

INSECURITIES IN EUROPEAN CITIES

LOCAL REPORT VIENNA

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Introduction

The "Local Report Vienna" aims at integrating the different stages and methodological approaches of the INSEC-project, and at providing a sort of "condensed" version of essential contents. The core text (approximately 60 pages) presents and summarizes the most significant findings and conclusions that were derived from the empirical research, also relating them to the general approach of INSEC, and to some of the key concepts of contemporary scientific literature on insecurity, fear of crime and urban problems. Of course this core text will not contain so many details and figures, and will be limited to sketching the Viennese findings and conclusions with a minimum of reference to the corresponding results that were obtained in the other European cities that participated in the project and obviously show that in spite of European integration and globalisation urban landscapes and discourses of insecurities and fears still differ in many respects.

A more comprehensive appendix to the core text contains revised and updated versions of several "work packages" and interim reports that were elaborated and delivered in earlier stages of the INSEC project. The appendix basically follows and preserves the original structure, and to a certain degree: the internal division of labour of INSEC.

The first section characterizes Vienna as a city, with a focus on urban problems somehow related to issues of (in)security and fear of crime.

The second section presents and discusses the empirical evidence resulting from the quantitative survey that was conducted in the Viennese research sites.

The third section presents and comments on the findings from qualitative fieldwork.

Lastly, the fourth section sketches the (limited) significance of (crime) prevention policy in the city of Vienna.

The authors want to express their thanks to the many helpful people and agencies who shared their information and expertise with us, and who have supported and cooperated in the project both in Vienna and abroad, and of course to those who participated in the "Local Advisory Boards".

G.H., I.K-M., W.St.

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1. **Insecurity and Risk in the Age of Late Modernity: Some Notes on the Theoretical Focus of INSEC**

The theoretical approach of "INSEC" is based on several important currents of sociological thought that emerged and intensified in the (late) 1980s and 1990s. The first, and most comprehensive, of these relates to the subjects of risk and insecurity, and some of the most illustrious sociologists have contributed to this discourse: Ulrich Beck (1986) for instance has argued that contemporary society is best described as a "risk society", imposing manifold uncertainties and insecurities on its members, with some of the most substantial risks operating regardless of class distinctions and social status. Living in a risk society immediately affects the life world and tends to disturb human agents' confidence in many ways: Traditional patterns of work/labour and the meanwhile old fashioned idea of "careers" become obsolete, the division of labour between the genders is transformed, gender roles are subject to revision and disorder, family structures and obligations are rearranged etc. Long term contracts and life long obligations, both in the sphere of work and of relationships give way to various forms of "sporadic involvement", according to a logic of trial and error. Notions of normalcy (with regard to employment, life styles, careers) become questionable. The former class and other milieus dissolve and give way to a consumer society. Options and free play arising from the lack of strict rules and standards imposed by effective authorities tend to transform into "risky liberties": Decisions and choices are demanded on many levels. Risks, dangers, individualisation and globalisation increasingly become the motors of social change. Thus, the so called risk society not only promotes various fears and anxieties, but it is also the shape of these anxieties that is transformed: Connected to the new and intricate patterns ("*neue Unübersichtlichkeit*") anxieties tend to lose their social grounds (*soziale Begründungen*), because risks are not a question of experience, but of knowledge.

Anthony Giddens (1990) has reminded us of the fact that in the age of reflexive modernity there is an increased (and further increasing) awareness of risks and insecurities, and that the production and distribution of knowledge, with sociology being a prominent generator and distributor of knowledge, tends to promote and intensify this awareness of insecurity and uncertainty rather than curb it. Furthermore, he argues, security in late modern societies that display high levels of complexity is constructed and achieved in very different ways when compared to previous stages of societal evolution when confidence, trust and security were based on meaningful traditions and rituals, belief and religious cosmology, trust in concrete persons and relationships etc. All of these have been largely replaced by the trust in abstract systems (money, experts, organizations) that is not so rewarding in terms of psychology but much more effective when considering their contribution to the level of time space-distanciation that is enabled by means of "abstract systems" and incorporated in modern institutions. Generally speaking, Giddens seems to be more optimistic about the prospects of security, and his concern is less with disorder and contingency but with the merits of late modernity. However, his approach also envisions certain deficits and limits of modernity's ways of overcoming contingency and the corresponding sense of insecurity.

Niklas Luhmann (1991) has devoted a book to the "sociology of risk", also examining and commenting on the impact of (ecological and other) contingencies once they

are perceived and defined as "risks", and are introduced to the field of politics. However, Luhmann's work is not so much interested in the actual risks and contingencies arising from late/post modern conditions themselves, but in the way a semantics of risk develops and then is applied to many irritations and contingencies of social life, and to the corresponding strategies of coping – and blaming.

Several books by Zygmunt Bauman (1995, 1998, 1999, 2000) contain impressive chapters or sections that deal with the issue of insecurity, with a special focus on insecurities that arise from globalisation and the neo-liberal restructuring of regional and national labour markets, and their impact on post-modern life worlds and careers. "Life in fragments" results in a loss of social cohesion, modernity becomes "liquid" and soon approaches a state where no one seems to be in control any longer, and what seems even worse: No one can imagine what control could and should be like in a globalized market society and at a time when a resemblance of social cohesion is brought about by the subjects' engaging in individual consumption rather than by processes of collective production and decision making. Politics and the nation state no longer provide a blueprint (or at least: a rhetoric) of progress, with a relatively clear notion both of desirable ends and the means of how to achieve them, and the institutional framework itself that was so stable and reliable in former decades is subject to constant reform and economizing. Furthermore, Bauman's scenario again and again stresses the topics of inequality, and even exclusion: The regime of globalisation obviously tends to aggravate the social divide and polarization, with a privileged and highly mobile elite that leaves the restraints and boundaries of space behind on one side, and the many others, who have to stay where they are, with no more than little chance to escape from their trap-like ghettos, more than ever depending on local resources that are no longer provided by a helpful welfare state, on the other. Post modern conditions, according to Bauman, do not primarily signify an increase in liberties and options, but rather signify a radical redistribution of chances and liberties.

In a similar way Pierre Bourdieu (1998) has argued that nowadays "precarité" is practically everywhere ("Le precarité est aujourd'hui partout"), trickling down in and permeating most walks of contemporary social life, a state of things that is obviously experienced most disturbing in western affluent societies, after a few decades of fordist integration that has resulted in a widespread optimistic confidence in this pattern of reproduction and constant progress continuing, based on increases in productivity, chances of consumption and employment for all.

Last, but not least "insecurity" as a central concept is omnipresent in a book that examines various aspects of social change in contemporary society, especially drawing upon experiences with some of the consequences of neo-liberal policies in the UK, especially in the fields of the labour market, social security, housing, family life and environmental issues (Vail et al. 1999). John Vail, one of the editors, writes:

"Following our common-sense understandings, security/insecurity can be defined in essentially three ways. First, if security is a sense or state of well-being or safety, insecurity

is a sense of precariousness and fear. Insecurity is thus associated with isolation, as when individuals are not integrated into the wider social relations of their community feel a high level of anxiety; it can also be caused by the presence of an abnormally high level of external threats (war, crime, environmental hazards, natural disasters). Second, security is the self-assurance and confidence of one's achieving one's goals, of being able to 'secure' some favourable outcome. Insecurity is a feeling of hopelessness, a constrained sense of self and a belief in the futility of advancement. It is also a sense of powerlessness, an inability to realise one's goals or protect one's interests as well as a heightened awareness of vulnerability to events and forces over which an individual has no control. Third, security is a condition of stability or permanency, where an individual has reliable expectations of continuity in their surroundings and relationships; insecurity is a feeling of uncertainty about the future, about other people's activities or intentions, about the unknown. " (Vail 1999: 7)

This approach is remarkable in some aspects, especially when considering the degree to which "security" is linked to social integration and social relations, and to the agents' capability to achieve their goals and of securing "favourable outcomes". Security is directly understood in terms of adequate participation, successful and self-assured action, and not primarily guaranteed by a benevolent welfare state institutions that compensate for the negative consequences and discriminations of the market. However, Vail also reminds us of some other aspects of insecurity in complex and stratified societies, arguing – similar to Bauman – that 1) insecurities are by no means distributed evenly across social space; and 2) that the burden of insecurity typically falls on those who are least equipped to face it, in terms of social and economic resources. And, equally important, 3) individuals usually shift insecurity to other individuals. This remark, hardly elaborated, of course suggests a careful reading of discourses on crime and fear of crime in late modern societies from this specific angle: (Some sorts of) crime may be viewed as a strategy of shifting and re-shifting the negative consequences and the costs of social change and economic restructuring to the most vulnerable, the least organised, and the least mobile segments of society. Thus, insecurity is described as a sort of "negative good" that is passed on in much the same way economic costs are passed on to those who are least capable to fight back and to oppose: Corporations respond to uncertainties of a rapidly changing economy by shifting the costs of restructuring onto workers - and, of course, to the local welfare agencies in charge of "administering" unemployment, poverty and its consequences. The same might prove true for the more symbolic social "costs" of restructuring. Late modernity, considered from that point of view, appears as an "insecurity distribution game", with some coming out as winners, and others as notorious losers.

