

proportion of immigrants in Laudongasse who were singles was remarkably high (one half); in Am Schöpfwerk the native group had a relatively high rate (36 per cent) of local respondents having no partners. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz the group differences concerning this aspect are negligible.

There are marked differences between the neighbourhoods concerning the origin of present partners of natives. Table 26 shows that, for example, in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz almost 30 per cent of them have a partner of foreign origin, whereas in Laudongasse the respective share is only 15.5 per cent. In particular among the local immigrant population in Laudongasse is the rate of partnerships with natives remarkably high (52 per cent). Especially the younger birth cohorts of immigrants have partners of native origin. In the native group the rate of interethnic partnerships in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz is lower than in the other two research areas. Among immigrants living in Am Schöpfwerk interethnic partnerships with Austrians occur rarely.

Table 26: **Origin of the present partner**

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native
Native origin	52.0	84.5	13.9	76.6	26.9	70.2
Foreign origin	48.0	15.5	86.1	23.4	73.1	29.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	50	71	79	64	63	57

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. Group differences are highly significant in all three neighbourhoods ($p = .000$).

More than 86 per cent of the immigrants maintain a relationship with a partner who is of foreign origin. In this 12th district area one fourth of the natives have partners of foreign origin, which is higher than in Laudongasse but lower than in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz. In Ludo-Hartmann-Platz one out of four respondents with a migrant background and about 30 per cent of the natives live in some kind of interethnic partnership.

4 Exploring neighbourhood embeddedness

4.1 Introduction

Up to now, we have analyzed and discussed a number of different items and have learned about the residents' perceptions of and attitudes towards the neighbourhood, about trust and about social contacts of different degrees of emotional closeness. We now take a step forward and ask about the relevance of all these interactions for "local embeddedness". We should recall that GEITONIES was a project that focused on the relevance of urban space for interethnic coexistence. What is now lacking is a synop-

sis to be presented in the following chapter focussing on neighbourhood embeddedness. The basic questions here are: How do people relate to the neighbourhood and to the people who live there? Is the neighbourhood an important place where contacts are close and people feel attached to or is the neighbourhood no longer important in this sense in times of Facebook and Skype? And: Does the neighbourhood have the same importance for natives and immigrants?

We will present the results of a factor analysis that explores the dimensions of neighbourhood embeddedness with variables that have been defined after the initial explorative analysis. In the next stage we conduct a cluster analysis to develop a typology of embeddedness on the local level. In the final part of this chapter we discuss the results for the three neighbourhoods and for immigrants and natives as well. This is followed by an analysis of some basic factors that probably influence the extent of local embeddedness, like age, sex, social class, length of residence in the neighbourhood and also the presence/absence of close contact partners.

4.2 *Theoretical reflexions*

The state of the art of theory on local embeddedness is characterized by definitional plurality, which already started in the 1970s. In some cases the terms found in the literature refer to both the social and spatial aspect of local embeddedness. Other terms emphasize somewhat either the social or the spatial quality of neighbourhood ties. In investigations of local communities and thus of the social aspects of neighbourhood attachment, the term “community attachment” was frequently used in the literature (compare the classical study of Kasarda & Janowitz 1974, furthermore Goudy 1982, Cross 2003, Theodori 2004, etc.). This term, however, usually neglects the attachment to the place and focusses on interpersonal relations.

A focus on the spatial aspect has led to many different conceptions of the bond between people and places being hypothesized. If we look at social psychology we can see that in the concepts of “place identity” (Lalli 1992) and “place attachment” (Low & Altman 1992, Smaldone 2006) the spatial aspect is granted an appropriate relevance in the formation of sentiments that may be called “neighbourhood attachment”. “Sense of place” (Hay 1998) has a very similar meaning. Place attachment also promotes individual identity and identification processes (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell 1996). It is also a partial aspect of neighbourhood attachment and of significance for human behaviour (Vorkinn & Riese 2001). Individual perceptions of the neighbourhood are relevant from the social-psychological point of view. These may explain variations in neighbourhood attachment which are independent of residents’ socio-demographic characteristics.

While Bolan (1997), Bonaiuto et al. (1999), Oh (2004) and Greif (2009) investigated “neighbourhood attachment”, Parkes et al. (2002) surveyed the category of “neighbourhood (dis)satisfaction”, with both concepts showing some similarities. Guest et al. (2006) focused on “neighbouring ties”, whereas Hipp and Perrin (2009)

investigated “neighbourhood ties”, which more or less means the same. In a previous study (2006) both authors analyzed the phenomenon of “neighbourhood and community cohesion”. This refers to social cohesion and combines the social and the spatial aspects. By definition it does not essentially differ from “neighbourhood ties”.

