cities (a kind of suburbia) enclose one fourth of the population (762T around Vienna and 1.3M around the other towns/cities within agglomerations); this kind of quasi-urban-metropolitan environments is treated as a mixture of towns and more rural environments in administrative-political practices as well as in the public perception. However, if the agglomerations are taken into account, the greater regions of Graz and Linz enclose 550T resp. 650T populations that are substantially more urbanised than the city areas alone (260T resp. 200T), and also change ranks, as the Linz-surroundings are much more densely populated than the Graz surroundings.

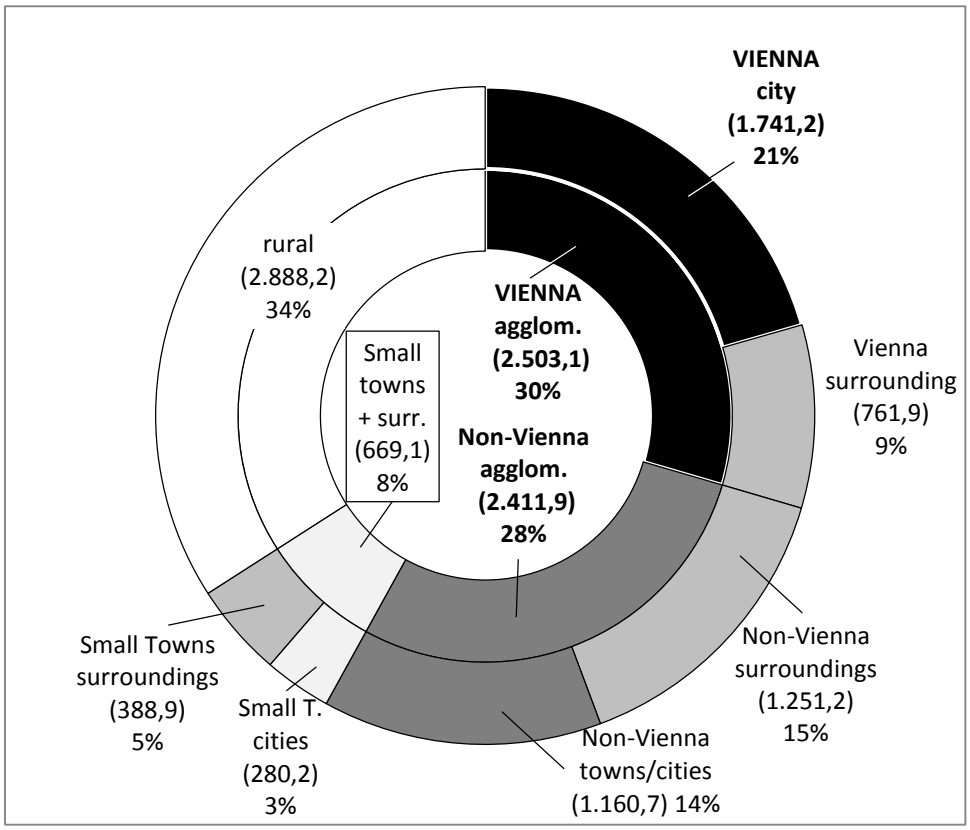
Fig.1: Stylised geography of urban regions in Austria



Source: authors own picture based on analysis of Statistics Austria data

Legend: thick circles with city/town names = big agglomerations; thin circles = smaller agglomerations; town names outside circles = small towns, linked to each other (by —) or stand alone.

Fig.2: Population by urban and rural regions



Source: authors own figure based on own analysis of Statistics Austria data.

As these agglomerations are hidden from the attention, the social circumstances are not known, in particular, how the duality in urban environments between the more wealthy on the one side, and the more disadvantaged and problematic parts on the other how distributed in those hidden urbanised regions. In the discourse mostly the wealthy side is considered, as on average these regions are relatively richer in terms of regional GDP.

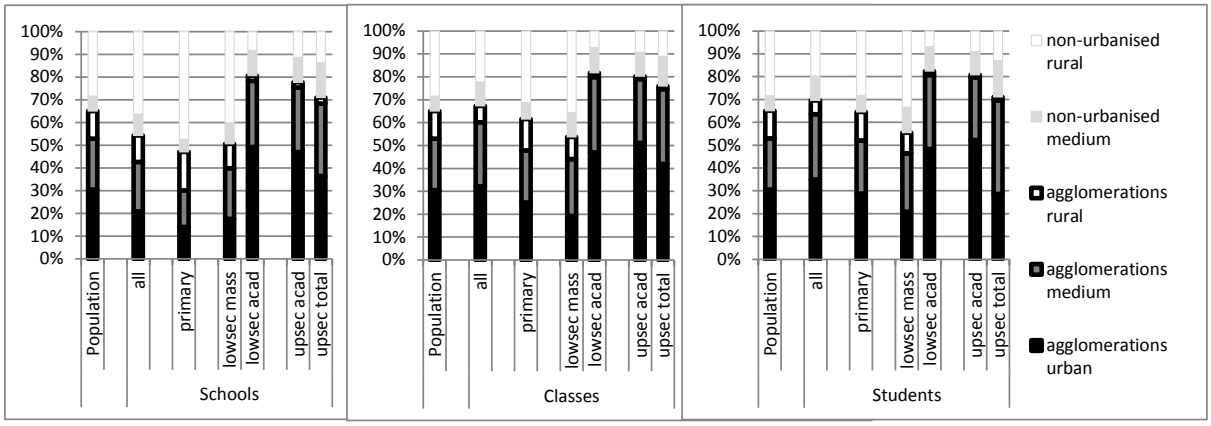
Two kinds of consequences for the educational structures follow from this hidden urbanisation process: First, the issue of 'economies of scale' differs between urbanised and non-urbanised regions, as the focus on financing is laid only within the communes, without considering the neighbouring ones, and also competing with neighbouring ones for status and resources; thus a degree of waste of resources might emerge; as the transport flows and structures within these regions are heavily biased towards the agglomeration centre, the opportunities of the middle class might be biased or violated to some degree because the school supply is overall less broad and diverse than in the cities. Second, because of the superficially more wealthy status, the 'dark sides' connected with urbanisation might be relatively even more marginalised in these areas than in the city regions, because the attention

(and prejudice) is driven away from these problems, normally attached to urban youth. Because of the overall 'repression' of urban education the latter problems are quite unexplored by research.

