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# Action Spaces, Urban Disorders and Perceptions of Insecurity: Report on Qualitative Research in Vienna

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## 1. Qualitative Research: Significance and Contribution to "InSec"

According to the theoretical and methodological design of the InSec-project, quantitative and qualitative methods of research are to be integrated in order to achieve a comprehensive understanding of two subjects. Firstly, local/urban problems related to crime, fear of crime and insecurity, and the way they are perceived and evaluated by the local population in our research sites, and secondly on the significance of global fears and anxieties and their impact on urban residents' framing of insecurities, disorders and incivilities they experience and observe in their residential quarters and elsewhere in their city. Of course, the quantitative survey data has offered a multitude of information and may prove useful in describing and explaining patterns of behaviour, life styles and attitudes in the respective cities and quarters. However the understanding of social processes and constructions usually remains incomplete which is why qualitative methods are obviously also needed. These complement and deepen our knowledge of the ways in which subjects (try to) make sense of (non-routine) experiences, encounters and observations that are relevant for their constructions of "insecurity" (considering fear of crime as well as other sorts of urban disorder and trouble).

Consequently, the qualitative research has focused on exactly this aspect. It started with the collection of suitable qualitative material in order to identify social (and spatial) contexts of insecurity. It will develop typologies of insecurities, and furthermore discuss to which degree and in which respects these social and spatial contexts of insecurity reflect processes of accelerated (global) social change, and macro trends that have been described as individualisation and dissolving of milieus, and their impact on urban quarters and local communities. Finally it will compare the findings from different research sites and cities, and draw conclusions from comparative analysis. If carried out appropriately (and if our theoretical and methodological approach proves to fit the subject) the qualitative data should also clarify the meaning of our quantitative data, and provide a much more vivid picture of contemporary urban (in)securities and their underlying causes.

Qualitative research was conducted by means of semi-structured interviews, based on a manual (see Appendix B). The interview technique followed a procedure that had been developed for qualitative studies on "Nuisances and Life-catastrophes"[1], on "Episodes of Social Exclusion"[2], and has also proved suitable in the framework of the "Vienna – Safe City" project.[3] According to this type of design, interviewing mainly focuses on eliciting "narratives" on the subjects' (more recent and/or meaningful for other reasons) problematic experiences and situations (for instance disputes, situations of victimisation, "difficulties", "trouble" etc.). A limited number of (relatively standardised) stimuli are used to encourage respondents' memory of and elaborating on personal experiences, ob-

1 cf. Hanak/Stehr/Steinert 1989.
2 cf. Hanak/Karazman-Morawetz 2000.
3 cf. Hammerschick et al. 1996.

servations and "difficult situations", according to their criteria of relevance, and without the interviewer interrupting or directing the account. The interviewer's part is limited to providing the stimuli, keeping the flow of the narrative(s) going and – if necessary – asking for additional information, or more details if the respondent's account is obviously incomplete or cannot be understood appropriately. Since the subject of our research is "insecurity" (in urban settings) the task of the interviewers will be to elicit narratives and descriptions of situations, occurrences, encounters and settings that are considered "unsafe" or "insecure" by the respondents, with particular emphasis on social and environmental contexts of insecurity.

At the same time the methodological approach and the technique of interviewing avoids defining the research subject in an all too restrictive way, but rather leaves considerable liberties with the respondents who should be allowed to define and construct "insecurity" in keeping with their own criteria of relevance, even if they do not perfectly meet with academic, criminological or common sense understandings of the subject. Consequently, and especially when considering the very different living conditions in our research sites, we are prepared to collect a rather broad range of narratives and accounts. These will include topics like: criminal offences and their impact on the respondent's sense of (in)security; other sorts of victimisation, maltreatment and harassment (in a very broad sense); accidents; urban disorder in public places; observations of incivilities and inappropriate behaviour; various symptoms of deterioration and community trouble; encounters with marginal groups and unpredictable people; statements about scary, risky and disorderly settings – or settings that for some reason carry a reputation of that kind; settings that make one feel uneasy or uncomfortable for various reasons; and narratives on (relatively) irrational and/or diffuse anxieties that may be or may not be connected to certain places.

There is no special focus on eliciting the respondents' "opinions", "attitudes", "evaluations" with regard to urban (in)security, but since the qualitative design leaves considerable freedom to the respondent, he/she may of course elaborate on these. As a general rule, the interviewers' task will be to make use of such statements on opinions, impressions and evaluations as clues that might lead on to substantial narratives on concrete experiences and occurrences. (We are not so much interested whether the respondent believes vandalism to be a major problem on the estate or not, but in his/her observations, his/her explanations of the social context, his/her coping and/or blaming strategies etc. We are not so much interested in the respondent's complaints about the police "doing nothing", but in descriptions of specific contexts of trouble or emergency when he or she would have expected some sort of intervention.)

## 2. Two Modifications of our Theoretical and Methodological Approach

The original methodological approach has been modified in two respects. Firstly, the issues of global social change, accelerated social change, global fears etc. were not addressed directly and explicitly in the interviews, and there were no stimuli in order to encourage our respondents to comment on these topics and produce statements on various aspects of "globalisation". This is because stimuli of that type presumably tend to evoke a good deal of empty rhetoric, "parole vide", "raisonnement", and what Bourdieu used to call "borrowed speech", and can be assumed to produce very little valid information. However, since the concepts of global fears and accelerated social change obviously remain relevant for our theoretical framework, we will have to choose another procedure: Issues of globalisation (as well as individualisation, dissolving of milieus etc.) and their manifold side-effects on urban landscapes and social structure will remain significant concepts and categories when analysing the qualitative material, but will not be themselves discussed in the interview.

A second major modification relates to the concepts of "community" and "action space". In the original proposal there was no substantial reference to urban residents' action spaces. The theoretical and methodological approach focused more on "local communities", "neighbourhoods" etc., thereby implying (and to a certain degree suggesting) that the subjects can be assumed to perceive their local surroundings and action spaces in these terms. However, the environmental contexts of urban (in)security ought to be analysed in more neutral terms. Therefore we will have to leave it up to the respondents whether (and to what degree) they consider their residential quarter (and other parts of the city) in terms of neighbourhood and community – or just as a fairly orderly, familiar and predictable urban setting that is not really connected to this kind of (conventional, ideological) concept. Consequently, qualitative interviewing will shift the emphasis from "local community characteristics", "community change", "community trouble", "community resources" etc., to the subjects' action spaces and their specific ways of making sense of and commenting on their surroundings.

## 3. The Manual

The interview manual was developed in October/November 2002. Some trial interviews were arranged in order to adapt the manual and the phrasing of the stimuli to local conditions, and of course further trial interviews were conducted during the phase of interviewer training.

In addition to the interview manual an "info sheet" (Appendix A) was used, providing some basic information on the respondent (demographic data, data on

education and occupation, socio-economic status, duration of residence in the quarter, housing conditions etc.). Information on these subjects was obtained in the final phase of the interview. The core of the manual consisted of a list of questions and topics derived from the theoretical framework, and of course, from findings in earlier stages of the project. The questions and topics in the manual were supposed to be suitable and effective stimuli to produce all kinds of relevant "narratives" and accounts of experiences, observations and occurrences that might have affected or even impaired the respondent's belief in living in an altogether safe urban surrounding.

### 4. Technique of Interviewing

Interviewers were instructed to ensure that all the topics listed in the manual were dealt with. Of course it depended on the respondent's criteria of relevance, whether topics were covered in detail, or discussed in a few words. The average duration of the interviews was not to exceed 60 minutes. The interviewers' task was mainly to provide the stimuli (topics), and to keep the respondent's narratives/statements "flowing". The interviewer's interventions mainly served to achieve more vivid, more graphic, more understandable, more precise descriptions and narratives, and to proceed to the next topic when sensing that a certain subject has been covered sufficiently.

### 5. Documentation: Transcripts and Summaries

The majority of the interviews were tape recorded. If tape recording was not possible for some reason, interviewers were asked to take detailed notes and to write a protocol immediately after the interview. As a rule interview protocols were to contain detailed (verbatim) sections of significant narratives and statements. Other parts of the interview were documented precisely with regard to content, but with no special attention to style of presentation etc.

### 6. Organisation of Fieldwork

In Vienna, training of the interviewers began in December 2002 and was completed in January 2003. Nine interviewers participated in the fieldwork (four male, five female). The interviewers' vocational backgrounds and qualifications were mainly sociology, social work, and journalism.

The field work began in January 2003 and was completed by the end of April. 86 interviews were conducted (45 in the transdanubian research site, and 41 in the quarters of the Leopoldstadt.)[4]

4 For a description of the Viennese research sites and criteria of selection cf. G. Hanak, Problem Profile Vienna (= InSec, Work package 1), 52–60.

The starting phase of our fieldwork in particular proved much more time consuming than expected, since most respondents could not be contacted easily by telephone. A clear majority (60%) of the respondents were from the pool of local residents who had been interviewed previously for the quantitative survey and had agreed to participate in another interview, and had given their addresses, which were distributed among the interviewers. Particularly in the transdanubian research site (public housing estates) some interviewers suggested another procedure and began approaching local residents on the estates, in shopping centres and cafes etc. Of course interviewers were instructed to avoid systematic biases with regard to gender, age and socio-economic status when opting for this strategy of random sampling on the estates. Most of the interviews were conducted in the respondent's home; several took place in cafes, and a few were done in a shopping centre on a housing estate.

Approximately 75 per cent of the interviews were tape recorded. In some cases the interviewers noted that the respondents did not consent to their recording the interview. In a few cases interviewers were not invited into the respondent's home and the interview was done at the door. In general, interviewing took no longer than 30 to 45 minutes, although in some cases the interviewers mentioned that the respondent talked for an hour or two, ending up telling the story of his/her life, but definitely not focusing on (in)security and related subjects. Only in relatively few cases do the interview minutes give the impression that the respondent had a lot to tell about insecurity/unsafety, and considered this a vital problem, or an interesting subject with some concrete significance for his or her immediate living conditions at least.

## 7. The Sample

There is no "representative" sample in a strict technical sense, but obvious biases with regard to some key variables that could be easily controlled (such as gender, age, socio-economic status) were to be avoided and counteracted. The table below shows a certain under-representation of the younger and elder, and an over-representation of the middle age-brackets. Migrants are moderately under-represented, due to various linguistic and other barriers of access. In the Leopoldstadt quarters some interviews were conducted in the Serbo-Croatian language (or a mix of German and Serbo-Croatian). The table also shows a low proportion of respondents with a middle class background (middle class essentially meaning: qualified for university entrance and/or with an economic (labour market) position that can be assumed to supply the respondent and his/her household with an above-average income.) Obviously the middle class is not over-represented in the sample, which in this respect can be said to be roughly in keeping with local social structure and socio-economic status of the population in the quarters. Ac-

cording to local conditions, respondents in the transdanubian research site live on public housing estates with only few exceptions, while a clear majority of the Leopoldstadt sub-sample live in the district's old housing stock, in private rented homes, with owner occupied homes and public housing being of minor importance. A high proportion of respondents have lived in their quarter for 20 years or more: 41 per cent in the Leopoldstadt, and 50 per cent on the transdanubian estates. The quota of respondents who have lived in their quarter for 5 years or less is about 10 per cent for the transdanubian estates, and amounts to 24 per cent in the Leopoldstadt. Unemployed persons are reasonably well represented in the entire sample, but there is a clear bias in the regional sub-samples, since official unemployment rates are moderately higher for the Transdanubian estates.

## Sample Qualitative Research – Vienna

|  | Leopoldstadt (Volkert-, Stuwer Q.) | Transdanubian Estates (GFS, RBW) | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 19 | 25 | 44 |
| Female | 22 | 20 | 42 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Migrants | 10 | 4 | 14 |
| **Social status** |  |  |  |
| middle class | 11 | 5 | 16 |
| Lower class | 30 | 40 | 70 |
| **Age brackets** |  |  |  |
| 18 – 30 | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| 31 – 45 | 16 | 17 | 33 |
| 46 – 60 | 13 | 15 | 28 |
| 61 plus | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| **Occupational status** |  |  |  |
| Employed | 24 | 25 | 49 |
| self employed | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Unemployed | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Retired | 6 | 10 | 16 |
| Student | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Housekeeper | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Other | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| **Housing** |  |  |  |
| Public housing | 5 | 43 | 48 |
| other rented home | 30 | 2 | 32 |
| Owner occupied | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| Other | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| **Total of interviews** | **41** | **45** | **86** |

## 8. Unsatisfactory Accounts of Urban Insecurity and Fear of Crime? On the Quality of the Collected Material

A first reading of the collected material shows that in most cases the interview minutes tend to be (much) shorter than could be expected, since the majority of the interviews do not contain any detailed narratives on experiences and occurrences that are related to "insecurity", "urban danger", "victimisation" etc. Also, there are not so many detailed and elaborate descriptions of "contexts of insecurity". In this respect the data is obviously not in keeping with our optimistic expectations. In many cases the stimuli that were thought to elicit "narratives" and "accounts" as well as other comments and elaborations produced no more than short statements and answers.

However, the material contains satisfactory information on the respondents' perception and evaluation of their quarter, their action spaces and routine activities, and on their ideas about "uncomfortable/unsafe places" (and unpleasant encounters). In short, most interviews contain some information on the subject's perceptions of (social and/or physical) disorder, on various sorts of urban trouble and (crime related) risks. However, there are only few accounts of "urban danger" and "fear of crime" in a strict sense – and only very few respondents seem to view the urban landscape (and their environment) in terms of "insecurity", "unsafety" etc.

Also, the limitations of the collected material possibly point to a methodological problem that had been underrated when designing the interview manual. It seems that certain types of "insecurities", "anxieties" and the impact of social and physical disorder on the living conditions of urban residents can only rarely and only with some difficulty be traced to concrete and significant "events", or to "occurrences" that might be told in the format of a "story", but frequently seem to follow another cognitive pattern that also shapes the mode of presentation. Feeling uncomfortable (or even unsafe) in crowded public transport facilities, feeling uneasy (or even unsafe) in rundown desolate or filthy settings, when encountering drunk persons or drug addicts can be accounted, but hardly ever provides "an interesting story". Consequently, many respondents do mention certain "contexts of insecurity" (or: of feeling uncomfortable in a certain place, or in the presence of certain people), but when asked to talk about specific experiences and observations, have little or nothing to add.

Some features of the material can be summarised as follows:

1. There are only few narratives on situations and experiences of urban danger, fear of crime etc. Many respondents obviously have nothing or little to tell – or are not willing to tell. (Two or three respondents explicitly stated they did

not want to talk about their experiences with crime, possible implying they were involved as offenders rather than victims.)

2. The material provides sufficient information on the respondents' action spaces and routine activities, about rather domestic and "localistic" (largely confined to the residential surrounding) life styles, and as their counterpart the more mobile behavioural patterns of other urban residents. There seem to be different patterns of mobility for residents of the transdanubian estates and residents of the Leopoldstadt. Among those living in the transdanubian housing estates, a substantial proportion (some 40 per cent) confine their action spaces to their residential district (most of the time). The comparative figure for the Leopoldstadt sub-sample is much lower (approximately 20 per cent). Generally speaking, there is little evidence of the subjects' being excluded from urban space – with a few exceptions, mainly concerning health problems and elderly people. There is very little evidence of action spaces being substantially restricted due to fear of crime.

3. When asked for their ideas about "unsafe places" and "unpleasant places" many respondents refer to the stereotype and summary symbol of Karlsplatz. (Occasional observations of drug addicts, homeless people, alcoholics.) In some cases respondents talk about personal experiences related to that setting (being addressed by beggars/ scroungers, watching scenes of verbal aggression etc.) Occasionally other places like Praterstern and Westbahnhof, are mentioned, or respondents refer to certain districts of the city or certain housing estates with a not so favourable reputation – but most of the time the stimuli did not produce significant personal experiences in the respective settings and the material more or less reflects the respondents' impressions and beliefs on the subject. These impressions and assumptions are mainly derived from occasional observation, hearsay, common sense, and to a certain degree, media reports. Obviously being addressed by someone asking for a few coins or for a cigarette is the worst case involvement for many respondents, and there are no narratives about definite aggressive behaviour from beggars/scroungers, drug addicts, drunk persons etc.

4. However, there are a few respondents who perceive their own residential environment as relatively unsafe, at least in some respects. (This applies more often to the Renn-bahnweg and the surroundings of Praterstern and Venediger Au than to the other research sites). However, for a clear majority "unsafety" in regard to urban space is constructed in a very different way, usually reserving the concept for a limited range of Viennese settings with a particular reputation – and in general Vienna is thought to be a rather safe city with no more than a few problematic spots on the map. These problematic spots are thought to be un-

safe by some, and just unpleasant by others – and fortunately most of these problematic spots can be easily avoided by those who are concerned about them – with the exception of certain underground stations and traffic junctions etc.

5. Part of the material is about desolate, rundown settings, or to be precise, settings that appear so to those who apply higher standards – for instance the Praterstern railway station and traffic junction – focusing both on physical features of the environment (filthy, neglected, pigeons' excrements) and categories of persons who gather in its surrounding (alcoholics, homeless …). There is plenty of evidence on symptoms and phenomena of urban (social) disorder, on unsatisfactory and annoying environments (a topic that is mainly brought up by female respondents), and on special groups that are believed to cause trouble in certain settings (or are definitely thought to impair others' well being in certain places): Drug addicts and dealers (especially in places like Karlsplatz, Westbahnhof, Zentrum Kagran …), homeless people (in Karlsplatz, Praterstern), alcoholics (Karlsplatz, Praterstern, Schwedenplatz), beggars (Karlsplatz, Westbahnhof), offensive juveniles (Schwedenplatz, transdanubian estates), foreigners (in certain districts with a high proportion of migrant population, but also on transdanubian housing estates where they are blamed for not adjusting to local customs and patterns of behaviour). Obviously encounters with these groups are rather limited and/or can be easily avoided. Consequently what comes up in the interviews are statements about observations, about being well aware of the presence of marginal/deviant groups and individuals in certain settings, without so much as coming into contact (and even less: engaging in conflict) with them. At the same time there is relatively little information on other fears and anxieties related primarily to the physical environment itself, in terms of architecture and design. This topic comes up in no more than two or three interviews with women, who described for instance long corridors in underground stations and underground car parks (for instance in shopping centres) as settings that make them feel uncomfortable and insecure.

6. In some interviews with women the issue of "insecurity after dark" comes up. Generally this involved feeling insecure when walking in public spaces in the (late) evening hours, without any concrete idea of what might happen in most cases. (In one case the respondent says that in a certain place close to Praterstern someone might jump out of the bushes and attack her – in a setting with little lighting that is rather deserted in the late evenings.) Some respondents add that they have never had any negative experiences that might explain or "justify" their personal feelings of insecurity, but obviously the city after dark is experienced in a very different way by some female respondents: less predictable and more risky, at least in some respects.

7. In the transdanubian research site (and especially on the Rennbahnweg estate) the material contains several complaints about juveniles and/or foreigners (foreigners meaning: migrants who have received Austrian citizenship and are now living on the public housing estates, but are still considered a deviant category of residents in some respects). Complaints are about noisy behaviour, about not being able or willing to adjust etc., about juveniles loitering in the yards of the RBW estate, and around the shopping centre in Großfeldsiedlung. But particularly on the RBW estate there is also a certain tendency of "normalisation" with regard to some kinds of trouble and tokens of disorder. Respondents say that they have watched police interventions leading to arrests, persons crying for help, fights and quarrels, and signs of vandalism on several occasions, but feel this is not an unusual occurrence on an estate with a population of 8000. (Thus, the respective situations and occurrences are not necessarily perceived as deplorable symptoms of social disorder or some deterioration of the estate.)

