

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.

2.1 Getting along with each other: Perception and evaluation

We start our analyses with an item that measures the general attitudes towards new inhabitants moving in.³ In Figure 1 one can easily see that positive (or at least neutral) attitudes towards people moving in are dominant among natives in Laudongasse, whereas in Am Schöpfwerk the mental reservation against persons moving in is much higher among both immigrants and natives. The results for the immigrant respondents in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz are very similar to those from Laudongasse, whereas in the native group the attitudes range somehow between Laudongasse and Am Schöpfwerk. In all research areas differences between natives and immigrants are evident, but they are statistically significant only in the 12th district neighbourhood. Significantly more immigrants than local natives agree that new inhabitants are welcomed there.

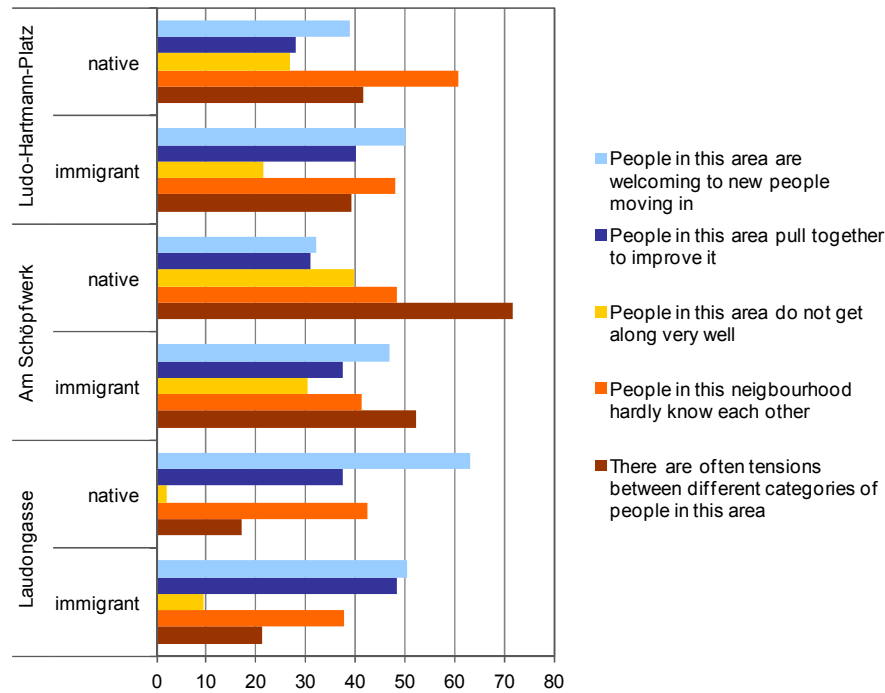
Are there collective efforts to improve the neighbourhood? The estimations are quite divergent between the research areas, but no significant differences between natives and immigrants can be detected. In Laudongasse and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz immigrants agree with this statement to a considerably higher proportion than natives. The rate of disagreement in both groups is highest in Am Schöpfwerk, where the extent of disagreement among natives is the most extreme among all neighbourhoods.

What can generally be said about the assessment of social relations of the local population in our research areas? Figure 1 shows that obviously interactions are the most harmonious in Laudongasse, where more than 78 per cent of the natives and two thirds of the immigrants deny that *“people do not get along very well”*. This result contrasts with the other two research areas. Interpersonal relations seem to be worst in Am Schöpfwerk, whereas in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the atmosphere is somehow better. As a general trend the differences between the three research areas are usually much more accentuated than the differences between immigrants and natives who inhabit the same neighbourhood. This can be seen as an indicator of a specific “local atmosphere”, which generally influences social interactions in the respective place. This phenomenon can also be observed in a considerable number of the following analyses. The differences between natives and immigrants are only rarely statistically significant.

Once again this item measures social distance in daily interactions expressed by the degree of individual anonymity. As a general trend in all research areas the compliance is weaker among immigrants than among the local natives, the weakest agreement being for immigrants in Laudongasse (here the extent of agreement among natives, too, is relatively modest), the strongest for natives in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz. The results for Am Schöpfwerk range in between these two extremes.

³ If not indicated otherwise, all survey results were analyzed by migration background and neighbourhood in all tables and figures.

Figure 1: Agreement on five items concerning how people get along with each other in the neighbourhood (in %)



Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

Blue: positive statements, orange: negative statements.