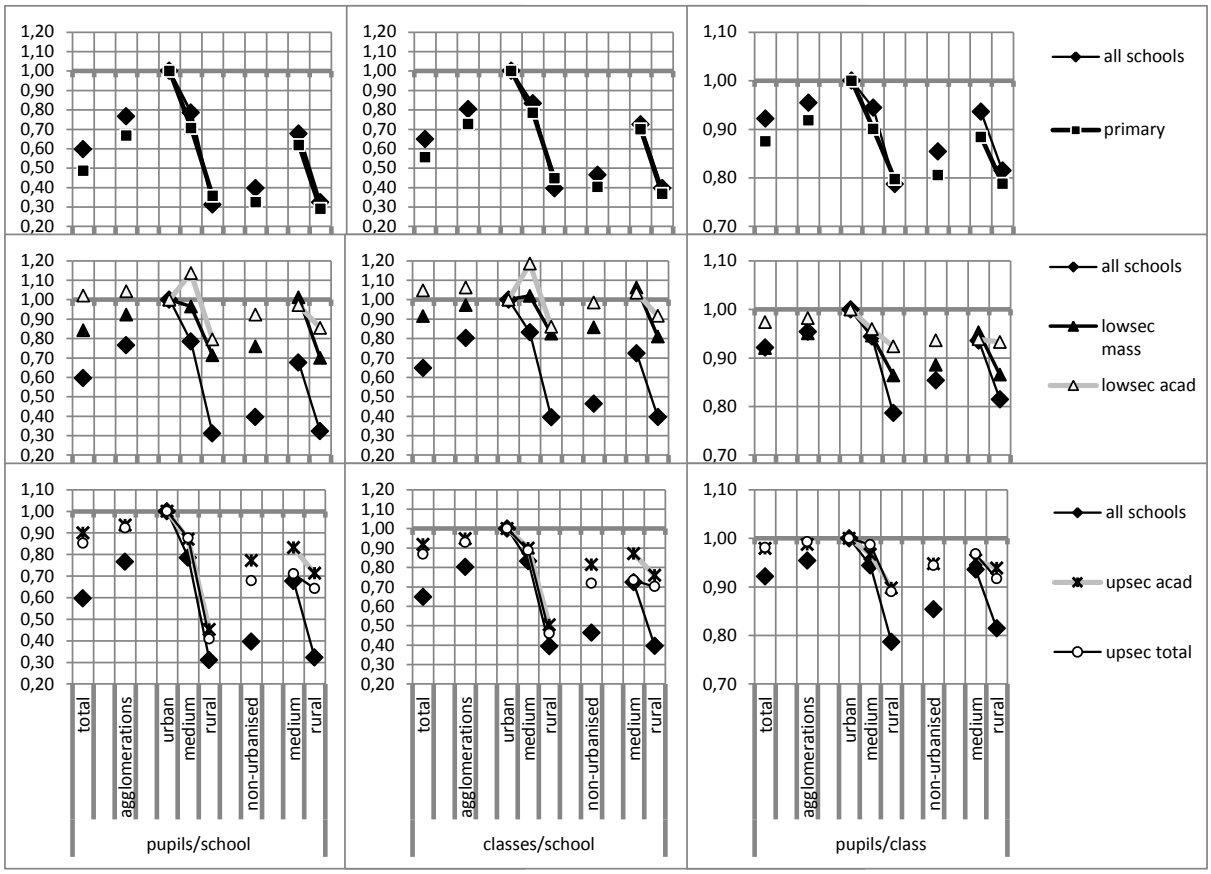
The structure of the supply of schools is originally explored in fig.3 and 4, displaying the distribution of participation in different versions of regional typologies.

Fig.3 Participation variables by reginal type of agglomeration and population density

a. Distribution of schools, classes and pupils by type of agglomeration and population density



b. School size and pupils per class by type of agglomeration and population density



Source: authors own figure based on own analysis of Statistics Austria data.

