

1 Introduction

There are neighbourhoods in some cities where the share of ethnic minorities is very high. Some policymakers consider this a problem because living in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods is often perceived of as hampering contact with natives and thereby integration. But is there really a neighbourhood effect on interethnic contact and integration and what would be the outcome of this effect? Do minority groups from neighbourhoods with a low percentage of natives have less contact with natives *because* they happen to live in these neighbourhoods? The main research objective was thus to explore how and in which contexts interdependencies – be they of a consensual or conflictual nature – develop between different individuals/groups in multi-ethnic neighbourhoods, and to discover the impact this has on the route toward more cohesive urban societies. Furthermore, it considers the role that place and neighbourhood factors play in developing or hindering belonging, intercultural interaction and tolerance. We were expressly concerned with whether the immediate residential setting itself has an influence on interethnic relations; in other words, whether living together in a neighbourhood has its own, independent effect on relationships between residents. The research was innovative by focusing not only on the immigrant populations of areas but on the whole population, regardless of the socio-cultural or ethnic background.

The starting point of the project was a significant lack of scientific knowledge on how cultural interactions actually develop between individuals and groups of different ethnic background, in local urban contexts where they meet on a daily basis. There has also been a lack of data on how these social interactions are related to the individual's embeddedness in the local context and the consequences of this embeddedness for social cohesion in an ethnically increasingly diversified urban society.

In accordance with the project's name, the neighbourhood context was adopted as the main field of research; that is where daily social practises, representations and group relations develop and give meaning and identity both to the physical space and to the inhabitants thereof. We refer to this as a *context* or *neighbourhood effect*. This implies that spatial concentration unleashes certain mechanisms that influence inter-ethnic contacts and mutual perceptions.

The scientific literature refers to the opportunity for contact as one of these mechanisms. According to this "proximity hypothesis", immigrants living in "concentration neighbourhoods" are expected to have fewer opportunities to meet the indigenous population than immigrants who live in more mixed neighbourhoods. The same hypothesis predicts the converse for native citizens: Those who live in "ethnic" neighbourhoods will have more contacts with immigrants because the chance of the two groups meeting is greater than in "native neighbourhoods".

The research was implemented in six European cities using cross-comparative analysis, in response to the consensus recognising the need for comparative evidence across Europe. A survey with a longitudinal design, using a calendar format questionnaire, was implemented to 3,600 residents in 18 neighbourhoods in Lisbon, Rotterdam, Bilbao, Warsaw, Thessaloniki and Vienna.

The intended aim was not only scientific, but also practical: Everywhere in Europe long-established policies of dealing with immigrant populations and of “managing” diversity and difference are currently disputable. Thus, as an important outcome of the research process, policy recommendations for local decision-makers were formulated and three key-actor group meetings were organized in each city for initiating group-dynamic processes to gain a better understanding of local interactions and to improve the local micro-climate of living together.

Of course, this report can only give a shortened version of the manifold results. It is centered exclusively on the three Viennese neighbourhoods and on certain aspects that, from the authors’ perspective, were of special interest to regard through the local spatial lens. Our report is concerned with whether the local context determines the interethnic relations within that neighbourhood, i.e., how people interact with each other. Thus, social contacts and their consequences for local embeddedness lie at the focus of this report. The study includes both a behavioural component (social contact) and an attitudinal component (mutual perceptions). One aim is to explore the mutual nature of these relations: both the contacts that immigrants maintain with the indigenous Austrian population and the extent of the contacts native citizens have with immigrants. The same applies for perceptions: How do immigrants perceive the indigenous people – and vice versa?

Part 1 of our report outlines some basic data concerning immigration to Vienna. This general chapter also provides a detailed characterization of the three research areas. To better understand the local connex, chapter 2 analyses perceptions of neighbouring and the neighbourhood in our three research areas. We ask what the neighbourhood and the people living there really mean to the respondents. To this end, the neighbourhood is evaluated as a spatial context, much as is done for the local population. Social psychological research has proved many times that trust is an important quality determining interaction in general and interethnic relations in particular. Thus, the role of trust on the general and the neighbourhood levels is investigated there.

Chapter 3 concerns the dimensions of interethnic coexistence. The theoretical framework is related to the outcomes of contact and conflict theory. We reflect on the knowledge of people living in the neighbourhood and the social contacts maintained there. An important innovative aspect is that our local samples included both natives and persons with a migrant background. Contact types of varying social closeness were analyzed. Furthermore, chapter 3 gives insight into the overall social network and its dimensions. Substantial differences between our three research areas and between natives and immigrants can be detected and at least partially explained by specific local factor constellations. Special emphasis is placed on the ethnic composition of the close social network as well as on interethnic partnerships.

Chapter 4 centers on modes of neighbourhood embeddedness and their main dimensions. From factor and cluster analysis three modes of embeddedness are characterized which show considerable variations dependent on the local context. There are also marked differences between natives and the population with a migrant background. Finally, chapter 5 summarises the main results of the foregoing analyses.