Agreement: Sum of “agree strongly” and “agree” on a five-step Likert-scale.

Significant group differences in the neighbourhoods: “People are welcoming to new people moving in”: Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .013$); “There are often tensions between different categories of people”: Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .017$).

Social conflicts are a valid indicator of the social climate in the local context. Are there open conflicts between people belonging to different categories? Though these “categories” are not specified in our questionnaire, this item is able to provide some indication of interethnic and intergenerational frictions. It is easily possible to conclude that there is a social climate of frequent conflicts in the neighbourhood Am Schöpfwerk. About 72 per cent of the native respondents agree with this statement, and among immigrants agreement is highest compared with the other two research areas. This climate of conflict contrasts with our 8th district research area, where the scope of disagreement is most accentuated. For this area one may suppose a general atmosphere of harmonious social interactions. Concerning intergroup tensions, Ludo-Hartmann-Platz lies in between these two extremes. Once again it is interesting to note that the evaluations of immigrants are more positive than those of the native respondents.

2.2 *What does the neighbourhood and the people living there mean to its inhabitants?*

Since Laumann's (1973) classical study it is considered more or less "common sense" that localised social networks are important not only in the process of socialization, but also as determinants of social mobility (Pinkster 2007). There are also correlations between social capital, neighbourhood attachment and participation (Dekker 2007). A positive perception of the neighbourhood is one that offers quality and a good environment to ensure inhabitants are able to live their lives in a satisfying way. In this respect, two objectives have been formulated for this chapter: (1) to assess the importance the residents accord to various dimensions and attributes in determining neighbourhood perception, (2) to discover residents' satisfaction level toward the "liveability" dimensions. A review of the literature shows that four dimensions (social, physical, functional and safety) are commonly used to understand the quality issues in the living environment.

2.2.1 The evaluation of the people living in the neighbourhood

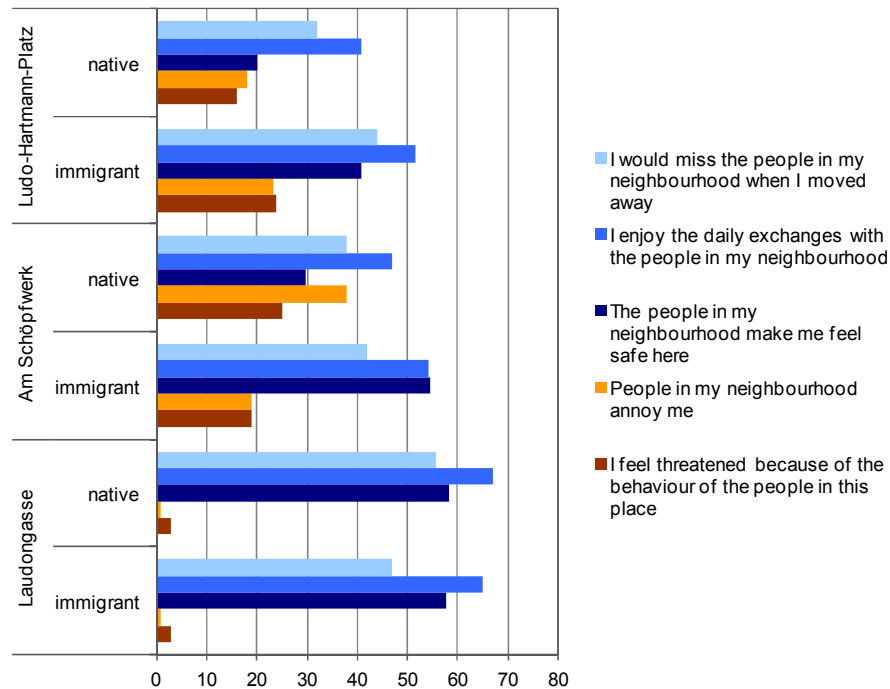
Would the respondents miss the people in their neighbourhood if they were to move away? This item measures a sentiment of social and emotional attachment (see Figure 2). The scope of agreement is highest in Laudongasse and here in particular among the natives. The conclusion is justified that local natives enjoy very positive social contacts with the other local people there. In the immigrant sub-group the rate of agreement is lower. In the 12th district research unit less people from both groups of respondents would miss the people in their neighbourhood. Here the scope of disagreement is very similar for natives and immigrants. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz, immigrants agree with this statement considerably more than natives.

