

A CASE  
STUDY OF  
SOCIAL  
HOUSING  
IN VIENNA

**BY CAMERON MEIER AND MIRANDA HAZOURY**

# CONTENT

- FACTSHEET ON SOCIAL HOUSING IN VIENNA
- SOCIAL HOUSING VS PUBLIC HOUSING
- HOUSING POLICY
- SOCIAL HOUSING PROGRAMS IN VIENNA
- SOCIAL HOUSING COMPLEXES IN VIENNA
- COMPETITION ON SOCIAL HOUSING
- INTERVIEW WITH CARMEN PULGAR



# TIMELINE OF SOCIAL HOUSING IN VIENNA

## 1919

"RED VIENNA" MOVEMENT STARTS; CITY GOVERNMENT DECIDES IT IS A PRIORITY TO BUILD QUALITY HOUSING FOR THE WORKING CLASS AT PRICES THAT THEY CAN AFFORD.

## 1934

AS AUSTRIAN FACISIT MOVEMENTS START AND THEN THE ANSCHLUSS OCCURS :

**THERE HAVE ALREADY BEEN 60,000 HOUSING UNITS BUILT BY THE CITY GOVERNMENT**

## 1946

POSTWAR LIBERAL GOVERNMENT RETURNS

**ANOTHER 50,000 HOUSING UNITS ARE BUILT BY THE CITY BETWEEN 1946 AND 1956.**

## 1969

**100,000TH UNIT BUILT BY THE CITY SINCE WW2 IS FINISHED.**

## 1970'S

**200,000 HOUSING UNITS BUILT BY THE CITY AT THUS POINT AND THE IMMEDIATE HOUSING SHORTAGE IS RELIEVED.**

WHEN CITY GOVERNMENT PIVOTS FROM BUILDING NEW UNITS, FOCUSING INSTEAD ON MAINTAINING EXISTING HOUSING.

## 1980'S

HOUSING CONSTRUCTION IS STARTING TO BE OUTSOURCED TO PRIVATE ACTORS WHO LEASE LAND TO BUILD HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS ON FOR THE CITY.

## 1995

"PUBLIC PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT COMPETITIONS" ESTABLISHED AS WELL AS "LAND ADVISORY BOARD". THE LATTER WILL SET THE RULES THAT PLAYERS IN THE FORMER WILL PLAY BY. THIS IS THE START OF THE MODERN SYSTEM FOR BUILDING SOCIAL HOUSING IN VIENNA.

## 2000

POST-COLD WAR PEACE IMPACTS; WIEN CITY GOVERNMENT DECIDES THAT THE SET PACE OF 4,000-6,000 NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING UNITS A YEAR WILL BE INSUFFICIENT TO KEEP UP WITH THE GROWING POPULATION OF WIEN. THE NEW STANDARD WILL BE TO CONSTRUCT 8,000-10,000 NEW AFFORDABLE HOUSING UNITS PER YEAR BETWEEN THE CITIES OWN CONSTRUCTION EFFORTS AND THOSE RESULTING FROM THE "PUBLIC PROPERTY DEVELOPMENT COMPETITIONS"

## 11, '13, '17

SOCIAL HOUSING ENERGY EFFICIENCY PROGRAMS PLACED TO MAKE THE EXISTING HOUSING STOCK UNDER CITY CONTROL MORE ENERGY EFFICIENT FOR THE FUTURE. THIS IS ALSO WHEN COMPETITION STANDARDS CHANGE TO INCLUDE MORE ENERGY EFFICIENCY MEASURES.

## PRESENT

**AT THIS POINT IN TIME THE CITY HAS BUILT 220,000 HOUSING UNITS THEY MAINTAIN IN ADDITION TO 200,000 UNITS BUILT THROUGH THE COMPETITION PROGRAM SINCE 1995. THIS ACCOUNTS FOR OVER 40% OF THE HOUSING STOCK IN WIEN AND HOUSES 60% OF THE POPULATION. 25% OF THE POPULATION OF WIEN IS IN THE HOUSING UNITS MAINTAINED EXCLUSIVELY BY THE CITY.**

# FACTSHEET ON SOCIAL HOUSING IN VIENNA

Social Housing in Vienna began in the "Red Vienna era between the end of WWI and the Anschluss in 1938. During this era the Social Democratic Workers Party maintained almost unilateral political control over the city and its policy. They initiated a radical reformist program of municipal socialism – mass housebuilding, public education and healthcare – creating a proto-welfare statelet in the former seat of the collapsed Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Ideologically there is a belief that public housing should be for everyone. It isn't something for the poor, but for the middle class as well. Social housing should be high quality and affordable so that anyone can benefit and it is a public good for all.