8. There is some evidence of (mostly verbal) sexual harassment, and some younger women describe situations of verbal harassment (unwanted attention, unwanted offers) as a kind of constant trouble in the quarters of the Leopoldstadt district. (But obviously coping is a simple matter. Ignoring and walking past is the usual strategy, and of course travelling by car reduces risks and nuisances of that sort). In the Stuwer Quarter the special problem of (illegal) prostitution comes up in several interviews – women being addressed by potential customers – which is described not so much as a vital problem, but as a sort of constant irritation and normal trouble one generally knows how to cope with – and some imply that the situation has improved during recent months/years, due to altered one way traffic regulations in the respective streets. Most of the time the trouble with prostitution and related harassment is not described as a problem with regard to safety/security, but as an annoying experience for local residents and their families. (Those with children are more concerned than the others.)

9. A few narratives are about xenophobic / racist behaviour (or rather: observations of such) – but are hardly ever connected to issues of insecurity. From the perspective of migrants these experiences and observations reflect the fact that they are not accepted as normal citizens, and are symptoms of social discrimination and denial of recognition. (Cases of verbal aggression in public transport facilities are the worst cases of xenophobic intolerance that are described in the material.) On the other hand one female respondent describes her own verbal aggression against misbehaving foreigners and children as an effective strategy of social control: Cutting them down to size ("zusammenstutzen") when they are too "goschert" (noisy, forward). (The example points to xeno-

phobic verbal aggression as a strategy of social control against those who occupy and appropriate public space.)

10. Fear of crime is not discussed as a significant topic in most of the interviews. Some respondents explicitly state that in their opinion Vienna is a safe or very safe city, and that on the other hand bad things can happen to you everywhere. Others add that of course there might be unsafe and questionable settings in Vienna (for instance the Prater, especially at night, or the surroundings of some railway and underground stations) – but for them there is obviously no need (and little temptation) to go there. (The only exceptions to the rule are certain traffic junctions and stations for regular passengers.) Less than half of the respondents reported some sort of criminal victimisation during the last (five or so) years. (However, there are several who mention some indirect experience of crime – e.g. crimes that concerned friends or relatives etc.) Criminal victimisation appears rather trivial in most cases (property offences, only few cases of violence are mentioned). Criminal victimisation (such as burglary into homes, into motor vehicles, theft of bicycles, damage of property, pickpocketing) is hardly ever associated with fear of crime and insecurity, but perceived as a sort of nuisance and a well known risk of late modern urban life. These types of victimisation are usually not perceived as symptoms of moral crisis, collapse of values and the local moral order.

11. There is only little evidence of "experienced" violence, confrontation, dispute etc. and practically no evidence of domestic violence. Violence as a topic is largely absent, or appears to be something that is largely confined to special subcultures and locations, and spreads beyond their boundaries mainly when (groups of) juveniles and adolescents under the influence of alcohol are involved. A few statements on settings that are connected to violence relate to certain pubs, clubs and discos mainly visited by Yugoslavs; the Schwedenplatz area in the inner city (young folks out for action, drinking and consuming drugs in the late evenings and on weekends). On the other hand there are some statements on aggressive behaviour and an aggressive atmosphere in some settings (housing estates, surrounding of underground stations with a concentration of pubs etc.) But there are very few narratives on "ordinary citizens" being affected by or involved in violence.

12. In several interviews there is a tendency towards "normalising" and playing down certain risks and certain sorts of trouble, accepting that one's property is not completely safe, that there are places in the city where deviant and/or not so predictable groups and individuals congregate (for instance young folks under the influence of alcohol, beggars, drug addicts) and that these sorts of settings ought to be avoided or used with some awareness of the respective

risks. There is relatively little evidence of authoritarian patterns and attitudes, implying that the authorities ought to clear certain settings of deviant groups. In general, respondents no longer seem to share the belief (or rather fantasy) that some "Dominant Other" ought to maintain moral order and exercise control whenever the ruling standards of normality and decency are violated. (The absence of that sort of discourse possibly mirrors people's adjusting to post modern life styles and conditions of governmentality rather than a new attitude of tolerance.)

13. There is surprisingly little evidence of fear of crime and feelings of insecurity that are mainly caused or confirmed by media reports, rumours etc. Rather respondents refer to media reports as possibly questionable sources of information that are not really relevant for their own evaluation.

## 9. Perception of the Quarter: Positive and Negative Features

Compared to the findings from the quantitative survey, the qualitative data provide a more differentiated, and a more ambivalent (and balanced) picture of the respondents' attitudes toward their quarters. While the survey data suggest that a majority feel satisfied with their surrounding, and a relatively small minority feels quite negative about it, the qualitative material suggests that a majority are altogether satisfied, but also mention some disadvantages and negative features.

Generally respondents are satisfied with regard to their quarter's infrastructure (especially shopping facilities and (public) transport), and more than half of them also point to the favourable location within the city, which of course means very different things for the Transdanubian site and the Leopoldstadt quarters. Many residents on the Transdanubian estates value the not so urban, semi-rural ambience highly (and obviously do not miss the urban opportunities and attractions of the city), while residents of the Leopoldstadt typically stress the advantages of being close to both the city centre and the large recreational facilities of the Prater and Augarten. Other positive features that are mentioned by some respondents refer to social relations and satisfactory contacts (for instance friends and relatives living in the same quarter, positive neighbourhood contacts, satisfied with the local population), to the quiet surrounding (no road traffic, no noise and unrest), and in the case of the Rennbahnweg estate to the satisfactory housing quality (especially equipment of flats). In short, residents are basically satisfied mainly because of the well functioning and reliable urban infrastructure, and since the geographical location of the quarter offers some opportunities (especially for leisure time activities more oriented toward the countryside, or toward the inner city). Only one respondent refers to the high level of police presence (in the Stuwer

Quarter), thereby mentioning an aspect related to community safety and social control, topics that are completely absent in the other respondents' description of their quarter's advantages and resources.

Negative features of the quarters are described in very different terms depending on the research site.

• For the Volkert Quarter negative characteristics are mainly related to the old housing stock that is in need of repair, to the less favourable, unattractive appearance of residential buildings and of the quarter altogether (for instance filth), and there are several complaints about noisy pubs and cafes that cause constant trouble. Surprisingly, the high proportion of migrant population is no longer stressed as a negative feature of the quarter in itself, but obviously complaints about pubs and cafes refer to settings where the migrants gather.

• For the Stuwer Quarter the negative features are mainly described by referring to various problems arising from the quarter's status and reputation as a red light area, especially (illegal, street) prostitution, red light bars, harassment of women, cruising customers etc. Other complaints are about unsatisfactory housing conditions (substandard housing, but not related to the general appearance of the housing stock) and certain shortcomings of the local infrastructure (especially: the closing down of little shops).

• For the Großfeldsiedlung the disadvantages are described in terms of trouble with juveniles, foreigners not adjusting to ordinary life styles, certain deficits of the infrastructure (lack of leisure time facilities, cultural attractions, transport facilities etc.)

• For the Rennbahnweg estate the negative features are described in terms of both deficits of the infrastructure (especially shops, restaurants, post office), and of social problems and tensions, mainly juveniles loitering in the yards of the estate, noisy and aggressive behaviour in the late evenings and in the night time, alcohol and drug use, and the increasing number of "foreigners" on the estate (the term relating to residents with a migration background, most of whom have meanwhile received Austrian citizenship), who are blamed for not adjusting to the rules and not behaving appropriately.

The following table shows the most significant topics, the figures indicating the number of respondents referring to the respective issues.

| LEOPOLDSTADT | | TRANSDANUBIAN ESTATES | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Volkert Quarter | Stuwer Quarter | Großfeldsiedlung | Rennbahnweg |
| Infrastructure Public transport facilities Shopping facilities Market Parking space (19) | Infrastructure Shopping facilities (Public) transport facilities, underground, close to the city centre market (18) | Infrastructure Shopping facilities (Public) transport facilities schools parking space everything you need (17) | Infrastructure Shopping facilities (Public) transport facilities schools youth centre playgrounds (19) |
| Situated close to the centre and to green spots (Prater, Augarten) (13) | Green spots and recreational facilities close to the quarter – Prater and Danube Island (13) | Sufficient green spots Close to the country-side and easy to get into the city (14) | Situated in a green surrounding – remote from the inner city (10) |
| Situated close to the centre and to green spots (Prater, Augarten) (13) | Green spots and recreational facilities close to the quarter – Prater and Danube Island (13) | Sufficient green spots Close to the country-side and easy to get into the city (14) | Situated in a green surrounding – remote from the inner city (10) |
| Social relations (neighbourhood con-tacts, relatives and friends living in the quarter) (5) | High level of police presence (2) | Quiet (5) | Social cohesion – the people are o.k. (5) |
| | | Relatives and acquaintances live nearby (4) | Housing quality – satisfactory equip-ment of flats (4) |
| | | Sports and leisure time facilities (3) | Quiet – no traffic noise, no car traffic on the estate (4) |
| | | | |
| Old housing stock in need of repair and redevelopment, narrow lanes, ugly houses (5) | Prostitution – red light area – cruising customers (9) | Juveniles – making trouble, squabbling etc. (5) | Deficits of the infra-structure – post of-fice, market, certain shops and restau-rants are missing, public transport con-nections could be better (9) |

| LEOPOLDSTADT | | TRANSDANUBIAN ESTATES | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Volkert Quarter** | **Stuwer Quarter** | **Großfeldsiedlung** | **Rennbahnweg** |
| Filth and bad smells (5) | Deficits of infrastructure (shops closing down, parking space) (4) | Foreigners (migrants) – high proportion – noisy – not grateful for being admitted to the estate (5) | Increasing proportion of foreigners (migrants) who have their own customs and mentalities and will not adjust (8) |
| Noise, especially from some pubs and cafes which cause constant trouble (4) | Unsatisfactory housing quality – substandard equipment of flats (3) | Deficits of the infrastructure – regarding parking space, transport facilities (5) | Juveniles – loitering and noisy behaviour in the yards in the late evenings and in the night time, verbal aggression, fights, consumption of alcohol and illegal drugs, vandalism (7) |
| High proportion of foreigners/migrants (3) | | Lack of leisure time facilities for children and youths (3) | Unsatisfactory state of maintenance (green spots, stairways, lifts) (4) |
| | | Lack of attractions, cultural activities (3) | Various trouble with dogs (4) |
| | | Lower class ghetto, poverty, foreigners (2) | Land around the estate has been built up during the last years (3) |

Only a small minority of respondents (below 10%, with no apparent connection to age, gender and social status) exhibit a very negative attitude towards their quarter, also focusing on issues of safety, disorder or crime, with these topics being integrated into a more complex syndrome of discontent. In several interviews respondents refer to aspects of (environmental and social) disorder, and insufficient police presence (one statement, referring to the Rennbahnweg) as negative features of their quarter, but there is no explicit reference to crime problems or a lack of community safety in a strict sense as a striking feature.

## 10. Action Spaces, Routine Activities & Insecurities

As could be expected, the qualitative data reveals very different life styles, uses of urban spaces and resources, and patterns of association. Living conditions are by

no means homogeneous for the local population in our research sites, and are far from being determined by characteristics like age, gender, socio-economic status or citizenship. A majority of respondents appear rather mobile, at least in some respect, many of them relying on public transport as an important means of transport, and only a minority can be described as "domestic" or "localistic" in a strict sense, with their action spaces confined to their immediate surrounding (the home, the quarter), and most of their social activities occurring in their residential quarter. Furthermore, domestic and "localistic" life styles cannot be explained simply by referring to gender, low income, age etc. There are several elder respondents' whose action spaces extend far beyond their residential districts, and the same is true for some others who in a conceptual framework of social exclusion might be considered to belong to the disadvantaged or even marginalized strata of Viennese society[5]. And the data contains some cases rather suggesting that some of those engaged in normal wage labour appear somewhat limited in their range of social participation and involvement. There are respondents – especially on the transdanubian estates – whose action spaces are largely confined to their residential district, and sometimes even: to the surrounding of their estate, and who live (and possibly feel) as "Transdanubians" rather than Viennese. Considering the mode of presentation and taking their accounts at face value their way of living does not really result from being excluded from urban attractions and from opportunities of participation in a strict sense, but from being rather content with what is within their reach, typically arguing that "all you need" is available at the local shopping centres, that travelling to the inner city is not so attractive to them, and that they prefer leisure time activities in the not so urban surrounding of their estates. In contrast, activities and action spaces of the respondents who live in the Leopoldstadt district typically are oriented more toward the city centre and its specific opportunities and attractions.

The following excerpts and quotations from the interview minutes focus 1) on the ways the respondents make selective use of urban spaces and opportunities, 2)on their social contacts and "patterns of association" (Wessels 2003), and of course the degree to which these contacts take place within the quarters or in other urban areas, 3) on the significance of something like a "local community" for the respondents' ways of living and the extent to which they make use of available local resources and local infrastructures, and 4) on the degree to which they describe their activities as "normal" routines, self evident and hardly requiring any explanation, or as problematic. In some cases "problems" with regard to action spaces and routine activities are connected to some sense of being excluded or restrained from certain opportunities and resources, in others they will refer to issues of insecurity.

The following examples from the four research sites are not primarily intended to give a "representative" picture of local life styles and conditions. They rather draw

[5] Recent (unpublished) survey data suggest that for the unemployed, for single parents and low income households and Turkish migrants the risk of marginalization and exclusion is higher than for other groups and strata.

upon the not so trivial and not so ordinary accounts, and on cases that are remarkable at least in some respect and/or provide some understanding of how the topic of insecurity is associated to and embedded in the respondents' presentations of their routines and living conditions.

## 1. Volkert Quarter

505f20[6], secretary: The respondent's action spaces comprise her workplace and its immediate surrounding in the district of Fünfhaus, close to U4-Centre. She spends much of her leisure time in the transdanubian districts, in several pubs and restaurants, and a disco. She visits her sister who lives in the Donaustadt district every week. Her social contacts take place in the Donauplex centre (various pubs and restaurants), and during the summertime on the New Danube. Except for that there are no regular leisure time activities. The respondent also states that some time ago she used to go to the inner city quite often, but meanwhile there are so many brawlers (Randalierer) and aggressive people ("young folks who take drugs and then don't know what they're doing, railing at people"), especially in the Schwedenplatz area. There are fewer of them in the transdanubian settings like Nachtschicht and Donauplex. She also says she always feels insecure when she walks home in the dark, which is why she takes the dog with her. Considering Praterstern she felt uncomfortable there as long as she used to travel by public transport, "but I simply walked through" ("da bin ich halt einfach durchgegangen"). Meanwhile she travels by car most of the time, and taking her rather big dog with her is another strategy of avoiding unpleasant encounters. She also mentions another type of verbal harassment in a setting quite close to her home as a constant nuisance: "There are always these groups who sit there and when you walk by alone they whistle past you or shout after you, and diverse gestures." (The statement obviously refers to groups of young males, mostly migrants, who gather in Volkert Square and in the surrounding of some local pubs, and direct their attention toward girls and women passing by. The respondent lives with her mother and says the quarter is not so bad ("so gehts eigentlich"), but she would prefer to live in a house of her own, in the Donaustadt district or in some small town outside the city. ›The interview reveals a characteristic perception of the quarter, a considerable awareness with regard to harassment in public spaces, some elaborated coping strategies, and a pattern coming up in several interviews, especially with respondents in their twenties: Leisure time activities and social contacts are shifted to areas quite remote from the residential area, to places considered more attractive and more adequate (restaurants, discos, cinemas), and there is no substantial involvement in local contacts and relationships.‹

102f22, student: The respondent lives as a single, and says that her residential quarter is not the best one, but is o.k. in general. She does her shopping in the surrounding of her home and on Praterstern where she passes on the way to and

6 The code consists of Interview number, gender (m/f), and age.

from her home. She often visits her friends in the (remote) districts of Döbling and Floridsdorf. She often goes to shopping centres and malls, for shopping purposes and visiting the restaurants and cafes (Donauzentrum, Millennium City). She often goes to the Kinowelt cinema (in Millennium City). As a student her other action space is mostly around the university. She travels by public transport, and sometimes by bicycle. Social contacts are primarily with her friends and colleagues – and sometimes the people she meets at work. For some time she has worked as a secretary in the city. She practically has no social contacts in her quarter and district. For her Karlsplatz (because of the many drug addicts and their dogs which are not kept on the lead) is an unpleasant place. On one occasion she was "stopped" and offered drugs by a drug dealer in Stadtpark. And she also received some unwanted attention from homeless people and drug addicts on Karlsplatz. She does not like the big traffic junctions, simply for the reason that so many people are moving around, and she generally feels uneasy when she walks alone at night, regardless of the specific area. It happens more often that she walks at night in her own quarter or on Praterstern than elsewhere. Nevertheless she mainly feels safe in Vienna. ›Obviously there are several contexts of (moderate, potential) insecurity, but still the respondent feels relatively safe most of the time. The irritation caused by the big traffic junctions might be explained in part by the fact that she has lived in Lower Austria until two years ago, and is not so familiar with crowded metropolitan settings.‹

106f47, teacher: The respondent explicitly states that she is not satisfied with the quarter where she has been living for 18 years. She complains about the narrow lanes, the old buildings. To her the whole quarter is in need of renovation. Her action spaces are largely confined to the Leopoldstadt district, mainly "between the workplace and the home". When she goes out it is mostly in the inner city. She does some shopping on Mariahilfer Straße, and only buys food and household articles in the district. She lives with her husband, and visits her family who live in three other districts of Vienna – not so often, but regularly. She travels by public transport. Her social contacts are mainly where she works, at school, and she does not participate in any clubs or associations. She cannot remember any place where she would have felt unsafe. In her opinion Vienna is a safe city. She has thought permanently about moving to another, nicer surrounding. (Dissatisfaction with the quarter is not really related to any negative experiences, to insecurities or housing related problems but to the fact that it is not in keeping with the respondent's aspirations .)