If all of the above mentioned academic celebrities and their approaches to the phenomenon of insecurity and risk are not completely mistaken, recent social change and the transition from a fordist type of social integration (and governance) to post fordist strategies of deregulation have caused massive changes for practically all sectors of social life, and in practically all milieus of late or post modern society. These changes

are primarily connected to changes in the labour market and the fact that economic growth can be achieved in spite of structural unemployment, to the entire sphere of reproduction (family and other relationships, patterns of consumption), the field of politics where conventional bonds and the respective formations of class and "lager" are crumbling into aggregates of floating voters (and non-voters) impressed by media performances rather than by programs and ideologies, the field of education turning into an explicit demand for "life long learning", due to an accelerated devaluation of skills and qualifications, etc. Generally speaking, the present type of regime (much the same in most developed countries, regardless of the actual composition of governments) has shifted the responsibility for earning and organizing one's living, and making sense of their lives to the subjects: They are no longer provided with and guided by the old master narratives, and by imperatives and social controls exercising various pressures for conformity and discipline, as was the case in the age of fordism. Only few have maintained their confidence in the system's steering capacities. The new post fordist regime no longer demands conformity and discipline, but now has a tendency of leaving the individualized subjects alone on their own, and obviously this revised strategy of governance implies an unprecedented level of uncertainty and insecurity on the side of broad strata of the population. Social control itself seems to be undergoing substantial change, no longer based on notions and strategies of securing "discipline" and conformity but flexibility, increasingly deregulated and privatised itself, and not mainly provided by a powerful and ambitious state apparatus, arranged in flexible public-private-partnerships on a communal or neighbourhood level, and often offered as a commodity for those who can afford to purchase it.

According to the new regime's logic that is more concerned with freedom (and with those who can do without any old fashioned sense of security), and its reflection in sociological discourse, the future appears "open" and contingent more than ever, and this ambiguous prospect of liberty without security also affects most subjects' identities and habitus - concepts that sound a little old fashioned themselves when considering the obvious change of meaning in a world that demands more and more flexibility, and considering the social structures that suggest that identity and self and character tend to act as restraints to innovation and adjusting rather than necessary resources. From that angle, former key concepts like "habitus" or "identity" might appear as untimely and unpleasant recollections of an era of inertia, echoing that for a long period in history human agents were not really capable of adapting to the social systems' (and of course: the economy's) demand for flexibility and mobility, and that only in the deregulated, privatised and consumerist "jungle of options" world of the late 20th century the victory of flexibility began to show.

There is another discourse, not so much concerned with the issues of safety and insecurity in the first place, but with the impact of recent social change and restructuring on urban spaces, and on the crisis of the cities (cf. Heitmeyer et al. 1998). Some of these contributions have used the concept of social exclusion when describing the effects of globalisation and neo-liberal policies on (European) cities, and there seems to be an

increased awareness of social divide and social polarization affecting the re-shaping of cities. (cf. Dangschat 1999; Sibley 1995; Madanipour 1998). According to some authors European cities no longer seem to function as effective "machines of integration" (Häußermann), but split and disintegrate into very different subsystems, inhabited and occupied by different strata and subcultures, and with a more or less pronounced tendency of excluding the others: Attractive inner city locations where economic and cultural capital are concentrated and where the seductions and amenities of consumer society are displayed, and available to those who can afford to buy them, frequently with a tendency of transforming these places into "private spaces", or at least: developing strategies in order to keep away to groups and individuals who are not considered suitable customers. It is the part of the city saturated with images and design, where consumption is not so much concerned with ordinary use value but with signs and symbolic goods, cultural images, style, fashion, play and entertainment, and where solvent tourists and flaneurs are supposed to enjoy themselves. This sphere comes quite close to what has been analysed in terms of simulation and hyper-reality (Baudrillard), and obviously contrasts with two other types of urban settings: Rundown residential quarters and housing estates where the low income groups and the underclass are concentrated, and where the crumbling of the housing stock, the deficits of the local infrastructure and the disorderly appearance of public space are revealing tokens of desinvestment and decline, opposed to the detached and exclusive suburban residential areas of the upper and upper middle class and the elites that show a tendency of turning into "gated communities" – a phenomenon well known in other parts of the globe, but rather unfamiliar in European cities.

The description (or rather prophecy) suggests there are (or soon will be) no more "normal" or "average" urban settings, with a reasonable mix of population and land use, and with a public sphere that is accessible to practically all groups and individuals, regardless of status and purchasing power. The brief sketch demonstrates that of course the restructuring of cities according to this scenario also implies a restructuring of the public sphere and of public space, and a substantial change in policies of and strategies of control that increasingly do no longer rely upon conventional police surveillance of urban public space in the first place but are increasingly delivered by private security firms patrolling shopping malls, railway stations and several other settings to which the old distinction of "private" and "public" space does no longer apply.

Another current of criminology has further elaborated on some specific aspects of perceptions of public spaces and their connection to "fear of crime". Adam Crawford (1997) and Ian Taylor (1995) discuss some criminological issues that are related to the decline of the public sphere: The widespread middle class strategies of social and spatial withdrawal, life styles that are based on "privatism" rather than participation, retreat from urban space, the conventional distinction of private homes and public spaces, and the amazing degree to which public space is perceived as an unsafe setting, with many of these spaces definitely understood as "fearful places", and to be avoided. Obviously this pattern of withdrawing from public space both follows from the imagina-

tion of crime related (and other) risks, but also reinforces the decline of public space that tends to become "residual", used and occupied by marginal groups and individuals rather than ordinary citizens whose lives and action spaces remain confined to the home and the workplace. In a suburban world where significant categories of residents spend most of their time in private activities and private places, and where some or even many are engaged in a variety of stratagems to avoid public spaces altogether public places can quickly degenerate into places where suspicious or hostile encounters are expected. And even if public space cannot necessarily be proved to be dangerous or unsafe in a strict sense or in terms of crime risks, many settings and facilities (for instance public parks, public transport, public toilets) unmistakably show signs of neglect and decline (cf. Taylor 1995).

Contributions of this sort remind us of the fact that social change in the age of globalisation may not only affect the patterns urban segregation and class relations, but also tends to transform citizens' routine patterns of using (or avoiding) public space, and urban residents' perceptions of places as (in)accessible, (un)attractive, (un)safe etc. Consequently, "fear of crime" as a distinct phenomenon and subject needs to be examined in a perspective of how public (urban) space is used and perceived.

Three more currents of discourse shall only be mentioned very briefly. The first one is about the notion and significance of "community", especially: on the community as a possible remedy for all sorts of troubles and failures, and for all symptoms of disintegration that cannot or no longer be compensated by means of conventional policy. Consequently, the community, the neighbourhood has been envisioned as a promising resource and partner for coping with symptoms of disorder, and insecurity, and as a relevant player in all sorts of prevention issues and games. Of course this special attention to the community can be understood to mirror a new style (or rhetoric) of governance. However, there also is a very critical, less optimistic version to this discourse, arguing that first of all the community, especially in late/post modernity is not so much an empirical fact but something that is fantasized or invoked in times of its absence, and that shifting responsibility for all sorts of social integration and "cohesion" to the local community is little more than a cheap trick, to cover up the fact that the welfare state and its institutions are no longer capable and/or willing to provide a sufficient level and amount of social order and integration, especially in quarters and settings where the not so affluent and disadvantaged strata of late/post modern era are concentrated, and where the appeal to the local population's creative potential appears cynical.