1.1 *The city and the neighbourhoods*¹

1.1.1 Immigrant population in Vienna

Though Austria still thinks of itself as a non-immigration country, it has in fact a long tradition of cultural diversity and integration policies that go back to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a multiethnic state. This tradition was characterised especially by the assimilation of non-German-speaking groups into the German-speaking majority. During the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy large numbers of Czech, Slovak, Hungarian and Polish immigrants moved to the German-speaking parts of the Habsburg Empire and especially to Vienna. Vienna's telephone directory still bears testimony to the impact of this era's immigration (Fassmann & Münz 1995; Kraler & Stacher 2002). After the Second World War great numbers of refugees and "displaced persons" were integrated in the Austrian population (Fassmann & Stacher 2003).

During the 1960s the so-called "guest-workers", mainly from Yugoslavia and Turkey, filled the gaps in the working force of the fast-growing Austrian economy. The pull factors of this migration were an economic boom that led to a growing demand for labour and a shift in immigration policy. Like Germany and Switzerland, Austria, too, began to forge bilateral agreements for the recruitment of such guest-workers. They were originally considered temporary workers who had come because of the effects of both push and pull factors: The Austrian labour market had attracted them with the pull factor of high wage levels; rural exodus, unemployment and low wages in the sending states created important push factors. In 1964 an agreement was signed with Turkey, in 1966 with Yugoslavia, and recruitment offices were established. In 1973, 227,000 guest-workers were working and living in Austria, the majority of whom had come from Yugoslavia. The guest-worker migration of the 1960s and 1970s was not only an important facet of labour migration, it had long-lasting effects on both the current composition of the foreign residential population and subsequent migration flows (Lichtenberger 1984, 1995).

For decades, migration to Vienna was largely the result of an unplanned process, though the history of the Austrian "guest-worker regime" (Jandl & Kraler 2003) demonstrates that temporary migration tends to become permanent and has long-term

¹ This chapter is based almost entirely on the "City Report Vienna" and the "Neighbourhood Profiles" delivered for GEITONIES in 2008 and 2009.

implications for both the size and composition of the country's immigrant population. The economic recession and oil crisis of 1973 followed by the second oil shock in 1981 radically reduced the demand for foreign workers; in 1985 the employment of guest-workers was half that of 1973. Other forms of migration – family reunification, short-time labour migration – now became more important. By the late 1980s the numbers of clandestine migration and asylum migration was rising (cf. Fassmann & Münz 1995). Thus, until the 1980s most immigrants living in Vienna were labour-searching “guest-workers” from former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

In the early 1990s profound political and economic changes transformed Europe, and new integration measures were introduced. During the 1990s migration to Austria and Vienna increased considerably. The fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria's entry into the European Union brought more open borders, temporary migration and transnational mobility. The fall of the Iron Curtain made possible “new” East-West labour migration flows. The catchment areas of former distorted labour markets in Austria and its neighbouring countries in the East were reshaped. A new wave of immigration followed, with many labour migrants moving in from Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic. The Balkan Wars in turn produced massive inflows of refugees from areas to Austria's southeast. These flows came in addition to a rapidly rising number of asylum seekers (Heiss & Rathkolb 1995). At the same time an economic boom during the late 1980s created labour shortages in some sectors of the economy (e.g., in the construction business and in export-oriented industries) (Biffi 2000).

In summary, the massive immigration to Vienna during the 1990s mainly consisted of the following components:

- labour migration from former Communist countries,
- refugees from former Yugoslavia,
- family unification of earlier guest-workers,
- a sharply rising number of asylum-seekers.

Table 1: **Total population and number of foreign nationals in Austria and in Vienna 1991, 2001 and 2011**

| | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Austria | | | |
| Total number of residents | 7,795,786 | 8,032,926 | 8,404,252 |
| Foreign nationals | 517,690 | 710,926 | 927,612 |
| Share of foreign nationals | 6.6 | 8.8 | 11.0 |
| Vienna | | | |
| Total number of residents | 1,539,848 | 1,550,123 | 1,714,142 |
| Foreign nationals | 196,652 | 248,264 | 368,178 |
| Share of foreign nationals | 12.8 | 16.0 | 21.5 |

Sources: Census 1991 and 2001, Population Register 2011.

Table 1 shows the increase of foreign residents in Austria and in Vienna between 1991 and 2011. Vienna is clearly the main focus of immigration in Austria, with the number of foreign residents rising by about 52,000 between 1991 and 2001, increasing the proportion of foreign residents to 16 per cent in 2001. The increase in the proportion was not as sharp on the national level as in the capital.

Table 2: Foreign citizens in Vienna (only countries with a presence of more than 2,000 persons), 2010