This stems from the origins of the program; a desire to build affordable high quality housing for the working class people of Vienna.

Modern day housing is built by competitions setup by the "Land Advisory Board" and judged by them. Designs are judged based on architectural quality, economic function (affordability), environmental impact and social mix. This competitive aspect pushes innovations, and is main factor lowering construction prices.

A defining belief of the judging of these competitions is that high density housing works best when combined with high quality of life, that is architecturally, and in terms of amenities offered.

Vienna also focuses on gentle urban renewal and the prevention of gentrification. with their "Gentle Urban Renewal Program"



Kapellenweg  
 Architecture: AllesWirdGut Architektur ZT GMBH  
 Spatial planning: Carla Lo Landschaftsarchitektur  
 Developer: MIGRA / NEUES LEBEN / WOGEM

# HOW IT LOOKS



# FACTSHEET ON SOCIAL HOUSING IN VIENNA

This part of Vienna's Program focuses on maintaining older areas. The city actively maintains and retrofits its stock of affordable flats. They go into neighborhoods where gentrification is becoming more mainstream and effects of it are becoming more visible. These upgrades ensure the buildings maintain a similar quality to the new market rate housing. City develop amenities to make sure schools don't become over crowded, add a floor or two to buildings that could become either market rate or social housing, they rehabilitate facade of a building, or add ventilation to ensure comfortable and make building more climate proof.

Public housing projects in Vienna are placed in desirable areas with many amenities so that standards live up to necessity. "Social housing is livable, and it's available to the middle class. You can earn up to twice the average salary in Vienna and still qualify. The city owns 1,800 apartment complexes. The people who live here include tech workers, retired grandmas, immigrants and middle-class families."

To ensure that runaway private development doesn't take over development the city of Vienna maintains a robust fund for the purpose of aggressively buying up land to be used for subsidized housing. Before it can be developed by private real-estate interests for the sole purpose of profit.

Funding includes 450 million Euros a year in federal funds, in addition to well over 100 million Euros from the city government putting the total figure at over 600 million Euros a year in spending. Part of this federal funding is a 1% tax on all Austrian paychecks that goes to the housing programs in Vienna.



Nordbahnhof  
Architecture: Architect Sne Veselinovic  
Spatial planning: DiIn Anna Detzhofer  
Developer: URBANBAU

**"YOU CAN EARN TWICE THE AVERAGE SALARY IN VIENNA AND STILL QUALIFY FOR PUBLIC HOUSING."**

**"SOCIAL HOUSING PLACED IN DESIRABLE AREAS TO MAINTAIN QUALITY OF LIFE WITH NUMEROUS AMENITIES AND HIGH STANDARDS FOR EVERYTHING."**

**"YOU ARE NEVER KICKED OUT FOR EARNING TOO MUCH."**

**"PUBLIC HOUSING ACCOUNTS FOR 40% OF CITY HOUSING STOCK AND IS HOME TO 60% OF RESIDENTS."**

**"CITY UPGRADES OLDER UNITS AND BUILDINGS THAT THEY MAINTAIN TO KEEP THEM UP TO DATE WITH MODERN STANDARDS AND REMAIN COMPETITIVE WITH MODERN MARKET RATE HOUSING IN TERMS OF QUALITY."**

**"SOME OF THOSE UPGRADES INCLUDE REHABILITATING FACADES OR ADDING VENTILATION OR OTHER CLIMATE RELATED UPGRADES."**

**"FUNDING INCLUDES CLOSE TO HALF A BILLION EUROS A YEAR FROM A 1% TAX ON ALL PAYCHECKS IN THE COUNTRY INSTITUTED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO HELP FUND HOUSING IN VIENNA."**