502f60, retired, single. Asked for her action spaces, the respondent says she does her shopping mainly at two supermarkets on Taborstraße (a shopping street a few blocks from her home), and that she visits the public swimming pool in Floridsdorf twice a week, where she has a season ticket. Sometimes she goes for a walk

on Danube Island and in Stammersdorf (a village like setting in the district of Floridsdorf). She travels by public transport (season ticket). Her children live in Kagran in the Donaustadt district and she visits them once a week. Twice a month she goes playing ninepins (Kegelabend) in Donaupark. She is not really satisfied with her residential quarter since things have changed for the worse. (She has been living there for 40 years.) She says that nowadays there are too few Austrians in the quarter – "you have to search for the people you can talk to", suggesting that the foreigners/migrants are no suitable interlocutors. In the house where she lives there are no more than three Austrians, all the others are Turks and Yugoslavs. In general she is not a fearful person, and even walks home alone at night from the metropolitan train station, along Dresdnerstraße, where there are only few people around at that time. (She does not feel unsafe in a dark and deserted setting, situated in a not so respectable surrounding.) Considering unsafe places and places she avoids she says there is a pub right ahead where she does not like to pass, especially on weekends, when it's going on until 4.00 or 5.00 a.m. ("wo es sich bis viere fünfe abspielt"). Obviously the respondent perceives the exchange of population that occurred during the last 10 to 15 years as an increase in social isolation, and the pub is understood to be a focus of special unrest and disturbance. (She does not complain about the many foreigners in the quarter, which would correspond to conventional discourses on the subject, but rather about the shrinking of the local Austrian population.) In her case insecurity is not related to fear of crime and issues of disorder in the first place but to the feeling of being left over and belonging to a minority in a quarter increasingly invaded by migrants who either do not (or are supposed not to) speak her language, or are considered unsatisfactory for some other reason. Furthermore, the respondent's account is remarkable insofar that there is no critique of the quarter from a middle class point of view: She does not refer to environmental disorder and deficits of the local infrastructure. Her dissatisfaction (or rather ambivalence?) is mainly based on her perception of neighbourhood change. ›The respondent's activities are mainly in her residential district, and in the transdanubian area, while the rest of the city appears largely irrelevant.‹

118m24, unemployed, electrician, country of origin Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The respondent lives with his girlfriend. He is altogether satisfied with the quarter but complains about the dirty Donaukanal (which strictly speaking does not belong to the quarter): There are no fish in it, it stinks in summer, and the local market is also dirty. He gives a rather comprehensive account of his many action spaces and activities: He does his shopping at a supermarket on Heinestraße (several blocks from his home) and some other local shops. He also goes to Taborstraße, Mariahilferstraße, Keplerplatz and the Shopping City Nord for shopping purposes. He mainly travels by car. His family live in the Brigittenau district, which is not so far from his home, and a good friend lives in the Fünfhaus

district. Furthermore, he has some favourite pubs: Bel Ami (close to his home), Black Lady and Blue Devil (in the remote districts of Fünfhaus and Ottakring). The respondent plays the accordion in a band that performs regularly in various pubs and restaurants (weddings, festivities). He also plays table tennis and football, and goes bowling in various sports halls. Considering issues of insecurity and safety he says that to him the car park of a disco in the district of Favoriten is the only unpleasant (or even unsafe?) place: Drunk and aggressive young males, drug addicts. (The disco is a place mainly frequented by people from the former Yugoslavia.) He also says he feels insecure in places where there are drug dealers which are easily to recognize. ("Most of them are black.") He also says that sometimes there are fights in the pubs where he performs. People get drunk and hit each other. On some occasions drunk Austrians come there and provoke a quarrel. There are tensions and sometimes fights, but nothing serious, no knives, no guns. The respondent himself was never involved personally, but has watched such scenes on several occasions. The pubs are "Yugo joints" where live music is played. ›The respondent gets around all over Vienna and even in the surroundings of the city, due to his many activities and involvements. Unemployment appears as a status that promotes many sorts of activities and mobility rather than imposes restraints.‹

501m58, unemployed. The respondent lives as a single, in the same apartment house since his birth. Asked for his action spaces he says that he hardly goes out. He has a "personal relationship" who lives in the district of Ottakring, and he visits her regularly (approximately 4 times a week). On weekends he meets some friends for a game of bridge (in the district of Währing). He does his shopping at a supermarket close to his home. He does not visit pubs or restaurants, since he cannot afford anything of that kind. He travels by car. He says there are no places where he would feel uncomfortable in Vienna, except for those where he cannot park his car. And certainly there are some Turkish cafes and restaurants in the district of Ottakring where he would not go – but he does not go there anyway. He does not know any unsafe places in Vienna. ›The respondent has been unemployed for some time and his financial resources are limited. However, his action spaces and social contacts are by no means confined to the local level, even if there seem to be no more than a few social relationships and activities. Throughout the interview there is no evidence of any relevant social integration on a local level, in spite of the respondent's extreme residential stability and plenty of disposable time.‹

## 2. Stuwer Quarter

605f30, saleswoman at a sausage stand, country of origin: Yugoslavia. The respondent lives with her husband and their two children. She is satisfied with the quarter, and mentions as positive the high level of police presence, and as negative the many prostitutes and pimps – which appears quite remarkable, since most re-

spondents do not describe their quarter primarily in terms of deviance and control. Her action spaces comprise a broad range of settings in different parts of Vienna: The Wien Mitte Railway Station where she works, the Praterstern and a supermarket in the district of Simmering where she does her shopping; the Donauzentrum, Mariahilferstraße and Favoritenstraße for more specific purchases, Stadionbad and Hirschstetten for bathing; and visiting her parents who live in Kaisermühlen, on the other bank of the Danube. She travels by car or by metropolitan train. Her social contacts are in the district of Simmering where her sister lives (Alberner Hafen), and in various pubs in the Stuwer Quarter. The respondent says that some time ago when she had to work from 5.00 a.m. when it was still dark and when there were no people in the streets she used to walk next to the roadway, because she was afraid. And she did not pass under the bridge close to Praterstern, but took a roundabout way. She also feels passing by Venediger Au is not so safe – there are drug addicts. Finally she mentions that the prostitutes in the quarter are probably addicted to drugs, they are very young, and she does not understand that their parents do not control them. Her own children are allowed to go to the park, but only until dark. She also mentions the customers stopping and approaching women – it might also happen to her daughter if she was alone in the street after dark. – Thus, the interview points to a broad range of action spaces and activities, to a considerable sensitivity to local contexts of insecurity, relating both to the physical environment and to patterns of social, or rather: moral disorder. In spite of deviance and disorder the local living conditions are perceived as altogether favourable. However, the respondent feels responsible for keeping her daughter away from risk, and controlling the children's activities seems more urgent than it would be in other sorts of residential areas.

606f32, teacher, country of origin: Germany. The respondent lives as a single and is very satisfied with the quarter. However, she complains that on the occasion of big sports events in the Prater stadium there are many drunk people around, and more and more of the small shops close down. (A remarkable statement, since the respondent has lived in the quarter for no more than two years. The complaint about the closing down of shops usually emerges in interviews with elder long term residents who also miss the local social infrastructure that was represented and maintained by the shops.) Her action spaces comprise a range of settings in different parts and districts of the city: Her workplaces are in the Döbling and Alsergrund districts (obviously she teaches at two schools), she regularly visits a café in the Weißgerberviertel (district of Landstraße) and another in the Inner City, close to Stadtpark. She does her shopping in the quarter and on Naschmarkt (grocery market), and goes to the cinema (close to the Opera). She travels by public transport or by bicycle. The interview contains little information on social contacts. (Probably these are connected to visiting the above mentioned cafes.) The respondent considers "unpleasant" that travelling to her workplace in Ober-

döbling is quite complicated and time consuming: She has to change 3 or 4 times. And she does not like to walk home from Praterstern at night, since there are not so many people around and she has encountered groups of drunk persons on several occasions. She prefers to take the tram, if possible. She says there are hardly any unsafe places in Vienna. Possibly some long, dark underground passageways (Matzleinsdorfer Platz, Südtiroler Platz). ›The interview corresponds to a well known pattern: Few social contacts and little involvement in the quarter, the quarter serving for housing and domestic purposes, and basic shopping routines, and due to its favourable location makes possible various leisure time activities. Meaningful interactions seem to occur elsewhere, and the quarter appears to be "without distinct qualities" – but is still considered satisfactory, mainly due to its location close to the centre and the green areas – which in this case are not mentioned as a significant action space.‹ – Issues of security emerge in homeopathic dosage, and the issue of prostitution related trouble is not addressed at all: Social disorder is encountered on some occasions when walking in the surrounding of Praterstern at night which is why the respondent prefers to return home by tram in the late evenings; and certain passageways are experienced as (moderately) unpleasant settings due to their physical features and design.

500f37, researcher, holds a university degree: The respondent lives with her partner and her 7 year old daughter. She says she is very satisfied with the quarter. The quality of living is excellent, close to the city and to the Prater. As a negative feature she mentions the Wien Nord Railway Station "which is a problem" and requires some acclimatisation (gewöhnungsbedürftig). (The statement obviously refers both to the rundown appearance and the homeless and alcoholics that use to gather there.) She even says the setting made her anxious in the evenings when she had moved to the quarter some years ago. Her action spaces include her workplace (in the Leopoldstadt district), the Landstraße district (her daughter's kindergarden), various places around Prater Hauptallee (where her daughter goes to play), the Augarten (for jogging, once a week), a supermarket close to her home for shopping purposes, and a confectionery, also close to her home. Her social contacts mainly take place in a café in Augarten and in some other restaurants and cafes of the Leopoldstadt district. She also says that some settings and customs in the quarter were rather unpleasant to her when moving to the Leopoldstadt, especially with regard to the rundown appearance of the Praterstern and the Wien Nord Railway Station, and with street prostitution occurring right before the house where she lives, but meanwhile she has grown accustomed to these. At the time when she was pregnant the customers seemed to be turned on by these circumstances and approached her – at that time she felt disturbed and annoyed. To her the street prostitution issue is not about feeling unsafe, but feeling unpleasant, and: feeling different than in a surrounding where no such thing occurs. – She also says that for some time she strictly avoided the distance be-

tween Praterstern and Venediger Au and the Praterstern subway passage (Unter-
führung). Furthermore she mentions a place she dislikes (and avoids) because of
its physical features and design: Lassallestraße. ›The interview is remarkable in
several respects: First of all the respondent points to a range of phenomena that
are related to insecurity and to feeling uneasy in her residential quarter, especially
at the time when she moved there and experienced them as unfamiliar, disorder-
ly and deviant. However, awareness of local trouble and disorder has obviously
not impaired her satisfaction with the quarter. The respondent's account also re-
veals that on some occasions and for some period she has restrained her local ac-
tion spaces considerably by avoiding or circumventing certain spots in the vicini-
ty of the Praterstern railway station. Meanwhile she is convinced that "nothing
actually happens there". – In some respects the respondent's life style deviates
from a pattern that appears to be characteristic for most of the younger middle
class subjects: Social contacts mainly take place in her residential district, with no
tendency of shifting them away toward the city centre and certain locations where
special attractions are available.‹

506f79, retired: The respondent lives with her 50 year old handicapped son. She
says she is not at all satisfied with the quarter and it's no longer nice to live there.
(She has been living there for 50 years.) She especially complains that there are no
more shops and that she does not like to go to the local supermarket. "In former
times there were so many nice shops." She says she does not go out much any
longer, it is too difficult (beschwerlich), since there is no lift and she lives on the 3$^{rd}$
floor. Her action space is rather limited: She does her daily shopping in the im-
mediate surrounding and does not go further than Praterstern (a few blocks way).
She also complains there are no public transport facilities on the surface, and she
lives exactly in between the two local underground stations. Social contacts main-
ly take place when she goes for a game of ninepins with some friends ("those who
are still alive" – "die halt noch übrig sind") once a month. Her husband died six
years ago. In former years she used to go to the Prater with him but she would no
longer dare to do so. She avoids returning to her home later than 7.00 or 7.30 p.m.,
since she is afraid of being attacked (überfallen). When she went home from the
ninepins meeting last Saturday she walked "in the middle of the street", in order
not to "sneak along the walls." She considers the space between the Praterstern
traffic junction and her home an unsafe setting (in the evenings), since there is no
one in the streets. She says the situation in the quarter has changed for the worse
over the last 30 years. On several occasions she touches the subject of the watch-
maker's shops in Lassallestraße. She cannot explain to herself how they manage
to make a living and suspects "mafia business". "They are all Jewish shops up to
Mexikoplatz." (Close to the respondents home there are several premises where
watchmakers' shops were established. Some of them have closed down mean-
while and the premises have been vacant since. The shop owners' names suggest

they are of Georgian origin and possibly belong to the ethnic subculture of Georgian Jews. In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a concentration of Georgian shops around the Mexiko-platz area next to the River Danube which in the years after the opening of the Eastern borders became notorious as an emporium (Umschlagplatz) for various goods, services and black market activities.) Obviously the economic activities connected to these shops that serve no apparent purpose turn into a sort of irritation and insecurity – if only in terms of cognition and 'not being able to understand what's going on'. When explicitly asked about the issue of prostitution she says this is no problem to her, but the men seem to have got no eyes in their heads, considering the kind of women running around.

507m46, mechanic: The respondent is satisfied with the quarter, and says that in principle he has no problems, except for the car parking problem when he returns home in the evening. Another problem that comes to his mind later in the interview is about the "ladies" who were a nuisance some time ago – there never was any personal harassment but it was not so pleasant, especially since they have a daughter. Now it has improved, because of the changed one way regulations. Considering his action spaces he only mentions the workplace in Strebersdorf (in the north of the city), and his second home in Lower Austria, where he spends the weekends "on his lands" (Ländereien). He travels by car. Once a month they visit his wife's brother in a western district of Vienna. Their friends and relatives are in Lower Austria. Considering insecurity he says that since he was brought up in the (Leopoldstadt) district he never had any problems. "You read about such things in the papers but personally I couldn't say anything." And: "The police drive around a lot, that is a certain deterrent." He plans to move away from Vienna to Lower Austria in the (not so near?) future. ›The interview reveals a remarkable pattern, considering the respondents action spaces and social contacts, and his involvement in local affairs, which is largely absent (or left to the other family members): His life seems to be organized around very few settings and few sorts of activities, and his social contacts are mainly around his second home in the countryside. Local and urban resources are hardly envisioned or used at all.‹

609m50, unemployed (electrician). The respondent lives as a single in a public housing estate. He is very satisfied with the quarter – being close to the market and the underground, and the neighbours are o.k. However, he complains about the pubs in the surrounding and says they are getting worse and worse. Considering action spaces he refers to the local market (Vorgartenmarkt) and two supermarkets for shopping purposes, and to some green spots in the district (Venediger Au, Prater) and Danube Island, where he goes for walks with his dog. He also mentions Naschmarkt (shopping) and the Mariahilf district, where his son lives, and Nestroyplatz (in the Leopoldstadt district), when he goes to see his doctor and to visit his sister. When leaving his residential quarter he usually travels by

public transport. Social contacts are mainly in various pubs in the quarter. When asked for situations when he did not feel so safe he again comes to touch the subject of the local pubs: "There are some pubs in the quarter where customers are awkward ("ungut"). I got involved in some fights, when I went there they called me a queer and a junkie ("haben die zu mir Warmer und Giftler gsagt"), so I also said something and I was in hospital with a fractured jaw. Now I don't go there any longer." – The respondent also says that the Leopoldstadt district is altogether unsafe, with the exception of the estate where he lives. He has thought about moving away quite often. ›His account is rather ambivalent, or even contradictory, and the contradictions suggest that he appreciates some of the not so decent and orderly features of his surrounding and is ready to take some risks, but is annoyed about other symptoms of social disorder.‹

206m57, unemployed, country of origin: Yugoslavia. The respondent has lived in the quarter for 18 years, with his wife. He has attended school for no more than 4 years, in Yugoslavia. He has suffered from severe health problems (cardiac infarction, five bypasses) for several years. To him, whose linguistic competence is rather limited, insecurity is mainly related to the fact that due to his bad health he is no longer able to work, and since for some reason he is not entitled to unemployment or other benefits or some kind of pension he has to depend on his wife's income. The respondent is satisfied with the quarter, mainly because he has been living there for a long time, and since his children and grandchildren live nearby. However, there is no lift in the house, and because of his health problems it takes him a long time ("weeks") to return to his home. The respondent's action spaces are extremely limited, and he spends most of his time in bed. When he takes a walk around the block he has to stop every 50 metres. He does his shopping in the immediate surrounding, and goes to the post office (to make payments etc.). There are no experiences of insecurity related to urban space.

## 3. Großfeldsiedlung

806f31, clerk: The respondent works in the district of Penzing, rather remote from her home, and does her shopping mainly in a supermarket in her street and at the local shopping centre. On some occasions she also travels to Floridsdorf, to the Donauzentrum, and to Millennium City (all in the northern districts) for shopping purposes. Most of the time she travels by public transport. As for social contacts, she participates in regular meetings with friends in their favourite pub (restaurant?) in the Leopoldstadt district. On these occasions she regularly travels home by taxi in the late evening, since she would feel frightened "alone in the street". (She describes the setting around Taborstraße as lonely, and poorly lit.) She also refers to Westbahnhof (where she passes regularly on her way to work), where the homeless and drug dealers make her feel uncomfortable, but there is enough police and they would not do anything to you – except for approaching

you, asking for some cents. There are some among them who are really awkward/nasty (unangenehm). She also uses her mobile telephone, pretending to be busy in order to avoid involvement with beggars. She says she definitely has no sense of insecurity on the Großfeldsiedlung estate, since nothing has ever occurred there. ›Contexts of insecurity and coping with them have become routine: Taking a taxi from Taborstraße, and pretending to be busy when encountering spongers at Westbahnhof.‹

209f33, secretary, on maternal leave: Her action spaces include the local shopping centre "where you find everything you need", the public open air swimming pool, a pizzeria in the shopping centre, and sometimes she goes to Millennium City (shopping mall next to the River Danube). She travels by car most of the time, since public transport is impractical (unpraktisch) with the children. She does not meet people so much but has a (female) friend on the estate whom she meets regularly (usually in her or the friends home, or in the yard of the estate in summer, where their children can play). On weekends she and her family visit her parents in law. Occasional visits are to a Heurigen[7] in Stammersdorf. ›A rather "localistic" pattern with many routine activities taking place relatively close to the home, combined with a low level of neighbourhood contacts.‹

207f44, assembler: The respondent has been divorced and lives with her two children. She says she does not meet people so often. She works in Großenzersdorf (close to Vienna), and does her shopping in a supermarket on her way home from work (Wagramer Straße) or in the local shopping centre in Großfeldsiedlung. She also goes to Korneuburg (north of Vienna) regularly to train her dog, and to the green area next to the estate, taking walks with the dog. She travels by car, and only takes public transport when travelling to the inner city. (Her action spaces and routine activities are obviously not related to any "insecurities". She relates the concept primarily to the situation after being divorced and when referring to the raising of her children.) ›Low level of social contacts and participation, both on the estate and elsewhere. Routine activities mainly comprise work, shopping, raising her children and training the dog.‹

113f49, shop assistant: The respondent works in Großenzersdorf (close to Vienna) and goes there every day. She travels to the city centre only on very rare occasions, cannot remember when she went there the last time. Her whole life takes place in her residential district, where she also spends the weekends with her husband. She is a member of two sports clubs (tennis and golf). She mainly travels by car, and has most of her social contacts at work and around her sports activities. She does not remember any situation where she would have felt unsafe. ›Resources and attractions of the inner city are largely irrelevant to her "suburban" way of living.‹

7 Typical Viennese vintner's cottage where new wine is sold.

212m18, student: The respondent attends school in Floridsdorf. During the summer months his action spaces include the local open air swimming pool and Danube Island. He does his shopping in the local shopping centre and the Millennium City (shopping mall). Social contacts are mainly in the Millennium City and the Nachtschicht disco – where he meets with his friends, to go to the cinema. Sometimes he also travels to the inner city with his friends (so called Bermuda triangle in the surrounding of Schwedenplatz, with various restaurants and pubs), and once a week there is a football game on the local sports ground. Considering insecurity he mentions a situation when he almost was involved in a dispute with foreign juveniles at the Millennium City, due to some mocking remark on them he had made to a friend. But the security guards intervened and prevented escalation. Except for that experience he never got into any sort of trouble. ›Local resources are used primarily with regard to sports activities, but leisure time activities also take place in other more attractive locations.‹

210m54, unemployed: The respondent does his shopping at a supermarket in his street or at the local shopping centre, where he also meets some of his acquaintances. He says he does not have any hobbies and only rarely leaves the estate. He does not have a car any longer. For him social contacts mostly take place at a sort of sausage stand where he goes almost every day. The respondent does not mention any experiences of insecurity, adding there is no need to be a "scaredy cat" (Angsthase), and that he was convicted once when he had been involved in a brawl. ›Compared to some other interviews with respondents in similar circumstances the respondent's mobility and action space are rather limited and social contacts are extremely confined to the quarter, and one or two specific locations in particular.‹

119m56, bus driver. In his job the respondent mainly works in the inner city, but spends most of his leisure time in Lower Austria, going on bicycle tours. His daughter and son-in-law also live in a village in Lower Austria. Together with his wife he goes hiking quite a lot, in the surroundings of Vienna (Bisamberg), but also in some other Austrian provinces. Due to shift work there is no time for friends and acquaintances. Social contacts are mostly with his family and at work. Considering safety/security issues: "The biggest danger I see is road traffic. Traffic is like war. It is so egoistic – it's getting more and more brutal." He thinks Großfeldsiedlung is very safe. ›The (inner) city mainly serves as a workplace, social contacts are mostly with the family, and leisure time is spent in the countryside.‹

802m60, retired, was employed with the Austrian Federal Railways: Considering action spaces, he goes for a daily walk with his dog in the woods close to the estate, and once a week travels to the Czech Republic (obviously a place not too far from the Austrian border), for visiting acquaintances and shopping, which is

cheaper there. His daughter's and sister-in-law's home is on the other side of the street where he lives. His wife does the daily shopping. He travels by car most of the time. Except for his relatives and his acquaintances in the Czech Republic he does not meet anyone, since his former workmates live in a distance of 60 or 70 kilometres, and people cadge and take advantage of you. Since having retired he and his wife are not so active any more (in terms of activities and social contacts), but go for longer holidays. He mentions places like Karlsplatz and Westbahnhof as settings where he feels not so comfortable, even as a man, and therefore tends to avoid these places – which obviously are not so relevant for his routine activities.