And – to make things even more complicated – there is also no single, generalisable scientific interpretation of neighbourhood itself. Kearns and Parkinson (2001) say that the neighbourhood exists at different scales, each with its own predominant purpose and functions. As such the neighbourhood provides a place of belonging and a landscape of wider opportunity (for details, see *ibidem*, 2103ff.).

4.3 *The main dimensions of neighbourhood embeddedness*

After this overview of the current theoretical state of the art we now need to make some terminological clarifications. We have shown that the concepts of neighbourhood attachment, neighbourhood satisfaction and community attachment are used either in a very similar way, or that certain aspects are emphasized more than others. It is not our aim to contribute to a disentanglement of this terminological hubbub. Starting with neighbourhood attachment in our sense this category includes the social and spatial aspects of attachment, but more importantly it refers to the social and interpersonal aspects. From the very beginning a significant contribution of GEITONIES project should be a more nuanced representation of European urban neighbourhoods. Clearly there are relationships between social, biophysical, and physical characteristics, and we must always keep in mind that people’s perceptions transcend the conventional boundaries constructed by scientists between social and physical experiences in their neighbourhoods. Thus, in our sense neighbourhood attachment is one facet of neighbourhood embeddedness, our key concept. Embeddedness is also determined by factors such as trust, safety, identity and one’s general knowledge of the people, etc. Thus, our concept of neighbourhood embeddedness goes beyond mere neighbourhood attachment, though it is, of course, partially determined by the latter. Our measures of attachment are based on prevailing definitions in this field (for example, Altman & Low 1992; Guest & Lee 1983) and empirical studies (Bolan 1997; Woldoff 2002), which distinguish between affective and behavioural neighbourhood attachment. We measure affective bonds as respondents’ sentiment about the neighbourhood and behavioural bonds as social ties, resp. the informal interactions between respondents and their neighbours. In other words, individuals with a greater number of ties in the neighbourhood will have a stronger perceived neighbourhood embeddedness. Thus, we expect the perceived neighbourhood embeddedness to be even stronger, the greater the number of closest ties/contacts in the neighbourhood.

The first step is to define the major dimensions including the description of the variables used in this part of the analysis. In total we selected 15 variables according to four main dimensions:

- assessment of and contacts with the people living in the neighbourhood,

- attachment to the neighbourhood,
- trust and
- concrete contacts.

Table 27: Selected variables for factor analysis

Dimension	Question	Range	
		Min.	Max.
Assessment of and contacts with the people living in the neighbourhood	Importance of people in the neighbourhood	1 (very imp.)	4 (not imp. at all)
	I would miss the people in my neighbourhood when I moved	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	The people in my neighbourhood make me feel safe here	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	People in this area do not get along very well	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	I feel threatened because of the behaviour of people in neighbourhood	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	I enjoy the daily exchanges	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	Mostly I have no clue who they are	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
Attachment to the neighbourhood	I know my neighbours by name and place of residence	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	I care about my neighbourhood	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
Trust	I am proud of my neighbourhood	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
	Most people in the neighbourhood try to be helpful	1 (agree strongly)	5 (disagree strongly)
Concrete contacts	During the last 3 months I exchanged smalltalk with 0 – 21 and more people in the neighbourhood	1 (21 & more)	5 (none)
	Global current network: spending free time with people in neighbourhood	1 (all of them)	7 (none of them)
	Global current network: confidentiality/advice from/to people in neighbourhood	1 (all of them)	7 (none of them)

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010.

Table 27 provides a detailed overview of all selected variables (incl. the range of answer possibilities) included in our analysis in the next section. The variables are grouped according to the four main dimensions introduced above. In order to explore the extent of local embeddedness, we combined the amount of information covered by the 15 selected variables and simplified the number of dimensions. Factor analysis is the most appropriate method since it combines correlated variables into a smaller number of underlying dimensions. We used principal component factor analysis as the next methodological step to explore the underlying dimensions. Principal factor analysis looks at the direct bivariate effects and reduces the correlations by means of some basic dimensions or so-called factors (Kohlbacher & Reeger 2009b). We entered all 15 selected variables into the factor analysis, which yielded a four-factor solution (with varimax rotation and a criterion of an eigenvalue equal to or greater than 1). In short, the information covered by our 15 initial indicators can be summarised by four underlying dimensions that explained around 61 per cent of the total variance (see Table 28). After exploring the four main dimensions, in Table 29 we turn to the description of the four factors.