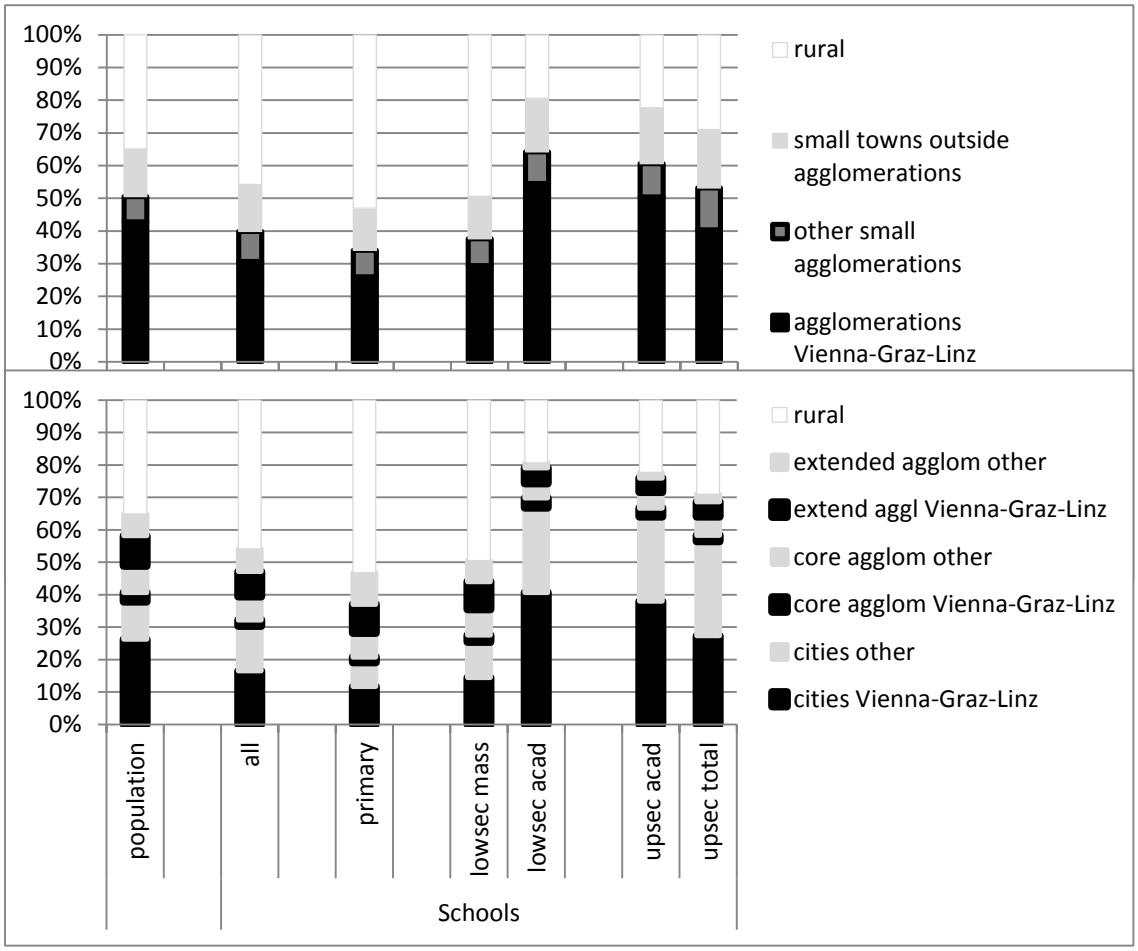
The hidden urbanisation by the regional agglomerations around the urban centres can be broken down by the population density. Thus the regional units that look rural by population density alone are located within the wider environment allowing a comparison of the less or lowly urbanised regions with the densely urbanised centres. Fig.3a shows how the school types are distributed across the regions, as compared to the rough distribution of the population.[6] We see a clear divide between the mass compulsory schools on the one hand, which are even more widely distributed towards the rural regions than the population, and the selective academic and upper secondary school, which are strongly concentrated in the urban centres on the other hand. 80 per cent of the academic schools are situated within the urbanised parts of the agglomerations, whereas around half of the primary and mass lower secondary schools are distributed towards the non-urbanised regions where only one third of the population lives. In addition we find almost one fifth of primary schools (and 10 per cent of mass lower secondary schools) in the less densely populated areas within agglomerations. The academic school is also much more concentrated (half in the core urban centres) than the overall upper secondary schools that include also the large part of vocational education, the latter being more widely distributed outside the agglomerations and also towards the less urbanised regions within the agglomerations. In particular the primary schools also show a characteristic distinction of the three indicators used for the description: the schools are much more widely distributed than the classes within schools and the participation of pupils (the latter correspond grossly to the distribution of the population.

This means that the rural regions are 'privileged' by the distribution of the primary school, whereas they are 'rationed' in the academic track. Some structural consequences are displayed in fig.3b. Overall, schools are substantially smaller in rural regions than in urbanised ones, with a divide between compulsory schools and the academic track, and rural schools also receive relatively more resources than urban ones (grossly measured by the pupils per class ratio). The resource indicator is consistently more compressed in the agglomerations overall, and also shows stepwise relatively more resources in less densely populated regions both within agglomerations and outside the agglomerations. Thus bigger

[6] The distribution of categories in the sum of all schools is always more similar to the compulsory schools because their overall number is much higher (all schools N=6.015, primary N=3.066; lower secondary mass schools N=1.104; lower secondary academic N=268; upper secondary academic N=345; total upper secondary N=1.710; because of an ongoing structural reform in lower secondary mass schools the number of schools must have been estimated; the academic school sites as organizational units mostly comprise lower and upper secondary levels, thus the number of physical academic school sites is similar to the number of upper secondary schools; the total number of upper secondary schools includes the academic and vocational schools, also the part-time compulsory schools related to apprenticeship and the institutionally separate schools for health occupations.

schools mean grossly less resources per pupil (‘economies of scale’). However, if a higher degree of disadvantage and problem-loaded areas in the densely urbanised regions, as well as a more polarised structure of privileged and disadvantaged areas, is taken into account, these differences might substantially reflect rather a ‘dis-economy of scale’, as the most needy regions might receive relatively less resources than others. The existing conceptual and ideological disregard of the issues of urban education drives the attention away from these distributional divides, so that knowledge and even information is missing about the distribution problems within the highly urbanised regions.

Fig.4 Distribution-concentration of schools by regional typologies



Source: authors own figure based on own analysis of Statistics Austria data.

The urban structures can be further differentiated by some striking distinctions (see the annex tables for detailed information), first between different types of urban environments (upper panel of fig.4), and second between different degrees of urbanisation within the agglomerations (cities, surrounding ‘core agglomerations - *Kernzone*’ with a high population

and employment density, and 'extended agglomerations- *Außenzone*' with a high degree of commuting into the urban centres). The types of urban environments include the three large highly urbanised agglomerations of Vienna, Graz and Linz (where together more than 40% of the Austrian population live), and two types of less concentrated urban regions, those more densely embedded into some degree of an agglomerative environment (these include the smaller regional capitals of the Austrian Länder), and other more 'stand-alone' small towns without such an environment. Fig.4 compares the distribution of the population with the distribution of schools among these types of urbanisation, and shows a kind of polarised structure. Half of the population lives in bigger or smaller agglomerations, the other half in small towns or rural regions.[7] The proportion of people living in stand-alone small towns is about double compared to those in small agglomerations, pointing to some discontinuities with urbanisation. This polarisation is reflected in the distribution of schools, with the majority of compulsory schools being situated in rural regions or small towns, and the majority of academic schools in the agglomerations (half of total in the three large ones of Vienna, Graz and Linz); the vocational schools are more evenly distributed according to the population.

The distinction of the degree of urbanisation in the different kinds of agglomerations shows the high concentration of academic and upper secondary schools to the different kinds of cities. Less than 40% of the population lives in cities, but more than half up to two thirds of these types of schools are situated in cities (with almost 40% of academic school in the cities of Vienna, Graz and Linz); the regions of hidden urbanisation host clearly a lower proportion of academic and upper secondary schools, but a similar proportion of primary and lower secondary mass schools, compared to their share of the population. The regional polarisation is particular striking at the lower secondary level, where half of the mass schools are situated in rural regions, and the highest proportion of academic schools is situated in cities alone.

The next two sections relate this uneven and polarised distribution of schools to the specific governance structure and to the historical political fights and conflicts about public education, which can explain to some degree the high focus on rural education and the neglect of the problems of urban education.