### 4. Rennbahnweg

309f39, cashier: The respondent lives with her husband and four children. Considering action spaces she refers to the Donauzentrum (shopping centre) and the SMZ-Ost hospital: Two of her children suffer from asthma, which is why she has to go there rather often. The Donauzentrum is for shopping and going for a stroll. There are no other action spaces, except for Wagramer Straße, the supermarket where she works (not too far from the Rennbahnweg estate). She travels by public transport. Social contacts are mainly in a café on the estate. For her there are no unpleasant places – except for the washhouse (Waschküche), because of the nooks and corners. She only goes there in the company of some other person. In general she does not like the dark places, but has never experienced anything negative. She cannot tell anything about unsafe places in Vienna, since she is home at night.

304f42, tax office clerk: The respondent's husband has left her some months before the interview and now lives in Germany with another woman. She says she does not know much of Vienna since she never had a chance to get around. She has only known her work and the Rennbahnweg estate. (Respondent grew up in Carinthia and only came to live in Vienna later.) She organizes tupper parties, but only in places that are somewhat familiar to her. She does not go to places where she does not know her way around. When asked about her action spaces she says she stays in Lower Austria frequently (Blumau, Neurieshof), since her sister lives there. She visits her twice a month. As for Vienna, her workplace is in Radetzky-straße (inner city), and she is around only because of the tupper parties, which sometimes are arranged in the home of a friend. She travels by car most of the time, and does not like the underground, because of getting into a panic. She would travel by public transport if it were on the surface like the former Stadt-bahn. Social contacts take place in her home, and in two cafes/pubs on the estate. But that only started in July. Before when living with her husband she spent all of her time at home, and did not go out. Sometimes she also goes to the yard to sit there and talk to the neighbours. She does not know about unsafe places in

Vienna. On one occasion, several years ago, her wallet was stolen at a local supermarket.

310f54: The respondent has been on sick leave for two years, and was employed as a shop assistant before. She lives with her husband and two grown up children in their twenties. Her action spaces are confined to the estate where she lives, the SMZ-Ost hospital in her residential district, and the Rosenhügel hospital in a remote part of the city. Her present situation and her living circumstances are largely determined by her health problems: She suffers from "Sturzattacken" (similar to epileptic fits) that leave her unconscious for some time. Except for the necessities of medical treatment she only leaves her home for shopping purposes, and for visiting the owner of the shop, who is an acquaintance. During the interview she mentions quite a number of settings and experiences related to insecurity: Especially underground stations when they are crowded, and she also says that her wallet was stolen on several occasions (in crowded underground trains and in a supermarket). The respondent complains more generally about certain aspects of local living conditions, also affecting and impairing her sense of security: A high level of vandalism and theft ("you can forget about everything that is not nailed down" – "was nicht niet- und nagelfest ist kann man vergessen").

402f60, respondent has been employed as a nurse, at present student (psychology). Country of origin: Czechoslovakia, has been living in Vienna for 28 years. The respondent is handicapped due to an accident and now has to use a wheel chair. Her action spaces are mainly around the university in the inner city. She does not travel by public transport so often, since her electric wheel chair allows her to go 13 kilometres per hour, and going by tram is impossible. On some occasions she travels to the city by underground. Social contacts take place around the university campus in the inner city, in the district of Floridsdorf, in a café on the Rennbahnweg estate, and on the estate where she frequently visits a friend of hers. The respondent's view of unpleasant places is primarily determined by the physical features of certain settings that cannot or only with some difficulty be used with a wheel chair, for instance Praterstern, Schwedenplatz. She also complains that some cafes and restaurants are hardly accessible with a wheel chair, and that especially in the inner city she frequently has problems with the sidewalks since they are not adapted for handicapped persons. However, the respondent also talks about other restrictions of her action spaces. Considering the Renn-bahnweg estate, she is somewhat frightened in the winter when it gets dark early, and she asks her husband to take her home from the underground station. In her opinion there is a high level of delinquency on the estate, due to unemployment among the local juveniles. On one occasion someone wanted to steal her mobile telephone in Austerlitzgasse (one of the boundaries of the estate), but she managed to fight back.

409m30, electrician. The respondent says that because of his job he gets around all across Vienna and the surroundings of the city. Special action spaces include the Rennbahnweg estate, the Gewerbepark Stadlau for shopping, and some villages and small towns in Lower Austria. He always travels by car. Social contacts take place in a disco in the Donaustadt district, and also include going to the cinema with his friends. His relatives live in the south of Vienna, and he used to visit them regularly, but now avoids them and the place where they live, due to family trouble. He also mentions that on one occasion someone broke into his car on the estate, and that there was a burglary in his cellar store room. He is not a fearful person, and obviously does not understand criminal victimization in terms of insecurity. His attitude towards his residential surrounding is quite ambivalent: On the one hand he says he is altogether satisfied and there are no grave disturbances, but on the other complains about the "foreigners" who are noisy and break and ruin (zusammenhauen) everything. Finally he says he does not like living on the Rennbahnweg estate, but his family (2 children) were assigned the flat, and would rather live in a house in the green of his own. He will move away from the estate as soon as he can afford to do so. ›The transdanubian pattern: Most activities and contacts take place on the estate, around the local sub-centres' attractions, and also in the surroundings of the city.‹

602m55, taxi driver, country of origin: Bosnia. Asked for his regular action spaces the respondent refers to several settings he mainly visits for shopping and for talking walks: Certain streets in the inner city (Mariahilfer Straße, Neubaugasse, Schwedenplatz, Wollzeile, Kohlmarkt), and some suburban transdanubian shopping centres (Donauzentrum, Gewerbepark Stadlau). He also does some shopping at the shopping centre on the estate, but says he does not like the atmosphere and would prefer small shops and pubs. He also takes walks in Kaisermühlen, close to the Old Danube (Alte Donau), and says he would prefer to live there, close to the water. Living as a single the respondent seems to maintain few social contacts and relationships, but mentions his two daughters on one occasion: He thinks Vienna is a safe city where he would allow his daughters to go everywhere, even if settings like Südbahnhof or the Karlsplatz underground station are unpleasant to look at. In his opinion there are no unsafe places in Vienna. ›Action spaces refer both to the inner city and several transdanubian locations. Safety is not a relevant issue, but except for shopping there seems to be little social participation.‹

408m60, retired, was employed as an ambulance man (Sanitäter). The respondent says that now after having retired he does not come around so much. Most of the time he stays on the estate, where he has many acquaintances. He also spends some time on his boat, on the Old Danube, where he meets the people he knows. He is actually satisfied with his flat and with housing conditions. Most of the time

he travels by public transport (tram). He often goes to Angeli Bad (a branch of the Old Danube in the Floridsdorf district) where he takes walks with his dog, which needs a lot of free space. The respondent is rather worried about the unemployed juveniles on the Rennbahnweg estate who loiter in the playground until 1.00 a.m. and throw around empty beer bottles. If he were a woman he would be frightened on the estate. There are many dangerous, drug addicted youths who insult other people, and he knows someone who was beaten up when he was out for a walk. He also mentions that on one occasion a man chased a dog at his wife, when she was telephoning in a booth on the estate, adding that no one would come and help you if you got in trouble. ›The respondent's action spaces are completely confined to the Transdanubian area; social contacts are on a local level.‹

302m62, retired, runs a wine tavern. The respondent's action spaces comprise two pubs on the estate, and the local sports ground where he meets the "boys" he has coached for 17 years as a football trainer. From March to November he is in the Prater most of the time (running the tavern), and occasionally goes to the football ground. For him there are no unpleasant settings. He has been to the worst joints of all Vienna, but he never got into any sort of trouble. The respondent (and his wife, who was also present at the interview) do not mention any other action spaces and relationships, suggesting that practically all of their lives takes place on the housing estate (including local pubs), around the wine tavern in the Prater, and in the case of the respondent: including various sports activities with the boys of the football team.

Interim balance

Some interim results can be summarized as follows: For the majority of respondents their ways of using urban spaces (and not using or avoiding others) are not problematic or precarious but appear largely "normal" , "taken for granted" or even "natural" most of the time. Lack of mobility (or the necessity of excessive mobility) is not an essential problem for the majority of respondents. Many rely on public transport, and only in a few interviews public transport is described as an unsatisfactory or questionable resource. However, there are several interviews where the issue of limitations and restraints to physical mobility is addressed. The most significant and dramatic restraints are experienced by those whose action spaces are limited due to severe health problems and handicaps. At the same time other "disadvantaged circumstances" (especially low income, unemployment, other marginal or minority status) do not necessarily exclude the concerned subjects from (at least some sorts of) social participation. Thus, health problems appear as a source of serious trouble and marginalization rather than financial problems and precarious access to the labour market.

To a considerable extent "security" (or more precisely: a subject's sense of security and trust in one's environment) in late modern urban settings is supported by functioning routines, and a reliable institutional framework and infrastructure, and the subjects' both cognitive and practical routines, estranged as they might seem from a "critical" point of view, promote their sense of security. Routine activities are patterned and repetitive by definition, designed and executed in order to prevent all sorts of disturbing contingency, of surprise, crossing and frustration – and asking (sub)urban residents for the spatial dimension of their routines will provide little information on dramatic incidents and encounters at first. However, urban life is not completely made up of routines, and on some occasions and in some settings routines are prone to occasional challenge or even damage. Certain kinds of disturbance can turn into routine themselves. The data seems to support the assumption that both routine activities and urban residents' regular action spaces are considered "normal" in most respects, and that many encounters with physical and/or social disorder tend to be considered routine themselves. Urban residents know about certain types of disorder, expect them to occur and to concentrate in certain locations and at certain times (and to be largely absent in others). Urban residents of course also share some ideas and imaginations (common sense theories) on causes of disorder, and also some basic competences of avoiding, circumventing, coping and confronting disorder. These are perceived as part of their daily routine themselves. Our data suggests that most issues of insecurity with regard to action spaces and routine activities are understood to be patterned and repetitive rather than exceptional and singular – which is also why there are so few elaborate narratives on "interesting" experiences and contexts of insecurity, and many more summary references to "types and configurations of disorder". (Of course this interpretation should not be generalized all too quickly. But obviously it applies to settings that are perceived as predictable to those who know about the "rules in use".)

Furthermore, the data suggests that social contacts and patterns of association do not relate to the conventional (and ideological) model of a local community or "integrated neighbourhood", at least in three of the four Viennese research sites. (The Rennbahnweg estate is somewhat different, and in some respect resembles an oversized village made up of high rise blocks, with many residents participating in informal networks, and many others whose involvement in local affairs is very limited.) In general, most respondents' life styles are not based on significant patterns of social participation and involvement on a local level. (Especially the interview minutes from the Volkert Quarter and the Großfeldsiedlung demonstrate that the respondents' life styles are hardly suitable for any strategy of "community building".) Regardless for the level of satisfaction and identification with the quarter respondents seem to view their residential surrounding as a setting that provides more or less adequate, more or less favourable housing, and a reliable urban infra-

structure, especially with regard to shopping and public transport facilities. Only a minority of respondents seem to experience social relationships and exchanges as a significant local resource, and there are few explicit complaints about the lack of neighbourhood contacts and activities. Compared to the findings from the quantitative survey the more formal patterns of association (regular involvement in clubs, associations etc.) seem to be rather marginal. Most respondents (approximately 90 per cent) describe their routine activities, action spaces and social contacts without any reference to formal social activities. A (not so marginal) minority of 20 per cent mention the social fabric of their neighbourhood as being relevant to them, in terms of identification, social cohesion (Zusammenhalt), "Gemeinschaft", meaningful exchanges, explicitly voicing the impression that their neighbours are o.k., or – more frequently – simply referring to the fact that some of their friends, acquaintances and relatives live in the same quarter or very close to it.

Two different patterns emerge from the data, the first one applying mainly to the younger age bracket, and to the educated (qualified for university entrance) strata, and more frequent in the Leopoldstadt research sites: The quarter is perceived as a place that serves mainly for domestic activities and is primarily evaluated in terms of (acceptable or even favourable) housing conditions and of being close to certain leisure time facilities (usually not situated in the quarter itself, but within reach), and there is very little or no involvement in any social activities on the local level. Meaningful contacts and activities take place in other settings (the inner city for going out and strolling, cafes and restaurants, cinemas, discos, shopping centres and malls, the university campus in the case of students, etc.) The local (social and commercial) infrastructure obviously is not seen as appropriate for such activities. – The second pattern rather applies to the middle and elder age-brackets (especially residents of the transdanubian estates), and frequently combines a rather domestic life style (confined to the family and the home, with only little involvement in neighbourhood contacts and activities), a certain quantity of social involvement at the workplace (for those who have not yet retired), and a considerable measure of "non urban" leisure time activities (in the countryside, in green suburban spots etc.). For both patterns the "local community" is largely absent as a resource – or irrelevant, and only occasionally comes into view as a source of irritation (due to disorder or since some of its features that are not really in keeping with the subject's standards and expectations).

Considering patterns of association there seem to be a limited number of configurations: Domestic and family contacts dominating; contacts around the workplace as a complement (and sometimes an alternative) to domestic life; meeting friends and acquaintances (in cafes, pubs, restaurants, in shopping malls and shopping centres, cinemas, discos, or in the context of sports activities). Contacts at the workplace usually do not happen on a local level in a strict sense since for

most respondents the workplace is not so close to the residential quarter and commuting (within the city or beyond) is required. For some respondents a fair share of social life takes place in the inner city, and in some special locations where shopping and social activities can be combined easily – for instance Donauzentrum, Millennium City, and also the district centres or urban sub centres of Floridsdorf and Kagran (agglomeration of shops, shopping streets, pubs and restaurants, leisure time facilities). For others (especially in the transdanubian research sites) many leisure time activities and social contacts are shifted to suburban or rural surroundings. More formal and regular social activities that were reported frequently by respondents from the Stuwer Quarter and Rennbahnweg sites (participation in clubs and associations) in the quantitative survey appear less prominent in the qualitative data, and are relevant only for a minority of respondents (approximately 10 per cent).

Another aspect of the data relates to different patterns of association (and participation) that seem to apply for those who (fully and permanently) are engaged in the labour market and whose social activities mainly relate to their family and the workplace – without so much involvement in other social relationships and exchanges (the "inclusion via family and employment" type, and in extreme cases: family and work as arrangements that cause exclusion from many other walks of life, and keep them away from most insecurities as well) – and on the other hand those who are excluded from regular and permanent employment but still maintain a considerable range of social contacts and activities (disposable time as a significant resource; inclusion via social relationships, acquaintances, activities.)[8] Put in other words: Action spaces and routine activities are designed and organized completely different for those who are subject to certain constant obligations (especially work, caring) and time pressure – and the others who organize their living and their time schedules according to changing preferences and interests, with restraints eventually resulting from health problems and/or low income.

## 11. Unpleasant Places ("Unangenehme Orte")

The material refers to a broad range of settings and areas that are described as (somehow) unpleasant (but not necessarily unsafe) by the respondents. The following typology starts with some categories of unpleasant settings that are mentioned by a considerable number of respondents and obviously reflect a shared basic understanding of settings that are avoided (at least by some) as far as possible. Categories on the bottom of the list were mentioned by no more than one or two respondents and therefore appear less significant, at least in quantitative terms. Generally speaking, unpleasant places are primarily described as places where unpleasant, not so decent, not so orderly people gather (or are believed to gather), and as places where one is likely to be involved in unwanted, annoying incidents.

8 Cf. Wheelock, Fear or opportunity? Insecurity in employment (1999), commenting on the social divide between "work-poor" households with time on their hand, and the "work-rich", facing continual pressure on their time. The phenomenon is not only relevant when considering patterns of consumption, affluence, poverty, health and stress, but also when discussing opportunities and limits to social and cultural participation, and the use of urban space.

- Settings known for the (regular, more than occasional) presence of deviant/marginal groups (especially drunkards, drug addicts, homeless, beggars); places with a negative reputation of that kind (for instance Karlsplatz, Westbahnhof, Praterstern, Mexikoplatz.)
- Places where encounters with beggars/scroungers are likely and where the risk of molestation is higher than elsewhere (certain underground and railway stations, the inner city).
- Filthy and littered places (subways, railway stations, places where not so respectable individuals and groups gather) (physical disorder), places characterised by unpleasant smells (smell of urine in subways, tram stops…) or the presence of many pigeons (resulting in excrements). Public toilets (with no explicit explanation, but possibly implying they are mainly avoided for reasons of insufficient cleanliness and state of maintenance).
- Places where groups hang around and occupy a territory ("gangs" of juveniles in some underground stations and on housing estates, black people in underground stations, foreigners in public places and in amusement parks).
- Places with a high concentration of foreigners (Brunnenmarkt, certain districts of Vienna, for instance Favoriten or Ottakring, the Gürtel area, certain housing estates). (Eventually the foreigners may be subjects who have received Austrian citizenship, but are perceived according to their appearance or habitus.)
- Railway stations in general (Westbahnhof, Südbahnhof)
- Places to which access is problematic or complicated and time consuming (difficult to reach by means of public transport, lack of sufficient parking spaces, roads in a bad state of maintenance etc.) Also, places and urban areas where driving is unpleasant, due to features of the physical environment.
- All densely built up urban areas lacking green spots (the inner city, the inner districts), urban areas where there is just concrete and buildings, and narrow lanes. (This type of setting is described as unpleasant by several respondents living in suburban housing estates.)
- Places known for illegal activities and where illegal activities are observed (especially drug trafficking, black market transactions, illegal prostitution etc.) and where violations of rules go unpunished most of the time (for instance, no smoking regulations) (Karlsplatz, Mexikoplatz, Stuwerviertel, underground stations etc.)
- Places where red light activities take place, where prostitutes walk the streets, resulting in sexual harassment of women by cruising customers etc. (Certain locations in Stuwer Quarter, but also some sections of the Gürtel) Also, places where drug addicted teenage prostitutes are to be found (Venediger Au).
- Places where women are confronted with unwanted attention from not so respectable young men (especially groups of foreigners) who loiter in the surroundings of pubs and cafes (for instance Volkertmarkt).
- The surroundings of pubs and cafes in residential areas that cause constant noise

and where trouble occurs repeatedly, where police interventions take place, especially if these pubs and cafes are close to the respondents home. (For instance in some streets of Volkert Quarter).