The second discourse is on "fear of crime" as a distinct and relevant social problem that deserves some attention from the side of policy and academic research, independently from factual crime trends and crime waves. For quite some time criminology has treated fear of crime as a mainly psychological or irrational sentiment, not really expressing reasonable concern with specific risks of victimization most of the time, but obviously reflecting other socio-psychological attitudes and vulnerabilities, real or imaginary.

The last of the discourses that obviously bear some relevance when considering "Insecurities in European Cities", is concerned with "cultures of control", and especially with changes and transformations both in the theory and praxis of control. (Cf. Garland 2001). It has been argued that the late/post modern logic of control has tempered its former obsession with discipline and conformity, with the subjects' motivation, "personality" and "soul", and now operates on more pragmatic philosophy and technique that pay more attention to "aggregates of agents", surveillance of spaces and settings, to the calculating and curbing of risks, to issues of harm reduction etc. According to this discourse the new dispositives of control favour the pragmatic monitoring and policing of risks and disturbances rather than conventional penal welfare strategies of moralizing, education, treatment and correction that were targeted at "deviant" agents and subcultures (cf. Deleuze 1993, Lindenberg/Schmidt-Semisch 1995, Legnaro 1997). Of course, the described changes in the culture of control can be assumed to affect the public's awareness and perception of crime risks, and the perception of local (in)security problems.

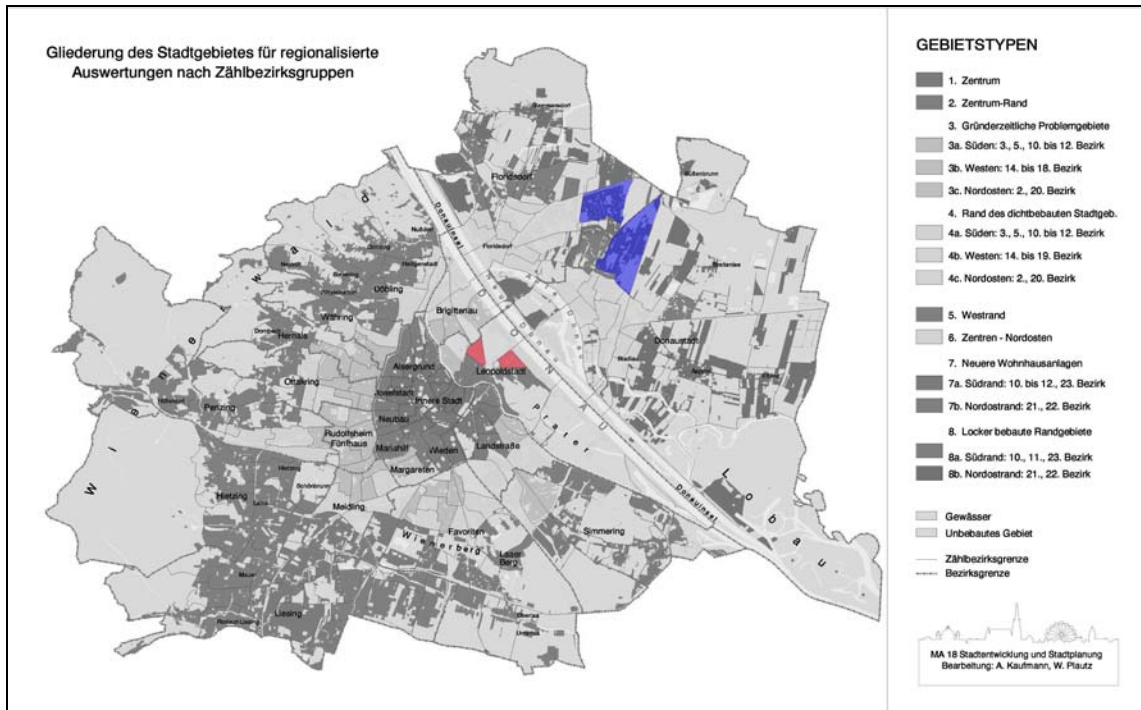
Thus, there are several (at least five) sociological and criminological currents of thought that are more or less related to "Insecurities in European Cities", and can be supposed to profit from the range of empirical evidence that was collected in the cities and quarters that participated in the project and were selected for empirical research. The theoretical and methodological approach of INSEC has distinguished phenomena of insecurity that relate to the macro, meso, and micro level, and its focus is very much on the (possible, assumed) interplay of these levels: Insecurities and fear of crime that affect the subjects' living conditions in their immediate surrounding (residential quarter, action spaces) may of course combine with various sorts of global anxieties, and with fears derived from sources outside their actual life world (media, politics). As empirical phenomena, global anxieties may reinforce (and mix up with) "local worries" and concerns with disorder, or not.

But the INSEC approach does not only focus on problems and crises, but also considers the resources and strategies of coping that are available to those who are affected by urban insecurities and fears: Resources like for instance "local capital" (especially: networks, patterns of association and participation), and of course: resources that are provided by welfare state agencies and programs, with a specific focus on "prevention". Comparative research in the framework of INSEC of course is supposed to provide insights in very different ways and cultures of constructing and experiencing (in)security, on a societal and micro level, and of organizing preventive measures, arrangements and "partnerships". The following chapters will describe and comment on the Viennese patterns, and some of the structural (and ideological) prerequisites that have supported and maintained this pattern relatively stable, with no more than minor modifications during the last decades, and beyond the millennium.

2. Description of Research Sites

The Viennese research sites were selected according to the criteria elaborated and commented in the "Problem Profile".¹

Vienna: Typology of Residential Areas, Research Sites:



1. The Leopoldstadt site

The first research site selected for the empirical study is situated in Vienna's second district, the Leopoldstadt, and comprises two of the district's residential quarters. Volkert Quarter and Stuer Quarter can be described as triangle shaped neighbourhoods, separated from each other by the tracks of the northern railway, and connected only by the hinge of the Praterstern traffic junction and the Wien Nord railway station. It is situated within a maximum distance of about two kilometres from Vienna's central district (Innere Stadt), and covers an area of approximately one square kilometre. Both quarters have been working class, and now can be described as low income residential areas. They were developed in the years after the regulation of the River Danube in the seventies of the 19th century, when industrial plants and depots were established on the right bank of the river, close to the two railway stations that connected Vienna with the northern parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and when the district's features were changed substantially, due to industrialization and its effects on land use and housing. Both quarters are densely built-up areas, two thirds of the buildings still dating from the late 19th century „Gründerzeit“.

¹ Cf. G. Hanak (2004a), Problem Profile Vienna, 57-65

The total population of the Leopoldstadt research site is about 25.000 (Volkert Quarter 11.500; Stuwert Quarter 13.000). According to recent statistics, the proportion of non-Austrian citizens is about 35 per cent (37 per cent for the Volkert Quarter; 33 per cent for the Stuwert Quarter), the majority of immigrants coming from former Yugoslavia and Turkey. Demographic figures and official statistics indicate that disadvantaged groups and segments of the population are over-represented, whereas the privileged, more affluent and educated strata are underrepresented. A closer look at the demographic data indicates that the age structure of the migrant population is rather different from that of Austrian residents, with migrants clearly over-represented in the younger age brackets.

37 per cent of the local population are considered to belong to the low income-stratum (1991), with no more than minimal differences between the two quarters, and compared to 24 per cent for the city altogether. Unemployment rates are 6.4 per cent for the Volkert Quarter, and 8.0 per cent for the Stuwert Quarter, compared to 5.7 per cent for Vienna (December 1999). The percentage of residents holding certificates of education that qualify for university entrance (= *Maturanten*) is 18.5 per cent for the Volkert Quarter, and 16.7 for the Stuwert Quarter, compared to 23 per cent for Vienna.