Historical legacies of the political conflict related to the educational structure

[7] The rural regions also include different kinds of settlements, from small villages to very small towns that are not classified as urban regions ('Stadtregionen') by Statistics Austria.

Within policy making in Austrian education the conflict about the segregated structure in the 10-14 cycle of lower secondary compulsory education is a kind of structuring 'leitmotif', that orders the discourses as well as the actors along the comprehensive-segregated division, and has its repercussions to many other key political issues, from early education to the organisation of access to higher education. This issue is politically structured in a certain way, as the decisions in Austrian parliament about issues of school structure require a qualified constitutional (two-third) majority. In the past this meant that the two 'big' political parties, Social democrats (SPÖ) and Christian-conservative democrats (ÖVP Österreichische Volkspartei), must have found a compromise; in the meantime the party spectre has diversified towards four to five parties, however, the comprehensive-segregated division has remained intact with the green party joining the Social democrats, and the right-wing Freedom party joining the Christian-conservatives.

However, the polarisation does not only concern the blocked political decision structure, but is also tightly related to the overall constitution of the Austrian federal state. At this point the historical legacies must be taken into consideration in multiple ways. In a longer historical perspective, public education was linked to the liberal-republican vs. the catholic-absolutist division, with the basic structures of education being grounded first in the highly bureaucratic absolutist state (competing with the church, after the victory of the counter-reformation), second in the plans devised around and after the defeated 1848 revolution, and third in the short liberal period of the 1860s around the capitalist expansion, when Habsburg-Austria was a big player, and Vienna became one of the biggest metropoles of the world. However, after the crises of the 1870s the Liberals were sustainably defeated by the construction of (one of) the first modern right wing political mass parties that gradually united the catholic-conservative rural (peasant) masses and the urban petit bourgeoisie on a reactionary anti-industrial, anti-market, and above all, Anti-Semitic basis (Boyer 2010). This movement was started in Vienna, and increasingly had to compete with the parallel upcoming Socialist movement that successfully tried to organise the proletarian masses. In the beginning of the 20th century, when Vienna was a world metropole, the political climate was strongly driven by the fights between these two parties.

When the Habsburg monarchy broke apart after ww1 the main players of the small remaining German speaking part could not believe in the viability of this unit and wanted to join Germany, which was forbidden by the peace treaties. Thus a new 'state, wanted by nobody' (Andics, 1962) had to be constructed for 'the rest' of the big empire, and this process emerged in a dualist way, with two parallel histories and two competing camps among the

political players, the 'centralists' and the 'federalists':[8] one history is the foundation based on a constitution devised by Hans Kelsen in a predominantly centralist spirit and decided by the Austrian Parliament in 1920; another competing history is that the (pre-existing) regional units (Länder) have founded the new republic by their formal declaration to the parliament to join the new republic in 1918. A complex and contradictory federalist system was built in the new small state, which has had – different from Switzerland – a tradition of a unitary state since centuries, however, always accompanied by battles between the *Länder* interests and the centralist monarchy. Conflicts about the distribution of competences between the central and the regional levels were a core issue from the beginning, and education was always, and is still situated amidst these conflicts, with strong consequences for governance and policy making in education (the distribution of responsibilities for education have been left open in the Austrian constitution of 1920, until a very complex solution was amended in1962 that has built a structure of mixed responsibilities between the central and the regional levels, and in fact blocked reform decisions by demanding a two-third majority in parliament).

The battleground between federalists and centralists was changed in a fundamental way by an institutional transformation of the urban metropole of Vienna from a city within the surrounding Lower Austria into one of the Austrian federal states in 1921. This preserved the conservative majority in agrarian Lower Austria, and gave the leading Social Democrats the opportunity to continue the reforms started by the central coalition government after its breakdown in 1920 – by this move they also received a big stake in favour of federalism, against their basic preference of the unitarian state, and consequently made the issues more complex. 'Red Vienna' became a laboratory of reforms in a conservative, crisis-driven environment, shaken by heavy political fights between the left and the right. One reform issue was the educational structure. The Social Democrats with Otto Glöckel as a leading figure proposed to develop a comprehensive school at the lower secondary level had opened a reform department for systematic experimentation at the level of the education ministry and started trials at the school level.

This structure was shifted to the level of Vienna, when the political protagonists had to leave the central Austrian government, and the school reform became one of the main issues of contest between the main political movements. The Christian Party leading the central government was strongly related to the rural interests and defended the traditional segregated

[8] As some other concepts the understanding of a ‚federalist' is different in Austria (and more generally in German language) from the US and maybe the English understanding, denoting not the central level (of the federation), but rather the decentral lower level of the regional units, and the proponents of their interests and positioning.

structure of education, whereas the Social Democrats were somehow ‘insulated’ in the exceptional environment of metropolitan Vienna, with all its social and economic problems and its (too) big size for the small country. In 1927 a compromise concerning the structure of the lower secondary level has been decided which, however, could not be implemented, because of the regime-shift to the Austro-fascist regime in 1934. The Social Democratic streaming-model (called *Hauptschule*) of a comprehensive school differentiated by a higher and a lower achievement track (A and B; track A should be equivalent to the academic school) was foreseen as one of three institutional tracks: a rural upper cycle of primary schools, the new model, and the academic school.

On the background of the political cleavages between the oppositional parties, and the central-federal divide the reform of urban education turned into the ‘Viennese reform’ and the problems of urban education turned into the problems of ‘Viennese education’. During the German Nazi-regime the issues of the regional position of Vienna were aggravated by a big administrative extension of the metropolitan agglomeration around Vienna through the incorporation of about 100 surrounding communes into the city area – this shift was immediately reversed after the liberation in 1945, however, it took years to re-implement the previous structure, and one should not wonder that this issue has become a kind of taboo subsequently.

After ww2 until the end of the 1950s a main topic of education policy was – besides the reconstruction of the institutional framework – the preservation of the traditional structure of rural education, the upper cycle of primary school (*Volksschul-Oberstufe*), which very often combined different grades in a class. This conservative strategy was embedded in a broader concept of preservation of the closed agrarian rural culture and environment against industrialisation, and tried to undermine the alternative strategy of implementing the two-track common school from 1927, which had been already established as the legal norm in 1945.