| Citizenship | Born in Austria | Not born in Austria | Total | In % of all foreign citizens |
|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------|------------------------------|
| Serbia and Montenegro | 13,189 | 60,455 | 73,644 | 20.9 |
| Turkey | 7,089 | 35,236 | 42,325 | 12.0 |
| Germany | 2,941 | 27,083 | 30,024 | 8.5 |
| Poland | 2,789 | 23,251 | 26,040 | 7.4 |
| Bosnia and Herzegovina | 2,272 | 15,516 | 17,788 | 5.1 |
| Croatia | 2,954 | 13,591 | 16,545 | 4.7 |
| Romania | 1,000 | 11,861 | 12,861 | 3.7 |
| Slovakia | 671 | 7,729 | 8,400 | 2.4 |
| Macedonia | 1,216 | 6,737 | 7,953 | 2.3 |
| Russian Federation | 778 | 6,790 | 7,568 | 2.2 |
| Hungary | 355 | 7,200 | 7,555 | 2.1 |
| Bulgaria | 392 | 6,288 | 6,680 | 1.9 |
| China (Peoples' Republic) | 379 | 5,633 | 6,012 | 1.7 |
| Italy | 590 | 4,327 | 4,917 | 1.4 |
| India | 355 | 4,263 | 4,618 | 1.3 |
| Iran | 119 | 3,818 | 3,937 | 1.1 |
| France | 474 | 3,256 | 3,730 | 1.1 |
| United States | 304 | 3,286 | 3,590 | 1.0 |
| Philippines | 313 | 3,073 | 3,386 | 1.0 |
| United Kingdom | 381 | 2,982 | 3,363 | 1.0 |
| Nigeria | 285 | 3,046 | 3,331 | 0.9 |
| Egypt | 284 | 2,892 | 3,176 | 0.9 |
| Czech Republic | 194 | 2,629 | 2,823 | 0.8 |
| Ukraine | 135 | 2,563 | 2,698 | 0.8 |
| Afghanistan | 127 | 1,889 | 2,016 | 0.6 |

Source: Statistics Austria, Population Register 2010.

During recent decades Vienna has increasingly become as ethnically and culturally diverse as many other big metropolises in the EU. The annual naturalization of thou-

sands of foreigners has contributed considerably to creating a more and more heterogeneous urban society. Immigrants are no longer marginal groups, but constitute an essential element of the local population.

In 2011, 368,178 foreign citizens were living in the Austrian capital or some 21.5 per cent of the total population. Currently, 33 per cent of the population have a migrant background (based on the individual's citizenship and place of birth, but not taking into account the birthplace of the parents). The majority of these people were born abroad and hold a foreign citizenship (approx. 308,000 persons or 18 per cent of the total population), followed by naturalized immigrants (approx. 206,000 persons or 12 per cent of the total population).

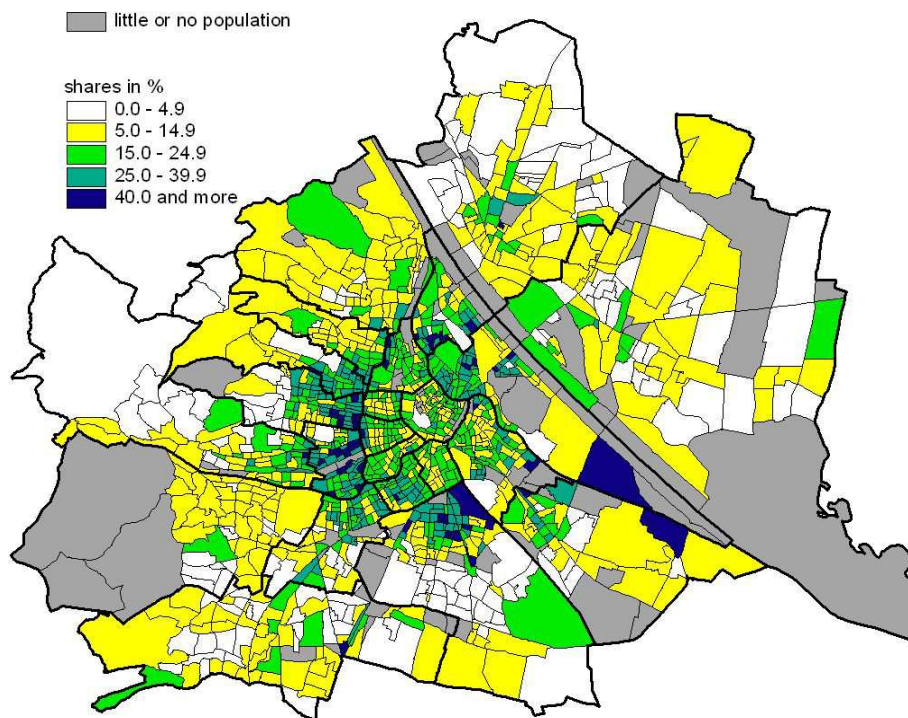
Table 2 shows (part of) the current ethnic diversity of the city: In total, the inhabitants come from 178 countries from all around the world. But at the same time, the lasting importance of the countries sending guest-workers is clearly evident: Citizens from the successor states to the former Yugoslavia and from Turkey still account for 45 per cent of all foreign citizens in Vienna. Germany is the third most important sending country, and Eastern Europe plays an important role, too (Poland: 7.4 per cent, but also Romania, Slovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria). The 25 countries displayed in the Table make up 87 per cent of all foreign citizens in the capital city.

The residential patterns of the immigrant population are strongly dependent on the structure of and opportunities available in the local housing market. Mapping shows that market barriers have an enormous influence on the spatial segregation patterns of immigrant groups (Friedrichs 2008). Accessibility rules with respect to different segments of the housing stock and economic resources can be seen as important factors in explaining the residential patterns of the various immigrant groups in Vienna. In certain localities of the city, the share of flats with substandard infrastructure is still twice as high as the city average.