In a typology of Viennese urban areas both quarters are classified as "problem areas", many of the problems related to unfavourable housing conditions and a housing stock largely consisting of tenement-buildings originally designed for working class residents, with a high proportion of relatively small and/or substandard flats. Usually Viennese problem areas of this type are characterized by tendencies of concentration of disadvantaged strata (manual workers, low-income-groups and households, especially elder/retired Austrian residents, and immigrants). Typically there has been a significant exchange of population, with migrants replacing the former (elder) Austrian residents, and in consequence tensions have been arising from cultural conflicts, but also from mere nuisances and disturbances of everyday-life between long term residents and immigrants. This was true especially in the early 1990s, when a considerable and accelerated exchange of population took place in many Viennese neighbourhoods with similar features.

Recently the Stuwert Quarter has been undergoing a certain upgrading: A school for economic professions (Fachhochschule) has been established, and in a place that was used as a dairy in former times several hundred owner occupied apartments are being erected, and more affluent residents will move in soon. In addition, one of Vienna's underground lines will be extended, with one of the additional stops being in the Stuwert Quarter. Consequently, the quarter will become more attractive, both as a residential area and a business location.

From the angle of the local police the Northern Railway Quarter hardly seems to deserve special attention. The situation is different with regard to the Stuwert Quarter, due to the latter's situation, its deviant (or not so respectable) uses and characteristic repu-

tation: It is quite close to the amusement facilities of the Prater and also accommodates a number of red light locations and enterprises. A survey (1996) on living conditions and residents' problems points to prostitution being the main cause of trouble and irritation in the neighbourhood, because of its various side effects on local residents (especially the women, being addressed and molested by customers cruising some streets of the quarter.) There is a high level of police presence and surveillance in the quarter.

The Lepoldstadt site: Volkert and Stuver Quarter



2. The transdanubian site

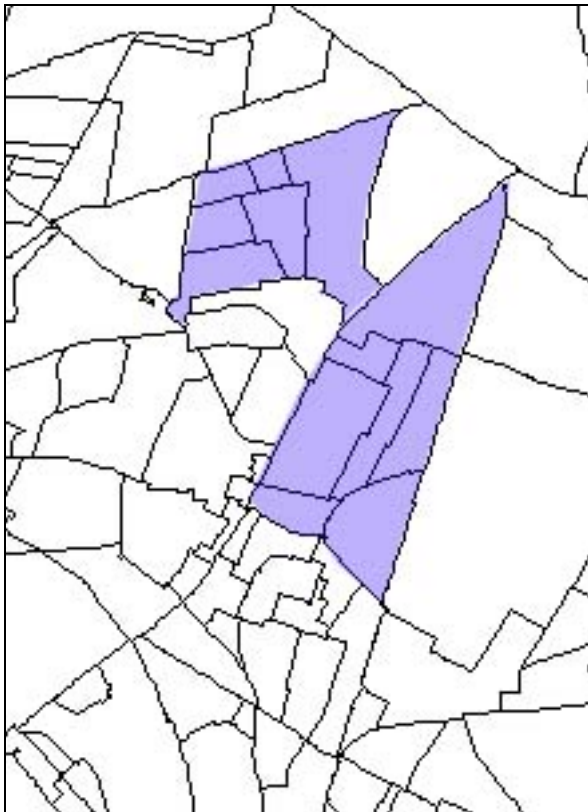
In contrast, the other Viennese research site with a total population of 31.000 is shaped or almost entirely dominated by suburban public housing estates that were developed in the (late) 1960s and 1970s, close to the fringe of the city, remote from the densely built up area, in a distance of 7 to 8 kilometres from the central district, and with a minimum of integration into the core city. Both sites mainly consist of high rise blocks, the Großfeldsiedlung developed in the late sixties, with a population of about 17.500; the Rennbahnweg project in the mid 1970s, with a population of about 8000, comprising 2400 flats. Both projects were, in some respects, considered to be problem estates in the years after developing, and especially in the case of the Rennbahnweg attained a reputation and stigma as a (Viennese) worst case of urban expansion and design. In the case of the Großfeldsiedlung there were media reports and worries about the unusual amount of juvenile delinquency, followed by complaints and criticism about the obvious deficits in urban infrastructure, with regard to shopping, public transport and social and leisure facilities, especially for the younger age brackets. During the last years the estate did not receive so much attention from the side of the media, and the situation seems to have improved over time, possibly due to the changing age structure of the population and the fact that the infrastructure has been adapted to a certain

degree. Plans to connect the area to Vienna's meanwhile fairly comprehensive underground network have not been realized until now, and probably will only be so in approximately 5 years from now.

Considering the Rennbahnweg, negative reports and stigmatizing criticism started quite soon after residents had moved to the estate in the mid 1970s: First reports in the media focused on constructional deficits, followed by a more fundamental and ideological criticism blaming the "inhumane architecture", from a more middle class standpoint, of course. Further reports about the estate addressed the concentration of low income households and families, running into debts, frequently unemployed, living on social benefits, and also mentioned the younger residents' disadvantages when applying for a job and giving their address. Last, but not least there were other news about residents being involved in criminal proceedings, sometimes insinuating that the estate was some kind of breeding place for criminals, or even converted ordinary subjects into deviants and criminals, simply because of its fatal architecture, design and social surrounding. In 1994 a project of renovation, redesign and upgrading was started, which included replacing all of the windows and redesigning the entrances, doorways and yards, obviously improving the situation and appearance of the Rennbahnweg. Lately media reports about the area's social problems and the estate's peculiar and "exotic" quality seem to have diminished, except for a special incident that caught and to a certain degree conserved the attention of both the media and the public for some time: In 1999 a 10 year old girl living on the estate with her mother disappeared on her way to school and never turned up again, in spite of concentrated efforts from the side of the police, the family, private detectives, etc.

Especially the Rennbahnweg estate (and its surrounding) is characterized by a comparatively young population, with 22 per cent belonging to the age bracket "under 15", and no more than 9 per cent to the "60 plus" category. The respective figures for the Großfeldsiedlung are much closer to the proportions for the rest of the city. Average household size is 2.6 for the Rennbahnweg and 2.5 for the Großfeldsiedlung, compared to Vienna's 2.0, and single's households are clearly under-represented on both transdanubian estates (about 23 per cent, compared to more than 40 per cent for Vienna). The proportion of low income population is assumed to be about 27 per cent for both estates/areas. Non-Austrian citizens amount to 8 per cent (Rennbahnweg) of the local population, and to less than 5 per cent in the Großfeldsiedlung. The proportion of residents holding certificates that qualify for university entrance (11 and 12 per cent) is significantly lower than in the Leopoldstadt research site, of course much lower than the rate for Vienna altogether – and probably relatively close to the minima that can be found all over the city.

The transdanubian site:



Indicators for Research sites

Indicators	VQ	StQ	GFS	RBW	Vienna
Area (hectares)	38.1	38.4	320.8	337.3	
Population (2000)	11.529	12.988	17.450	13.696	1.615.438
% age bracket "under 15" (2000)	15.2	14.6	17.3	22.0	14.6
% age bracket "60 plus" (2000)	18.8	21.1	20.8	9.2	21.4
% non Austrian citizens (2000)	36.6	33.2	4.8	8.1	18.1
% low income population (1991)	36.8	37.1	27.4	26.8	23.8
% unemployed (1999)	6.4	8.0	8.1	7.0	5.7
% qualified for university entrance (1991)	18.5	17.6	11.1	12.3	23.0
% without (completed) vocational training, only compulsory school (1991)	42.7	40.7	35.9	36.2	34.8
number of homes (flats) (1991)	5.770	7.044	7.347	5.235	738.962
average household size (1991)	2.1	2.0	2.5	2.6	2.0
% singles' households (1991)	40.7	43.8	23.7	22.6	42.1
% substandard housing (Category D) (1991)	28.8	31.0	1.8	4.5	18.5
% housing stock erected before 1919 (1991)	70.5	65.1	0	0	36.6

VQ = Volkert Quarter (also: Northern Railway Quarter)

StQ = Stuwert Quarter

GFS = Großfeldsiedlung

RBW = Rennbahnweg

3. Results of Quantitative Research

The quantitative analysis is based on a total of 1079 interviews in the four quarters described in the previous chapter, conducted in autumn 2002. For the details of fieldwork and a comprehensive description of the sample and the data cf. Karazman-Morawetz 2004 (Appendix). In a first step, a mainly descriptive presentation of the results with regard to quarter related assessments and feelings of insecurity is given. The second, more analytical part focuses on the interplay of concerns or fears on the macro, meso and micro level, and the conclusions to be derived from the empirical pattern represented in the Viennese data.