In the end of the 1950s full implementation of the tracked model of *Hauptschule* in parallel to the academic track was decided, and realised during the 1960s. The main change has been to spread this tracked type from the urban to the rural regions, and to abolish the upper cycle of the primary school. In parallel the academic school was also to some degree regionally extended to smaller towns. Subsequently the proposal of a full comprehensive school has always remained in place as a kind of more or less excluded ‘discursive ghost’, and time and again it also rose up to respectability on the political agenda (in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and again since the mid-2000s). The solution has always been to reform the mass

track and to preserve the academic track, leading to the current structure shown in the previous section. In the 1980s the two-track streaming model has been changed to a three-level setting differentiation by achievement groups, and currently the achievement groups should be transformed to individualised differentiation within class, using team-teaching as a main device.

In the long term two overlapping developments can be observed, first the spread of the traditional urban structure towards the less urbanised regions by abolishing the traditional rural structure; secondly the traditional urban structure changed in parallel by the increase of participation in the academic track, which paradoxically marginalised the school type that was extended to the whole of the country. Because the attention was laid mainly to the rural regions, the urban structure served as a norm, and the problems of urban education were more or less neglected; at the same time the influence of the social background variables on achievement and education careers was completely missing in education statistics.

Until the international large scale assessments the results of education were not observed regularly in a transparent way, and politics concentrated on the input dimension of (additional) financing, and in particular during the 1970s on providing additional teachers. First the full participation in the 1995 TIMSS (Third International Mathematics and Science Study; see https://www.bifie.at/node/106), and later the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) results have identified quite severe achievement gaps and 'problem groups'. However, on the background of the polarised political discourse, these results were rather scandalised by attributions of blame to competing actors, instead of looking more deeply for pragmatic solutions.

Putting these arguments together, the overall pattern of the political discourse about the problems and solutions in education has driven the attention away from urban education. The focus has been laid on a more even distribution of facilities towards more rural regions taking a previous urban structure as a norm. The polarising topic of federalism-centralism, and a more expensive rural framework of education, reinforces the competition between these different regional aggregates, and because of the *Länder* as core players in the federalist structure the urban regions are on the one hand hidden behind the averages of the majority of the *Länder*, and are in the case of Vienna highlighted as an exceptional situation of a special metropolitan area (whereas in fact the agglomerations of Graz and Linz are also quite large but not perceived as such, and have no real advocates).

In the contested complex centralist-federalist structure the political discourses about education are mainly situated at the federal level, and follow a historical legacy of a one-size-

fits-all approach of an 'average'-guided systems reform. In the logic of this discourse the urban status of Vienna, as a minority of one among nine federal units, appears as exceptional and 'problematic', measured not against the standards of urban education (which do not exist in the national discourse, because units of comparison are missing) but in a reversed manner against the more rural conditions. Consequently, the issues of urban education are not tackled as serious issues to be resolved, but '*repressed*' in the old Freudian manner behind an average overall structure; this means in particular, that the specific conditions in the urban regions are not even sufficiently visible.

Political (in)capacities to cope with the urban-rural polarity

As indicated in the previous section the regional structure is heavily politicised because of a complex federal structure in which Vienna is a contested federal unit because of its definite urban structure different from the other units, and – more importantly – because of a long tradition of political struggles, in particular related to education. These struggles revive along rural-urban and political right-left lines, and are complicated by a regional border that divides the overall Vienna metropolitan region into the state of Vienna as the urban core and its surrounding areas that are part of the surrounding state of Lower Austria. Vienna has a long social democratic tradition, and has been the centre of a social democratic attempt towards school reforms after ww1 which still somehow casts a cloud over the enduring struggles in education policy, with the segregated structure from age ten vs. the ideal of a comprehensive school at least until age fourteen at its core.

The previous analysis of the regional structures has shown different degrees of urbanisation in the primary and lower secondary levels of compulsory schools on the one hand and the academic and upper secondary level schools on the other. These two different categories are governed and financed in different ways by different authorities: the academic and upper secondary schools are under the formal responsibility and financing of the central government; and the compulsory schools are under a mixed structure of responsibilities, with the regional authorities implementing the (gross) central regulations. In the latter area the federal government has to finance the teachers, however, the regional authorities allocate the money and get it refunded within very loose rules (some average indications based on the number of pupils, and very few requirements concerning the invoice; only recently some monitoring information is also required). This governance structure would require a highly cooperative actors' constellation which, however, is not realised as argued in the previous

section. On the contrary, the schools are a main object in the double polarised conflictual structure of power games between the central and the regional authorities (the centralist-federalist conflict) that in addition are led by different political affiliations, and of the related political preferences about the school structure (the comprehensive-segregation conflict).
Two basic traits are of substantial influence in this structure: first, the Austrian federalism is mainly a distributional machine, as the Länder mainly spend money they receive via transfers from the central level (the central authorities have to transfer grossly half of their education budget to the Länder, without having control or even information about the specific use of this money); second, behind the mixed allocation of responsibilities lies a highly bureaucratic central administration, which cannot reach the level of schools because the authority structure is 'broken' by the federalist interventions. From several reasons can be predicted that this structure cannot work reasonably.
Two examples can illustrate the logic of this governance system. The evaluation of one of the biggest recent federal reform initiatives, the reform of the differentiation structure of the lower secondary school from achievement groups towards individualised instruction in heterogeneous classes through team teaching ('*Neue Mittelschule*') was fully implemented only in about one of five cases (Eder, Altrichter, Hofmann Weber, 2015). Several analyses of the allocation of resources rather find indications of a maximization of resources by the *Länder* than of a reasonable allocation of them. The allocation of resources to the primary schools in the recent decades have led to a substantial increase of resources per pupil in the *Länder* with a demographic decline, whereas there was no increase in Vienna, the only region which would have afforded more resources because it did not experience a decline (Bruneforth, Chabera, Vogtenhuber & Lassnigg, forthcoming).
Interestingly, despite this apparent divergence between the demand for resources and the allocation of resources among the *Länder*, which is documented already since some time in different versions, and can be demonstrated by several observations (e.g., Austrian National Education Reports 2009, 2012; Lassnigg, 2015), virtually no requests for a redistribution of resources can be found in the public debate. This can be possibly explained by a lack of awareness and comparative information about the distribution of resources. The system drives each regional unit to look inwardly to the own resources, which are allocated periodically by a political process of financial transfers ('*Finanzausgleich*'). Another possible explanation could lie in an endemically unstable architecture of the negotiated transfers, and a kind of underlying agreement among the actors not to question the distribution, because otherwise the architecture could break down. Education is only one part of the complex

overall framework of transfers, so even substantial drawbacks in this area could be compensated by advantages in other areas.
At the level of political competition the endemic repression of the disadvantages and problems of urban education and its marginalisation as a system and policy failure rather creates an inclination for politicians to present the achievements in their own domain positively, instead of pointing to the problems and demands, and demonstrating them thoroughly. The coincidence of the largest urban agglomeration being also a unit in the federalist system might thus be a factor in support of the neglect and repression of its problems. And, furthermore, if Vienna as the most pronounced metropolitan agglomeration is hiding its disadvantages, then the other smaller agglomerations will be inclined to do the same. As the agglomerations are part of the wider region, they hide automatically themselves, if they not specifically observed.