In the previous chapter we asked about the general quality of the interpersonal relations of the local populations in our research areas. Now we want to take this a step further and ask about their estimations of the neighbourhood as a local entity *and* the people living there. Do our respondents enjoy the daily interactions with their neighbours and other people living there? Once again the very positive estimations by both categories of respondents in Laudongasse are remarkable. The evaluation is more negative in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz and the most negative in Am Schöpfwerk, where the disagreement among natives is the most pronounced. In both neighbourhoods the estimations of the immigrant population are by far better. The differences between natives and immigrants are more accentuated in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz than in the other areas.

In the Austrian mass media a steady increase in the feeling of insecurity among Vienna's population is often described. If we look at Figure 2, what can we say about the local status quo of the sense of safety caused by other people living there? In Laudongasse this item gains considerable agreement among both immigrants and natives, reflecting a profound sense of safety there. A blatant sense of insecurity exists among

natives in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz, and this feeling is even stronger in Am Schöpfwerk, where the difference between immigrants and natives is statistically significant. In the latter area more than 56 per cent of the natives don't feel safe because of other population groups living there. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the proportion is 51 per cent which is also high compared to the 8th-district neighbourhood. In Am Schöpfwerk and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz there is a considerably higher level of the feeling of safety among the immigrant population. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the proportion of disagreement among immigrants is highest among the three research units.

Figure 2: Agreement with five items evaluating the people in the neighbourhood (in %)



Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

Blue: positive statements, orange: negative statements.

Agreement: Sum of "agree strongly" and "agree" on a five-step Likert-scale.

Significant group differences in the neighbourhoods: "People in my neighbourhood annoy me":

Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .010$); "The people in my neighbourhood make me feel safe here": Am

Schöpfwerk ($p = .000$), Ludo-Hartmann-Platz ($p = .006$).

So what can be stated about concrete feelings of disturbance caused by other people in the neighbourhood and their lifestyle? Once again social coexistence seems to be most harmonious in Laudongasse. Here both groups of respondents rarely feel annoyed by others in their neighbourhood. The situation in Am Schöpfwerk can be

characterized as a sharp contrast: Natives feel annoyed by other people extremely often – and much more than immigrants. The difference between natives and immigrants is statistically significant. In the 16th district neighbourhood, the sentiment of disturbance is much more widespread than in Laudongasse, albeit more moderate than in Am Schöpfwerk (cf. Figure 2).

In Vienna one often can hear complaints about the menacing behaviour of some people in public space and on public transport. For that reason we included an item to evaluate feelings of threat in the local spatial context. Both immigrants and natives in the inner city neighbourhood are obviously the less threatened groups, whereas the level of agreement with this item is much higher in the other two neighbourhoods. In Am Schöpfwerk it is the native respondents (25 per cent) who articulated feeling more often threatened, whereas in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz one out of four from the immigrant sub-group agrees with this item.

2.2.2 The evaluation of the neighbourhood as such

One aspect that is a psychological outcome of a couple of social and spatial determinants is the extent of identification with a neighbourhood. Table 4 clearly shows that by far the strongest identification on the individual level can be found in the inhabitants of Laudongasse, where three out of four native respondents expressed a strong identification with their “Grätzel”⁴ – and the identification among immigrants, too, is highest among our research areas. There is much less local identification in Am Schöpfwerk, where only about one fourth of the natives and immigrants articulated a weak identification. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the proportion of strong identification among both sub-groups (49 per cent, 44 per cent) is very similar to the results for Am Schöpfwerk, but the proportion of neutral answers is much higher.