Table 28: **Explained variance (after rotation)**

Factor	Proportion in %
Factor 1	23.25
Factor 2	15.24
Factor 3	11.19
Factor 4	11.06
Total	60.74

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

Factor 1: General attachment to the neighbourhood and the people living there

The first and strongest factor (which explains 23 per cent of the total variance) can be characterized as a description of the general attachment to the neighbourhood and its inhabitants. The highest loadings on this factor are general statements related to the people living in the neighbourhood, such as enjoying the daily exchanges, missing the people in the neighbourhood upon moving and whether people in the neighbourhood are of importance (see Table 29, Factor 1). While this factor covers the general attachment to the neighbourhood and the people living there, concrete relationships as well as a profound knowledge of their neighbours are not part of the characterization of this dimension.

Factor 2: Knowing the people around

The second underlying dimension covers primarily the concrete knowledge of and contact with the people living near our respondents. Statements such as “I know my neighbours by name and place of residence” as well as a high number of concrete exchanges with the neighbours during the last three months are highly correlated

within this factor. The variables “Mostly I have no clue who they are” and “People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other” are negatively associated on this factor and are thus in line with our finding that this dimension describes the “Knowing the people around” of our respondents.

Table 29: Rotated component matrix – factor analysis

Variables	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
I enjoy the daily exchanges	0.72	0.37	-0.15	0.12
I would miss the people in my n. upon moving	0.71	0.31	-0.11	0.22
I care about my n.	0.73	0.09	-0.23	-0.03
The people in my n. make me feel safe here	0.55	0.06	-0.53	0.04
I am proud of my n.	0.74	-0.01	-0.29	0.02
Most people in the n. try to be helpful	0.53	0.27	-0.08	-0.05
Importance of people in the n.	0.73	0.16	0.16	0.15
I know my neighbours by the name and place of residence	0.22	0.74	0.02	0.17
Mostly I have no clue who they are	-0.10	-0.80	0.07	-0.16
During the last 3 months I exchanged smalltalk with 0 – 21 and more people in the n.	0.32	0.51	0.18	-0.04
People in this n. hardly know each other	-0.16	-0.65	0.30	-0.02
People in this area do not get along very well	-0.27	-0.25	0.65	-0.07
I feel threatened because of the behaviour of people in the n.	-0.08	0.00	0.80	0.03
Spending free time with people in the n.	0.10	0.10	-0.01	0.86
Confidentiality and advice from/to people in the n.	0.06	0.09	0.00	0.87

Method: Principal component factor analysis, Varimax, Kaiser normalisation. $N = 511$; Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy for each variable and total above 0.7. Variable groups ordered by factor loadings. Loadings above 0.5 bold.

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations; n. = neighbourhood.

Factor 3: Safety and fear

The third factor (11 per cent of the explained variance) can be labelled as “safety and fear” dimension since it is characterized by two out of our fifteen indicators: “People in this area do not get along very well” and “I feel threatened because of the behaviour of people in the neighbourhood”. Both variables show high loadings on this

factor: 0.65 and 0.80, respectively. In contrast, concrete contacts and the general attachment to the neighbourhood do not play a distinct role on this dimension.

Factor 4: Friends in the neighbourhood

The last observed dimension comprises strong ties to the people in the neighbourhood. While our first dimension “General attachment to the neighbourhood and the people living there” already covered general exchanges with the neighbours, this dimension is characterized by more concrete contacts. It turns out that spending free time with people from the neighbourhood and asking people from the neighbourhood for advice form this separate dimension.

4.4 Exploring degrees of embeddedness

So far, this chapter has looked at a number of important variables that describe characteristics of neighbourhood embeddedness. Using factor analysis we were able to reduce the complexity into four main dimensions. As explained in the introduction to this chapter, we aim to explore and develop empirical typologies for the three selected Viennese neighbourhoods. In less abstract terms: We are interested in observing groups whose members share a high number of communalities on statements, attitudes and characteristics related to their coexistence on the local level while the boundaries between the groups are drawn by dissimilarities across groups.