3.1. Quarter-related results: Perception of the Quarter and Assessment of Security

The data of the survey show a high extent of *satisfaction* with one's neighbourhood and with the residential area in general: About two thirds of the respondents (70 per cent) like living in their quarter 'much' or 'very much'. Only a small minority of 10 per cent to 13 per cent is 'less' or 'not at all' satisfied with the residential area. The percentage of those who like living in the quarter 'very much' amounts to about one third and is slightly reduced (25 per cent) only in the area Rennbahnweg.

The atmosphere of the neighbourhood area is seen as largely positive by the respondents. In all four quarters, the majority of the inhabitants consider their neighbourhood (rather) familiar and (rather) quiet. Opinions differ only regarding attractiveness and cleanness. The old building areas of the Leopoldstadt are experienced as less clean than the Transdanubian areas. Contrary to what one might expect, the Transdanubian housing estates at the outskirts of Vienna are considered (rather) attractive by their inhabitants. Yet, in the Rennbahnweg area, next to a relatively high degree of satisfaction with the atmosphere, an increased share of negative judgements (above 20 per cent) becomes evident, bringing to expression a higher degree of dissatisfaction with the living quarter.

Traffic connections, infrastructure and local supply of goods and services all are perceived as highly satisfactory for all four research sites (satisfaction of 80 per cent and above). In comparison between the two districts, the transport situation is more highly appraised in the Leopoldstadt district, which is due to the small distance to the city centre and to the underground connection. Still, also in Transdanubia around 80 per cent of the respondents are of the opinion that their traffic connections are good. On the other hand deficits in infrastructure (sports and free time facilities) are articulated by a majority of the respondents in Transdanubia.

A similarly positive evaluation is given to the *local security situation*. In each quarter, an overwhelming majority of respondents (between 60 per cent and 70 per cent) consider their living area to be 'safe' or 'very safe'. The percentage is highest for the Großfeldsiedlung. Only a minority of 12 per cent (Volkert Quarter) or 16 per cent (Rennbahnweg area) judges the quarter to be 'unsafe' or 'rather unsafe'. This percentage about corresponds to the number of people dissatisfied with their neighbourhood. As with housing satisfaction, there are no significant differences between the different research sites regarding the (in)security assessment. The specific problems of "disorder" which give rise to residents' concerns, or deficits in infrastructure, are not reflected in this (in)security assessment.

In the context of this favourable perception of (personal) security in the quarter, there is no surprise that darkness in the evening or in the night is no difficulty or even impediment leaving the home for the vast majority of the residents. A minority of between 11 per cent (Volkert Quarter, Rennbahnweg) and 18 per cent (Großfeldsiedlung) of the respondents say that they usually do not leave home any more after dark (i.e. not more often than once a month). The main reason given for not going out late is an age specific or homely life style "I am content to stay at home" (around 80 per cent of replies). Only at the Rennbahnweg, the reason given for staying at home is less frequently satisfaction (only 56 per cent of those staying at home) and the component of fear is playing a definitely higher role than in the other quarters. As an example, 64 per cent of the respondents who would usually not leave home after dark indicate fear of being attacked and robbed as a reason, in contrast to 31 per cent in the Großfeldsiedlung, 26 per cent in the Volkert Quarter, and 43 per cent in the Stuwert Quarter.

In relation to the total sample of respondents, the share of those who do not go out at night any more for reasons of anxiety or fear of victimisation (sum index) is altogether marginal (7 per cent of the respondents). The percentages range between 4 per cent (Volkert Quarter) and 8 per cent or 9 per cent (Großfeldsiedlung, Stuwert Quarter, Rennbahnweg) without significant differences between the quarters.

Victimisation experiences and subjective risk assessment

About one quarter of the respondents declare to have been harmed or injured during the past three years by crime, accidents, and the like². The extent of personal victimisation significantly differs between the research sites and is highest among the respondents living at the Rennbahnweg, where 37 per cent report victimisation experiences, followed by the Volkert Quarter with 29 per cent, whereas only about one fifth of the respondents at the Stuwert Quarter and the Großfeldsiedlung have themselves experienced victimisation during the past three years.

² The „Living in Vienna“ survey (data collected in 1994/95) found a victimisation rate of 17 per cent for Vienna. In that study, "victimisation" was restricted to accosting and crime items, and covered only the preceding 12 months. Taking these restrictions into account, the rate of victimisation attested in the present study appears to be rather low.

Concerning social characteristics, in general there is no difference in victimisation experience according to gender, with the exception of the Stuwert Quarter, where 28 per cent of the women, but only 14 per cent of the men report personal victimisation experiences. This can be explained by harassment specifically committed against women in the context of prostitution in the quarter. On the whole, women do not experience more crime than men, but estimate their risk higher than men do. A similar observation holds regarding age, with a relatively similar distribution across age groups, the exception in this case being the Rennbahnweg area. In that area, older respondents (age 60 and above) as well as foreign citizens actually indicate a remarkably higher extent of personal victimisation experiences.

The victimisation experiences mostly concern suffering material damages, whereas violent crime and attacks against the physical integrity of a victim are very rare, as expected. The most frequent experiences which are reported by about one quarter of the respondents concern theft (i.e. theft of purses, mobile phones, bicycles, etc. except cases in connection with cars being broken into). About 15 per cent each of the respondents report about someone breaking into buildings (cellars, flats), of the car being broken into as well as about harassment/ accosting/threats. Experiences with violent crime as such (assault, mugging) are indicated by 8 to 12 per cent of the respondents. Experiences with damage done to property, i.e. mostly to cars, range in the same area. On the whole, the data shows that an increased frequency of victimisation experiences by city quarter inhabitants (as in the areas Rennbahnweg and Volkert Quarter) does not find a reflection in a deteriorated appraisal of the security situation in the quarter or an increased estimate of the subjective risk of suffering victimisation in the city quarter. This corroborates the general finding of empirical criminology that personal victimisation experiences have only small influence on city quarter inhabitants' feeling of (in)security (cf. Boers 1991, 1993; Legnaro 1998). Victimisation experiences primarily regard material damages, which can be compensated for and most of the time remain anonymous, i.e. take place without a direct encounter between victim and perpetrator. Such experiences therefore do not cause persistent fear. The majority of respondents (60 per cent) also indicate not to feel more insecure after the victimisation experience.

In line with the favourable assessment of the local security situation the respondents in all four research sites in general consider the *victimisation risk* to be rather low. About 70 per cent of the respondents consider victimisation in the city quarter (rather) unlikely; only a small minority of between 3 per cent (Volkert Quarter) and 10 per cent (Rennbahnweg and Stuwert Quarter) (rather) likely. The differences between the research sites are not statistically significant. The low fear of becoming the victim of a crime or incivility is in accordance with previous results for Vienna (cf. Survey „Leben in Wien“; Hirtenlehner & Pilgram 1999). The inclusion of risks that are specific to women (sexual harassment, rape) into the sum index changes the picture only slightly. The risk of victimisation is still considered very low: between 4 per cent (Volkert Quarter) and 10 per cent (Rennbahnweg) in the different quarters consider this to be likely to happen to them.

The social distribution of subjective risk assessment follows patterns known from research: Women consider it more likely, or, strictly speaking, slightly less unlikely, to become victims of unpleasant or criminal acts than men do, in particular in the Stuver Quarter and the Rennbahnweg area. Younger people (up to 30 years of age) consider victimisation less likely than older people (with the exception of the Großfeldsiedlung); so do foreign citizens (with the exception of the Rennbahnweg area).