Housing patterns also reflect recent economic and social trends and the ongoing deregulation of the housing market, in which legal regulations as well as building age play important roles. In Vienna, the easiest access to the local housing market for immigrants lies in the rental segment from the Founder's Period (1860–1914; in Vienna more than one third of the present total housing stock was built during this time). There is some conflict of interest in the districts built during the Founder's Period, with respect for the preservation of buildings and ensembles on the one hand, and the necessity for new social, economic and housing-related developments on the other hand. Depending on the historical structure, the physical quality of the buildings in these neighbourhoods needs more structural measures. Urban areas from the Founder's Period have often proved to be urban-development models with crisis-proof features. Even throughout years of major social, technical, and economic changes, these areas were able to adapt easily and have a considerable integrative potential for new immigrants and are open to a mix of new functions. Therefore, in Vienna the structures dating back to this era are treated with great sensitivity despite the need to eliminate the remaining substandard flats. In contrast to other European metropolises,

however, the infrastructure is not generally bad in neighbourhoods with a high proportion of immigrant population. Public transport, for example, is not a problem in most of these neighbourhoods.

Map 1: **Proportion of foreign citizens among the resident population, 2001**



Source: Census Data, Statistics Austria; Cartography: Ursula Reeger.

Map 1 provides an overview of the residential distribution of foreign nationals in 2001. On closer inspection, segregation is concentrated in smaller units (statistical areas). Segregated areas in Vienna are not the same as administrative districts, but rather parts of districts belonging together with respect to housing (residential structures from the Founder's Period) and infrastructure. The settlement of foreign citizens is especially visible in the districts on both sides of the street called the "Belt" ("Gürtel"), a broad boulevard with an extremely high volume of traffic, air and noise pollution forming a border between the "inner" and the "outer" districts dominated by an older privately owned apartment housing stock from the Founder's Period and by social rental housing. Citizens from the traditional guest-workers' states of Turkey and former Yugoslavia are concentrated in the blocks of flats in the western working class districts, which directly border the middle-class neighbourhoods.

Immigrant population can also be found in the cottage areas of “Währing” and “Döbling” (18th and 19th districts, respectively) in northwest Vienna, where the foreign elites settled in the villas of these exclusive residential districts. Immigrants from member states of the European Union prefer good addresses in these western suburbs or in the historic old town. To date the population groups coming from former COMECON states do not seem to follow a clear urban concentration pattern.

The role of suburban areas in Vienna is quite different from that found in other European agglomerations, where those areas represent potential problem neighbourhoods in a fragmented city. Future investigations should show how the specific location, structure, and endowment of these areas present risks for the future, and what suburban areas can do to adjust to such changes.

1.1.2 The three neighbourhoods chosen for the survey

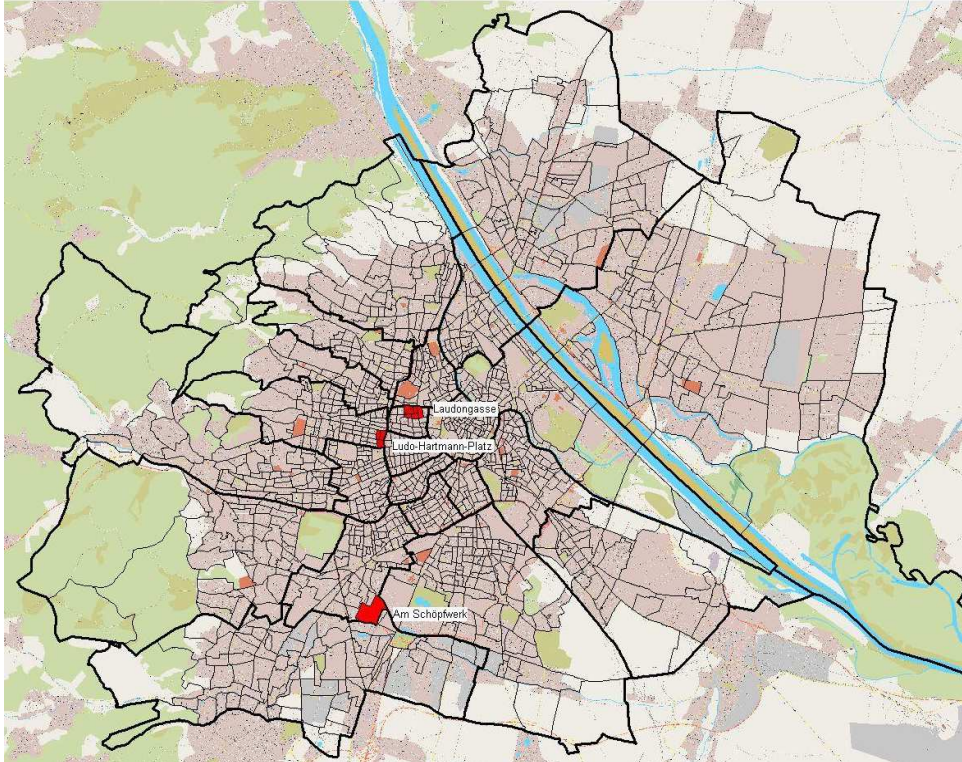
The GEITONIES team agreed upon a set of criteria that had to be met by the three neighbourhoods selected per city, e.g., size between 3,000 and 10,000 inhabitants and differences in ethnic concentration levels. In Vienna, the selection procedure began with a total of 250 statistical districts. In the first step we eliminated spatial units with a population of less than 3,000 or more than 10,000 inhabitants. For the remaining 116 statistical districts we made an in-depth analysis of city maps. Large and inhomogeneous spatial units were then excluded as it can be assumed that the inhabitants there fail to identify themselves with these as real neighbourhoods anymore. The neighbourhoods should be compact and homogeneous, and show a clear structure without internal barriers and breaks such as industrial areas, hospitals or other major non-residential areas. Finally, we came up with 72 such statistical districts to choose from.