This section shows the results of this exploratory approach. We used cluster analysis⁸ (k-means) in order to divide the bulk of respondents into groups or clusters. We entered our four main factors into the cluster analysis and maintained three clusters: Cluster 1 comprises 176 persons, cluster 2 had 174 observations, while the cluster 3 consists of 161 respondents.⁹

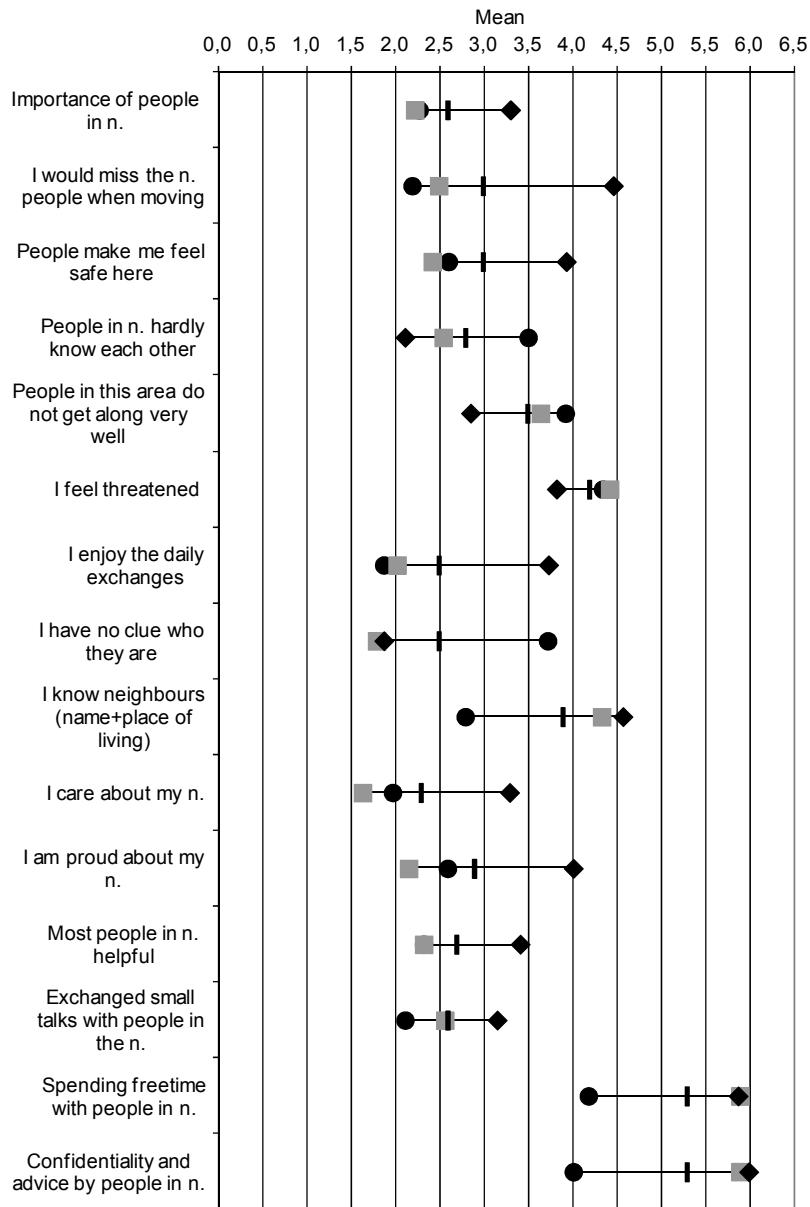
What are the communalities within the groups and the differences across the three achieved clusters? We can answer this question by looking at the mean distribution of each original variable per cluster, as displayed in Figure 13¹⁰. Results for cluster one are indicated through a black dot symbol, cluster two by a grey square, while results for cluster three are plotted with a black diamond. The black vertical line represents the overall mean of this indicator, and the horizontal line between the symbols indicates the range between the outcomes.

⁸ This step was preceded by hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward method) to define the number of clusters. The interpretation of the increase of the error sum of squares proved the application of three clusters to be the best solution.

⁹ We lost 89 respondents in the cluster analysis due to missing values on the variables selected. Thus, 511 cases are included in the analysis.

¹⁰ For the list of original variables see Table 27.

Figure 13: Mean distribution per cluster



● Cluster 1 ■ Cluster 2 ◆ Cluster 3, | Sample Mean; n. = neighbourhood.
 Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculation.