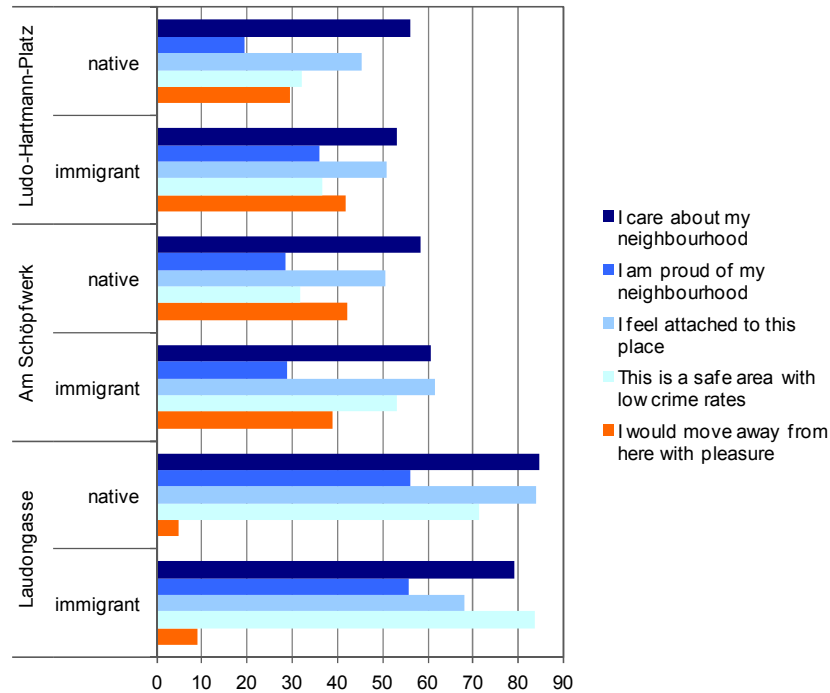
Table 4: Identification with the neighbourhood

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Strong	68.7	75.0	48.0	40.0	49.0	44.4
Neutral	14.1	14.0	17.0	18.0	25.0	29.3
Weak	13.1	11.0	25.0	27.0	19.0	17.2
Not at all	4.0	0.0	10.0	15.0	7.0	9.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	99	100	100	100	100	99

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. There were no significant group differences within the neighbourhoods.

⁴ “Grätzel” is a local Viennese term for the immediate neighbourhood.

Figure 3: Agreement with five items evaluating the neighbourhood as such (in %)



Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

Blue: positive statements, orange: negative statement.

Agreement: Sum of “agree strongly” and “agree” on a five-step Likert-scale.

Significant group differences in the individual neighbourhoods: “I am proud of my neighbourhood”: Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .004$), Ludo-Hartmann-Platz ($p = .026$); “This is a safe area with low crime rates”: Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .003$); “I feel attached to this place”: Laudongasse ($p = .032$).

Do people feel some responsibility for their immediate neighbourhood? This responsibility may be expressed by some kind of caring for the local context. The variations between natives and immigrants in all three research areas are relatively moderate. Keeping in mind the previous analyses it is not very astonishing that both groups of the population of Laudongasse care the most about their “Grätzel”. From previous analyses one might conclude that the rate of agreement would be lowest in our 12th district neighbourhood. Amazingly, however, this does not hold true, in particular among the immigrant population. In Am Schöpfwerk immigrant as well as native respondents are to a greater proportion caring about their neighbourhood than the local population of both groups in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz⁵ (see Figure 3).

⁵ This is – without doubt – an outcome of very active local associations and initiatives which created a strong sense of responsibility for our social housing area (“Gemeindebau”).

None of the three neighbourhoods selected can be classified as a typical upper-class neighbourhood. Rather, previous analyses proved that Laudongasse is a good middle-class quarter. Thus, it is not surprising that the proportion of pride about the neighbourhood is highest in the 8th district, where natives and immigrants expressed an identical level of pride. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz and Am Schöpfwerk this sentiment is more strongly refused. In both research areas there is the same high scope of disagreement among native respondents, and it is considerable higher than among the respondents with a migrant background. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the rate of disagreement among immigrants is more pronounced than among immigrants in Am Schöpfwerk.

To answer our research questions it was of considerable interest to us to measure the degree of emotional attachment to the local context. It is not surprising that natives in Laudongasse most often (84 per cent) articulate a strong affinity to their neighbourhood. From Figure 3 we learn that this proportion is considerably higher than in the other two research areas, where the local emotional affinity of the natives is obviously much weaker. The local attachment among the immigrant population of Laudongasse and Am Schöpfwerk is only slightly different, though there are profound differences between the local natives. About two thirds of our immigrant respondents in both areas agreed with this item, and the rate of disagreement was very similar, too. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the proportion of agreement among immigrants is the lowest among our research units.