**"CITY MAINTAINS ROBUST FUND TO AGGRESSIVELY BUY UP LAND FOR HOUSING DEVELOPMENT FROM DIRECT OR SUBSIDIZED DEVELOPMENT."**

# SOCIAL HOUSING VS PUBLIC HOUSING

Social Housing can sometimes be interchangeably used with public housing as both are apartments given to the people, by the government. But there is a difference between the two, as social housing in Vienna strives to unify its people and provide quality housing to anyone who needs it with a fair payment. Rents are regulated by the city government so that none of the residents pay any more than 20 to 25 percent of their household income for housing, compared to the corresponding 30 percent benchmark in the U.S

The main difference between Social Housing in Vienna and Public housing in places such as the US begs the questions "Who is allowed to live here?". After WW2, the US began Public housing programs reserved for poor residents, and it was basically designed to be segregated. In the US, this housing is designed for the poor and reuses some sort of shame of not being able to own property. The quality of government funded housing in the US is associated with crumbling buildings, not maintained well, segregated block style structures and low quality homes.

Social Housing strives to provide high quality homes to people of all ages, household type and economic status. They are placed in desirable areas with many amenities so that standards live up to necessity. "Social housing is livable, and it's available to the middle class. You can earn up to twice the average salary in Vienna and still qualify. The city owns 1,800 apartment complexes. The people who live here include tech workers, retired grandmas, immigrants and middle-class families."

## VIENNA

"CLOSE TO SIXTY PERCENT OF ITS INHABITANTS LIVE IN MUNICIPAL HOUSING ESTATES OR IN DWELLINGS SUBSIDIZED BY THE CITY OF VIENNA."

VIENNA TODAY HAS ABOUT 800,000 HOUSING UNITS.

THE MUNICIPALITY IS VIENNA'S LARGEST LANDLORD. IT OWNS ABOUT 1,800 APARTMENT COMPLEXES WITH 220,000 RENTAL APARTMENTS, HOUSING OVER 500,000 PEOPLE, MORE THAN ONE-QUARTER OF THE CITY'S POPULATION.

BECAUSE SOCIAL HOUSING IS SO POPULAR, ONLY ONE-FIFTH OF VIENNA'S HOMES ARE OWNER-OCCUPIED.

VIENNESE WHO LIVE IN APARTMENTS OWNED BY THE MUNICIPALITY OR NONPROFIT ASSOCIATIONS PAY ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THEIR HOUSEHOLD INCOMES IN RENT.

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF HOUSING EXIST IN THE SAME NEIGHBORHOODS, GUARANTEEING A MIX OF INCOMES

BECAUSE SOCIAL HOUSING IS SO POPULAR, ONLY ONE-FIFTH OF VIENNA'S HOMES ARE OWNER-OCCUPIED.

VIENNESE WHO LIVE IN APARTMENTS OWNED BY THE MUNICIPALITY OR NONPROFIT ASSOCIATIONS PAY ABOUT 25 PERCENT OF THEIR HOUSEHOLD INCOMES IN RENT.



Heiligenstädter Straße, Architecture: Karl-Marx-Hof



Image by: Beth A. Keiser / AP

## USA

TOO MUCH HOUSING IS IN THE MARKET SECTOR AND TOO LITTLE IS IN A SOCIAL SECTOR PERMANENTLY PROTECTED FROM RISING PRICES.

AN INCREASING NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PAYING MORE THAN HALF THEIR INCOMES JUST TO PUT A ROOF OVER THEIR HEADS

GROWING EPIDEMIC OF HOMELESSNESS, INCLUDING AMONG MANY PEOPLE WITH JOBS AND CHILDREN.

IN LOW INCOME SUBSIDIZED HOUSING, RESIDENTS ARE ASKED TO LEAVE IF THEIR INCOMES GO UP.

RELIES MOST HEAVILY ON PRIVATE MARKET FORCES TO HOUSE ITS POPULATION

THE LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES—OWNED BY LOCAL GOVERNMENTS BUT WITH BOARDS DOMINATED BY BUSINESS AND REAL-ESTATE REPRESENTATIVES—OFTEN SITED PUBLIC HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS IN AREAS WITHOUT ADEQUATE STORES, TRANSPORTATION, OR SCHOOLS.