Table 30: Characterisation of the three explored clusters of embeddedness in the neighbourhood

	Cluster 1 High degree of embeddedness	Cluster 2 Medium degree of embeddedness	Cluster 3 Low degree of embeddedness
Assessment of and contacts with the people living in the neighbourhood	positive evaluation of living together with neighbours good knowledge of people in the neighbourhood	positive evaluation of living together with neighbours good knowledge of people in the neighbourhood	neutral evaluation of living together with neighbours little knowledge of people in the neighbourhood
Attachment to the neighbourhood	strong attachment to the neighbourhood	strong attachment to the neighbourhood	weak attachment to the neighbourhood
Trust	trusting neighbours	trusting neighbours	not trusting neighbours
Concrete contacts	high exchange with neighbours high concrete involvement with neighbours	medium exchange with neighbours low concrete involvement with neighbours	low exchange with neighbours low concrete involvement with neighbours
<i>N</i>	176	174	161

For example, in the results of the indicator “I would miss the people of my neighbourhood upon moving away” (2nd variable on the left), we find that most respondents from cluster three disagree strongly (mean = 4.5 on a scale of 5, which represents disagree strongly). Vice versa, people who are grouped in cluster one agree on this statement (mean around 2), while respondents from group two lie between agreeing and a neutral position. We also observe that the gap between cluster three on the one hand and cluster one and two on the other is relatively high, as shown by the horizontal line. Overall, we can observe the following trends and characterisations of the three explored types:

Cluster 1 is characterized by a positive evaluation of living together with the neighbours. People in this group agreed on statements such as “I would miss the people upon moving away” (mean: 2.2), “The people in the neighbourhood are of importance” (mean: 2.3) and “I enjoy the daily exchanges with my neighbours” (mean: 1.9).

Moreover, they have a good knowledge of the people around them: Most often they know them by name or at least have a clue who they are. Not surprisingly, people in group one also have intensive exchanges with their neighbours (mean: 2.1) and highly trust the people around them in the neighbourhood (mean: 2.3). The latter finding also translates into relatively strong ties with their neighbours: At least half of the respondents frequently spend their free time with people from the neighbourhood (mean: 4.2) and/or ask people from the neighbourhood for advice (mean: 4). On the whole, the people of the first cluster can be characterized as being highly embedded in the neighbourhood.

Cluster 2: The second group explored shows relatively similar results on the dimensions of assessment of and contacts with the people living in the neighbourhood compared with cluster one. This is observable in Figure 13 since the symbols for cluster one and cluster two frequently overlap on a number of indicators. In other words, people from cluster two also evaluate the living together with neighbours as positive, they have a profound knowledge of the people living there and show a strong attachment to the neighbourhood. However, we find a reduced number of concrete exchange with their neighbours during the last three months compared to cluster one.

Finally, a distinct characterisation is the relatively low concrete bonding to the people in the neighbourhood. Respondents of group two do not spend time with people from the neighbourhood nor do they ask their neighbours for advice. In sum, this cluster is characterised by a positive assessment of the people in the neighbourhood and a strong attachment to the neighbourhood but low concrete involvements with their neighbours. Therefore this category can be labelled as a medium degree of embeddedness.

Cluster 3: The last observed group of people can briefly be described as being low embedded in the neighbourhood since people in this group show almost the opposite results of the first cluster: They have a neutral evaluation of living together with their neighbours. For example, people in the neighbourhood are of almost no importance to them (mean: 3.3), they would not miss the people upon moving away (mean: 4.5), nor do they enjoy the exchanges with the people of the neighbourhood (mean: 3.7).

Generally speaking, respondents in this group share a high degree of distrust towards their neighbours and a weak attachment to the neighbourhood itself. Finally, the concrete exchange and involvement with their neighbours can be characterized as very low (means: 5.9 and 6.0, respectively).

All three groups do not significantly differ in their degree of feeling threatened by the behaviour of the people in the neighbourhood. As shown in Figure 13, the range between the three clusters is very small, and all three groups are centered close the overall mean of 4.2 (disagree). Thus, being threatened by the behaviour of their neighbours is not a distinct characteristic of one of the clusters.