(Im)migration as a specific topic concerning urban education

The 'reversed' political agenda means that the focus is laid more on the rural conditions, comprising a wide network of small schools, and an uneven distribution of the upper level schools between rural and urban regions. Consequently the opportunities of educational progression of individuals are also distributed in an uneven manner. Within this basic structure the Austrian education system was in particular not very able to cope with the phenomenon of immigration that concerns rather the urban communities. As the migrants were for quite a long time considered as temporary so called 'guest workers', the phenomenon by itself also was more or less 'repressed' as an issue, so that no sufficient conditions for the education of the immigrant offspring were build up.
At the time of writing (March 2016) with the increase of the number of refugees migration might have reached a new dimension, and the past experience might not provide a valid picture of how to cope productively with this issue. In Austria, as in many other Western countries, the declining and ageing 'native' population is setting demands for a substantial amount of immigration, in order to hold the population even stable. This has been demonstrated already for quite a long time. However, much time has been missed to develop the necessary practices to educate the increasingly diverse student population in a sufficiently productive manner. The dimension of the diversity has not been observed sufficiently because only a foreign nationality was used as an indicator, and the distinction of the generations of immigrants has not been made. Then the observation has been improved by

taking the spoken language as an indicator at the national level and at the regional level of the Länder, increasingly realising that a substantial part of pupils in Vienna are speaking a foreign language. However, the proportions in agglomerations outside Vienna were not known for some time – so there was a stepwise acknowledgement of a basic demand for developing new practices.

Currently the proportion of pupils speaking foreign languages (mainly Turkish 7%, and Ex-Yugoslavian 7%, other 12%) at primary school is distributed across the Austrian Länder around an average of almost 30%, in a range between above 10% and almost 60%; in rural regions the proportion is around 10%, and in the densely populated regions it is on average 50% in a range between above 20% and almost 60%. Across school types the proportion ranges most between above 10% and below 30%,with a higher proportion particularly in business related medium level vocational schools (above 50%). The proportion of pupils speaking foreign languages is concentrated to 20% in classes with more than half of all children, and to around 50% in such classes among the immigrants only. The proportion of pupils that do not reach the standards is more than double compared to the native pupils, and higher at the 8th grade (standards not reached Math. 4th grade 24% : 9%; Math 8th grade 35% : 13%). .

Since the 1980s the shift from the earlier paradigm of temporary labour migration towards permanent immigration has become an increasingly contested terrain at the political level. Whereas the longer term demographic gaps are to some degree accepted as an issue, there have been also periodical economic estimates that show in the short term negative impulses from immigration on the labour market towards increasing effects on unemployment. The trade unions have therefore taken a critical stance, which was reinforced first by conflicts with the employers' organisations about dumping in terms wages and labour conditions and second by the stepwise opening up of the labour market in the process of European integration after the accession to the European Union (EU) in 1995. In the European integration process the opening of the Eastern European countries after 1989 and their subsequent accession to the EU have been a source of fears about the impact on the labour market. A stepwise delayed liberalisation of the labour market was therefore negotiated with the EU in order to agree to the Eastern enlargement. During the violent break-up of Yugoslavia many refugees have also been taken, as this region – together with Turkey – has always been the main origin of immigration to Austria.

Besides this basic critical background to immigration the strategies of how politics and society should cope with immigration has also been always a contested terrain, oscillating

between a strong assimilation programme vs. multiculturalist stances of mutual adaptations between the immigrants' cultures and the native population. In school and education politics these conflicting programmes have materialised – and still do so – primarily in the field of language policies: how strong should the immigrant children be forced to quickly learn German as the dominating language of instruction vs. how much room should the native language(s) of the immigrants, and related to this their cultures, have in school, and how much should they change in turn towards multiculturalism. Another main topic in education concerns the issue of how much immigrant children were transferred to special schools, which still exist to some degree despite an overall integrative strategy since the 1980s (overall, about 40% of children with special needs are segregated in special schools, the slight majority is integrated in mainstream education). Children speaking non-native languages are still transferred to specials schools or the special need programmes at a rate that is 50 per cent above the rate among German speaking children (5.5% vs. 3.6% on Austrian average, the overall proportion in special education programmes ranging between 3.7% and 8.4% in the different *Länder*). This transfer increases during the compulsory school careers from about 3% in the beginning (grade 1) to around 7% at grades 6-8 (vs. 2% to 4% among the German speaking children). In the sector of apprenticeship which is an important part of vocational education and the access to training and education is controlled by the training enterprises, a below average representation of migrant youth has been deliberately acknowledged by the social partners as a political issue to be tackled in 2011 (Beirat für Wirtschafts- und Sozialfragen, 2011).

At the expert level much development work towards a cultural opening up has been brought forward, being reflected in the preparation of the Austrian National Education report 2012, where the issues related to immigration were an overall leading device, and should be tackled in each of the topical chapters. A specific chapter (Herzog-Punzenberger & Schnell, 2012) reviewed and analysed the issues around multilingualism, trying to give a strong message towards an emphasis on the strengths of multilingualism, instead of seeing diverse languages and cultures mainly as 'a problem'.

According to Herzog-Punzenberger & Schnell (2012, 239-40) four types of measures were basically designed for supporting children with non-native languages since the early 1990s:

- learning German as a second language
- learning the primary non-German language

- integrated instruction in mainstream classes by a status of ‚extraordinary pupils (‚*außerordentliche SchülerInnen*‘) until they have acquired sufficient competences for ordinary instruction
- intercultural learning.