PUBLIC HOUSING—1.1 MILLION APARTMENTS THAT HOUSE ABOUT 2.1 MILLION LOW-INCOME PEOPLE—CONSTITUTES LESS THAN 1 PERCENT OF THE NATION'S HOUSING STOCK.

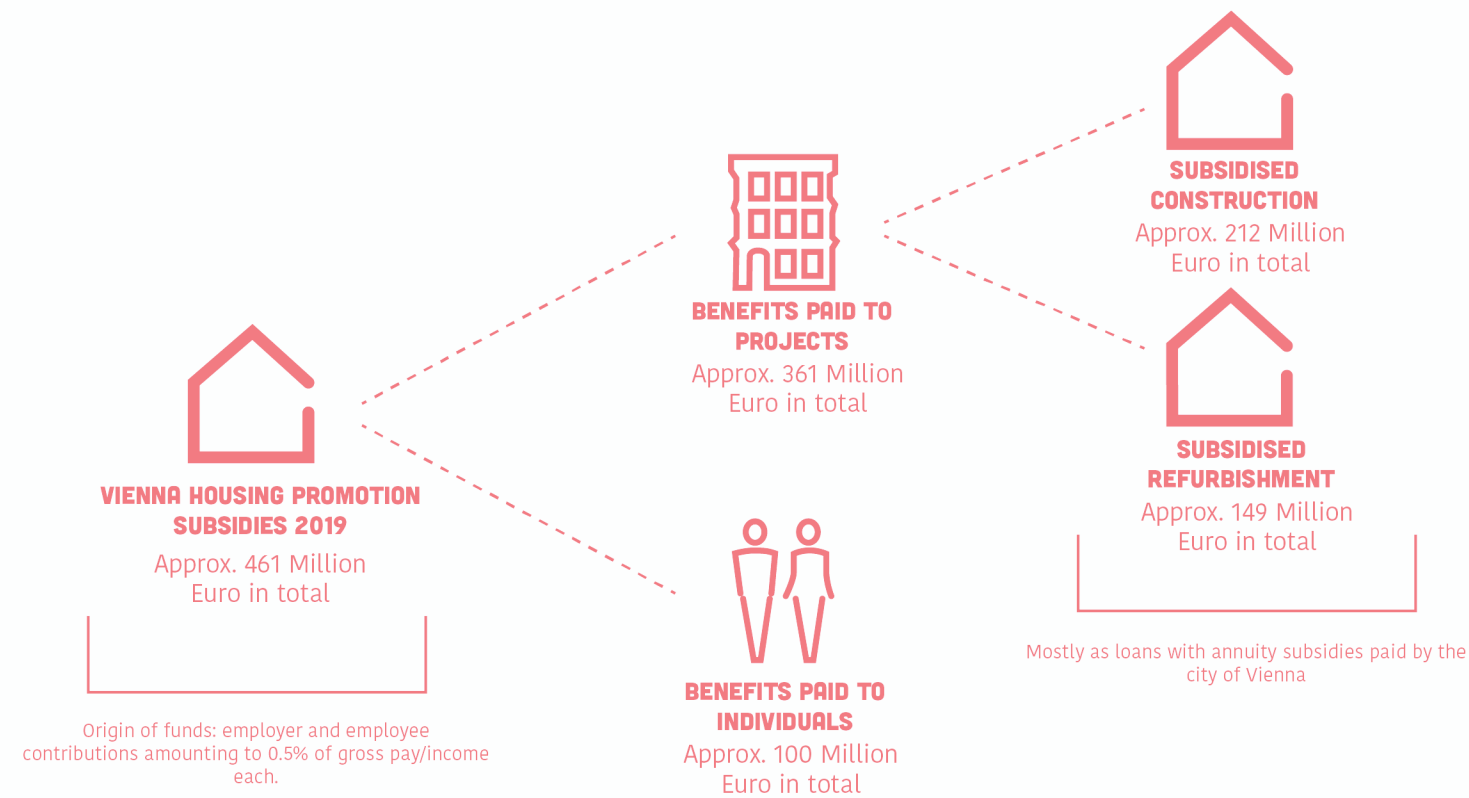
# HOUSING POLICY

## Financing and Subsidies

In Vienna, National policy plays a big role in Vienna's current housing program success. Affordable housing is largely funded by federal taxes. Vienna uses the taxes for subsidization of construction, rehabilitation, and preservation of housing. In addition, Vienna will spend over \$200 Million rehabbing existing housing stock. Energetic retrofits area. Key component of diverging residents from poverty, while also providing more comfortable and durable housing.

## Direct and Indirect Funding

The constitution in Vienna gives the city wide options to define the criteria for housing subsidization. Developers receive these subsidies to let them keep fixed costs and rents at a minimum amount. There is a one percent interest loan that is granted for a period for 35 years and it covers around 35 percent of construction costs. The rest is financed though bank loans, the equity of the developer and sometimes equity contribution of tenants.

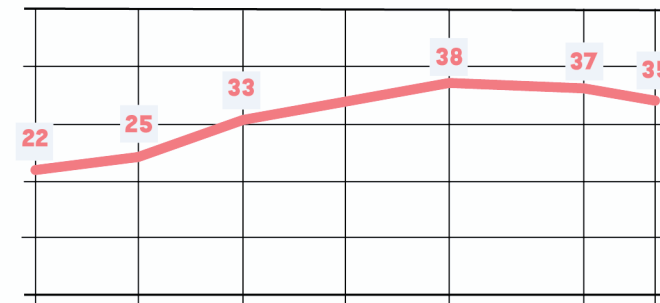


Source: Housing in Vienna, Annual Report 2016

## NUMBER ONE IN SOCIAL HOUSING

Since the launch of Vienna's first ever social housing program, people's expectations and requirements of their living space have changed a lot.