The risk assessment in relation to individual items yields largely realistic and undramatic results. The risk of being accosted is considered relatively high (20 per cent rather likely), similarly, the risk of theft (about 22 per cent). Risk of being victim to violent crime (robbery, assault, rape) is considered to be clearly lower (about 5 per cent to 7 per cent) and thus below the assumed risk of suffering physical damage from events that are not typically considered crime, like a traffic accident as a pedestrian, or being attacked by a dog.

Signs of local insecurities and disorder

In contrary to the general high satisfaction with the security situation, group-specific analysis especially of items concerning threat or personal security may reveal differentiated perceptions of insecurity and/or different security situations of social groups and research areas. In two city quarters, namely the Stuver Quarter and the Rennbahnweg area, an increased feeling of insecurity emerges, which in the Stuver Quarter holds in particular for women and older people, and at the Rennbahnweg primarily for women (less comprehensively but still: also for older people, foreign citizens, housewives). E.g. in both quarters, a majority of women voices feelings of insecurity in regard of certain areas within the city quarter (54 per cent and 42 per cent, at the Rennbahnweg also housewives at 63 per cent). Furthermore, also retired people do so, where the high percentage at the Stuver Quarter is conspicuous (67 per cent). In contrast, at the Großfeldsiedlung, also women and older people are feeling relatively safe in regard to insecure places (about 27 per cent each perceive "insecure places"). At the Rennbahnweg the majority of female respondents indicates items like "youths hanging around" and "drunk people in the street", as (big) city quarter problems; a relatively high percentage (about 20 per cent) of the respondents wish to move away "because of the insecurity".

The perceived local problems differ along the lines of the socio-spatial situation in the city quarter. In the Stuver Quarter, perception of "social disorder" (Skogan 1990) is highest (groups of people hanging around, like drunken people or adolescents; harassment), also in the context of street prostitution, and the traffic junction Praterstern). The main topic here is the harassment of women and girls, which stands in connection to the red-light zone and prostitution in the quarter. In the Volkert Quarter, perception of "physical disorder" regarding the outward appearance of the quarter comes first. In the housing estates at outskirts of the city particularly strong mention is made of "youth hanging around" (particularly at the Rennbahnweg by 41 per cent of the respondents) or of vandalism, and, in first place altogether, of infrastructure shortcomings as main

problems. In sum, concern about city quarter related disorder is lower in the new housing estates than in the old building areas because the view on problems focuses on only a few "main problems". The higher degree of urbanity of the more central old building areas brings about a broader spectrum of potentially annoying situations that is perceived of by inhabitants as problematic. Yet, it has to be stated that concern about quarter-related problems in general (sum indices) is remarkable low in the research sites: no more than 10 per cent of the respondents are (very) concerned about problems (that is: symptoms of disorder) in the quarter.

Women appear a little bit more concerned over local problems in the neighbourhood than men, in particular in the Rennbahnweg quarter. No interrelation was found according to age groups (with the exception Stuger Quarter).

The perception of disorder, or the increased inclination to perceive local situations as a (big) problem, turns out to be central to the feelings of insecurity. It influences the local feeling of security, the extent of concern about crime in Vienna, and also the subjective risk of victimisation to a high extent. Especially social disorder is closely connected by respondents to increased (women-specific) risk of victimisation and the existence of unsafe streets and squares, which are in turn considered places of potential danger. Consequently, the influence of disorder on local security perception is much higher on the Rennbahnweg and in the Stuger Quarter, i.e. in those areas that are characterised by the presence of a "notorious" local problem of social disorder (Stuger Quarter: street prostitution and adverse consequences; Rennbahnweg: youth hanging around and their annoying activities giving rise to concern). Thus, if there is evidence of stronger feelings of (personal) insecurity in the Viennese research sites, it is linked to signs and (collective) perceptions of social disorder and to the risk of unpleasant encounters or interactions rather than to the respective environmental and socio-spatial characteristics of the quarter.

Neighbourhood contacts and quarter-related social integration

Concerning the social integration of the inhabitants of the city quarters (social contacts in the quarter), differences between the research sites are found which are partly rather surprising, as they are obviously not in line with the usual clichés, of, e.g., reduced social contact in the "anonymous" housing estates at the periphery with high rise buildings. Thus, the Rennbahnweg quarter displays an especially high degree of social contact. Regular informal contacts in the living area (regular encounters with people in the quarter, with whom spare time is passed) are fostered by 65 per cent of the inhabitants of Rennbahnweg. Furthermore, inhabitants of the Rennbahnweg - as well as those of the Stuger Quarter - report a considerable extent of activities within the framework of associations and clubs (29 per cent and 24 per cent). Yet again, the findings for the Rennbahnweg area once more hint at a polarised pattern, as the number of inhabitants who explicitly state they do not maintain relations to their neighbours is comparatively high and clearly higher than in the other quarters (48 per cent).

A sum index of "social integration in the quarter" confirms that the most intensive local contacts are attested at the Rennbahnweg area, where almost half of the respondents display a strong local integration. For them, the neighbourhood is a place for social activities to a high extent. The three remaining areas resemble each other in displaying a lower level of local integration: 28 per cent to 34 per cent of the respondents are strongly integrated, about 38 per cent not at all, what means that the pattern of social participation is more strongly oriented outside the city quarter.

Analyses show that integration in the quarter and existence of neighbourhood networks constitute a relevant influential factor for the (positive) appraisal of the local security situation. Neighbourhood contacts and familiarity with the surrounding housing area lead to a perception of the city quarter as more friendly and more safe. While local integration contributes to the reduction of insecurity, this unexpectedly is not true for the extent of social contact in general. Although plausible hypotheses see a lack of social contacts, integration and social support as important sources for feelings of insecurity, the sum index of "sociability" (the frequency of getting together with friends and relatives, going out) has no effect on the (security related) perception of the city quarter and the risk of victimisation.

Feelings of insecurity in the residential quarter: Interpretation and contexts

A remarkable result that runs counter to other research findings is related to social characteristics of local feelings of insecurity. Except the characteristic gender, which displays differences in perceived safety of the quarter in two of the four research sites, for all four areas no significant differences are attested for social characteristics like age³, employment status or occupation, on the level of bivariate analysis. Similarly, also the indicators of socio-economic status like per capita income or per capita living space do not yield any significant differentiation with respect to perceived safety. Individual group-specific results are found only in the Transdanubian areas. In Transdanubia, inhabitants with higher education (qualified for university entrance) feel more insecure. In the Rennbahnweg area, it is especially families with children who declare themselves dissatisfied with the security situation.

Multivariate analysis corroborates the finding that age and socio-economic status do not influence the local perception of security. Only gender remains as a determining factor: Women consider their living quarter less safe than men, grouped by districts this is particularly true for the areas with old buildings. As a result specific to that particular area, in the Großfeldsiedlung quarter, the level of education turns out to be a more important factor than gender. This (surprising) finding may be interpreted to show that in particular older people, retired people and long time inhabitants are feeling well in the residential area and experience an atmosphere of spatial and socio-cultural familiarity due to a shared housing biography since the estate was first settled, which more

³ With the exception of the Großfeldsiedlung area, where the result deviates in the unexpected direction and older inhabitants consider the area more safe.

highly educated and younger people as well as inhabitants who moved in more recently are precluded from.

Secondly, it is remarkable that, in spite of manifold differences between the four research areas in regard of, for example, the type of urban development, the local infrastructure, composition of the population, etc., only minimal differences in the overwhelmingly positive appraisal of security and in housing satisfaction exist, which are also not statistically significant. Neither the perception of single deficits in infrastructure nor the sometimes less positive appraisal of such aspects as cleanness, attractiveness, disorder phenomena etc. can degrade the overall satisfaction of a majority with the housing area. We may conclude that we do not find signs of a stronger social polarisation in the urban development or of a deterioration of city quarters in Vienna; negative developments mentioned by the inhabitants do obviously not exceed the critical threshold that would lead to a more negative assessment of the living conditions in a specific quarter by the respondents.