After having singled out three of them, we made a further step and looked at the internal structure of the statistical districts by investigating the statistical areas they are made up of. In two cases we decided to eliminate one of them in order to come up with even more homogeneous spatial units for the survey. In the third case we chose only part of a statistical district. Furthermore, it should be noted that all of the analyses in this chapter are based on data from the 2001 Census. The following three types of neighbourhoods which are relevant as well as characteristic for Vienna were defined as case study areas for the survey:

Neighbourhood 1: Laudongasse – Inner city neighbourhood with a medium to high socio-economic status and an average proportion of non-EU-15 nationals

Neighbourhood 1 is the major part of the statistical district “Laudongasse” in the 8th district, a typical inner-city district with a relatively high proportion of bourgeois population. Until the 1980s Josefstadt was a “dying” district with an extremely high proportion of elderly population and a 19th-century housing stock that at least partly was in poor condition of repair. During the 1990s the 8th district gained in attractiveness as a housing area for the better-off, both families and single households. In 2001, 3,771 persons were living there, with a clearly above-average proportion of university graduates and an (almost) average proportion of non-EU-15 nationals.

Map 2: Localisation of the three case study areas in Vienna



Source: own design based on Wienkarte GeoAtlas-Raster, geomarketing.

The population consists to a high proportion of young(er) urban professionals, which is mirrored in the high percentage of economically active residents (50.1 per cent), above Vienna's average. Children under 14 years and older people are both numerically underrepresented in this area. The extremely high proportions of university graduates and high-skilled employees (both 23 per cent) are an explanation for the low rate of unemployment in this neighbourhood. Low-skilled workers constitute a small minority there. Immigrants, too, comprise a relatively small segment of the local residential population. Non-EU-15 nationals and immigrants from former Yugoslavia are the most numerous groups of foreigners in this context; their proportion is slightly lower than in the overall city. The housing stock is in relatively good condition of repair. The proportion of flats without basic amenities is considerably lower than in the rest of Vienna. The presence of the communal housing sector is extremely small (2.3 per cent); owner-occupied housing is underrepresented in this area, too.

The first case study area is dominated by building stock from the late 19th century Founder's period. This does not necessarily mean that it is in poor condition or that

the housing standard is inferior. Contrary to the working-class districts (e.g., the 16th district) the old housing stock in the bourgeois inner districts provides large housing units with all the necessary amenities. About 87 per cent of the flats there can be classified as category A, and only 7 per cent of the stock lack basic amenities. The categories B and C are underrepresented compared to the total city.

Photo 1: **Impression from the neighbourhood “Laudongasse”**



Source: Ursula Reeger.

In 2001, 23 per cent of the resident population living there had been born abroad, 16 per cent had a foreign citizenship. With about 38 per cent, former Yugoslavs constituted the largest group of foreigners, of whom more than 23 per cent were citizens of Serbia and Montenegro. 32 per cent of the immigrants, categorized as “other” nationals were a conglomerate of diverse nationalities. Compared with the underclass neighbourhood “Ludo-Hartmann-Platz”, the proportion of Turkish citizens is very modest. The fact that the survey area “Laudongasse” is a typical middle-class area is mirrored in the high proportion of elite immigrants. More than 22 per cent of the local immigrant population with foreign citizenship are EU-15 nationals. Between 2001 and 2010, the resident population grew slightly from 3,771 to 3,930 persons. The share of foreign citizens also increased by 5 per cent (to 21 per cent in 2010), foreign-born people currently account for 29 per cent of the population (2001: 23 per cent). With a total of 31 per cent of migrant background, Laudongasse is the neighbourhood with the lowest share among the three neighbourhoods chosen for the project.

Neighbourhood 2: Am Schöpfwerk – Social housing with a low share of foreign citizens in 2001 and a high share of “neo-Austrians”

The second neighbourhood chosen is a perfect counterpart to the other two in terms of established environment: “Am Schöpfwerk” in the 12th district is dominated by communal housing stock. An important fact has to be noted here: In contrast to other European metropolises, in Vienna social housing was not accessible for foreign citizens before the 1st January 2006, the only exception being some very urgent cases for whom a fixed contingent of municipal flats were reserved (“Notfallwohnungen”). The consequence was that foreign citizens still form a minority among the tenants of social housing. What happened in communal housing was an inflow of Austrian citizens with a migrant background. Since 1st January 2006 legislation was harmonized with European Union law. Accordingly, in 2001 the case study area “Am Schöpfwerk” displayed a below-average share of foreign nationals but a considerable proportion of naturalized immigrants.

Photo 2: **Impression from the neighbourhood “Am Schöpfwerk”**



Source: Ursula Reeger.

The 2,151 flats belong almost entirely to the social housing segment and were built between 1976 and 1980. Originally, “Am Schöpfwerk” was the official name of two big communal housing complexes built by financing from the municipality of Vienna. Those complexes were erected during the 1950s and 1976–80, when housing shortage was an urgent problem in Vienna.