Living Space in Vienna in meter squared per capita

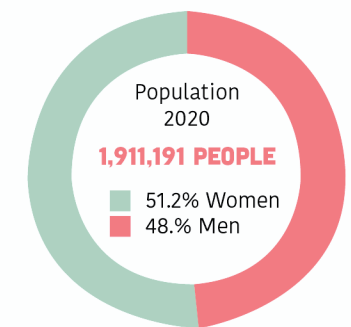


Source: Housing in Vienna, Annual Report 2016

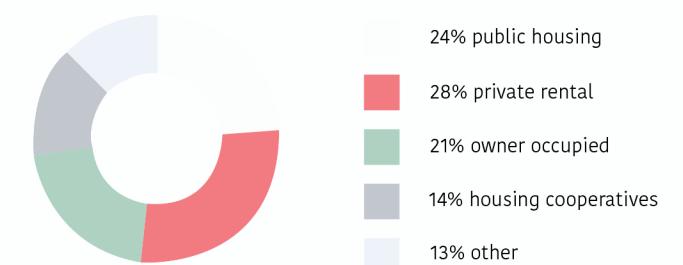
## Effective Subsidy

Looking at the programs, Vienna needs to counteract the general tendency: rents are rising faster than incomes, and the percentage of household income spent on housing is constantly increasing. With that, many more people are looking for flats, which might rise in the future. This subsidy scheme will be an effective solution to ensure that there is an acceptable amount of affordable housing for everyone." Because unlike the majority of major European cities, which only provide direct personal subsidies to tenants, the City of Vienna maintains a mixed system of demand-side and supply-side subsidy." (Stact Wein, Wiener Wohnen 2021). People with low income receive direct assistance, but Vienna also invests in new housing and reparations of existing older buildings. "In 2015, the City of Vienna approved the launch of a new municipal housing construction programme. A total of 4,000 new flats were under construction by the end of 2020, the first 120 of which were officially handed over to their tenants back in November 2019." (Stact Wein, Wiener Wohnen 2021).