- Places that are lonely and deserted after dark (residential quarters with only few people passing by, which is why walking from the parked car to the home is unpleasant in the late evenings, also the surroundings of office buildings in the late evenings and parks).
- Places with insufficient lighting (metropolitan railway stations, subways, parks, the distance between Praterstern and Venediger Au).
- Crowded places, places where (too) many people move around (public transport facilities, traffic junctions, play parks, shopping centres/malls …).
- Places where aggressive behaviour occurs (clubs, pubs and discos visited by foreigners and with a reputation for occasional fights and brawls; parts of the inner city with a concentration of pubs and restaurants; certain sports grounds etc.).
- Places that are defined as sites where risks of criminal victimisation might be high or that are known as sites of recent crimes (especially robberies, muggings) or where the respondent has become the victim of a crime.
- Places and areas that are completely unknown to the respondent and where he or she has some difficulty in finding his or her way.
- Places where the air/atmosphere is bad or oppressing (shopping centres, hospitals) (also, where the air is filled with smoke).
- Artificial worlds (certain shopping centres/malls that are perceived as "unnatural").
- Places occupied by noisy children (yards on housing estates).
- Urban areas that appear noisy and hectic (the inner city compared to suburban estates).
- Places with unsatisfactory architecture and design (for instance Wien Mitte railway station, Lassallestraße, Schwarzenbergplatz)
- Areas close to metropolitan motorways (mainly due to noise and environmental pollution, for instance, Gürtel, Handelskai).
- Areas that appear deserted, vast and cut off from the rest of the city (outskirts, for instance the district of Liesing)

Generally speaking the mentioned settings are unpleasant mainly due to their deviant uses and the presence of marginal groups and individuals, including the risk of involvement in unwanted transactions (beggars), and in other cases because of their not so orderly appearance. Other categories of unpleasant places imply some lack of informal control, at least some of the time, places too crowded, and places too dark and deserted for informal controls to be efficient and reliable. Once again, places are considered unpleasant primarily because they reflect certain aspects of urban disorder rather than urban danger, with a few exceptions confirming the rule. And in most cases respondents do not mention places and settings

where they themselves were subject to criminal victimisation or any other dramatic experience. Rather, the mentioned places and settings are defined as unpleasant because of some permanent characteristics (and/or a lasting reputation). 24 out of 86 respondents (10 female, 14 male, among them several senior citizens) would not mention any "unpleasant places", some of them explicitly stating they do not know anything about unpleasant places, since they certainly would not go there.

### 12. "No problem" with Security in Vienna ...

We have mentioned before that many interviews contained no substantial information on urban danger and fear of crime as being relevant for the subject's perception of urban space and living conditions, and that a substantial proportion of the material is about various sorts of (social and/or environmental) disorder. Since many respondents draw a clear boundary between "unpleasant" and "unsafe" settings, and between feeling unsafe and feeling uncomfortable in certain situations, there is a considerable number of subjects who say they do not recall any situation when they felt (rather) unsafe during recent years. In fact, 38 out of 86 respondents do not mention any situation of this type. Of course this apparent lack of insecurity proves to be a gendered phenomenon, applying to half of the male respondents, but only to about a quarter of female respondents. The proportion is roughly stable across the Viennese research sites. However, it is not only this quantitative aspect but also a number of general statements in several interviews that suggest that for many respondents the issue of safety is not so significant:

• The respondent (male, 30, RBW) says he is not a fearful person and therefore is not railed at in a silly way *("blöd angequatscht")*. The respondent complains about juveniles and foreigners, who are not sufficiently controlled, and mentions a theft from his car and a burglary in his cellar, but does not relate these experiences and impressions to insecurity. To him obviously being verbally abused would be the paradigmatic case of experiencing insecurity.
• The respondent (male, 62, RBW) says that in some pubs you can get into trouble – but he and his wife never have. Also in the Prater (where he runs a wine tavern) there has been nothing of that sort. He claims to have visited "the worst joints in all Vienna" ("die ärgsten Hütten von Wien"), but there has never been a problem. (The context implies that the respondent can hardly imagine getting into trouble in other types of settings. He also says that he is very well-respected on the housing estate because he has done so much for the younger generation as a sports trainer.)
• The respondent (female, 72, GFS) says there are certainly some places where one must be anxious ("wo man Angst haben muss"), for instance Karlsplatz, Prater and Gürtel – but there is no need to go to these places. For her there is no

reason to be fearful in her quarter – and she does not go out in the late evening. (Going to unsafe places appears to be a personal decision and thus can be easily avoided.)

- The respondent (female, 55, GFS) says Vienna is a safe city, where you can walk around at night. She is not a fearful person and often takes the night bus. (Obviously the respondent feels the night buses might be relatively unsafe – but to her they are safe enough, and of course she has never had any negative experiences.)

- The respondent (male, 30, GFS) says there are no unpleasant places for him, he is prepared to walk anywhere in Vienna, because Vienna is not yet Chicago. (The respondent alludes to a popular slogan issued by the Freedom Party in the 1996 municipal election campaign "Vienna must not become Chicago", suggesting that crime was one of the city's major problems.)

- The respondent (female, 37, StQ) says that Vienna as a metropolis is a tremendously safe city ("unheimlich sichere Stadt"). (However, she also states that some settings and customs in her quarter require some acclimatisation – "gewöhnungsbedürftig".)

- The respondent (male, 42, StQ) says that in his opinion Vienna is a very safe city, there are no unsafe places. He possibly would feel less comfortable in some pubs in the outer districts, and he would not necessarily advise his daughter to walk alone at night by the Messegelände or in Rustenschacher Alley. (The context suggests that visiting pubs in the outer districts is more or less a hypothetical activity, and that the two questionable settings, although not so far from the respondent's quarter, can be easily avoided and there is absolutely no need for his daughter to go there.)

- The respondent (female, 41, VQ) says that in the evenings it is unsafe everywhere. She says she does not go out much in the evenings – and if so only in the company of her husband. She has not had any negative experiences. Actually she thinks Vienna is very safe. The Prater might be unsafe. She does not go there but has seen a TV program (interviews with prostitutes). (The context reveals a remarkable ambivalence toward the topic of insecurity: On one hand many situations are defined as virtually or hypothetically unsafe; on the other hand "fear of crime" seems completely absent and the respondent cannot remember any experiences of trouble, possibly due to her way of life that keeps her away from many potential risks.)

- The respondent (male, 63, VQ) says security is not an issue in Vienna, although of course there have been burglaries and other crimes in the quarter, and in his house. He does not recall a situation in which he would say he did not feel safe. He does not take that seriously everything on the front page of the Kronen Zeitung (a popular newspaper).

- The respondent (male, 50, migrant, VQ) says he cannot remember an incident or a situation when he would have felt unsafe. He also states that he has never

been controlled by the Austrian police. (The latter statement refers to the respondent's occupation as a chauffeur, suggesting that police controls might result in a feeling of unsafety in a migrant / driver.)

- The respondent (male, 58, VQ) says he feels very well in Vienna, for him there are no unpleasant or unsafe places. Certainly there are some Turkish pubs (Lokale) in the district of Ottakring where he would not go – but he does not go there anyway *("ich geh eh nicht hin")*. (Places that might eventually be problematic or unsafe are not visited in the first place because they do not correspond to the subject's tastes, and more attractive alternatives are available.)

- The respondent (male, 27, migrant, StQ) says that he and his family feel harassed by the cruising customers who drive around the block all night, but there are no other problems, no situations when he would have felt unsafe. There is enough police, and he has no enemies. (The respondent says he has a criminal record and was convicted twice in his teenage years, when he was a member of a gang. For him the terms "unsafe" and "insecure" are not primarily related to the contingencies of urban life and to crime risks, and certainly not to disorder, but understood in a more "tribal" framework: One tends to feel unsafe because of one's enemies.)

- The respondent (male, 77, StQ) relates the concept of insecurity primarily to the situation of having to learn to walk and to drive anew after recovering from a stroke one year ago. He could not name any unpleasant or unsafe places. He does not recall any situations he would consider unsafe except for his health related problems. He is not afraid when walking across Praterstern at 11.30 p.m. or 12.00 a.m. when coming from the pub on Mondays where he meets with his friends and acquaintances. Now and then someone has asked him for a cigarette, but that does not disturb or irritate him. (A remarkable statement since the Praterstern area in the late evenings, and especially being addressed by strangers in that setting is perceived as a nuisance or even more by several respondents.)

Some of these examples suggest that respondents do not altogether deny the existence of "unsafe places" and urban danger, but for many these contexts of potential danger can be easily avoided, circumnavigated, or handled. Thus, respondents are aware of certain types of trouble, but feel competent enough to recognise, and to cope with them.

As has been mentioned above, (discourses on) insecurities and anxieties with regard to urban space are obviously a gendered phenomenon. A first examination of the material might suggest that female respondents do not necessarily experience more situations of unsafety and danger in a strict sense, but more often define social irritations and disorderly settings as (possibly) significant in terms of insecurity, while male respondents tend to differentiate more clearly between disorder/unpleasant settings on the one hand, and actual unsafety on the other. Also

female respondents were more ready to mention "minor insecurities" and irritations that they themselves did not really consider disturbing than their male counterparts.

### 13. Tokens of Disorder

A topic that is particularly relevant in several interviews from the Rennbahnweg estate (but of course is also present in interviews from other research sites) relates to what we would suggest naming "tokens of disorder".[9] Tokens of disorder indicate a lack of decency and respectability, especially if they are not singular or exceptional, but can be observed repeatedly, suggesting that they are not strictly contingent phenomena, distributed evenly across the urban landscape. As long as such tokens remain singular or rare observations (for instance a banana skin next to a litter bin or occasional graffiti at a tram stop) they are usually understood as symptoms of normal disorder without a specific meaning by most subjects. However, when appearing more concentrated or intensified in a certain location or area (for instance litter spread around several containers on an estate most of the time, repeated fights in certain pubs, occasional bloodstains in their surroundings etc.) they are assumed to reflect some sort of serious trouble and/or deficiency. Tokens of disorder frequently suggest that some (or many) people in a certain environment do not behave orderly, adhere to questionable patterns of behaviour and do not care about their surroundings (and about how others feel in those surroundings), and tokens of disorder – especially when accumulating in a setting or remaining unrectified for a longer period ("broken windows") are usually understood to signify deficits in social controls. Skogan, drawing on empirical evidence from many US cities, suggests that disorder frequently goes hand in hand with (fear of) crime, and that there is a tendency towards intensification, so the not so dramatic forms of disorder may (and usually do) trigger or attract more destructive phenomena, finally resulting in the decline and collapse of entire neighbourhoods and residential areas.

The following illustrations all relate to the Rennbahnweg estate, and to a certain extent portray the negative and disorderly aspects of life on the estate. Comments and key concepts for interpretation are added in brackets.

- The younger generation, loitering somewhere, drunk all the time … fights … (305) (There are no real ambitions and opportunities for reasonable leisure time activities, there is a lack of social control, aggression in public remains uncurbed, and there seems to be excessive consumption of alcohol not only on certain occasions but as a permanent state of affairs.)
- Bloodstains in the shopping centre, in front of a pub … (301) (The token obviously points to repeated violence, fights between male customers, presumably

9 The concept of course refers to Skogan (1990), and the chapter owes a lot to his contributions on the subject.

living on the estate, leaving traces that are not removed quickly and can be noticed by many.)

- Watching from the kitchen window seeing some 20 people gathered in front of the building, a girl crying (for help?), a shot is fired in the air, and the police arrive … (601) (From a distance only a vague understanding of what has actually happened is possible – but there is some evidence of violence and crime, and police intervention is required.)
- The room where the litter bins are kept was set on fire … (310) (The situation seems more dramatic, since the litter bins are stored in a closed room, which is why there might be some danger of the fire spreading through the whole building. The incident itself permits very different readings: Juvenile (or other) mischief versus dangerous crime.)
- The son's car was vandalised and the tyres were stolen. (310) (The car park is not a safe place, residents' private property is not respected – and it remains unclear whether the act is directed against the victim or follows a more contingent pattern.)
- Watching juveniles let their dogs chase other people. (402) (Dangerous situations occur, due to the aggressive behaviour of juveniles, using their dogs to intimidate other residents; lack of surveillance and controls.)
- Respondent has decorated the walls in the corridor with beautiful animal pictures – three weeks later they were gone, stolen – and the same happened again after the respondent had replaced the pictures (401) (Decorating the building is not appreciated, private property is not respected – and the act might express some spite.)
- Respondent has watched the police running around and arresting people on several occasions – in earlier years one (= she) often saw (police) blue lights … (304) (Police interventions were watched from a distance, there is no exact idea of what actually happened, but obviously there were reasons for the police to arrest people – crimes? The lack of exact information in this case seems to neutralise the importance of those observations, the respondent does not seem to care so much.)
- Half rotten fruits stuck to the wall, someone urinating on the way from the car park to the door. (303) (Traces demonstrating that people do not care about the environment, lack of self control (?), contaminating semi public spaces on the estate…)
- Watching four or five juveniles attacking another boy and kicking him … (604) (Aggressive behaviour among juveniles, no effective social controls, except for someone passing by and intervening, by chance…)
- Juveniles covering everything with paint ("schmieren alles an"), especially in the stairwell. (311) (No respect for property, lack of social control, no one caring about the orderly appearance of the building.)
- Juveniles staying in the playground until 1:00 a.m., throwing empty beer bottles

around. (408) (Inappropriate use of the playground, juveniles in the yard at a time when they ought to have been at home, lack of social control, behaviour that leaves the setting littered and disorderly.)

- On one occasion the door (of the respondents home) was covered with blood. (603) (The respondent assumes this was caused by a fight between residents on the stairs, also, not caring about smearing other residents' door with blood).
- Juveniles calling names, insulting ("Schimpfereien") and scuffling at night, so that the respondent cannot sleep. (604) (Lack of social controls, aggressive behaviour at night, disturbing one's sleep.)

Disorder and "incivilities" are not about victimisation in a strict sense, although some of the mentioned phenomena of course refer to offences that are punishable by law and can be classed as police business. (cf. Skogan 1990). Nevertheless the complainant's quality of living (or housing), and sometimes his or her trust in the community, is impaired. At the same time there seems to be no adequate strategy of coping, no remedy agent to turn to – at least, many statements on local disorder phenomena are told as if there were no competent remedy agent –, no reasonable reordering ritual that might restore a more orderly surrounding (and future), at least in some respects. The illustrations above may also serve to describe some tokens of disorder and the range of possible interpretations both by those who witness these phenomena in their physical and social surrounding, and by agencies in charge of dealing with the respective problems and their underlying causes. When discussing phenomena of disorder and their negative impact on local communities it should be kept in mind that obviously these phenomena permit very different frames of interpretation. Sometimes (and by some local residents) they are understood as "normal trouble" on a housing estate, where not all residents can be expected to subscribe to the same moral standards, for others they are symptoms of serious trouble, sometimes explained by referring to (supposed) structural causes like high unemployment among juveniles, lack of opportunities for juveniles – and in a few interviews there is some kind of reference to the fact that the mentioned "juveniles" also include "foreigners", which is why the boundaries between "trouble with juveniles" and "trouble with foreigners" on the estate have been increasingly blurred.

Examples from the other research sites relate to juveniles breaking bottles on the pavement, constant trouble with certain pubs (noise until the early morning, repeated police interventions, and all sorts of action in the surroundings), domestic quarrels and women crying for help late at night. Once again these occurrences can be neutralised (perceived as normal urban disorder, especially when considering the population of the estate) or understood as symptoms of community decline. Considering our data, the respondents' way of presentation often suggests that the reported tokens of disorder are understood as a "medium load" of local

problems, but not necessarily indicating a serious crisis, and there are few attempts to build a pessimist rhetoric of moral decline around them.

Many tokens of disorder are not necessarily linked to issues of safety/security in the first place, and rather point to different perceptions and attitudes on everyday morals, but some of the above illustrations certainly suggest that some types (and framings) of disorder tend to have some impact on local residents' conditions, and especially on their evaluation of their surroundings as safe/orderly/predictable etc.

## 14. Experiences of Crime

Less than half of the respondents mentioned any experience(s) of crime (= criminal victimisation) during the last (5 to 10) years. Most of these experiences, however, are obviously perceived as rather trivial or not so important incidents with no real impact on the subject's sense of security. (Which also implies, that the subject's sense of security mainly depends on other factors and variables.) The data largely confirms some of the findings from the "Vienna Safe City" project (cf. Hanak 1996), and other criminological research. Criminal victimisation impact on (in)security is rather limited since most cases of criminal victimisation relate to (minor) property offences that cause moderate material loss and do not include any significant confrontation with the offender, exceptions confirming the rule. Furthermore, for most respondents, victimisation remains a rare and more or less exceptional experience, which also allows minimising its actual meaning. Generally speaking most respondents who mention some criminal victimisation implicitly (or explicitly) suggest that they had some bad luck in a specific situation and were affected by some kind of general urban risk that cannot really be avoided but that most urban residents do not experience very often in their lives. Considering the phenomenology of victimisation, most statements refer to bicycle theft, pickpockets, burglaries into cellar store rooms (Kellerabteile) (especially on the Rennbahnweg estate), theft from motor vehicles, vandalism etc. – types of offences that appear frequently in official crime statistics, and are obviously reported to the police in the majority of cases.

There are only a few reports on experiences of violence, some of them relating to incidents that happened many years ago and/or were also caused by the respondent's participation in some "wild activities" (involvement with "gangs", illegal drugs, delinquent subcultures etc.).

However, another surprising phenomenon comes up in some of the interviews. Criminal occurrences and cases of victimisation that cannot really be understood as minor disturbances, are obviously considered "not so important" (or not really related to issues of safety). At the moment there is no satisfactory explanation

for this tendency of "normalisation", but obviously there are certain biographical and/or social contexts that permit the absorption of relatively dramatic occurrences.