A rich infrastructure and a considerable number of common places were also erected. There is a Roman Catholic Church, two schools, a kindergarten, a day-home for schoolchildren, clubs for different age groups, a library, a post office, a police station, a social services office, a housing advice centre, a number of different shops, a pharmacy, a bank and some doctors’ offices. In the heart of the complex there are wide green areas and numerous playgrounds. Garden allotments that already existed before were integrated into the newly built complex. The complex is well connected with Vienna’s public transport system. There is a station of the underground line 6 and several bus stops. The next highway is also very near.

Since the late 1960s the municipality has tried to solve Vienna’s housing shortage by erecting large communal blocks that sometimes lack adequate infrastructure. So, this complex is typical of the social housing areas of the 1970s and 1980s distributed throughout the urban periphery. Social problems such as intergenerational conflicts subsequently arose and gave these neighbourhoods a bad image. In addition to confrontational social constellations, prefabricated housing brought also a lot of structural problems and contributed to the poor overall image of communal housing complexes of that kind, sometimes even wrongfully. Both the municipality and the inhabitants were very active in trying to solve the problems of everyday coexistence. Network initiatives and self-organizations were founded to improve the social climate. Thus, Am Schöpfwerk with its lowerclass-dominated population structure, a relatively high proportion of unemployment and social disintegration is a good example for the problems found in the social housing in Vienna.

In 2001, the total population consisted of more than 5,900 persons. The age structure was markedly younger than in total Vienna, with a share of children below 14 years of 23.1 per cent and a share of old-age pensioners of less than half that of the city average. Single-parent families account for one fifth of the local population, exactly the city average. The percentage of employed persons is slightly lower than in the city as a whole, whereas the rate of unemployment is considerably higher. “Am Schöpfwerk” is a typical socially lowerclass housing area. This is mirrored by a share of about 22 per cent low-skilled workers in the local population or about 7 per cent higher than in the overall city. An important difference from “Ludo-Hartmann-Platz” may be found in the fact that the latter is dominated by an immigrant underclass, whereas in communal housing the majority of the inhabitants belong to underprivileged autochthonous Austrian groups. This is also mirrored in the educational structure: University graduates and high-skilled employees are considerably underrepresented in this quarter. The share of university graduates represents only one third of what is found in the city of Vienna as a whole.

About 93 per cent of the residents live in social housing compared with a Vienna total of 28.4 per cent. Single-family-house owners are a small group, and owner-occupied flats and other categories of housing exist only in very small numbers. Contrary to the neighbourhood selected in the 16th district, flats without basic amenities can only rarely be found there with Founder's Period building-stock being completely absent.

The low proportions of foreign citizens living here was obvious. Only 1.5 per cent former Yugoslavian citizens lived there in 2001, about one fifth of Vienna's average. Also Turks, EU-15 citizens and East-West migrants were sharply underrepresented, a fact that can be explained by the dominance of social housing in this neighbourhood. All in all, in 2001 the share of foreign citizens was 5.9 per cent and thus extremely low. If we look at the place of birth of the residents in 2001, the proportion of immigrants is considerably higher than one may think, bearing in mind the small share of foreign citizens: Exactly one fifth of the resident population was born abroad with former Yugoslavians being the most numerous group. Among them the majority (147 persons) were born in Serbia and Montenegro. 206 persons were of Turkish origin. Thus, Turks represent 17.4 per cent of the total foreign-born population in this neighbourhood. EU-15 nationals and people born in Poland both make up for more than 6 per cent of the total population with a migrant background. The underrepresentation of elite immigrants is typical for this social housing area and mirrors a marked difference to the upper-class neighbourhood we picked out for our survey in the 8th district.

A comparison of the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood for 2001 and 2010 shows that the share of immigrants born abroad grew considerably to 34 per cent. The share of people with a (direct individual) migrant background is 36 per cent and thus considerably lower than in the area "Ludo-Hartmann-Platz". Since the legislation concerning the access to social housing was changed in 2006, the share of foreign citizens has grown from 6 per cent to 15 per cent, albeit still below the city average.

Neighbourhood 3: Ludo-Hartmann-Platz – Classic area of reception close to the "Gürtel" ("Belt") with a high share of guest-worker population

The third case study area is part of the statistical district "Ludo-Hartmann-Platz" in the 16th district and lies between Gürtel (thoroughfare with three lanes of traffic in each direction and public transportation, extremely noisy and air-polluted, minimal green spaces, housing stock of low standard), Thaliastraße, Neumayrgasse and Koppstraße. It is situated in a typical working-class district built during the Founder's Period in the late 19th century. Many building blocks here are in a bad state of repair, consisting of small housing units and therefore inhabited by a mixture of socially marginalized Austrians and immigrants. The proportion of citizens from former Yugoslavia as well as from Turkey – the most numerous immigrants groups here – was and still is very high. The proportion of flats belonging to the worst category (D, lacking basic amenities) was also extremely high compared with the Viennese average.