## VIENNESE GROWTH



## HOUSING TENURE



Source: Housing in Vienna, Annual Report 2016

## SOCIAL HOUSING PROGRAMS IN VIENNA

Gentle Urban Renewal. This part of Vienna's Program focuses on maintaining older areas. The city actively maintains and retrofits its stock of affordable flats. They go into neighborhoods where gentrification is becoming more mainstream and effects of it are becoming more visible. These upgrades ensure the buildings maintain a similar quality to the new market rate housing. City develop amenities to make sure schools don't become over crowded, add a floor or two to buildings that could become either market rate or social housing, they rehabilitate facade of a building, or add ventilation to ensure comfortable and make building more climate proof.

The number one benefit of Vienna's model for social housing is the general increase in life quality of all citizens. Around 80% of all new housing construction in the city is subsidised, amounting to an annual budget of \$700 to \$760 million that empowers the city to exercise a stain influence on development of its qualities and costs. (Ludwig)

Architectural standards and limited differences in housing qualities avoid the usual public housing stigmatization, avoiding segregation and achieve social cohesion while also providing high quality for all. City wide development plan is reviewed and adopted every 10 years and includes public participation by residents, district councils and stakeholders."

Vienna's goal is to provide affordable housing units for everybody. It should become trait of the middle class rather than a poor trait. Vienna's land policy where companies get subsidized loans for construction, making model profitable to corporations. The city's income restrictions for

subsidized units only apply when families first move in. Residents are never required to move out, even if household income levels increase in the following years. This arrangement results in a substantial number of moderate-income residents living in subsidized housing, and this mixing together of residents with different income levels helps with social integration.

One of the programs in Vienna focuses on getting to the homeless or to the people who need it the most. Because Vienna only takes a percentage from income from a person to be paid in each household, the only requirement for getting a home is havin some sort of income, and anyone who does has the same chance of getting into a high quality apartment.



Neu Leopoldau  
Architecture: DTA duda, testor. Architektur ZT  
Spatial planning: Palsagista Landschaftsplanung  
Developer: Familienwohnbau

## SOCIAL HOUSING COMPLEXES IN VIENNA

### Kabelwerk

The Kablewerk site used to be a factory; a 6.3-hectare site in the transition zone between a densely inhabited core of the city and suburbs of Vienna. This social housing project has a total of 1,004 housing units spread across various housing types including subsidized rental housing, subsidized owner-occupied homes, apartments for refugees, and student housing. The development includes amenities such as shops, restaurants, a kindergarten, meeting rooms, and a rooftop pool which enhance the quality of life for the residents. (Huduser.gov)



Kabelwerk  
Source by: Stadt Wein

### Wohnpark Neue Donau

The city government commissioned this subsidized social housing along the Danube on a structure that spans up to 27 meters across and eight lane expressways. The building complex was designed by Harry Seidler in 1993. The housing blocks are placed diagonally over the covering, which distribute their load and affording all the apartments a water view from their living space and their balconies. The buildings step down towards the river, and this creates a rooftop terrace. The ground floors have private gardens, and it is suited for families with small children.



Wohnpark Neue Donau  
Source by: Harry Seidler and Associates

Vienna's innovative social housing development show the city has a commitment for affordability, high quality architecture, energy conservation and resident participation. Projects as such has made Vienna one of the most livable cities in the world. "As judged by The Economist and Monocle in 2012, and as the city that offers the world's highest quality of life, according to Mercer's Quality of Living survey for the past four years." (Huduser.gov)



## COMPETITION ON SOCIAL HOUSING

Vienna's program of affordable housing for most of the city's population exempts from sacrificing architectural quality. The city distributes housing subsidies for large-scale developments through a process known as Bautragerwettbewerb, or "Developers' competition". A jury comprising of representatives of the city as well as architects, builders, and specialists in housing laws choose designs based not just on economic value, but also quality and ecological impact. The competitions have cut construction costs by roughly 20% and encourage creative themes, such as the Autofreie Mustersiedlung, or car-free estate, or the Frauen-Werk-Stadt, a family friendly community designed by women architects.