In general, the data shows that the appraisal of security as well as housing satisfaction are part of a more general atmospheric perception of the city quarter, which is related to different aspects like familiarity, cleanness, or attractiveness. The appraisal of the quarter as safe or unsafe correlates very strongly (and significantly) with all other items of affective perception of the neighbourhood as well as to housing satisfaction. A factor analysis shows that the different aspects of the perception of the city quarter, including security assessment, all appertain to one single dimension. This means that in the perception of respondents, security is not detached from other aspects of the quarter's atmosphere, but is part and parcel of a general positive or negative perception of the city quarter. Those who like living in their neighbourhood and are feeling fine there also consider it safe – and the other way round: Those who consider the city quarter unsafe also appraise it more negatively in other respects, namely as less attractive, less quiet, and as unclean. Based on these findings, the local feelings of security can be interpreted as indicators of a general satisfaction with the surroundings and well being in the city quarter. A negative appraisal of the security situation is to be understood as a component of a more comprehensive syndrome of dissatisfaction with the housing area, which holds true of approximately 15 per cent of respondents in the entire sample and is slightly increased in the Rennbahnweg area.

Trust in institutions and authorities

We found in our research sites not only a “general positive perception” of the quarter, but also a general high degree of trust in institutions and (municipal) authorities.

The trust of respondents in public and semi-public institutions (sum score) is altogether high (about 55 per cent indicate a “very high” level of trust). According to districts, a significantly more developed scepticism towards the services or achievements of institutions prevails in Transdanubia than in the old building areas of the Leopoldstadt. The extent of expressed trust is least high in the Rennbahnweg quarter (only 43 per cent

high trust) and highest in the Volkert Quarter (67 per cent high trust). The lower level of confidence in institutions among respondents in Transdanubia is in line with other results showing that in this quarter, one believes one can rely on the police less, and that a low presence of the police force is considered a problem more often than in the Leopoldstadt site. The trust in the police is extraordinarily high in the two Leopoldstadt quarters (88 per cent) and somewhat lower in Transdanubia, even if a majority of 75 per cent answer the question in the affirmative on the suburban housing estates.

Concerning social characteristics, hardly any comprehensive tendencies are attested. One trend that may be observed after all is that trust in institutions is increasing with age (with the exception Rennbahnweg).

Analyses show that high trust in institutions (and the Viennese data shows there is an extremely high level of confidence in the health system) is a factor that reduces local feelings of insecurity. The higher the trust in (municipal) authorities and services (by interpretation: the feeling that the system is caring for the subjects), the higher the satisfaction with the local security situation. Interestingly, the influence of trust is adverse with regard to supra-local concerns like crime-related or global concerns: high trust in the system leads to a high level of concern with crime as a major problem, and with "global fears". Interpretation will be given in the following chapter.

3.2. Local, city-related and global concerns as possible components of general insecurity

In the previous chapter we have analysed the perception and the situation of security in the Viennese research sites. In doing so we tried to understand the significance and the influence of various factors like satisfaction with living conditions, social integration in the quarter, experiences of disorder and victimisation etc. on for the sense of security in the research sites. In the next step we discuss the relevance of "supra-local concerns" (e.g. crime problems on the city level, social problems in Vienna, global problems) as other possible components that may affect the subjects' sense of insecurity.

Concerning the questions of the extent of those different concerns, the item in the survey enquiring about different social problems regarding the city of Vienna as a whole shows that "criminality" is indicated as one of the more disquieting concerns by 42 per cent of the respondents. The finding is in line with practically every relevant Austrian and international survey result. Yet, items concerning social problems in Vienna (unemployment, poverty) are at least as appraised as disquieting as some of the crime related items (drug trafficking, criminality in general). Other aspects of urban crime problems play a minor role. Questions of public safety are regarded as problems for the city of Vienna to a remarkably small extent, like for example "insecurity in public transport" or "hooligans" (about 15 per cent of respondents are concerned).

Sum scores on the respective bundle of items corroborate the problem ranking of the Viennese respondents. The concern about global problems is highest: almost two thirds of the respondents (64 per cent) are concerned about global risks, followed by social

problems like unemployment and poverty (half of the respondents: 47 per cent). About one third of the respondents (31 per cent) are concerned about crime related problems in Vienna. In contrast, the own living area is experienced as disquieting by less than one out of ten respondents (7 per cent). Global developments apparently cause more concern than regional problems of the city of Vienna, and these in turn cause more concern than grievances of the own city quarter. This synopsis indicates, once more, the high level of satisfaction with living conditions in Vienna, as well as a relatively high trust in the capability of problem managing by the municipal authorities. On the other hand the data reflect the prevailing "common sense" that the "real", and serious problems and risks are to be found outside of the own country – at least when compared to the vernacular problems.

The analysis of the strength of the influence of socio-economic characteristics on the individual dimensions of concern shows no differences worth mentioning as far as age and gainful employment are concerned, but there are clear differences according to gender, citizenship, and education. As an observed trend, women are more concerned in every single dimension than men are, mostly regarding the local dimensions city quarter atmosphere, security appraisal, phenomena of destabilisation in the housing area and regarding crime in Vienna. Women in general see their city area as less safe than men do. The percentage of women considering their residential area (rather) safe ranges around 55 per cent, compared to around 75 per cent for men.

Compared to non-Austrians, Austrian citizens are more worried about global problems, social and crime related problems, but not over quarter related disorder and local safety problems. Foreign citizens appear less impressed by global, social and crime related risks.

Similar to the level of concern of women, lower education strata display an increased concern in particular over supra-local problems. The lower the level of education, the more concern is caused by global processes, the more crime and social problems in Vienna are perceived as problematic. The insecurity pattern also concerns quarter related disorders, but not the (general) assessment of the quarter and the subjective victimisation risk.

Analysing the relationship between quarter-related, city-related and global concerns, we find no comprehensive pattern of high concern in each thematic area that could be interpreted as an expression of a general syndrome of insecurity. Respondents differentiate between city quarter related insecurity assessment and concerns over supra-local issues (crime in Vienna, social problems in Vienna, global problems). Those who consider the housing area unsafe are not at the same time particularly concerned over more "remote" issues. Those who show serious concern about global or city related problems conversely are content with the local security situation. Concerns with a local or with a supra-local focus emerge as two separate structures of insecurity which are connected by the "bracket" of concern about city quarter problems. Still, the different

aspects of supra-local concern are perceived as closely connected and may point at a common underlying dimension of general concern.

Altogether the analyses point out two contextually different phenomena of (crime related) insecurity or concern: For one, there is a concern that is locally bound and rather immediately focussed on the own person, which also extends to include fear of crime in general, but otherwise displays no sensitivity for global or supra-local problems. Second, there is a "cosmopolitan" or "altruistic" concern interested in supra-local contexts, which among other things is also concerned over regional crime problems, but hardly over (security) problems pertinent to the small area of the immediate neighbourhood. Concern about local disorder phenomena plays a role in both contexts. This interpretation corresponds to Merton's "local"/"cosmopolitan" distinction as two different types of orientation of inhabitants towards their local communities (Merton 1968: 447s).

The two types of concern or insecurity also differ with respect to their background determinants. Local security concerns – in contrast to supra-local concerns – are related to a lack of social integration in the quarter as well as to a worse assessed capability of life control, and they have women specific traits. Local insecurity is to be understood as a phenomenon of dissatisfaction which relates to socio-spatial aspects of the city quarter (negative perception of the neighbourhood), a dissatisfaction with social relations or fellow people and with the course of one's life. People with local insecurity display themselves as more distrustful and have less contact to their fellow people, they estimate their personal risk of victimisation as well as of having an accident higher and judge their own course of life more negatively (life control). By interpretation, the local insecurity is related to aspects of life that are experienced as dissatisfying, with a course of life that lags behind the own demands regarding lifestyle and social status. This perceived lagging behind one's own demands is apparently cutting across all social and educational strata, such that, apart from gender, no social characteristics can be identified which might plausibly explain local insecurity.