There can be no doubt that crime rates determine the evaluation of a neighbourhood. As a general result one can say that in all research areas immigrants more often than natives expressed the opinion that their neighbourhood “*is a safe area with low crime rates*” (see Figure 3). The peak value is reached in Laudongasse, where about 84 per cent of the immigrant and 71 per cent of the native population agreed with this statement. In the two other neighbourhoods the proportion of agreement among the natives was only about one third, which indicates a low sense of individual security in both neighbourhoods. More than 55 per cent of the native respondents in Am Schöpfwerk and 47 per cent in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz explicitly disagreed with that statement. In particular in Am Schöpfwerk the immigrant population characterized their neighbourhood as a safe place to a much higher degree (by more than 20 per cent) than elsewhere. Both the length of residence and the level of education do not play an important role concerning this aspect of feeling safe.

In particular immigrants – but also natives – usually only have a limited choice in their residence because of financial constraints. They have to live in quarters where the housing stock is affordable. The same can be said about older people who often remain in areas that suffer from architectonic and social degradation. Thus, the wish to move away is a valid indicator for the general satisfaction with the neighbourhood. The level of satisfaction in Laudongasse is obviously very high: Only very small proportions of immigrants and natives alike would want to move out of this neighbourhood. In marked contrast to this are the high proportions of both natives and immi-

grants in the social housing area Am Schöpfwerk who would prefer to leave their neighbourhood. Obviously, these respondents stay there involuntary for economic reasons, though their appreciation of the neighbourhood is rather low. In the 16th district the wish to move away is more often expressed by the immigrant respondents (41.8 per cent) than by natives (29.6 per cent).

2.3 *Reputation of the neighbourhood: Assessment of outside perception and change during the last years*

The reputation of a neighbourhood is an important determinant of the individual's satisfaction and identification with the local context. As it was not possible to query a representative sample of "outsiders", we asked our respondents about their own experiences with and assessment of outsiders' perceptions. The empirical results deliver a clear answer and show once again a polarization between our research areas in the 8th and 12th district (compare Table 5).

Table 5: **Outsiders' perception of the neighbourhood**

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Attractive place	90.0	93.0	12.0	17.0	26.0	28.0
Unattractive place	3.0	1.0	80.0	75.0	46.0	53.0
No opinion	4.0	3.0	5.0	6.0	13.0	14.0
Don't know	3.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	15.0	5.0
Total abs.	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

More than 90 per cent of the immigrants and natives living in Laudongasse revealed that their neighbourhood is considered as "*an attractive place to live*". Almost nobody expressed a contrasting opinion. Contradictory to this result is the evaluation of the population in Am Schöpfwerk, where 80 per cent of the immigrants and 75 per cent of the natives anticipate some kind of outside stigmatization of their neighbourhood as "*an unattractive place to live*". It is interesting that the proportion of natives who categorize their neighbourhood as "*attractive*" is higher than the rate among the local immigrant population. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz more than half of the natives and 46 per cent of the immigrants categorize their neighbourhood as "*unattractive*". The rates of positive estimations were higher than for Am Schöpfwerk. A remarkable fact is that high proportions of respondents in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz did not express any opinion at all.

Has the reputation of the area changed during the last years? Table 6 shows that almost two thirds of our respondents among both sub-groups in Laudongasse are con-

vinced that it remained completely the same. In contrast to Laudongasse many more inhabitants of Am Schöpfwerk expressed the opinion that the reputation had suffered. A negative change was anticipated by half of our native and 34 per cent of the immigrant respondents in Am Schöpfwerk. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz more immigrants (30 per cent) than natives (24 per cent) think that there was a negative change. Unfortunately, these results mirror only individual assessments, and we do not know anything about the causal factors.

Table 6: **Respondents' assessment of the change of the reputation of the neighbourhood during the last years**

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Remained the same	59.0	62.0	43.0	37.0	33.0	30.0
Changed in a						
positive way	26.0	32.0	12.0	10.0	25.0	43.0
negative way	10.0	5.0	34.0	49.0	30.0	24.0
Don't know	5.0	1.0	11.0	4.0	12.0	3.0
Total abs.	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

2.4 Trust in society in general and in the local population

Trust is an important factor for community building and an integral part of social capital. Trust is a heuristic decision rule, allowing us to deal with complexities that would require unrealistic efforts in rational reasoning (see Kydd 2005). A very general definition of trust is the ability to predict what other people will do and what situations will occur. Trust is both an emotional and a logical act. Emotionally, it occurs when someone exposes their vulnerabilities to people, but believe they will not take advantage of this openness. Logically, it occurs when the person(s) in question behave in a predictable manner. A person may trust another person because one has experienced his/her trustworthiness and because that person has faith in human nature. From this perspective, trust is a mental state that cannot be measured directly. Trust can be naturally attributed to relationships between people. Conceptually, trust is attributable to relationships within and between social groups (families, friends, communities, organizations, etc.). It is a popular approach to frame the dynamics of inter-group and intra-group interactions in terms of trust. In social science the degree to which one party trusts another is a measure of belief in the honesty or fairness of the other party. Baier (1986) characterizes contexts of trust as structures of interaction in which moral obligations act upon the trustees.