Vienna's program of affordable housing for most of the city's population exempts from sacrificing architectural quality. The city distributes housing subsidies for large-scale developments through a process known as Bautragerwettbewerb, or "Developers' competition". A jury comprising of representatives of the city as well as architects, builders, and specialists in housing laws choose designs based not just on economic value, but also quality and ecological impact. The competitions have cut construction costs by roughly 20% and encourage creative themes, such as the Autofreie Mustersiedlung, or car-free estate, or the Frauen-Werk-Stadt, a family friendly community designed by women architects.

An interdisciplinary jury chooses the project that best meets the criteria, thereby ensuring high project quality and efficient use of the housing subsidies. It should be emphasized that the victorious project must be implemented by the developers as submitted. Both non-profit/Limited-profit and commercial developers may participate in the competitions.

The winning team acquires the right to purchase the plot at a fixed price, which also comprises housing subsidies (Upt to 35% of the total construction costs). In return, the victorious developer guarantees certain planning qualities, fixed construction costs. Stable rent levels. Etc.



Obere Augartenstraße 4  
1 of 15 SMART homes in Vienna

## Tradition and Continuity

Vienna's Tradition and continuity about social housing is very unique. Ever since the 1920's Austrian capital responded to the deplorable housing conditions from the Hapsburg Empire. Vienna built more than 65,000 low cost apartments in large housing estates. Social infrastructure was included, and well-known international architects designed the estates. "Vienna demonstrates that innovation does not simply fall out of the blue sky," says Prof. Werner Hess, Deputy Director of the European Union Academic Program. "It is based on often-long traditions of politically-guided urban intervention. Innovation also calls for constant critical social dialogue and needs the ability of municipalities to adapt its policies over time to criticism." (Smart citizen contributors 2015)

From the beginning of the "Red Vienna", this city has seen a number of transformations, from a scheme that benefited the underprivileged working class, to a more public institution able to accommodate multiple visions of "quality life" in the city. "For decades, Vienna's social housing shows that profit-oriented private building practice and a sense of communal social responsibility are not incompatible." (Smart citizen contributors 2015)

## 4 PILLAR MODEL

**SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY**  
**ARCHITECTURE**  
**ECOLOGY**  
**ECONOMY**



Sonnwendviertel, plot C.01  
Architecture: Univ.-Prof. Arch. DI Klaus Kada / Riepl Riepl Architects / DI Bernd Vlay and Mag.a arch. Karoline Streuerwitz  
Spatial planning: rajek barosch landschaftsarchitektur  
Developer: win4wien

## INTERVIEW WITH CARMEN PULGAR

Carmen undertook half of her undergraduate degree in Mathematics at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid before reorienting towards social sciences. She graduated in Political Science at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid and holds an MSc (cum laude) in Human Geography from the Universiteit van Amsterdam. She researches the inclusiveness and environmental justice of urban spaces and explores the ways in which race, gender and class shape the experiences and the perceptions of their residents within the complex geographies of cities. She recently did her PHD dissertation research focused on Vienna.

**1. Tell us a little about the work you have done, and what you have found most relevant about Vienna's Social Housing for the rest of the world?**

“Vienna has a long history. Decommodification; Vienna's housing is unique, more priceless, more human. Although the program in Vienna is very difficult to replicate, there are many layers—legal layers protecting the system. There is also the creation of housing stock, the land use promotes inclusionary zoning. One of the most important elements is the Developers' competition—which promotes affordable subsidized housing with quality architecture. One of the mechanisms to limit rental prices is the regulation of prices.

During Red Vienna, taxes were changed to a more progressive system that focuses on providing rights to everyone (housing, health, education). They were speaking about things we are just starting to talk about, such as the development of public space—aligned with artists, popularization of public life—prioritizing public life and the private housing not being controlled in Vienna. Right to housing is not only about housing, is about access to jobs, transit—regulate affordable access to services in the city in many dimensions.”

**2. Has the current social housing program lasted because it has evolved with time? If so, how have they change? And if not then why are they still here?**

“It has evolved... Post 50's, development was not done with the quality—after they started to focus on that, retrofitting became a priority as well. But, how to retrofit buildings in the 50s and keep rent down? Who is developing social housing has changed, but retrofitting is a problem, it increases prices.

In legal terms—Everything was regulated before; now private housing is not regulated. Maybe in the 90's—in 1994 actually. Contracts before 1994 are now rent capped but after that, private housing is not as rigid as it used to be.