One respondent mentions that two of his friends died due to heroin use, and another friend was killed – a case that received considerable media coverage since the murderer not only killed but also dismembered his victim. Nevertheless the respondent seems unaffected by any kind of "insecurity" and still considers Vienna a very safe city, somehow like a "sanatorium". (The respondent's way of presentation suggests that dramatic risks and life events are caused by and reserved for those engaging in special subcultures and milieus characterised by a search for deviant risks and action, but the other walks of Viennese urban life appear quite the contrary: routine and not so exciting.) (Int. No. 202)

A respondent in his mid thirties from the Rennbahnweg estate mentions an incident ("The hole in the floor") that occurred two years ago and obviously has disturbed the family's daily routines considerably:

*One evening when the family was in the living room smoke suddenly came out of the sockets and filled the room. The respondent and his family had to leave their home quickly. It turned out that some juveniles had set fire to the cellar store room (immediately below the respondent's flat), causing considerable damage not only in the respondent's flat (the parquet and carpet were ruined, and there was a hole in the floor), but also in other parts of the building. The respondent and his family had to stay in a hotel for some days. Costs for renovation and repair were covered by the municipal housing department. – The respondent obviously did not recall the incident when asked for situations when he felt unsafe / insecure, and only came to talk about it when asked for experiences with crime. When the interviewer called him on the phone some days later to collect some additional information about the event the respondent also remarked that there had been a story on the whole affair in a popular newspaper, and there had also been a photo, showing the respondent in the damaged surroundings. Thus, criminal incidents causing massive damage and disturbing the subjects' routines are not necessarily understood in terms of unsafety (and/or morals), but coped with in a very pragmatic way. In this case the most significant structural prerequisite allowing this kind of unexcited coping can be seen in the authorities covering the costs for "reordering", and – of course – in the fact that the respondent's family were lucky to escape from the fire and the smoke just in time. (Some other residents were taken to hospital because of smoke poisoning – "Rauchgasvergiftung".) Considering the moral aspect, the case of arson is primarily understood and "explained" as an act of mischief, committed by juveniles lacking common sense. (603)*

The situation is very different for a limited number of cases that do not follow the

described pattern, and of course there are a few reports of crimes that did affect the subjects' well-being and actually stirred some doubts about living in a safe surrounding.

There is an instructive example in an interview with a 49 year old woman who was attacked by a robber one morning when she was doing her shopping, only a few weeks before being interviewed.

*The respondent was hit on the head from behind, and the offender took all her money and escaped. The woman's injuries required medical treatment at a hospital. The respondent said that she has felt insecure and anxious in her district since the time of the attack. She also said that she is very satisfied with the quarter where she has been living since being childhood, and where she has everything she needs. The only negative feature of the quarter in her view is the noise, especially from the nearby schools, which is why she frequently suffers from headaches. (The crime obviously belonged to a series of approximately 40 similar offences that occurred in the Volkert Quarter in December 2002/January 2003, that was also covered in the print media, the series coming to a halt only after the perpetrator was finally arrested by the police.) The account and its context suggest that there are crimes that affect the victim's condition and attitudes, although this effect may be due to the circumstance that the interview was conducted a short time after the experience. The series of robberies is also mentioned in two more interviews with female respondents from the Volkert Quarter, suggesting that the unusual local crime wave in a setting where serious crimes are rare events most of the time obviously concerned (some of the) local residents. (109)*

Another interview from the Rennbahnweg estate, with a woman in her forties, contains several episodes and statements, all of them relating to the risks of theft and vandalism on the estate. The woman's discourse on these subjects probably reflects an important aspect of her personal situation.

*Due to an illness the respondent suffers from occasional fits that leave her unconscious for some time ("Sturzattacken", possibly similar to epileptic fits). She complains that in these situations she has received little help and support, and that on some occasions passers by took advantage of the situation and took some of her property. (She has not worn rings and jewellery since.) When placed in the context of some other information from the interview the respondent's pronounced awareness of criminal risks on the estate seems to follow from her special vulnerability, caused by health problems. Other statements refer to the wide spread vandalism on the estate – and it seems that the respondent's son's motor vehicle was "vandalised" on several occasions. The respondent's discourse suggests that staying or moving in public space or leaving one's car in the surrounding means being exposed to risks of victimisation (especially theft, vandalism), and she does not fail to mention a topic that also comes up in some oth-*

*er interviews from the Rennbahnweg estate: Arson, committed by juveniles (and/or unknown perpetrators), setting cellar store rooms or litter bins on fire etc. While other respondents do not suggest a special motive and strategy for these actions (except that the local juveniles tend to create mischief), the woman insinuates that arson might be a strategy of revenge by beggars who did not get what they hoped for.[10] Consequently, the whole estate is portrayed as a place where moral order is no longer intact, where there is no support from the police and other authorities, and where one is well advised to do one's shopping as quickly as possible, to return home and close the door, and avoiding public space as much as possible. (310)*

There is one more interview with a man in his mid thirties, a migrant from the former Yugoslavia, who has lived on a public housing estate in Großfeldsiedlung with his family for seven years, and who mainly complains about the unsatisfactory people that surround him.

*He claims that they do not meet his own standards of decency and respectability, and that he would not have moved to the estate if he had known about the local conditions. (This statement appears quite remarkable, since most respondents from Großfeldsiedlung do not comment on or complain about the social composition of the local population and the issue of – lacking – respectability.) The respondent does not really elaborate on the issue of safety/security, but finally mentions a series of criminal victimisations that happened to him and other family members, mainly minor thefts and vandalism. It seems likely that this remarkable accumulation of incidents and nuisances is not a simple matter of contingency but reflects some latent pattern of social control: spiteful acts against specific persons and families who are perceived as outsiders (or deviants) themselves. However, in this case repeated experiences of victimisation are not understood as questions of one's safety/security, but as symptoms of "lowbrow" moral and behavioural standards in the community. (807)*

## 15. Strategies of Avoiding Trouble and Danger

The qualitative data of course contains information on the subjects' (micro) strategies and patterns of behaviour that aim at controlling and avoiding unsafe situations and encounters. Some of these strategies are mainly described by female respondents, others are obviously relevant for both genders.

1.  Strategies Described by Both Male and Female Respondents:

    • Avoiding certain spots and areas in public spaces (especially: settings that are occupied by deviant individuals or groups, places that are assumed to be high crime areas or spots where drug trafficking occurs, certain parks, underground stations, especially in the late evenings.)
    • Avoiding certain types (and especially groups) of people in the public realm

10 A mode of interpretation also discussed in criminological literature. Cf. Donald Black, Crime as Social Control (1984) and M.P. Baumgartner (1984), Social Control from Below.

(in case avoiding the setting altogether is impossible): especially drug addicts, beggars, drunk persons, black people, drug dealers etc.

2. Strategies Mainly or Exclusively Described by Female Respondents:
   • Ignoring annoying behaviour and being addressed by (male) strangers (also: cruising customers in red light areas) in public space, walking by (quickly) without taking notice, avoiding or minimising unwanted contact, pretending to be busy (for instance, by means of a mobile telephone)
   • Walking through certain streets, places and estates with one's dog (mainly or exclusively for safety reasons and in order to deter harassment)
   • Asking some relative (usually: friend, husband etc.) to take one home from the underground station (in order to avoid having to walk home from a tram stop in the evening)
   • Taking a taxi instead of public transport in the late evening hours
   • Going by car instead of public transport or walking
   • Watching one's property – paying special attention to risks like bicycle and other theft, pickpockets in crowded places etc.
   • Avoiding being in the streets in the (late) evenings or after dark (staying at home in the evenings, visiting the theatre on Sundays, when the performances start earlier than during the week – strategies especially described by elderly respondents)
   • Avoiding public lavatories (for various reasons, not mainly related to issues of safety)
   • Avoiding public transport and metropolitan trains in the evenings and after dark
   • Doing one's daily shopping as quickly as possible, returning to the home and closing the door behind – avoiding public space and activities outside the home as far as possible
   • Walking close to the road and keeping away from the walls of buildings and from doorways, walking in the middle of the road rather than on the pavement, close to the houses
   • Avoiding particular anxiety spaces or going there only in someone's company (for instance cellar store room of a housing estate)

3. Strategies Mainly or Exclusively Described by Male Respondents:
   • Avoiding pubs that appear problematic or are considered definitely unsafe for various reasons (for instance pubs mainly visited by foreigners, pubs with a particular reputation, pubs where the respondent has been involved in disputes or fights etc.)
   • Strategic withdrawal, flight etc. in situations of escalating conflict, when witnessing aggressive behaviour or from places where potentially dangerous persons or groups are present

- Purchasing security devices (special doors, locks etc.), for instance after a burglary into the home has been committed or after hearing about a burglary on the estate.

There are only few strategies that are mentioned frequently. Avoiding places that are perceived as risky, the risk mainly being involvement with not so decent and not so predictable people, especially being asked for money or cigarettes, or in the case of women, receiving unwanted attention from male strangers. Of course this strategy is complemented by avoiding the mentioned categories of people (beggars, drunk persons, homeless, drug addicts etc.), and minimising contact and involvement. Considering the mentioned strategies, many of them seem to be "cheap strategies", in terms of causing little or no social and economic costs most of the time. They can be integrated easily in the subject's routines of circumspect everyday behaviour, and require no special knowledge or skills. To a certain degree they are practised by many competent urban residents who share some basic awareness of the manifold risks and contingencies of urban life, and have some idea about in which settings what sorts of risks and difficulties can be expected. However, there is some evidence of more elaborated, not so common sense strategies, some of which appear quite costly both in terms of money, and in terms of the restraints they may impose on the subject's mobility and liberty to use urban space. This applies especially to some women's strategies of avoiding public space in general (or certain areas and routes) in the late evenings, of avoiding public transport facilities, and travelling by taxi, not only on rare and special occasions, but frequently. The same is true for the (female) strategy of going out in the evenings or staying in some places only in the company of (male) friends or relatives.

The female respondents in particular elaborate more on specific micro strategies of handling (or rather preventing) problematic situations and encounters. The material proves that some (especially older) women avoid going out in the late evening hours – a pattern of behaviour that is not usually motivated by fear of crime and other urban risks in the first place and is understood as being normal and adequate, but also aims at avoiding all sorts of situations that might turn out to be insecure.

### 16. The Police

Surprisingly, the role of the police in the qualitative material appears relatively marginal. Most interviews do not contain any explicit reference to the police and their social control functions. Of course, there are several statements on property offences that also include a half sentence, saying that the police were notified (obviously a normal way of coping with that sort of situation)[11], but could do

11 Recent survey data (not yet published) indicate a very high rate of reporting for property offences in Vienna. Consequently, the dark figure for this type of crime can be assumed to be quite low.

nothing about the matter, but only in a few interviews there is any kind of reflection on police activities, police strategies etc.

 Some of these interviews concern the Rennbahnweg estate, and usually it is the lack of police presence on the estate (and in its surroundings) which is complained about. The respective contexts reveal that respondents feel that trouble with juveniles on the estate is, among other factors, due to deficits in police patrols and police resources. Obviously increased police presence is supposed primarily to reduce mischief in the yards, vandalism and aggressive, noisy behaviour in the late evenings. (The respondents' complaints are in keeping with experts' statements, arguing that police density is relatively low in the transdanubian districts, especially outside the district centres, and that the whole realm of the Rennbahnweg estate is private property in legal terms, belonging to the municipality's housing department, which is why routine police presence as in other public spaces is not delivered. (Consequently, the police only come to the semi-public yards when called for intervention.)

The opposite can be found in some interviews from Stuwer Quarter, where some respondents are quite satisfied with a relatively high level of police presence and patrols, and argue that police presence makes the quarter safer. Once more this evaluation is in keeping with experts' statements. According to the local police, the Stuwer Quarter enjoys a very high level of police attention, mainly due to its reputation as a red light district and constant complaints about illegal prostitution.

Interviews from Volkert Quarter contain a few remarks about the police, all of them related to trouble with local pubs, and mentioning that there are repeated police interventions in some of these pubs as well as mentioning that problems with some pubs are not controlled sufficiently by the police and the authorities. Some of the pubs ought to be closed, but there is no activity from the side of the relevant authorities.

The police as a relevant agent in the field of (in)security and crime control are almost completely absent in the interviews from Großfeldsiedlung, with one remarkable exception that deserves some attention:

*A man in his thirties who works as a bus driver and has been a taxi driver before, recalls a situation some years ago when he was working on his car after midnight and suddenly two police officers appeared, directing a gun and a flashlight at him. The respondent says that he felt very uncomfortable in that situation, but however it proved to him that the quarter was safe. (The police officers obviously suspected a case of theft from a motor vehicle – and for the respondent the experience proves that there is someone around to prevent crime at night.) (208)*

The fact that the police as the significant crime control agency do not appear in most of the interviews (or play no more than a marginal role like being notified after some offence or some accident), obviously requires some sort of explanation. On the one hand, one might argue, many contexts of insecurity and urban disorder are hardly thought to be police business; on the other hand the data possibly reflects the simple fact that the services and interventions delivered by the police are largely in keeping with the public's expectations, with a limited range of exceptions – and therefore elicit few comments and complaints. Finally, the police as a source or as an amplifier of disturbance and disorder is completely absent in the data, a finding that might gain some relevance when compared to the material collected in other cities.

## 17. Contexts of Insecurity

The material contains more or less detailed descriptions of and elaborations on "contexts of insecurity". Of course there are contexts of insecurity that appear characteristic of some urban areas (and are largely irrelevant in others), and others that pertain to urban settings fairly regardless of their concrete features. The most significant topics have been mentioned in earlier sections of the report:

• Insecurities related to "Karlsplatz" underground junction and its surroundings (Resselpark, Opernpassage): A syndrome not really confined to that specific location but including most types of insecurities that are related to places that bear a reputation of being occupied by marginal groups. In the case of Karlsplatz it is mainly one of the exits of the building, close to Resselpark and the Technical University, where the deviants congregate. The marginal groups are not primarily understood to be a threat to passers by, but an unpleasant sight. And to a certain extent places of that kind are also thought to be risky – if only insofar that deviant or unpredictable individuals might address the more respectable passers by, asking for money or cigarettes or annoying them by some sort of unwanted attention. The risk obviously is "getting involved in some sort of unwanted exchange" with deviant strangers. (And furthermore there is the risk of verbal aggression as a sanction for refusing involvement and cooperation.) Consequently this kind of setting is (partly) avoided by many urban residents, and those who (have to) use the place usually practice some kind of strategy ("circumnavigating" problematic groups or individuals) in order to minimise contact and avoid potential trouble.

• A second sui generis context of insecurity concerns the Praterstern and its surrounding. In some respects the Praterstern represents a syndrome quite similar to Karlsplatz. However, there are some significant contrasts. In the case of Karlsplatz, irritations are often about (or also refer to) the presence of drug users (and other marginal/deviant groups). In the case of Praterstern, drug addicts or drug

dealers are hardly associated with the image of the area. Essentially Praterstern is understood to be a traffic junction, comprising the Wien Nord railway station, situated next to the amusement facilities of the Prater, and to the Stuwer Quarter (with its reputation for illegal prostitution), and known to be a place where groups of alcoholics and homeless people loiter, both in the station building and around the supermarket, and on the edging of some nearby green spots. Furthermore the Praterstern is criticised for its constructional features, its poor state of maintenance, the conditions of the nearby subway passages (filth, urine etc.). The railway station was built in the early 60s, and the roundabout means a considerable load of road traffic and environmental pollution. Several interviews from the Leopoldstadt quarter refer to Praterstern as an unpleasant (or even unsafe) setting, and again perceptions of the setting are highly gendered. Particularly the women complain about the depressing, rundown, filthy appearance and about some other features of the environment. However, there is another topic that seems to deserve more attention: Some women describe the rear of the railway station, the nearby subway passages (Unterführungen) and the section along Venediger Au to Ausstellungsstraße as a veritable anxiety space (one of the rare examples in the Viennese qualitative data). Especially after dark there is little lighting, and the bushes of Venediger Au (a green spot, with a reputation for drug addicts and teenage prostitution) contribute to anxieties and fears, shared by some (many?) women who live in the quarter and have to use the way in the late evenings or after dark.

- A third context of insecurity relates to juveniles and is quite characteristic of the Transdanubian research site, especially the Rennbahnweg estate, while it seems not really significant for the quarters of the Leopoldstadt. It is concerned with (groups of) juveniles who loiter and congregate in the yards and the surrounding of the housing estate, especially in the late evenings and engage in kinds of behaviour that are considered inappropriate by other residents. Noisy, aggressive behaviour, frequently associated with vandalism, behaviour that leaves unwanted traces behind (broken bottles etc.), consumption of alcohol and illegal drugs, setting dogs loose on passers by, scuffling, fighting – a range of activities that for some complainants mean not only actual disorder on the estate and repeated sleep disturbances, but seems to signify both a lack of perspective, a lack of opportunities (more "reasonable" leisure time activities etc.), and a lack of social control. Some respondents explicitly argue that the high level of unemployment among juveniles causes the above mentioned patterns of behaviour. (At the moment there is no reliable evidence on juvenile unemployment on the estate but overall unemployment rates for the Rennbahnweg were not particularly outstanding a few years ago (1999), when compared to other residential areas made up of large public housing estates, and amounted to 7 per cent. It might well be that a majority of local juveniles are involved in (and controlled by) the labour market, but that the ongoing trouble mainly relates to the minority who have no

or only sporadic access to or little ambition to engage in the labour market.) Furthermore it should be mentioned that the term "juveniles" on the estate also refers to neo-Austrians who are still perceived as foreigners by the native Austrians. Of course there are some other statements about juveniles as "troublemakers" that refer to other public spaces, and again they are about groups of juveniles rather than about individuals. A few statements are about juveniles gathering in certain inner city underground stations (Schwedenplatz, Stephansplatz) and in the surrounding of nearby pubs, and occupying the territory in the evening hours; and there are a few narratives about groups of children and juveniles harassing elderly persons in public transport facilities.

- A fourth context of insecurity relates to "foreigners", and to the perception of foreigners in different social settings. Surprisingly, the topic seems much more significant for the transdanubian estates (where the proportion of non-Austrian population has been extremely low and still amounts to less than 10 per cent), and is relatively marginal in the Leopoldstadt quarters, where the foreign population amounts to no less than 35 per cent, and has been rather stable over the last 10 years. Obviously the idea of foreigners being a source of trouble in the transdanubian estates is due to the fact that a considerable number of Neo-Austrians have settled there during recent years, which is why the relatively new phenomenon still causes various sorts of tensions, mistrust and irritation (around cultural conflict and resulting nuisances.). However, there are other sorts of irritation related to "foreigners". For some respondents, settings where foreigners are present in public space count as "unsafe" or "unpleasant" per se (streets, markets, residential quarters with a high proportion of especially Turkish population; black people in the surroundings of public transport facilities and in the underground; pubs that are mainly or exclusively visited by foreigners etc.) One respondent, a senior resident of the Stuwer Quarter says that in Schwedenplatz he saw more Negroes than he had ever seen before on one spot and took care to get away quickly, before something came to their minds. ("Noch nie so viele Neger auf einem Haufen gesehen, hab nur gedacht musst schauen, dass du da wegkommst, sonst fällt ihnen was ein.") He also says he feels uneasy in the underground on evenings when Negroes or Mediterranean types get into his coach. ("Hat kein gutes Gefühl wenn er abends in der U-Bahn nach Hause fährt und es steigen ein paar Neger ein, oder südländische Typen.") Needless to say, most statements of this kind are followed by the remark that the respondent has not experienced any significant harassment by foreigners and mainly reflect a basic attitude towards foreigners that can be described as a sort of "credit in distrust" (Misstrauensvorschuss).

- A fifth context of insecurity and source of irritation relates to illegal drugs. In 25 interviews there is some explicit reference to illegal drugs, in most cases just mentioning the presence of drug users and addicts in certain spots (especially Karlsplatz). 16 Respondents explicitly link Karlsplatz and its surroundings to illegal

drugs issues. In a few cases respondents state that they were offered illegal drugs on some occasion (in Stadtpark, in underground stations), and obviously experienced this as a very unpleasant situation. (A young female respondent describes the encounter as "being stopped by a drug dealer", implying she was kept from going her way.) However, issues related to illegal drugs are not perceived as an immediate threat to one's safety most of the time, and a moral discourse on the topic of illegal drugs is absent in the data. In several interviews drug dealing is directly associated with black people, which is largely in keeping with recent public and media discourses on the topic.