This section serves as an exploratory approach for developing empirical types of embeddedness. We explored the communalities among group members within each cluster and described the differences across groups. The major finding from this section is that three distinct groups are observable: Two polar cases characterized by a high and a low degree of embeddedness and one case with a medium degree of embeddedness. Table 30 provides a provisional summary of the main characteristics of the three clusters and how they relate to the degree of embeddedness

4.5 Results: Comparing modes of embeddedness

We now turn to the comparison of distributions of the explored modes of embeddedness by neighbourhoods as well as by immigrants and natives within and across neighbourhoods. To begin with, Table 31 shows the percentage distributions per mode and neighbourhood.

Table 31: Modes of embeddedness by neighbourhoods

Degree of embeddedness	Laudongasse	Am Schöpfwerk	Ludo-Hartmann-Platz
Mode 1: high	36.3	42.6	25.3
Mode 2: medium	48.5	15.4	37.1
Mode 3: low	15.2	42.0	37.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	171	162	178

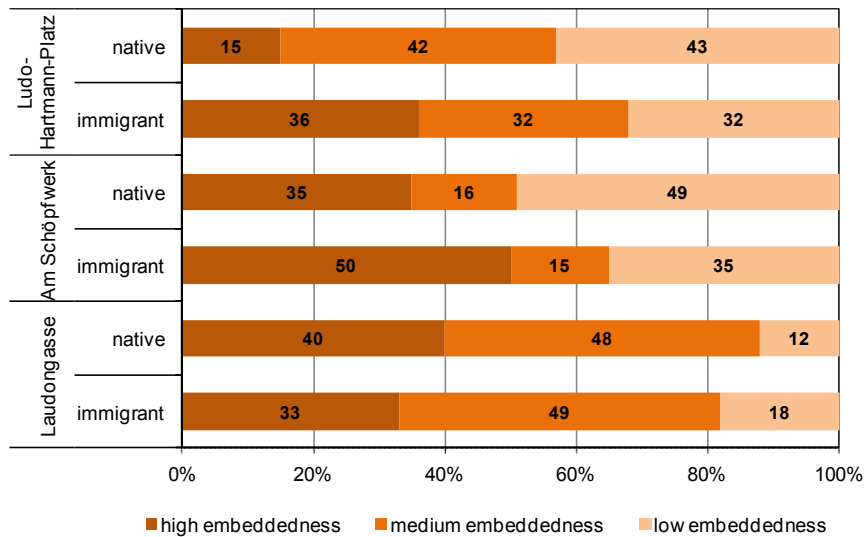
Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. Significant difference between the neighbourhoods ($p = .000$).

Even at a first glimpse we find strong significant differences between the three selected neighbourhoods. The majority of people living in Laudongasse are moderately or highly embedded in the neighbourhood; only around 15 per cent fall into the group characterized as low embedded. In Am Schöpfwerk we observe the following trend: Almost the same percentage of people is either highly or low embedded (around 42 per cent of the sample, respectively). In other words, while around four out of ten

respondents state a positive evaluation of living together with their neighbours, have a good knowledge of the people living in the neighbourhood, have a strong attachment to their neighbourhood and a high exchange with people from the neighbourhood, almost the same number of people from the same neighbourhood show exactly the opposite pattern. The group of people who are “moderately embedded” is smallest compared to the other two neighbourhoods, at around 15 per cent. Finally, in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz we observe that the highly embedded group is smallest, while mode two and mode three do not differ in terms of group size (around 37 per cent, respectively).

Does the overall picture change if we divide the outcomes by migration background? As displayed in Figure 14, the general trend observed in Table 31 for Laudongasse persists: The great majority is moderately or even highly embedded in the neighbourhood. Only less than two out of ten show a low exchange, a weak attachment and a neutral evaluation of living together with their neighbours (low degree of embeddedness). Most importantly, we do not find significant variations in the degree of embeddedness for immigrants and natives. For this better-off area the second mode is most important: These inhabitants feel highly attached to the place, and also share a positive general view of the people living there. In terms of closer relations, they are not restricted to the people living in the neighbourhood, but have their contacts somewhere else.

Figure 14: Modes of embeddedness by neighbourhood and migration background



Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations. Group differences are significant in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz ($p = .008$).

Figure 14 also displays the results for immigrants and natives living in Am Schöpfwerk. At first glance we find that the overall trend again remains the same: Natives and well as immigrants living in Am Schöpfwerk are either highly or low embedded in their neighbourhood. The medium category consists only of around 15 per cent for natives and immigrants. At the highest and lowest end of embeddedness we find slightly more immigrants being in the higher group and more natives in the lower group. Nevertheless, the differences between immigrants and natives are not significant.