Confidence in the results of trusting can be measured through behaviour, or alternatively social sciences can measure self-reported trust (with the caveat surrounding

that method). An important perspective in social theory comes from Coleman (1990) who designated four important criteria:

1. The placement of trust allows actions that are not possible otherwise (i.e. trust allows actions to be conducted based on incomplete information on the case in hand).
2. If the person in whom trust is placed (trustee) is trustworthy, then the trustor will be better off than if he or she had not trusted. Conversely, if the trustee is not trustworthy, then the trustor will be worse off than if he or she had not trusted.
3. Trust is an action that involves a voluntary transfer of resources (physical, financial, intellectual, or temporal) from the trustor to the trustee with no real commitment from the trustee.
4. A time lag exists between the extension of trust and the result of the trusting behaviour.

Coleman's criteria allow the discussion of trust behaviour. A critical element in studies of trust behaviour is power. Anyone who is in a position of dependence cannot be said to trust another in a moral sense, but can be defined as trusting another in the most strictly behavioural sense. Trusting another party when one is compelled to do so is sometimes called reliance, to indicate that the belief in benevolence and competence may be absent, while the behaviours are present.

The substantive conflict in the social sciences is whether trust is an entirely internal category and whether only confidence is observable; or whether trust behaviours (and self-reported levels of trust) can meaningfully measure trust in the absence of coercion. In general, trust is essential because social institutions, such as governments, economies, and communities, require a measure of trust to function. Trust is at the same time a dependent and an independent variable, thus it includes:

- impacts on the trust-building process (biographical data), and
- impacts of trust/distrust on interethnic coexistence, attitudes towards immigrants.

Interethnic trust and the interrelations between ethnicity and trust is a complicated field of investigation, a synthesis of both sociological and social psychological methods and research questions. Hooghe et al. (2006) investigated the connections between ethnic diversity, trust and ethnocentrism in 21 European countries. For further trust-related analyses compare also Hodson et al. (1999), Kunovich & Hodson (1999), Bahry et al. (2005) and Lancee & Dronkers (2008a, b).

2.4.1 Trust on the general level

Trust on a general level is determined by the accumulation of previous experiences. Taking advantage of another person means that some kind of breach of confidence happens at some point in time. On a scale of 0 to 10, the empirically well-known trend toward the moderate middle position can be observed. A look at the extremes of the continuum shows that in all neighbourhoods the mistrustful group who think that they are being defrauded is considerably smaller than the group who believe in fairness. It is remarkable that in all three neighbourhoods the proportion of respondents

with a migrant background who believe that “*people try to be fair*” is twice as high as among the local natives. Looking at the percentages in Table 7 makes it obvious that the local variations are rather modest among both groups.

Table 7: **General trust in the fairness of other people***

Most people	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Try to take advantage of me (0)	2.0	4.0	3.6	5.3	6.1	3.0
1–3	11.2	6.1	17.9	23.4	8.2	9.1
4–6	24.5	33.7	27.4	34.0	37.7	30.3
7–9	46.9	48.0	38.1	29.8	34.7	50.5
Try to be fair (10)	15.4	8.2	13.0	7.5	13.3	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	98	98	84	94	98	99

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations; *: on a scale from 0 to 10. No significant group differences within the neighbourhoods.

Helpfulness, too, was measured on a scale between 0 and 10. Table 8 shows that in Am Schöpfwerk there is a tendency among both groups towards a somehow polarized estimation of human egoism. About 40 per cent of the natives and 34 per cent of the immigrants can be found among the pessimistic scale values of 0 to 3. On the other hand, the rates of optimistic answers (scale values from 7 to 10) lies at 40 per cent among immigrants and at 23 per cent among natives. This also means that in Am Schöpfwerk the immigrants obviously have a more positive view on general helpfulness, whereas in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz it is the natives who are more optimistic. In Laudongasse both sub-groups express a tendency toward a more positive evaluation. Neutral positions are especially favoured in Laudongasse and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz.