However, the provision of these measures had not any binding status, and was not very much monitored and followed up. It was not before 2008 that a department of diversity and language policies was created in the ministry of education, in order to develop more comprehensive policies for the support of diversity. In parallel a secretary of state for integration politics was established in the ministry of the interior that proposed a broader array of policies in an action plan for integration in 2012, using the analyses and recommendations of an OECD-country examination about migration and education (Nusche et al., 2009). Five types of measures were proposed:

- support of language learning in German and the native language, starting in preschool education and followed up in school, and supported by the development of instruction material as well as mentoring and counseling activities
- professionalization of the teaching, administrative, and supervising personnel in preschool and school education by several institutional entities and frameworks
- support and competence development of the migrant parents
- development and intensification of the dialogue with the communities of migrants
- public relations in support of these kinds of policies.

Still the strategies and the degree of implementation of this programme remained questionable, and an almost complete lack of evaluation of measures and policies in this field was observed by the authors. In the political discourse some tensions emerged between the more diversity oriented approach in the education sphere and the more administrative and adaptation oriented approach in the ministry of the interior, which belonged to the different political camps.

Politics took mainly up the issue of German language learning in preschool education, by providing a free and compulsory year of Kindergarten before the start of the school careers. As the local and regional authorities are responsible for the preschool area, the central authorities cannot directly intervene in this field in the Austrian federalist framework. As Kindergarten is not free in Austria, an agreement between the central government and the Länder was negotiated that allocated money from the central budget for this purpose which had to be matched by money from the Länder, in order to provide the necessary places in Kindergarten. After a first step, the proposal was made to extent this programme to a second

free and compulsory year of Kindergarten. However, here political conflicts emerged and the duty to enroll in Kindergarten for this second year was reduced to those who need additional learning. These policies meet several problems, as the preschool areas is a very diverse field in Austria because of the distributed responsibilities, with a high degree of variation in the institutional provisions (e.g., opening times, spatial accessibility in rural regions, budgeting and monitoring practices). The high priority of the measures needed quick reaction by the various stakeholders, and several difficulties have arisen, a main one being the challenge of quickly setting up the necessary infrastructure. In the Länder it was not always possible to use the resources allocated on the one hand, and in the Vienna region 'cultural clashes' have emerged, as it is not clear to which degree providers with more or less fundamentalist orientations were supported by the quick extension of facilities. This issue came up recently on the background of the increase of a take-up of refugees.

Because of its size and the high visibility as a federal unit the attention on the migration issues is strongly oriented towards Vienna, whereas the other agglomerations with similar proportions of migrants are not so much visible. The political climate adds to this, as the right-wing freedom party that focuses its strategy towards the 'migration problem' is competing mainly with the Social Democrats for the electorate. Thus in terms of politics the Viennese government must find itself in a catch-22 position: if it provides politics offensively for solutions of problems in support of migrant communities it is under attack because of supporting 'them' instead of 'us', if – on the contrary – it leaves the politics in this area in the silent, it is attacked because of 'not doing anything' about the problems.

In sum, it must be said that it took a very long time until the slowly emerging issue of migration was considered as a 'political object' that needs to be deliberately tackled with some priority. At the point when it really came up on the agenda and the search for solutions intensified more seriously, its weight has become too heavy to let much room for experimentation and a wider search for solutions – the current (and maybe also future) wave of refugees to Europe has once more overtaken the already strained situation, creating a new situation at least in the short run. The factors contributing to the repression of the problems of urban education worked out in the previous sections, as they are the hidden agglomeration process, the historical legacies concerning federalism, the political polarization around the lower secondary schools, and the complex and contradictory governance structures, have contributed to these delays in the political and the practical sphere.

Concluding remarks and some questions for further attention

The exploration of the Austrian case has shown a special constellation of urban education as a repressed phenomenon in the Freudian sense, combined with a reversed political agenda of support of the rural regions. Historical legacies of polarized political conflict positions about the contested shape of the federalist state, and about the structure of lower secondary education have contributed to the emergence of this constellation. A main factor is the contradictory interplay of the institutional structures of the state and the education system with the positioning of the political actors (parties and interest organisations) On the background of a divided regional structure with Vienna as a large metropolitan agglomeration and some other urbanized agglomerations on the one hand, and several small towns and a more rural countryside on the other, Vienna has an outstanding position of one of nine federal states, giving the still leading Social Democrats a stake in the federalist structure that points against their basically centralist orientation. The problems of urban education are downplayed in this constellation, as the Viennese politicians must show rather success than problems, and the other more hidden agglomerations loose a vanguard that would openly and deliberately struggle for solutions. In fact many indications point to a tendency that in the federalist constellation of the distribution of resources Vienna does not get a share according to the needs, but rather a share according to a political fait accompli as a result of complex negotiations.

In the longer term an interesting process of structural change is observed since ww2, as the original urban structure with the mass lower secondary school as the predominant institution was spread to the rural regions, whereas in parallel the structure within the urban agglomerations changed towards a predominance of the academic school and a marginalization of the mass track. The academic schools are heavily concentrated in the city areas, compromising the opportunities in less urbanized regions.

The disadvantages and problems of urban education which do not have strong advocates in the given structure seem to be matched with lower resources, and this constellation might arise out of a misunderstanding of ‘economies of scale’: the indicators show much larger schools in the urban agglomerations, and at the same time higher numbers of pupils per class. This holds for all types of schools, also for the mass lower secondary school, which is privileged by several better background factors in the rural regions, and marginalized in the urban agglomerations. This relationship between school size and resources per pupil might deserve more attention, looking at non-linearity. A well-known stylized fact is that larger schools provide better results; another more contested stylized fact is that resources are not

clearly related to results. If we take into account the two in fact different types of the mass lower secondary school conflated in one type in Austria, we see the potentially misleading results which might come out from superficial comparisons between such types – the academic school must also be heterogeneous, if the complementary type is. The urban-rural distinction might serve as an explanatory devise in this sense.

A final question concerns the issues of the hidden agglomeration processes, displayed by the simple observations of the population dynamics. How much do their internal structures lead to the problems of more densely urbanized regions, or do they rather preserve the traits of the small towns they previously were? How much can the research about Suburbia illuminate these structures? At least for Austria this would be important issues for further reasoning and analysis. And a final final question concerns the role of the institutional demarcations (e.g., the coincidence of state and city borders, and at the same time the intersection of cohesive agglomerations by administrative and institutional borders) in relation to the dynamic of urbanization.