The overall trend for Ludo-Hartmann-Platz changes enormously once we separate the results by migration background. Immigrants living in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz show a rather equal distribution across the three modes. Around 36 per cent of the immigrants can be characterized as highly embedded, while around 32 per cent fall into the category of medium and low degree of embeddedness, respectively. Natives living the same neighbourhood show a significantly different outcome: Only 15 per cent are highly embedded while 85 per cent are only moderately to low embedded.

4.6 Factors associated with neighbourhood embeddedness

Up to now the focus of the analysis has been on neighbourhood embeddedness with a look towards the attachment to the place as such and the attachment to the people living in the neighbourhood on different levels of intensity in three urban settings, for immigrants as well as for natives. The following section clarifies some major factors (also elaborated in previous studies) on the individual level possibly influencing neighbourhood embeddedness, socio-demographic variables (e.g., age, sex, education level, economic activity) on the one hand, and length of residence in the neighbourhood and different kinds of close social relations on the other.

Among the questions that still need to be answered are the following: Are there any differences in local embeddedness related to age, sex or length of residence? Does a higher level of embeddedness also include immigrants in the case of natives and vice versa, or do people rather tend to stick to members of their own group? If we take, for example, the pronounced embeddedness of immigrants in the social housing complex “Am Schöpfwerk”: Do they have strong ties also with natives or do they rather stick to people coming from the same country or region of origin?

For this special purpose we can look at close relations, friends and/or relatives who have been named (up to eight), as we have in-depth information for them and they are not included in the factor and subsequent cluster analysis (only the global social network was included there, albeit without an emphasis on the interethnic component). From the previous analysis (see Chapter 3.3) we know that there are considerable differences as to the origin of close relations (friends and relatives), with natives having the majority of close contact partners of Austrian origin, and immigrants displaying more mixed circles of close relations.

Contrary to Goudy (1982) our analyses show (see Table 32) that age is not a strong predictor of local embeddedness. It might have been expected that older people stick more to their neighbourhood, but the correlations are weak and significant only in the case of natives in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz, where the direction of the relationship is as expected. With regard to sex, only female natives in the social housing area Am Schöpfwerk are significantly more embedded than males (42.6 per cent vs. 25.7 per cent). 66 per cent of the native males in Am Schöpfwerk belong to the low embedded group. For all the other groups there are no significant differences between males and females regarding local embeddedness.

Table 32: Associations between neighbourhood embeddedness and selected individual features¹

	Laudongasse		Am Schöpfwerk		Ludo-Hartmann-Platz	
	Imm.	Nat.	Imm.	Nat.	Imm.	Nat.
Socio-demographic factors						
Age (years) ²	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-0.166*
Sex ³	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	*	n.s.	n.s.
Education (ISCED) ²	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Social class ²	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Length of residence in the Neighbourhood (years) ²	n.s.	-0.192*	n.s.	n.s.	-0.215*	n.s.
Having a partner ³	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Having children ³	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Belonging to a religion ³	n.s.	n.s.	*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Close social relations						
Number of close relations ²	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Close relations living in the same neighbourhood ²	-0.239*	-0.301**	-0.416**	-0.351**	-0.139	-0.385**
Interethnic close relations	*	*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
Living in neighbourhood ³			n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

1: The fact that the correlations are negative results from the coding of the variable neighbourhood embeddedness: 1=high, 2=medium, 3=low.

*: significant on the .05-level, **: significant on the .01-level. n.s.: not significant.

2: Kendall tau b.

3: Crosstabulation and χ^2 -significance.

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

Social status was operationalized using the education level. As also reported in other studies, it does not matter what educational background people have when it comes to local embeddedness. In line with these results no significant correlations

were observed in the present data. Not surprisingly, it obviously does not matter to which social class people belong, there are no significant differences in the levels of embeddedness. This means that the Social Class Hypothesis of Fried (1982) could not be proved by our data.

The length of residence in the neighbourhood has often been considered an important factor for being embedded or not (see also the classical study of Park & Burgess 1921, and further Thomas 1967; Kasarda & Janowitz 1974; Goudy 1982; Smaldone 2006, for examples). The present data show that it is completely unimportant in the social housing area Am Schöpfwerk, whereas it matters for natives in Laudongasse and is even stronger for immigrants in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz, whose embeddedness positively depends on the length of residence: The longer they have resided in the neighbourhood, the stronger is their local embeddedness.