According to the Census, in 2001 the total population was 3,505. In this working-class area the proportion of blue-collar workers is more than twice as high as in the

city of Vienna as a whole. As a logical consequence, the rate of unemployment (17.2 per cent) was also significantly higher here. On the other hand, the number of university graduates and high-skilled employees is considerably lower than the overall average. With respect to age structure, this neighbourhood is characterized by a higher percentage of children and a lower proportion of older people than in the total city. The share of single-parent families and economically active persons almost equals the Viennese average.

Photo 3: **Impression from the neighbourhood “Ludo-Hartmann-Platz”**



Source: Ursula Reeger.

The ethno-national composition of the local population is characterized by a considerable proportion of immigrants from former Yugoslavia, almost four times more than in the city at large. The proportion of immigrants with Turkish citizenship is even five times above the average. As a typical working-class area, elite immigrants from EU-15 are underrepresented, whereas non-EU-15-nationals (47.2 per cent) by far dominate the local population structure. Eastern European immigrants are a slightly overrepresented in this area but do not constitute a quantitatively important group.

The structural variables of this environment mirror the more or less marginalized social and economic position of the local population. The share of category-D flats is extremely high (36.8 per cent) and considerably more than the city average. The proportion of more recent, better equipped social housing is extremely modest, i.e., housing units from the late 19th century (Founder's Period) dominate the neighbourhood. The proportion of privately owned flats is by far lower than in the rest of the city. The indicators chosen mirror the status of this area as a typical working-class neighbourhood characterized by a population of lower-class citizens.

According to the latest data from the population register (2010), the area currently has a population of 3,922 persons and has thus grown by 12 per cent over the last ten years (of course, it may be problematic to compare census and register results, but in this case we do so because the 2001 Census was the starting point for the Austrian population register). 63 per cent of the total population had a (direct or personal) migrant background: 1,692 inhabitants were born abroad and still hold foreign citizenship (43 per cent of the total population), 556 inhabitants were born abroad and hold Austrian citizenship (14 per cent of the total population), and 221 persons belong to the so-called "second generation" – born in Austria but holding a foreign citizenship (6 per cent of the total population). The high share of people born abroad and holding a foreign citizenship indicates that there is a constant exchange of foreign newcomers in this area with many people who leave after naturalization.

1.2 Technical details of the survey

In the case of Vienna, the survey was conducted by TRICONSULT, an opinion research institute based there. During the initial phase, and up to the completion of the fieldwork and the delivery of the data, there was a constant, very close contact that became extremely intense while implementing the survey, translating the questionnaire and recruiting the interviewers took place.

Concerning sampling, the procedure decided upon in the project was followed with one small alteration. We started out from a complete inventory of all addresses in the three neighbourhoods using the database of the Austrian mail service, which is constantly kept up to date. At TRICONSULT, telephone numbers were added to this database and then the first random sample of 100 households was drawn. These households were then contacted and asked whether the person who last had his/her birthday would take part in the survey. We used this way of contacting the households because it was much cheaper than sending interviewers around the neighbourhoods. The procedure was repeated until 100 natives and 100 persons with a migrant background per neighbourhood had been interviewed. The field phase started in mid-November 2009 and was completed by the beginning of July 2010.

1.3 Basic structure of the samples in the three neighbourhoods

As defined in the GEITONIES project, 100 natives and 100 persons with a migrant background were interviewed in each neighbourhood. In statistics and migration research “migrant background” is defined in many different ways; in this context it was decided that a person has a migrant background if at least one parent was born abroad. “Natives” in turn are all the residents both of whose parents were born in Austria.

Revealing differences in the age structure exist between the three neighbourhoods and between the native and the immigrant population (see Table 3). Starting with a comparison of the native population one can say that Ludo-Hartmann-Platz is by far the “youngest” research area with 40 per cent of the native respondents younger than 34 and about 70 per cent younger than 49. The social housing area Am Schöpfwerk is by far the most “mature” research unit, the result of the construction of the flats during the 1970s. It is characterized by the highest proportion of old age pensioners. Our research area Laudongasse is of a more mixed age structure. The 8th district was traditionally inhabited by an older well-to-do population, but in recent years it became “chic” for young urban professionals to live there, too. As a consequence, the age structure shifted to a higher proportion of middle-aged people with fairly good incomes.

A comparison of the age structure of the immigrant population once again reveals the Ludo-Hartmann-Platz to be the “youngest” area with a high proportion of young respondents and a modest number of retired interviewees. In Am Schöpfwerk the rate of older persons above 64 is even lower, though immigrant persons older than 50 are well-represented. 50 per cent of the immigrant population there consist of middle-aged persons. In Laudongasse the age distribution is the most balanced compared to the other research areas. According to Table 3 the variations in gender structure are not very profound. In Laudongasse and Am Schöpfwerk there are more females among both natives and immigrants; in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the surplus of female respondents is even more pronounced among the natives, whereas 8 per cent more immigrant men than women are part of our sample.