• Finally there are several other contexts of insecurity that are related to urban space that might deserve closer attention: One of them is about (sexual) harassment of women as described as a typical problem in the Stuwer Quarter, where (many) women are at risk of being addressed by potential customers (Freier). Another topic relates to "the city after dark", the city turning into some kind of universal "anxiety space" in the late evening hours, a topic once again demonstrating the gendered aspect of insecurity. (However, there are a few statements by male respondents, arguing in a similar way that certain parts of the city tend to become unsafe at night.) Other topics that come up only in a few interviews but are described as important issues by the respective respondents refer to road traffic and various insecurities related to dogs (and their owners).

Last but not least, some other insecurities ought to be mentioned, insecurities that definitely do not relate to urban space, but to other aspects of the subjects' existence and that appear as marginal phenomena in the data. (Obviously most respondents thought the interview to be about insecurities related to urban space and did not mention other types of insecurity. However, interviewers were instructed to permit the respondents' talking about such matters, but to take only short notes on them in the interview minutes.) These "other" insecurities are for instance related to financial trouble, the husband's health problems, the birth of one's children, the situation after being divorced, how to raise one's children etc. Surprisingly, most of these other contexts of insecurity do not (directly?) address or circumscribe troubles and uncertainties that might be understood to result from the well known mega trends that are supposed to cause insecurities in many subjects' lives: globalisation, restructuring of the welfare state, restructuring of the labour market, neo liberal policies, increased demands for the subjects' flexibility in all walks of life etc. And also surprisingly, there is very little evidence on the respondents' financial insecurities, and insecurities connected to the labour market. In other words, even in interviews with respondents, who obviously belong to the disadvantaged strata there is little evidence on (and even less complaining about) processes of exclusion, denial of participation, stigmatisation etc. So possibly the tendencies of social, economic and cultural divisions that occurred and intensified in the 1990s in most countries (and cities) may have affected the sub-

jects' urban life world less dramatically than has been argued convincingly in advanced social theory (for instance Bauman 1999, Dangschat 1999), at least in the framework of the old-fashioned Viennese local welfare state. Or rather, tendencies of social and cultural disintegration have also affected the city of Vienna but do not necessarily impair many subjects' sense of living in a relatively stable and predictable setting, with the subjects' cognitive structures well adapted to (transformations of) the social order, which is why these transformations hardly ever translate into experiences of and narratives on insecurity and urban danger.[12]

## 18. Insecurity and the Syndrome of Discontent

The more conventional criminological approaches to the subject have studied fear of crime and insecurity mainly in a perspective of identifying factors and variables that might "explain" why some groups and strata of the urban population are more prone to fear of crime, and whether their sense of insecurity corresponds to their experiences and risks of victimization. In most cases empirical evidence has supported and confirmed the belief that women, senior citizens, the not so educated and low income strata tend to express higher levels of fear of crime in principal, regardless for crime risks. However, research on fear and crime and insecurity, at least some of the more refined approaches, have taken some efforts to put the subject in a wider context, and to understand modern "insecurities" (and fear of crime) as part of a more comprehensive syndrome of dissatisfaction with the subject's circumstances of living.

The quantitative survey that was carried out in the framework of InSEC (Karazman-Morawetz 2003) confirms some of the basic trends and interrelations from previous research. Insecurity still proves to be a gendered phenomenon in the first place, with many other factors and variables being of rather limited impact or completely irrelevant when it comes to "explaining" insecurity, and as far as multivariate analysis and the construction of theoretical models are concerned. This also applies to age and socio-economic status. However, the quantitative data also points to some specific local conditions and distributions of insecurity that deviate from the general Viennese pattern represented in the aggregate data. There is one research site where senior citizens feel somewhat safer than the younger other age brackets (Großfeldsiedlung). Furthermore, a lower level of education goes with a lower level of fear of crime on the Großfeldsiedlung estate, but the contrary is true for the two Leopoldstadt research sites (Volkert and Stuwer Quarter). The InSEC data also suggests that urban residents seem to construct and perceive the interrelation of "attractiveness" and "security" with regard to their respective quarters in rather different ways. For instance, Volkert Quarter is considered less attractive than the other residential quarters, but just as secure (or even more secure in some respects) than the others. A majority of residents of the Rennbahn-

12 On the congruence of cognitive order and social structure cf. especially Bourdieu, 1992 and 1998, with further reference to Durkheim; cf. also Hanak & Karazman-Morawetz 2000; Hanak 2003. For empirical sociology this congruence of cognitive order and social structure generates a serious methodological problem: The more both the cognitive order and the subjects' modes of perception correspond to the social structure, and are in fact determined by the social structure, the less the chance to elicit accounts on "interesting experiences" and on how the subjects' expectations were "disappointed" by "the system", "the structures" etc. by means of qualitative interviewing.

weg estate consider their quarter "attractive", but are more ambivalent with regard to safety on the estate than are the respondents from the other Viennese research sites.

Interim reports and memoranda on the quantitative branch of the InSEC-project note that in the Viennese research sites the perception of community safety and insecurities strongly varies with other aspects of "Stadtteilwahrnehmung" (perception of the quarter and its "atmospheric" qualities), and apparently is not focused on a distinct and separate phenomenon. Thus, local residents make use of the respective item to express a general attitude toward their quarter rather than communicating their opinion with regard to a concrete local problem. Across all of the research sites a clear majority are satisfied with their residential quarter and perceive it to be safe. On the other hand a minority's dissatisfaction with their quarter in terms of atmosphere often goes with some reference to local insecurities and disorders. Or put the other way round: The subjects' sense of insecurity is frequently embedded in a more comprehensive negative attitude toward the quarter, expressed by some 10 to 15 per cent of the local samples, with a somewhat higher percentage applying for the Rennbahnweg estate. Across the Viennese research sites the correlation between "general satisfaction with the quarter" and "perception of safety on a local level" is 0.52 for the female, and 0.36 for the male respondents. Furthermore, the subjects' evaluation of their local surrounding significantly varies with their general satisfaction with their living conditions and their (assumed) "control of life" (the "control of life" item simply asking whether the respondent feels his or her life is according to his/her plans and wishes – or not).

Thus, the data suggest there is something like a "syndrome of content", applying to almost 70 per cent of the sample, who are largely satisfied with the local living conditions, and feel they can cope with urban contingencies easily, and basically feel safe & secure in their quarter – and in the rest of the city. As its counterpart, there is a "syndrome of discontent or dissatisfaction" (Unzufriedenheitssyndrom), affecting approximately 15 per cent of the local samples, based on a sense of (comprehensive? vague?) discontent with one's circumstances of living, and frequently (but not necessarily) comprising a sense of insecurity. If referring to such a "syndrome of discontent" makes some sense in the interpretation of the quantitative data, the qualitative interviews can be expected to provide further and more detailed information on that syndrome and its origins. However, many interviews do not at all or only in homoeopathic dosage relate to the syndrome. Since we decided on a sample that was to avoid all sorts of biases that could be easily controlled and counteracted, and not on a procedure of theoretical sampling, mainly focusing on groups of the local population that express a high level of insecurity, discontent and fear of crime, and since a clear majority of local respondents feel

rather comfortable and secure in their quarters, there are not so many qualitative interviews that actually reflect a substantial level of discontent and/or insecurity. Including some interviews that express the respondent's marked ambivalence or a very negative attitude with regard to specific important aspects of his/her living conditions, there are 16 out of 86 interviews (approximately 20 per cent) containing some relevant information on how the two phenomena might be combined or amalgamated. (This sub-sample consists of all the interviews that reveal either a considerable level of dissatisfaction with the quarter or with the respondent's circumstances of living in general, or explicitly refer to substantial insecurity or fear of crime.)

A first examination of the data is somewhat disappointing: The respective interviews hardly reveal any striking evidence and no clear cut "natural history of discontent and insecurity", but yet allow identifying a few patterns and contexts of discontent. Furthermore, as could be expected, the two phenomena are not necessarily combined: Some sorts of dissatisfaction can exist without any reference to insecurity. On the other hand, explicit reference to insecurity usually (but not necessarily) goes with some (other, additional) attitudes of dissatisfaction.

Three different contexts or types of discontent are represented in the material:

1. The first type of discontent is voiced by respondents who subscribe to middle class standards of respectability (although not necessarily belonging to the middle class in terms of occupation and socio-economic status) and therefore experience their local and social surrounding (all of the Viennese research sites are working class or low income residential quarters) as unsatisfactory. (However, the sample also contains a few interviews with respondents belonging to the middle class or with an academic background who say they are satisfied with the quarter and obviously feel no need to justify their living in that sort of quarter, or to complain about their circumstances. This is especially true for the Leopoldstadt research sites.) In some cases dissatisfaction mainly relates to the appearance of the quarter, in others to the not so attractive shopping facilities, without any reference to insecurity as a relevant issue; in some others it also relates to social disorder and security, and in two cases to fear of crime in a strict sense. (Respondents belonging to this category usually say they would like to move away from the quarter, or have thought about it for quite some time.)

*Volkert Quarter: It is dreadful, a catastrophe …*

*112f45. The respondent is a clerk. She lives with her partner in a rented home in the old housing stock of Volkert Quarter. She says she is very unsatisfied with the quarter.*

*"It is dreadful, horrible. The whole surrounding is a catastrophe. The pavements are full of dog litter. It is awful (…) There is no service, there are no shops that are o.k., it is filthy …" When asked for the positive characteristics of the quarter the respondent replies that she cannot see anything positive in her surrounding. Later she remarks that the rent payments for the apartment are very favourable. – The respondent's action space is mainly in the inner city (for strolling), and in the Landstraße district (work-place). Sports activities are with her family in the (middle class residential) district of Hietzing, and she often travels to Carinthia with her partner, whenever there is the time to do so. They both are from Carinthia. Considering social contacts, they are mainly with the partner, with the family, and at work. There is no kind of social involvement and activity related to the quarter. The respondent also refers to the topic of security: A stalker waylaid her regularly for some time ("Der Mann hat mir jeden Tag aufgelauert"), and on another occasion a man followed her in the street where she live until the door of the apartment building. (She returned home and locked the door behind her, and nothing else happened – but it was a nightmare to her.) She also mentions that there was a burglary in the building where she lives about three years ago, when she moved in. She is afraid when she is at home alone on weekends. The respondent says that of course she has thought about moving away from the quarter, and will do so soon. – The interviewer notes that she obviously believes she would have deserved to live in a better surrounding. The low income residential quarter is not in keeping with the respondent's aspirations, in some respects: ›Criticism mainly relates to local standards of cleanness, unsatisfactory shopping facilities, and to the issue of safety.‹*

2. The second type of dissatisfaction is definitely not based on the subject's middle class values but on a negative interpretation of neighbourhood change that has occurred during the last two and more decades. Respondents belonging to this category typically have been living in their quarter for quite a long time, and feel that living conditions have changed for the worse. Sometimes deterioration is associated to the fact that the local population has changed significantly (increase of migrant population), some respondents also mention the decline of the local social infrastructure and atmosphere (for instance shops closing down, replaced by supermarkets, by red light or other questionable enterprises, especially in the Stuwer Quarter). Thus, respondents do not complain about the working class or low income characteristics of their neighbourhood, but about the decline of some of its former resources. In other words: Certain aspects of "modernization" (small shops replaced by supermarkets, trams by the underground) are not appreciated but understood as a disappearing of traditional resources. To a certain extent local social change is also associated to a weakening of social bonds and informal social control, which is rarely discussed explicitly by those who complain about neighbourhood change as estrangement. (Respondents belonging to this category typically have no concrete plans of moving away. Some of them are senior citizens in

their 70s whose physical and social mobility is very limited, others feel that moving to another setting would not necessarily improve their living conditions, or that they cannot afford to move home, and some still maintain a certain identification with the quarter in spite of their reserve.)

*Stuwer Quarter: I do not see Vienna as my native place any longer –*
*Too many foreigners in the quarter disturbing the scene…*

*201m75. The respondent lives with his wife in a rented home in the old housing stock of Stuwer Quarter, next to Prater. He holds a university degree and was the director of a firm of builders and contractors. He was born in the district and has lived in the same building for almost 50 years, but spends much of his time in his second home in the countryside (Lower Austria). The respondent mainly elaborates on politics and foreigners, and complains about various authorities. He is not at all satisfied with the quarter. What is positive is that he has the green area of the Prater right in front of his door, and the air is fresh except for times when there is a fair (on the nearby exhibition grounds of Messegelände) and when one is "crushed by an avalanche of cars". The respondent gives an impressive list of negative features and occurrences: There are too many foreigners in the quarter which makes him feel like a foreigner himself meanwhile. New buildings have been constructed without any regard for the adjoining residents.(Possibly the respondent recalls that as a businessman he had to conform to a multitude of legal regulations while others do not or no longer care about these and get away unpunished.) You cannot count on the local politicians, he has complained because of the construction works, without success. There were three robberies in local tobacconist's shops within the last three months, in the day time – the police are on holidays most of the time. Due to the dying of the local shops and businesses many premises became vacant and red light enterprises moved in.*

*The respondent's action spaces extend far beyond the quarter, and social contacts are mainly organized in restaurants outside the quarter and district. He says that he has no sense of security in the district, mainly due the presence of foreigners in public space. He mentions he saw a lot of Negroes in Schwedenplatz on one occasion and took care to get away quickly, before something came to their minds. He also has an unpleasant feeling when he travels by underground in the evening and a couple of Negroes or Mediterranean types (Südländer) get in. On one occasion a polite and well dressed foreigner asked him to change some coins, and some time later he noticed that all his notes (Banknoten) were gone. On another occasion foreigners also asked him to change money on Praterstern but this time he chased them away. He also says he observed two Negroes standing by a telephone booth, one of them phoning, and all of a sudden both of them started banging (eindreschen) against the booth, which is opposite the police station. (The location is considered relevant both in terms of stressing*

*the Negroes' impertinence, and the authorities' failure to intervene.) He took care to get away quickly. On one occasion there was a burglary in his home, but the loss and damage were moderate. He has purchased a security lock after. (Remarkably, the burglary is not recalled and described in terms of vulnerability and victimization but as a rather trivial experience.) – He has not thought of moving away because he hangs on to the quarter, even if he does not view Vienna as his native place (Heimat) any longer. He also says that he does not reject the foreigners in principal (Ich habe nichts gegen Ausländer prinzipiell, verstehen Sie mich richtig) but when he goes out and encounters "three Austrians, two Negroes, three Chinese and especially the Muslims with their head scarves" it makes him go mad (da werd ich narrisch). He thinks that someone living abroad should be obliged to conform (sich eingliedern), not to interfere with the social order (soziales Gefüge), and to dress in a way that does not disturb the scene (nicht das Straßenbild stören). – Obviously the respondent's grave irritations are mainly related to the presence of foreigners in public space, namely foreigners that are visible and recognizable by the way they dress and behave and "disturb the scene". (The latter phrase suggests that certain foreign habitus primarily irritate the respondent's aesthetic expectations regarding Viennese street scenes and configurations in public space.) In his case the presence of "disturbing" foreigners, and also the fact that there seems to be a low level of "pressure for conformity" (Anpassungsdruck)(and no authority in charge of imposing such pressure) has caused considerable estrangement with regard to the quarter, the city and the authorities. The respondent also mentions several experiences that are related to crime (and possibly would justify some "fear of crime") but to him other aspects of insecurity and irritation are much more relevant: Living in a setting that has become quite multi cultural in some respects is experienced as substantial strain for those who maintain their conventional standards. Furthermore, there is another topic pervading the interview that appears all the more remarkable since it is absent in practically all of the other interviews: The respondent complains about the authorities who fail to maintain the former order, who are not responsive to citizens' (= his) complaints, and who seem to be "on holidays" whenever they are needed. – Thus, insecurity is not primarily related to fear of crime, foreigners not primarily envisioned as potential criminals, but as subjects who tend to violate basic rules (rules of behaviour, "disturbing the scene" etc.), and criminal offences are referred to as symptoms rather than a major problem of (in)security themselves. – The interview's significance should also be understood when comparing its ductus and central subjects to the other material that was collected in the Leopoldstadt district: Attitudes, ideologies and perceptions of local/urban change are displayed and elaborated in a rhetoric that is largely absent (oppressed?) in most of the other interviews.*

3. The third context of dissatisfaction mainly comes up in some interviews with respondents from the Rennbahnweg estate, and contains a variety of phrasings and modes of presentation. Quite often the respondents do not directly express dissatisfaction, but a sort of massive ambivalence toward the estate, and they do

not refer to "change" and deterioration, but to sorts of trouble that are not discussed in a way of comparing the present situation to the days of yore: They are satisfied with life on the estate in some respects, but complain about problems, that are primarily described in terms of 1) vandalism, disorder (underlying cause: lack of social control); 2) trouble with local juveniles (loitering on the estate, noise, consumption of alcohol and illegal drugs, aggressive behaviour in the late evenings, underlying cause: lack of control, unemployment, lack of perspective); and 3) trouble with "foreigners" (not willing to adjust, behaving inappropriately, underlying cause: different mentalities, and implicitly, although hardly ever mentioned explicitly: the municipality's housing policy). Remarkably, in two interviews with respondents who live on the Rennbahnweg estate dissatisfaction also relates to complaints about the absence of neighbourly help and support in situations of trouble. (What is remarkable is not so much the absence but the fact that some residents still express a demand for a certain level of mutual support and help on the estate.) ›Most respondents in this category, and especially those in their fifties and sixties have little ambition, and see little chance to move away from the estate.‹

*Rennbahnweg: Would not have moved here if I had had the choice …*

*407f31. The respondent works as a shop assistant at a service station shop. She has been living in a public housing flat on the estate for five years with her husband and two children. She is not really satisfied with living on the estate, since there are too many foreigners. The Donauzentrum shopping centre (which is relatively close to the estate) is positive in terms of shopping facilities and social contacts. She meets one of her (female) friends frequently in a café on the estate. She travels by car most of the time. The respondent mentions that she would not have moved to the estate but her family was assigned the flat and they did not have the choice. She does not feel secure on the estate. The foreigners are getting more and more and make themselves unpleasantly conspicuous (fallen unangenehm auf). That does not really raise the quality of living. (The interview contains no further details on this subject.) To her the Rennbahnweg estate is an "unsafe setting". Whenever she returns home in the evening after dark she asks her husband to take her home from the underground station. She would be afraid alone on the estate. On other occasions she always has her big dog with her. The dog has been trained and if someone intended to do her harm he would not have a chance. Some time ago she was accosted on the estate in a very unpleasant way so she really got afraid. That happened not far from her home, so she called her husband on the mobile telephone, and he came to take her home. From that day she always took the dog with her, and nothing of that sort has happened ever since. ›Dissatisfaction is connected to two sorts of experiences: The "foreigners'" life styles and their effect on local housing conditions (without any reference to details, ways of cop-*

*ing and consequences), and occasional encounters that made her afraid. The two sorts of "disturbances of routine and respectability" post hoc confirm the respondent's preceding suspicion that the estate would not be an appropriate surrounding for herself and her family.‹*


*Rennbahnweg: Now all sorts of people come here: Visitors, strollers,*
          *"poor refugees"…*