Being aware of your rights, and the tenants' codes is also something important. In Vienna, you can check if landlord is charging you the right way. Law got less rigid—while everyone assumes the rent market was more liberal before.”

**3. To what extent are new immigrants/residents facing NIMBYism, and are these and other tensions socio-cultural mainly as opposed to being related to the simple influx of new people? And how are these tensions addressed through the program and other related policies?**

“Current activism in Vienna is focused on that, as social housing is mostly for locals. Vienna became very central to European union; high income people moving in, that pulled away people from the city. Laws protecting longtime residents also seems to become discriminatory to new residents. High income, low income and racialized incomers are put into same category and discriminated. Then, working class white residents are not being ideologically on the left any longer, it is also reflected in Austria. What used to be a support for Red Vienna only supports white, Austrian members.”

**4. How has the Social Housing program evolved and shifted throughout its existence, and what metrics were used to feed those changes?**

Don't know.. Masterplans, 10 year plans. Predict and plan fashion.

**5. How are the houses coordinated in terms of public transportation, and how are they making those choices?**

Public transportation in Vienna is a big thing. Is mostly free. You don't have isolated social housing, but there is a critique that they are in the outer of city without a lot of access. An example to look at is Seestadt Aspen—They planned for public transportation before then about the social housing.

# SOURCES

## Research

<https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/municipal-housing-in-vienna.html>

<https://prospect.org/infrastructure/america-needs-social-housing/>  
<https://charterforcompassion.org/shareable-community-ideas/public-housing-works-lessons-from-vienna-and-singapore>

[https://www.huffpost.com/entry/vienna-model-public-housing-presented-by-austrian-cultural-forum\\_n\\_3054446](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/vienna-model-public-housing-presented-by-austrian-cultural-forum_n_3054446)

<http://seidler.net.au/?id=13>

[https://www.huduser.gov/portal/pdredge/pdr\\_edge\\_featd\\_article\\_011314.html](https://www.huduser.gov/portal/pdredge/pdr_edge_featd_article_011314.html)

<https://www.visitingvienna.com/culture/social-housing/>

<https://globalist.yale.edu/onlinecontent/blogs/viennas-social-housing/>

<https://socialhousing.wien/tools/housing-subsidies>

<https://www.wien.info/en/sightseeing/architecture-design/social-housing-359236#:~:text=%20Social%20housing%20In%20the%201920s%2C%20the%20city,these%20buildings%2C%20some%20of%20which%20are%20truly%20gigantic>

<https://www.equaltimes.org/can-vienna-s-model-of-social#.YZhHjy1ho6h>

<https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/municipal-housing-in-vienna.html>

<https://cityobservatory.org/housing-policy-lessons-from-vienna-part-i/>

<https://www.npr.org/local/305/2020/02/25/809315455/how-european-style-public-housing-could-help-solve-the-affordability-crisis#:~:text=Public%20Housing%20The%20main%20difference%20between%20social%20housing,residents%2C%20typically%20black%20Americans%20barred%20from%20economic%20opportunity>

[http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case\\_studies/2042.pdf](http://www.isocarp.net/Data/case_studies/2042.pdf)

<https://web.sas.upenn.edu/sociospatialclimate/vienna-social-housing/>

<http://www.bcneuj.org/carmen-perez-del-pulgar-frowein-bio/>

## Images

1. Ludwig, Michael. Kathrin Gaal. Municipal Housing in Vienna. History, facts & figures. City of Vienna – Wiener Wohnen, Rosa-Fischer-Gasse 2, 1030 Vienna

2. Housing in Vienna. Annual Report 2016. [https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/housing\\_in\\_vienna\\_annual\\_report\\_2016.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/housing_in_vienna_annual_report_2016.pdf)

3. <http://www.seidler.net.au/?id=13>

4. <https://smartcity.wien.gv.at/en/kabelwerk-2/>

5. [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/vienna-affordable-housing-paradise\\_n\\_5b4e0b12e4b0b15aba88c7bo](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/vienna-affordable-housing-paradise_n_5b4e0b12e4b0b15aba88c7bo)