Education is a peculiarly convincing indicator for an evaluation of the social class structure of the local population, and it is also one of the most relevant determinants for attitudes towards immigrants (cf. Mummendey & Kessler 2008). The overview in Table 3 shows that Laudongasse is a typical middle- and upper-middle class housing area. One third of the natives there passed upper secondary school and about 60 per cent even received tertiary education. 55 per cent of the respondents with a migrant background also had a tertiary education, the peak of highest level education among that group. Not surprisingly, in social housing a low level of education is found among both natives and immigrants. Upper secondary education is much more a characteristic of natives (69 per cent) than of immigrants (47 per cent) living in this neighbourhood, whereas the proportion of immigrants who received tertiary education is higher here than among natives. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz one out of ten immigrant respon-

dents only passed primary school, a proportion that is even higher than in the social housing area Am Schöpfwerk. One fourth of the interviewed immigrants passed the lower secondary level at the most; among natives the respective rate is only 4 per cent. Local natives are much better represented in the upper secondary and tertiary levels. In Am Schöpfwerk the proportions of lower secondary education in both groups are the highest among all three neighbourhoods, whereas the rate of tertiary graduates is lowest among natives and immigrants as well.

Table 3: **Basic structure of the sample**

| | Laudongasse | | Am Schöpfwerk | | Ludo-Hartmann-Pl. | |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------|---------------|--------|-------------------|--------|
| | Immigrant | Native | Immigrant | Native | Immigrant | Native |
| Age groups | | | | | | |
| 25 to 34 | 31.0 | 14.0 | 20.0 | 13.0 | 38.0 | 40.0 |
| 35 to 49 | 30.0 | 28.0 | 50.0 | 16.0 | 40.0 | 29.0 |
| 50 to 64 | 20.0 | 37.0 | 27.0 | 40.0 | 16.0 | 14.0 |
| Older than 64 | 19.0 | 21.0 | 3.0 | 31.0 | 6.0 | 17.0 |
| Total abs. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Gender | | | | | | |
| Male | 47.0 | 47.0 | 45.0 | 45.0 | 54.0 | 41.0 |
| Female | 53.0 | 53.0 | 55.0 | 55.0 | 46.0 | 59.0 |
| Total abs. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Education | | | | | | |
| Lower secondary | 1.0 | 8.1 | 22.0 | 17.0 | 25.3 | 4.0 |
| Upper secondary | 44.0 | 32.3 | 47.0 | 69.0 | 40.4 | 51.0 |
| Post-secondary, tertiary | 55.0 | 59.6 | 31.0 | 14.0 | 34.3 | 45.0 |
| Total abs. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 99 | 100 |
| Religion | | | | | | |
| None | 51.0 | 41.0 | 11.0 | 40.0 | 37.0 | 49.0 |
| Roman Catholic | 32.0 | 50.0 | 17.0 | 51.0 | 19.0 | 42.0 |
| Other Christian | 12.0 | 7.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 14.0 | 7.0 |
| Islamic | 2.0 | 0.0 | 52.0 | 0.0 | 24.0 | 0.0 |
| Other | 3.0 | 2.0 | 12.0 | 5.0 | 6.0 | 2.0 |
| Total abs. | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. Group differences are significant for age groups in Laudongasse ($p = .009$) and Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .000$); for religion in Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .000$) and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz ($p = .000$).

Table 3 shows sharp differences between the research areas concerning religious denomination. In particular among the natives the group without any religious confession is large. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz and Laudongasse (here a peak value is reached) also immigrants who do not belong to any religion constitute a considerable group.

There are equal numbers of natives in Laudongasse and Am Schöpfwerk who belong to the Roman-Catholic Church – which is amazing because one would expect considerable differences between a better-off middle-class quarter and a communal housing area. In Laudongasse too one third of the immigrants are Catholics, which mirrors the higher proportion of European elite immigrants living there. A remarkable result is the high concentration of Muslim immigrants in Am Schöpfwerk, which is twice as high as in the classical working-class and guest-worker area of Ludo-Hartmann-Platz. In Laudongasse immigrants with a Muslim background are a negligible minority.

2 Setting the scene: Perceptions of neighbouring and the neighbourhood

This chapter explores the immediate social and physical environment surrounding the dwelling unit, often referred to as the “neighbourhood”. In addition to the physical space this concept comprises, the term neighbourhood may also be used to describe a socially distinguished area depending on the residents’ own perception. In the traditional sense of the word, this physical space is outlined by virtual boundaries that are traced differently in the minds of each individual according to that person’s lifestyle and type of social interaction and the type of use of the physical environment. The residents’ perceptions are also affected by both physical and social characteristics of the environment. There is a complex interaction between the community and its environment, which means that urban areas and thus the spatial context contribute significantly to shaping the residents’ identities. Neighbourhood and municipality characteristics have an impact on social cohesion. A theoretical contribution to the study of social cohesion and social capital was provided by Hooghe (2008). For the Netherlands this was investigated by Tolsma et al. (2009). Multicultural structures in neighbourhoods may have a strong impact on social relations and on the strategies of governing neighbourhoods, as was investigated by Allen and Cars (2001).

The evaluation of the neighbourhood and of the people living there is a fundamental starting point for our analyses. The following core questions are put forth:

- What is the general opinion about the neighbourhood?
- How do people, generally speaking, get along here? How do the residents feel about the neighbourhood they live in? Do they think that it is a safe place? What is their opinion about the neighbourhood infrastructure?
- What might the assessment of people from outside the neighbourhood look like?²

² Of course we tested also independent variables throughout the analysis in chapters 2 and 3. Among these variables, socio-demographic factors, such as age, level of education, and occupational status, were considered. Furthermore, in some cases length of residence turned out to be of relevance as an explanatory factor. In the following text the results of this kind of empirical analyses are mentioned only where significant.