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Annex table A.1 Austrian population by dimensions of urbanisation

AT summary	8488,5	100,0%
Agglomerations		
Agglomerations total		
Agglomerations total; Lev(1)-(4)	4915,0	57,9%
> 500T (n=3)	3701,4	43,6%
250-500T (n=4)	1213,6	14,3%
Cities only within agglomerations; Lev(1)	2590,5	30,5%
> 500T (n=1)	1741,2	20,5%
250-500T (n=1)	265,8	3,1%
100-250T (n=3)	459,9	5,4%
<100T (n=2)	123,6	1,5%
smaller towns only inside aggl.; Lev(1)		
towns (n=12)	311,4	3,7%
cities and towns only within aggl.; Lev(1)		
cities and towns (n=19)	2901,9	34,2%
surroundings within agglomerations; Lev(2)-(4)		
city and town surroundings (n=19)	2013,1	23,7%
smaller towns outside agglomerations; Lev(5)		
towns incl.surroundings (n=15)	669,1	7,9%
towns only	280,2	3,3%
town surroundings only	388,9	4,6%
outside towns and cities and their surroundings (rest)		
Level(6; rest-cat)	2888,2	34,0%

Definitions:
Four levels of urbanization in agglomerations (=greater regions) are distinguished:
1 city or town (admin.)
2 core region
3 wider region
4 greater region
Levels (1)-(3) are defined by Statistics Austria, level (4) was added by the author to include the neighbouring towns easily accessible

A fifth level (5) displays towns and their regions that are not directly connected to agglomerations

A sixth level (6) displays the remaining non-urbanised regions.

Legend:
'city' refers to level (1)
'region': levels (1)-(3)
'greater region': level (4)
'small towns…': level (5)
'non-urban': level (6)

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Table: Degrees of urbanization by Austrian Länder (2013)

Land	abs. (*1.000)	% AT	% Land
Austria total	8488,5	100,0%	
Vienna			
Population	1.757,4	20,7%	100,0%
Greater Vienna	**2.503,1**	**29,5%**	**142,4%**
thereof city Vienna	1.741,2	20,5%	99,1%
thereof region Vienna (incl.city) in LA+B	2.389,0	28,1%	135,9%
thereof in Lower Austria (LA)	620,3	7,3%	35,3%
thereof in Burgenland (B)	27,4	0,3%	1,6%
thereof greater region Vienna in LA	81,4	1,0%	4,6%
thereof greater region Vienna in B	32,8	0,4%	1,9%
Lower Austria			
Population	1.621,9	19,1%	100,0%
Greater Vienna (part Lower Austria: LA)	701,7	8,3%	43,3%
thereof region Vienna in LA	620,3	7,3%	38,2%
thereof greater region Vienna in LA	81,4	1,0%	5,0%
small towns outside agglomerations	201,5	2,4%	12,4%
non-urban	718,7	8,5%	44,3%
Burgenland			
Population	287,1	3,4%	100,0%
Greater Vienna (part Burgenland: B)	60,2	0,7%	21,0%
thereof region Vienna in B	27,4	0,3%	9,5%
thereof greater region Vienna in B	32,8	0,4%	11,4%
non-urban	226,9	2,7%	79,0%
Styria			
Population	1.215,2	14,3%	100,0%
Greater Graz	**547,4**	**6,4%**	**45,0%**
thereof city	265,8	3,1%	21,9%
thereof region (incl.city)	466,8	5,5%	38,4%
thereof greater region	80,6	0,9%	6,6%
small towns outside agglomerations	165,4	1,9%	13,6%
non-urban	502,4	5,9%	41,3%
Upper Austria			
Population	1.421,7	16,7%	100,0%
Greater Linz	**650,9**	**7,7%**	**45,8%**
thereof city	191,5	2,3%	13,5%
thereof region (incl.city)	451,4	5,3%	31,8%
thereof greater region	199,5	2,4%	14,0%
small towns outside agglomerations	166,1	2,0%	11,7%
non-urban	604,7	7,1%	42,5%
Salzburg			
Population	536,4	6,3%	100,0%
Salzburg region			
thereof city	145,9	1,7%	27,2%
thereof region (incl.city)	325,8	3,8%	60,7%
small towns outside agglomerations	21,2	0,2%	4,0%
non-urban	189,4	2,2%	35,3%
Tyrol			
Population	718,7	8,5%	100,0%
Greater Innbruck	**287,3**	**3,4%**	**40,0%**
thereof city	122,5	1,4%	17,0%
thereof region (incl.city)	265,9	3,1%	37,0%
thereof greater region	21,4	0,3%	3,0%
small towns outside agglomerations	50,1	0,6%	7,0%
non-urban	381,3	4,5%	53,1%
Vorarlberg			
Population	373,3	4,4%	100,0%
Greater Bregenz	**315,1**	**3,7%**	**84,4%**
thereof city	28,1	0,3%	7,5%
thereof region (incl.city)	169,8	2,0%	45,5%
thereof greater region	145,3	1,7%	38,9%
small towns outside agglomerations			
non-urban	58,2	0,7%	15,6%
Carinthia			
Population	556,8	6,6%	100,0%
Greater Klagenfurt (Carinthia)	**285,4**	**3,4%**	**51,3%**
thereof city	95,5	1,1%	17,2%
thereof region (incl.city)	150,7	1,8%	27,1%
thereof greater region	134,7	1,6%	24,2%
small towns outside agglomerations	64,8	0,8%	11,6%
non-urban	206,6	2,4%	37,1%

Definitions:
Four levels of urbanization in agglomerations (=greater regions) are distinguished:
1 city or town (admin.)
2 core region
3 wider region
4 greater region
Levels (1)-(3) are defined by Statistics Austria, level (4) was added by the author to include the neighbouring towns easily accessible

A fifth level (5) displays towns and their regions that are not directly connected to agglomerations

A sixth level (6) displays the remaining non-urbanised regions.

Legend:
'city' refers to level (1)
'region': levels (1)-(3)
'greater region': level (4)
'small towns…': level (5)
'non-urban': level (6)

Source: own calculations based on Statistics Austria and WKO