Table 8: **General trust in the helpfulness of other people***

Most people	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Look out for themselves (0)	1.0	8.0	4.7	7.3	12.3	4.0
1–3	18.6	19.2	29.0	33.3	15.5	22.0
4–6	44.3	40.4	25.6	35.4	42.3	35.0
7–9	30.9	27.3	33.7	18.8	20.6	37.0
Try to be helpful (10)	5.2	5.1	7.0	5.2	9.3	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	97	99	86	96	97	100

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. *: on a scale from 0 to 10. Group differences are significant in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz ($p = .004$).

2.4.2 Trust on the neighbourhood level

After having investigated trust on the general level, we turn to the local context and look at possible differences in trust in and between the three local contexts (see Table 9). We ask which role the local setting plays as a determinant of trust among the residential population of a neighbourhood. In Laudongasse the rate of disagreement with this item is extremely high among both groups of respondents. In the two other areas the rate of disagreement is more or less on the same level. Immigrants in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz and natives in Am Schöpfwerk agree with this statement in almost equal proportions (8 and 10 per cent respectively).

Table 9: General trust on the neighbourhood level

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
“People in the neighbourhood try to take advantage of me”						
Agree	1.0	0.0	4.0	8.2	10.0	3.0
Neutral	3.1	2.0	12.0	9.3	9.0	12.1
Disagree	95.9	98.0	84.0	82.5	81.0	84.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	97	98	100	97	100	99
“People in the neighbourhood try to be helpful”						
Agree	60.2	59.4	48.5	48.4	49.5	46.9
Neutral	26.5	27.1	28.3	25.8	23.2	37.8
Disagree	13.3	13.5	23.2	25.8	27.3	15.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	98	96	99	97	99	98

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. Group differences are significant for the second item in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz ($p = .034$).

Concerning a general mood of helpfulness among people in the neighbourhood the picture is generally positive. Table 9 shows that the most positive evaluations are given in Laudongasse, where about 60 per cent of immigrants and natives alike agree with this statement. In Am Schöpfwerk and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the rates of agreement are on the same level, but lower than in Laudongasse. In Am Schöpfwerk there is a weakly (negatively) significant correlation concerning the variable age among native residents. Among natives in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the proportion of disagreement is only 15.3 per cent, which means that it ranges on the same level as in Laudongasse.

Table 10 gives an overview of the levels of trust in different groups in the neighbourhood. Concerning intra-ethnic networks it turns out that there may be a few problems for immigrants in the sense that compatriots try to take economic advantage of others, which sometimes is the case in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz and less often in the other two neighbourhoods. In any case, the clear majority of immigrants disagrees with this item.

Table 10: Trust in different groups of inhabitants on the neighbourhood level

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
“People from my own immigrant group try to take advantage of me”						
Agree	2.2	–	4.2	–	8.8	–
Neutral	3.5	–	8.4	–	8.8	–
Disagree	94.3	–	87.4	–	82.4	–
Total	100.0	–	100.0	–	100.0	–
Total abs.	87	–	95	–	91	–
“People from (other) immigrant groups try to take advantage of me”						
Agree	4.2	1.2	2.0	1.3	7.2	2.6
Neutral	4.2	4.8	8.1	8.9	11.2	6.6
Disagree	91.6	94.0	89.9	89.9	81.6	90.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	96	83	99	79	98	76
“Austrians try to take advantage of me”						
Agree	2.1	0.0	0.0	2.5	3.1	1.3
Neutral	3.1	2.4	8.1	7.5	8.4	6.7
Disagree	94.8	97.6	91.9	90.0	88.5	92.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	96	84	99	80	96	75

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. No significant group differences within the neighbourhoods.

The opinion that interethnic relations are characterized by one person taking advantage of another was only rarely found (compare Table 10). This assumption was most often articulated among immigrants in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz (7.2 per cent), where the neutral estimation, too, was highest compared with the other areas. In the other neighbourhoods it is of only marginal importance.

Throughout all research areas the feeling that “Austrians in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me” can be found only rarely. The highest proportion of agreement can be stated for immigrants in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz, the highest disagreement among natives in Laudongasse. Here the disagreement of immigrants also reaches a peak value. It is interesting that natives in Am Schöpfwerk and immigrants in Laudongasse agree with this item at the same low level (2 per cent).