*312m71. The respondent has retired, and has been employed with Vienna Public Transport (Wiener Linien) before. He moved to the estate in 1975, and lives in his public housing flat as a single. The interviewer notes that the whole procedure of interviewing proved rather difficult, since the respondent would or could not answer some of her questions, and in some cases preferred to deliver counterquestions and comments with no apparent connection to the stimuli and the research topic. When asked for his satisfaction with the quarter he seemed to be at a loss. He could or would not mention any positive characteristics. Considering negative aspects he said: Ah well, there is something you don't like everywhere (Naja, überall hast was was da net gfallt), and then continued: The young ones are assigned a flat quickly. They go for strolls here all the time. (Sie gehen da die ganze Zeit spazieren.) › The statement probably reflects an implicit complaint that makes little sense to outsiders but is not so difficult to understand for most residents of the estate: The younger residents (among them many migrants and their families) are different in some respects, and enjoy the privilege of being assigned flats quickly, the older (Austrian) residents had to wait much longer. And the younger generations on the estate are described as "going for strolls" rather than going to work regularly.‹ When the interviewer asks for more precise accounts of negative circumstances he replies: "Jo, sein tuat überall wos, oba sunst gehts." (Approximately: There are some (negative) things everywhere, but except for that it's not so bad.) When asked if he likes the people on the estate he replies that there is no need to get involved with them, and then again reasons: "Now all sorts of people come here: Visitors, strollers, 'poor refugees' from Yugoslavia, Turkey, and even the Arabs, and they have no cheap prams … They get everything." (Jetzt kommt alles rein, Besucher, Spaziergänger oder arme Flüchtlinge aus Jugoslawien, Türkei. Jetzt bekommen sie die Araber auch noch, die aber keine billigen Kinderwagen haben, die bekommen alles.") In his specific way of communicating the respondent relates to a divide on the estate that obviously is important for many (elder Austrian) long term residents, and also communicates (or rather alludes to) the elder residents' feelings of irritation and even resentment: They themselves had to work hard to make their living and to be eligible for public housing and other welfare benefits, and had to wait for a longer period until they finally were assigned a flat. The younger generation (many of them migrants) are supplied with plenty of resources without giving much in return. The short remark on the prams reveals the logic: They*

*receive social benefits and live on a public housing estate but the expensive prams in-dicate they are by no means poor.*[13]

*The rest of the interview shows that the respondent's action space is confined to the district, there are no concrete accounts on social contacts and activities. To him there are no unsafe or unpleasant places and he never got into serious trouble. Whenever he thinks that "it's a little sticky" (dass es so a bissl dings is) he "just curves round" (dann macht man halt so einen kleinen Bogen). He does not like to be railed at (angestän-kert werden), silly talk and tussles (Rangeleien). Avoiding trouble obviously is not really difficult.*

*When applying middle class conversational standards the interview comes close to having failed. However, a second reading proves that some relevant aspects of and discourses on local living conditions run trough the interview as a sort of subtext. First of all the respondent is not really unsatisfied, but rather indifferent to his surrounding in many respects. Nevertheless he feels himself belonging to a group that did not ben-efit so much from the Viennese welfare system than does the younger generation that has moved to the estate recently: Many of them are migrants, with enough leisure time for strolling around, and not so poor – so obviously they are supported generously by various welfare agencies. To be precise, there is no explicit complaint, no denunciation of injustice, no militant xenophobic rhetoric, but a cryptic web of reasoning, envy and wondering. Once again the interview is equally remarkable in terms of absent topics: Issues of insecurity (not to mention fear of crime as a special topic) are completely miss-ing, and there is not the least evidence of problems of disorder, trouble with juveniles, vandalism, and the disturbing behaviour of foreigners. The only significant "insecu-rities" are related to the (status of) migrants that have moved to the estate in recent years and are perceived as very different and mysterious residents, receiving ample support and not really corresponding to the stereotype of the deserving poor.*

### The "system" mirrored in the data?

First of all, the material shows that "simple" issues like satisfaction with the quar-ter, with one's circumstances of living, and urban residents' sense of locale and (in)security are complex and ambiguous subjects, and cannot be grasped easily. A (more) comprehensive in depth analysis cannot do without some understanding of the subject's life history, aspirations, and his/her struggles for recognition. The latter interview once more refers to another important issue, and a considerable methodological problem: the subjects' amazing readiness and willingness to take their physical and social surrounding for granted, without so much complaining or praising, and that only specific aspects of their life world are suitable subjects to criticism, rejection, and wonder. For most of the Viennese accounts on insecu-rities and discontent, and for most of the above excerpts and quotations from the interviews the common denominator seems to be that they hardly ever focus on

13 Long term residents' insecuri-ties and uncertainties with re-gard to the social and economic status of foreigners/immigrants whose habitus does not corre-spond to the stereotype of the migrant worker are described in Hanak 1996.

specific experiences (or concrete fantasies) related to urban danger and fear of crime in a strict sense, and that the city is mainly described in terms of routine and predictability, and hardly ever as a chaotic jungle like setting with an abundance of risks and menaces that must be controlled or confronted. Rather the data are about experiences of both physical and social disorder, and sometimes they articulate the respondents' irritations and uncertainties related to social/moral change and revisions of the implicit social contract. Parts of the data can be understood to reflect an almost ubiquitous latent conflict that can be assumed to penetrate many former working class, and at present: low income residential areas. There is a coexistence of (and tension between) groups that subscribe to standards and behavioural patterns that come rather close to those of the middle class and the mainstream of society, and there are others who tend to deviate from these standards of decency and respectability, since they cannot or will not live up to them, and are perceived as disturbing, lowbrow, not adjusting – and therefore in need of reprimand and control.

Late/post modern regimes and strategies of governance[14] frequently operate on "technologies of the self" and pragmatic modes of control that hardly rely on "moral controls" and correctional discourses. Considering the whole range of the qualitative data urban residents seem to have adjusted to the shift in social control and the new governmentality in many respects, and take most of its effects on urban living conditions for granted. In the political and historical context of the Viennese local welfare state (= modification and revision rather than replacement of the fordist framework of regulation since the 1990s) the shift of control strategies has been softened, and there have been few manifestations of apparent polarization, social disintegration and exclusion, both on a local and city level that would have motivated a return to punitive and repressive ideologies and policies. Considered from this angle, narratives on substantial discontent & insecurity are a residual category and refer to both biographical and spatial contexts where the subjects feel entitled to complain about the existing moral and social order, and to hold on to principles and interpretations of the social contract that are not completely in keeping with actual circumstances.

## 19. Perspectives and Prospects of Further Analysis

Of course the material suggests further comparative analysis and "working through" in some respects: Relating and contrasting it to the quantitative survey data more systematically, but also comparing the qualitative data to those from the other cities and research sites, and last but not least a more systematic search for topics that are absent (although they can be assumed to be relevant), and explaining their absence. (Of course the search for absent topic ought to be inspired by a comparative reading of the "local reports" in the first place.) A first identification

14 Cf. the recent debates on the changed "culture of control" leading from the former "disciplinary society" to dispositives that focus on the "control of risks" and on promoting (demands for) "security": Deleuze 1993; Lindenberg/Schmidt-Semisch 1995; Legnaro 1997; Ericson & Haggerty 1997; Garland 2001.

of "absent topics" (and marginal topics) that are obviously relevant ought to depart from the various aspects and symptoms of urban trouble that are related to sociological key concepts like globalisation, individualisation, accelerated social change, social divide, restructuring of the welfare state, neo-liberal ideologies/policies and their impact on governance and the social order, especially in the field of crime control and urban development, the increasingly competitive society, imposing increased demands for flexibility on the subjects, etc.

Except for several narratives and accounts that deal with some consequences of migration (and its impact on the city and on the quarters where there is a special concentration of immigrants), there are only very few explicit statements in the qualitative data that are clearly affiliated to these concepts. Most of the Viennese interviews do not give the impression of the respondents' living in a turbulent world of permanent accelerated change, causing manifold conditions, dynamics and trajectories of insecurity, precariousness and contingency in a decade after the welfare state. Effects of globalisation come into view and seem to enter the subjects' life world mainly as increased migration and to a certain degree, exchange of population, triggering tensions and rejection among different ethnic groups, etc. In the case of Vienna this aspect of social change has caused latent rather than open conflict, even if there has been a considerable tendency of concentration of immigrants in certain types of residential quarters. Remarkably, our data suggests that the phenomenon causes more discontent (and a certain quantum of insecurity) on the transdanubian housing estates (where the proportion of the non-Austrian population is still below per cent, due to the fact that most immigrants have to qualify for Austrian citizenship before becoming eligible for public housing) than in the Leopoldstadt quarters (where the foreign population amounts to 35 per cent), suggesting that the late (belated?) "intrusion" of migrants to Viennese public housing estates that started in the 1990s is considered more of a problem by the native Austrian long term residents than is the higher proportion of migrant population in the old housing stock and in urban areas where there has been a relatively long tradition of migrants amounting to some 20 per cent of the resident population. However, the data suggests that foreigners and migrants are perceived not so much as a threat and a risk, but as noisy, annoying, and not adjusting which contributes to social disorder. However, the data contains few comprehensive or "full" descriptions of the specific contexts.[15]

Processes of economic restructuring are envisioned mainly when some respondents from the Rennbahnweg estate refer to "high unemployment among juveniles" in order to explain some of the local youth's questionable and disturbing patterns of behaviour – a sort of common sense explanation that would need to be checked against the official statistics. We would suggest another type of explanation that also considers the architectural features of the estate: The youths who

15 Qualitative research in the framework of the "Vienna – Safe City" project has provided some evidence on typical (latent) "cultural conflicts" and tensions between native Austrian and migrant population in a Viennese residential quarter. Cf. Hanak 1996

gather in the yards of the estate find themselves in the middle of a "panopticon" and are extremely visible (and audible) to the residents of the estate. Remarkably there is a tendency of connecting local problems to the behaviour of youths on the transdanubian estates (and more on Rennbahnweg than in Großfeldsiedlung, possibly due to both differences in the age structure of the local populations, and in the design of the estates.) At the same time youths as troublemakers is a topic that is almost completely, and mysteriously, absent in the data from the Leopoldstadt research sites.

Another topic completely absent is the restructuring of the welfare state and its impact on the living conditions of disadvantaged groups and households, possibly due to the fact that the Viennese local welfare state still seems to function, or anyway there is no awareness of substantial change for the worse. Considering police services, deficits in police presence are rather described as a matter of fact (in a few interviews) and not as a change for the worse or in terms of complaining about a resource that is withheld or denied. Generally speaking the data suggests that respondents experience the city's social and physical infrastructure to be intact and stable, improving rather than crumbling, and definitely not as a source of insecurity. Focusing on politics, complaints about "the system", distrust in the system etc. are almost completely non-existent. As a general rule (confirmed by very few exceptions) there is no rhetoric of claiming and blaming. Most of the time states of disorder and causes of irritation and worry are described in neutral and pragmatic terms without any suggestion of how to restore the moral order (or rather routine), and there are practically no demands for something like a zero tolerance policy, or for a substantial change in policy.

Considering individualisation, there are a few statements that might be read as complaints about the dissolving of social relations and milieus or about the loss of cohesion affecting local communities and neighbourhoods. Some of these statements are about the closing down of local shops, and others refer to the exchange of population. On the other hand there is not so much evidence of the respondents' participation in local networks and associations, but this aspect of local resources and local capital deserves further attention and requires more systematic analysis. The qualitative data suggests that many urban residents do not depend on local resources and 'social capital' that much and mainly perceive their quarter as a place where their private lives take place (in their homes) without so much awareness of their surrounding, where shopping facilities are available, and where a satisfactory infrastructure of public transport allows commuting to most destinations of the city and beyond. Anyway we would suggest that urban residents' sense of security is based on their trust in "the system" (= local welfare state) and the urban infrastructure, rather than on regular involvement in activities and patterns of association and participation operating on a local level.[16]

16 Cf. Hanak 2003b.

Another topic (or rather rhetoric) that is almost completely absent in the qualitative data, relates to subjects like "moral decay", "visions of decline", "spirals of decay" (Skogan 1990). When doing research in settings that are considered urban problem areas or problem estates in terms of urban planning and redevelopment, this mode of interpretation of recent social change can be expected to emerge in the data. However, the collected material contains pessimistic visions in no more than a homeopathic dosage. Existing local troubles and disturbances are not understood as symptoms of comprehensive negative dynamics of decline and disintegration, and there are very few negative scenarios on urban change (and its direction). On the other hand, tendencies of upgrading of one of our research sites (Stuwer Quarter) are only touched on sporadically in the interviews, and do not affect the respondents' sense of (in)security so much.

Obviously the strata that can be assumed to be "losers" rather than "winners" of modernisation and globalisation, the low income groups, and those whose social status might become more precarious due to increased demands for flexibility and competitiveness, in the labour market as well as in the sphere of reproduction, are over-represented in our research sites, and also in our sample. However, there is comparatively little evidence of processes of social and economic exclusion, and its subjective correlate: fears of being relegated, and not being able to keep pace, in the data, and obviously there is not so much awareness of an increasing socio-spatial divide in the city, in terms of insecurity or other obstacles to participation. The material contains little evidence of "struggles for recognition" resulting in insecurity, apart from several rather trivial accounts on certain deviant/marginal groups occupying parts and sections of public space, and juveniles congregating in the yards on their estate in the late evenings, and annoying the rest of the local population. And there is practically no evidence of recent crime figures, crime trends (and media reports) affecting the subjects' sense of security both in their residential quarters and in the rest of the city. Equally remarkable is the way respondents refer to most incidents of victimisation and other experiences of crime. Normally these are not presented as symptoms of moral crisis and societal failure, but as normal risks of late modern urban life that usually cause nor more than moderate material loss or damage, and which can be prevented to a certain degree by cautious and circumspect strategies of action.

Considering future prospects of analysis (both in the framework of InSEC and beyond), we would suggest focusing on the political and ideological structures that permit many subjects' self assured attitudes with regard to risks of crime and symptoms of disorder. (Unfortunately the data do not contain much evidence of what makes people feel secure in their urban environment. There seems to be little elucidating knowledge to be communicated by those who feel rather secure. Whenever they seek to "explain" their sense of security they tend to fall back on

trivial remarks.) Since experiences of insecurity in Vienna often relate to symptoms of social and/or physical disorder in certain settings Skogan's thesis on spirals of decay deserves some comment. In the case of Vienna (and at the time of the beginning millennium, when our research was designed and the fieldwork was carried out) social change is obviously not understood in terms of decay and decline, and even in quarters and areas that cannot claim to be winners of globalisation and restructuring (and among the local population) there is little awareness (or fear) of "falling behind" or "being overrun". (In this respect the situation in Vienna was somewhat different at the beginning of the 1990s, when many of the city's founders' period quarters, especially those close to the Gürtel and in the Leopoldstadt and Brigittenau districts, gave the impression they might turn into slums if no preventive measures were taken.) Thus, obviously there are (moderate) states, experiences and levels of disorder that can be "normalized", adjusted to, coped with, and can be integrated in the population's "cognitive maps" as long as there is no evidence of their spreading and intensification. A policy that aims at controlling and curbing disorder rather than promising its abolition or prevention (and then typically failing to succeed), and focusing on creating and maintaining a satisfactory urban (public) infrastructure and acceptable housing conditions rather than on issues of community safety and of combating crime might prove more effective in the long run.

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**Appendix A**    Info-Sheet Qualitative Research

| | |
|---|---|
| Interview No. | |
| Quarter | |
| Street | |
| Respondent living in the quarter since ... | |
| Gender | |
| Age | |
| Occupation /Employment status | |
| Completed vocational training | |
| Housing (Public housing, rented home, owner occupied, substandard etc.) | |
| Size / composition of household | |
| Citizenship | |

| |
|---|
| Special circumstances with regard to respondent's living conditions and life style (if any) |
| Special circumstances with regard to interview situation |
| Essential content of the interview, focusing on contexts of insecurity, but also on other topics considered (more) relevant by the respondent |

**Commented Manual: Qualitative Research**                    **Appendix B**

1. How long has the respondent been living in the quarter? How does he/she feel/think about the quarter (what does he/she like, what not, advantages and disadvantages of the setting etc.?) ›The question mainly aims at checking the respondent's general (dis)satisfaction with and attitude towards his/her surroundings, and also encourages a kind of balancing of the quarter's specific resources and deficits, in case the respondent is somehow ambivalent.‹

2. Action spaces: Which places/settings does the respondent visit frequently or regularly (in the quarter, in the rest of the city, elsewhere?) For instance: place of work, for shopping purposes, leisure time activities, meeting relatives, friends and acquaintances, cultural activities, sports, pubs or restaurants, parks, sports grounds, popular events and locations, railway/underground stations, traffic routes/junctions or whatever. (The question aims towards a listing of significant action spaces, and of the respective types of (routine) activities, and the obtained information should provide some understanding of the respondent's life style, patterns of association, and mobility.)

   a) How does respondent usually get to and move between these places? On foot, by public transport, by car, bicycle, taxi etc.?

   b) What about the respondent's social contacts and communication in which places/settings and for what kinds of activities does the respondent meet other people? Participation in local or other networks, groups, associations?

3. "Uncomfortable places." Considering the above mentioned places and settings. Are there any that the respondent perceives as uncomfortable (in a broad sense) and where he/she does not like to go to? (If so, for what reason, what are the negative/uncomfortable contexts, and experiences in these places?) ›The question does not primarily focus on "insecurity" or "fear of crime", but leaves room for many other aspects of feeling uncomfortable with regard to certain places and settings. Respondent should be encouraged to talk about experiences that make him/her define certain places as uncomfortable (or unsafe).‹

4. Experiences of insecurity, situations when the respondent felt unsafe/not so safe, again with special attention on the spatial aspect. What happened, when and where, in what kind of surrounding? ›Considering this topic, we are primarily interested in concrete situations/occurrences/experiences/encounters that somehow relate to urban space, but cannot eliminate the possibility that some respondents will talk about experiences of insecurity of a different kind and in a very different "format": For instance, mentioning that there were times in their life when they felt insecure with regard to their future prospects, for instance after being divorced, after losing one's job, or that respondents refer to worries about health problems or other personal/emotional/financial crisis. These kinds of statements should be documented in only a few key words. Other narratives about unsafe places of course should be documented in detail,

including the aspect of the respondent's coping strategies (cognitive, how is the experience explained, practical, how did respondent react, and what were the practical consequences, if any etc.).

5. Are there any places and settings the respondent believes to be (relatively) unsafe or dangerous (considering the city, and of course including those in the quarter). If such places are mentioned: Has the respondent experienced any "critical" situations and encounters in these places, are there any strategies of avoiding these places and settings, in general or on some occasions – and what are the concrete social contexts of "insecurity" in these places? ›Again the respondent should be encouraged primarily to talk about relevant experiences and their consequences. However, statements that relate to common sense knowledge, rumours, stereotypes, media reports, should also be documented.‹

6. Experiences of crime (and other "uncomfortable", "critical" situations, various sorts of harassment, disorder, conflict/dispute, accidents, damage; including experiences of discrimination, maltreatment, exclusion etc. – during the last (approximately five) years. If the respondent mentions such occurrences: What happened, when, where, and what kind of coping strategy was practised? The question does not focus exclusively on "criminal" victimisation in a strict sense, but includes other sorts of damage, "denial or challenge of recognition", confrontation and disturbance. (Again, our attention will mainly focus on occurrences that can be related to urban space.) In case the respondent mentions several or many experiences of this type, the most significant and "severe" and/or recent cases should be documented in detail rather than the others. ›Usually the episode that is mentioned first will deserve to be documented. In case several incidents are mentioned the documentation should be reduced to a few key words.‹

7. Has the respondent thought about moving away from the quarter (if so, for what reason?) ›We are mainly interested in reasons for moving that are somehow connected to negative features or negative evaluations of the quarter and the local surrounding.‹