It was also tested whether having a partner or having children makes any difference in the degree of local embeddedness. The answer is a clear “no”. Being attached to the place and/or the people living there doesn’t depend on the presence of an actual partner or children.

Regarding religious affiliation there are significant differences in embeddedness for immigrants in Am Schöpfwerk, where religious people are more embedded than those not belonging to a religious denomination. One can argue that the sense of community within a religious denomination adds to the feeling of local embeddedness.

Summarizing the results from the analysis so far one can argue that socio-demographic characteristics correlate only weakly with neighbourhood embeddedness, which is in line with the results of Parkes et al. (2002), but contradicts the findings of Bonaiuto et al. (1999). In our Viennese neighbourhoods it doesn’t matter whether people are rich or poor, old or young when it comes to their feelings of attachment to the people and the place they live in.

In the next step we take a look at the closest relations people have named and their role in the formation of local embeddedness. For the analysis of the modes of neighbourhood embeddedness we have already included the people in the overall social network who also live in the neighbourhood. Now, we want to take a further step and investigate the role of the closest contacts people have named. How much does it matter whether they also live in the neighbourhood or somewhere else? Do monoethnic or interethnic close relations add more to the feeling of being embedded?

The mere number of close relations, irrespective of the place where they live, creates no correlations at all. The idea behind this was that people who are well connected in social terms also display more pronounced levels of neighbourhood embeddedness. In contrast, the number of close relations living in the same neighbourhood has a strong impact on the degree of embeddedness (except for immigrants in the area around Ludo-Hartmann-Platz). The more close friends and relatives who live nearby, the more comfortable people feel in the local setting. This outcome is in accordance with the results of the surveys of Kasarda and Janowitz (1974), Goudy (1982), Sampson (1988) and Blasius et al. (2008).

Interethnic close relations living in the same neighbourhood matter only in the better-off area in Laudongasse, where one finds pronounced differences for both immigrants and natives. Having this kind of tie means higher embeddedness (45.5 per cent high embedded vs. 20.5 per cent for those not having interethnic strong ties in the neighbourhood for immigrants, 77.8 per cent high embedded vs. 34.2 per cent for those without strong interethnic ties in the neighbourhood). In the other neighbourhoods having interethnic strong ties living in the same neighbourhood causes no significant correlation with the level of neighbourhood embeddedness. This result agrees with Bonaiuto et al. (1999), who showed the relevance of the socio-economic level of both the individuals and the neighbourhood as such.

This result brings us back to one question put at the beginning of this chapter: Does a higher level of embeddedness also include immigrants in the case of natives and vice versa, or do people rather tend to stick to members of their own group?

Table 33: **Neighbourhood embeddedness and (interethnic) relations in the neighbourhood**

Close relations in the neighbourhood	Embeddedness					
	High		Medium		Low	
	Imm.	Nat.	Imm.	Nat.	Imm.	Nat.
Laudongasse						
None	31.0	33.3	55.8	70.0	68.8	70.0
Only with co-ethnics	0.0	45.5	0.0	25.0	0.0	30.0
Mixed	69.0	21.2	44.2	5.0	31.2	0.0
Am Schöpfwerk						
None	35.0	24.1	75.0	38.5	78.6	67.5
Only with co-ethnics	40.0	58.6	16.7	61.5	0.0	20.0
Mixed	25.0	17.3	8.3	0.0	21.4	12.5
Ludo-Hartmann-Platz						
None	41.9	21.4	46.4	42.1	57.1	66.7
Only with co-ethnics	25.8	57.1	10.7	39.5	7.1	28.2
Mixed	32.3	21.4	42.9	18.4	35.7	5.1

Source: GEITONIES Vienna Survey 2010, own calculations.

Table 33 provides a synopsis of the level of embeddedness in the neighbourhoods for natives and immigrants; it takes into account whether their close relations also live there and whether these are co-ethnics or not. Once again there is clear evidence that the presence of close relations is strongly related to the feeling of being embedded: Across all neighbourhoods and for both groups the degree of embeddedness falls with a rising share of persons having no close relations in the neighbourhood, e.g., only 21.4 per cent of highly embedded natives in Ludo-Hartmann-Platz have no friends or relatives nearby, whereas the share rises to 42.1 per cent in the moderately embedded