2.5 Attitudes towards immigration

Anti-immigrant attitudes are not only a social-psychological category (Mummen-dey & Kessler 2008); it has often been empirically proved that there are important effects of socio-demographic variables such as social class, age, sex and education on

attitudes towards immigrants (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp 2007). A detailed comparative analysis about ethnic residential segregation, social contacts, and anti-minority attitudes in European societies was presented by Semyonov and Glikman (2009).

Table 11: “It is good for the economy that people from other countries come to live here”

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Agree	78.7	81.4	58.5	56.1	70.5	80.2
Neutral	13.8	13.4	18.1	14.3	13.7	12.5
Disagree	7.4	5.2	23.4	29.6	15.8	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	94	97	94	98	95	96

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. Group differences are significant in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz ($p = .000$).

Table 11 clearly shows that the scope of agreement concerning the economic profit of immigration in Laudongasse and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz is remarkable, lying at more than 80 per cent among native respondents and only slightly less among the immigrants in Laudongasse. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz 10 per cent point less immigrants than natives agree with this item. This sharply contrasts with the attitudes in Am Schöpfwerk, where there is much more disagreement in particular among native respondents. The more pessimistic view on the economic profit of immigration in Am Schöpfwerk must be interpreted in the light of the fact that a higher rate of unemployment together with a lower level of education usually promotes more scepticism concerning the economic benefits of immigration. In underclass milieus there is much more (and realistic) fear of competition on the labour market. The level of education is of some relevance among immigrants in Laudongasse and natives in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz.

Table 12: “In the future, the proportion of immigrants will become a threat to society”

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Agree	18.8	23.5	44.3	66.0	26.5	21.4
Neutral	17.7	13.3	15.5	15.0	11.2	13.3
Disagree	63.5	63.3	40.2	19.0	62.2	65.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	96	98	97	100	98	98

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. Group differences are significant in Am Schöpfwerk ($p = .003$).

Table 12 illustrates that there are considerable differences concerning the evaluation of immigration as a threat to society. The peak value of agreement (66 per cent) is

reached among natives in Am Schöpfwerk, though immigrants living there also express a high level of scepticism (44.3 per cent). There is a marked polarization of the attitudes among immigrants in Am Schöpfwerk, because 40.2 per cent disagree with this item. In contrast to these results are the attitudes in the other areas: In Laudongasse and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the scope of disagreement is about two thirds and is almost equally high among immigrants and natives. Independent variables are of some importance. Immigrants as well as natives in Laudongasse and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz tend to be more pessimistic concerning future immigration the older they are. Education has a positive impact for natives in Laudongasse and Ludo-Hartmann-Platz. The proportion of neutral statements is relatively low.

3 Dimensions of interethnic coexistence

At this point we want to make the step from the general evaluation of the neighbourhood to concrete contacts with and the knowledge of people in the neighbourhood. The topic of social interactions in the neighbourhood context has been and still very controversial matter of discussion. A theoretical starting point can be found in the Intergroup Contact Theory, to which the most influential contribution was provided by Gordon Allport (“The Nature of Prejudice”, 1954). There are two basically contradictory theoretical approaches, both of which have been empirically confirmed:

Contact Theory anticipates that more social interactions produce more interethnic tolerance and increase social cohesion and solidarity (Brewer & Miller 1984). Contact Theory was theoretically extended by Pettigrew (1998), who formulated five conditions for positive results of social interactions between groups:

- equal status between groups,
- common goals to be reached,
- intergroup cooperation,
- support of laws and customs and
- potential of friendship.

The antipode is *Conflict Theory*, which argues that (on the local level) diversity fosters outgroup distrust and ingroup solidarity. Early theoretical inputs were given by Erving Goffman, Niklas Luhmann, Ralf Dahrendorf and Lewis Coser, who together had no primary interest in the local level but rather in the macro-sociological and structural level of conflict. Several empirical studies concerning interactions at the local context proved the basic assumptions of Conflict Theory, namely, that ethnic diversity reduces social cohesion and social capital, e.g., Lancee and Dronkers (2008a, b) for the Netherlands, Stolle et al. (2008) on the basis of U.S. and Canadian data, and Letki (2008) for British neighbourhoods.

The variable “interethnic coexistence” is covered via different levels and types of contacts. The classical Contact Hypothesis states that living in segregated neighbourhoods leads to less contact with the majority ethnic group and therefore hinders the