The picture is different for "supra-local insecurity". This pattern of insecurity is independent of gender, capability of life control, or well-being in the city quarter. The determining factors are sociability, trust in institutions, and level of education. A high degree of sociability, implying the frequent engagement in discussion of disquieting events and the "day's headlines", a high degree of trust in institutions, implying scepticism and distrust in the unfamiliar outside world or "Great Society" in the sense of Merton, and a low level of education reinforce crime related, social and global worries. Supra-local insecurity can be understood as a media-reception phenomenon specific to a certain education stratum. Disquieting or threatening events and risks reported by the media are taken note of, but their connections to or relevance for one self or Austrian society remain intransparent. It is also conceivable that we are dealing with a stratum specific "insecurity habitus", which simply reproduces the standards established by media reporting concerning what is in the general perception to be considered "relevant" or "a problem" in the interview situation. This would also make it possible to explain why lower

education strata display a higher inclination to perceive city quarter related disorder phenomena as problematic. With a higher level of education, the concern about supra-local problems is reduced to a more realistic measure - at least the reduced degree of crime related concerns stands as an indicator for that - or the attribution of problem status becomes more selective.

More so than the locally oriented insecurity pattern, the pattern of supra-local concern could give evidence for a general insecurity regarding the effects of globalisation and the post-fordist restructuring of society. But as this pattern does not include local feelings of insecurity and is accompanied by high trust in systems in Vienna, the interpretation is more plausible that people to a high degree still feel secure "at home" resp. in their city and that these feelings of trust and certainty vis-à-vis the (local) system may function as an "anchor" against overwhelming global anxieties, or against a transformation of risk perception into general fears. High concern about problems in the world need not be embedded in an discourse of fear but could be linked with the meaning of "how lucky we still are here".

Both – the local as well as the supra-local - patterns of concern support the thesis that for Vienna enhanced global threats as well as economic or ecological global risks do not substantially affect or enlarge security related fears in the everyday life.

4. A Closer Look at the Micro and Meso Levels: Qualitative Research

The qualitative approach to the selected research sites was supposed to provide a closer look on urban living conditions, and the meaning of "insecurity", as related to local experiences and difficulties. Fieldwork in the Viennese research sites was conducted from January to April 2003. The following analysis is based on 86 interviews. (For a detailed description both of the methodological approach and the sample cf. Hanak 2004b).

Satisfaction with the quarter

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 and surrounding 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 Stüwer 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 Stüwer 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.

Only a small minority of respondents (below 10 per cent, 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.

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 society⁴. Furthermore, 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 densely built up 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.

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

⁴ 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.

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 infrastructure, 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 Stüwer 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.)⁵ 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.

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.

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

⁵ 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.

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.

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), but could do 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 Stuver 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 Stuver 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.

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 Stuver 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 su-

permarket, 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 Stüwer 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 wegstommst, 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.

The “System” Mirrored in the Data?

First of all, the material shows that “simple” issues like satisfaction with the quarter, 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. Part of the collected data 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 insecurities and discontent, the common denominator seems to be that they hardly ever focus on 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. Part 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 governance⁶ 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 or abolition of the fordist framework of regulation since the 1990s) the shift in 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

⁶ 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.

social order, and to hold on to principles and interpretations of the social contract that are not completely in keeping with actual circumstances.

Globalisation, Individualization and Anxieties

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 the concept of globalisation, and "global anxieties". 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.⁷

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 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

⁷ 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

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, and have argued elsewhere, that according to the empirical evidence from some Viennese residential quarters 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 (cf. Hanak 2003).

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 risks of contemporary 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.

5. Crime Prevention Policy

There is no question that discourses and programs about crime prevention play an important role in many EU-countries. Crime prevention or crime reduction or community safety is a major focus of public policy and criminological research not only in Britain but also for example in Scandinavia and in parts of the European continent. Many scientific observers agree that alongside policing and penalty a third "governmental" sector has grown up – the new apparatus of prevention and security.

How is the development in Vienna keeping in mind the results described in the previous chapter? If the level of anxieties in general and of fear of crime in particular is rather low, like in Vienna, what effects on the development of crime prevention can we observe? Is Vienna an exemption of the general trend towards more crime prevention legislation and programs in the cities?

We investigated crime prevention by federal law; guidelines of the Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Police Headquarter of Vienna concerning crime prevention by the police; finally crime prevention efforts in the city of Vienna and especially in the four research sites. Our questions were not focused about the effects of measures but about

the assessment of the representatives in our interviews. How do they categorize their efforts, what quantity of resources do they invest and what do they want for the future? As a first result of our research we have to state that on the map of crime prevention in Vienna, there are many blank dots and further research is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of this phenomenon. Concerning the preventive strategies of the residents we have only little information and eventually there are more organisations on the level of the City than we realize dealing with crime prevention.

Based on the information we have collected, crime prevention appears to be a more individualistic than systematic and general approach in Vienna. Some persons inside the police and NPOs try to promote this perspective, having however to cope with small resources and budget cuts. Especially the persons who are active in our research sites are hesitating in defining their activities as (crime) preventive.

We could not see, that there is a public discourse on crime prevention in Vienna like in other cities.

Prevention is still a private problem like the phenomenon of fear of crime and Vienna is a good example for a city in which both phenomenon did not (yet) become a public problem.⁸ Even though the Freedom Party (together with some newspapers) has pushed the topic of crime and criminal foreigners during election campaigns, it became not a permanent issue in the public discourse and feeling. Nowadays the Green Party demands 1500 police officers more for the city of Vienna, without a strong public echo, however.

The fact, that crime prevention is still a private problem is not to understand in a neo-liberal sense in Vienna but as a more traditional, reasonable but moderate activity of the residents of the city in order to defend (primarily) their property. The issue "crime prevention" is not private because of the retreat of the police or other state agencies from the control of crime. It is still private because the state and the police of Vienna have not adopted crime prevention measures and programs as one of the core activities.

This situation is mirrored in a relatively underdeveloped private security market in Vienna and in Austria. In 2003 the total number of persons employed in the private security sector was about 6.700 employees, working as private security agents and 350 persons, working as administrative staff compared to about 32.000 persons working as police officers in Austria.

Austria belongs to a group of countries (together with Germany or the Netherlands) in the EC where the number of police force per 100.000 of the population is (much) higher than the number of security personnel per 100.000. On the other end of the continuum we find countries like Poland or Hungary, where we find the inverse relationship.

⁸ For the „career“ of problems as private to public problems see Gusfield 1981.

The statement on the limited significance of community policing in Vienna (cf. Hanak 2004a, 56) is also true for the whole phenomenon of crime prevention: reasons for that are "mainly rooted in the fact that on the one side '*problem pressure*' has been moderate most of the time, i.e. in many districts and neighbourhoods (and especially in most residential areas) the local crime and disorder problems do not surpass the usual load of trouble that is experienced by urban residents, and can be handled in a quite effective way by means of conventional police resources and strategies. Moreover the political and governmental structures and institutions in Vienna can largely get along without participatory arrangements and active cooperation on the side of the citizens. (This is perfectly in keeping with some widespread popular attitudes and expectations toward politics and authorities: they are supposed to solve, to manage and to administer problems in a competent and reasonable way without having to rely on citizens' participation.) Furthermore, questions of public security are understood as (exclusively or mainly) being the responsibility of the police authorities. According to that sort of perception, a municipal/communal responsibility is only plausible where police or government regulations obviously appear unsuitable to solve urgent or structural problems" (l.c.).

This situation seems to be similar to that of France as reported by Body-Gendrot (2000, 65s):

"In a quickly changing world and at a time of European challenges, a majority of the French still takes the intervention of the state in the solution of problems for granted. They rely on public services, never question their costs, and the image of civil servants (...) remains positive. In brief, the national culture does not encourage people to resort to self-help."

Another feature of the Viennese crime prevention policy is their '*defensive character*'. A good example is the activity of the Crime Advisory Service, offering information to the residents of the city in order to protect themselves against (mainly property) crime. Compared to this approach Crawford describes a more offensive preventive strategy in his research about the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 in England and Wales. The Act imposes a statutory duty on the police and local authorities "to establish and maintain crime and disorder partnerships and strategies" (Crawford 2002, 228; for more details Newburn 2002).

Another interesting feature is the reluctance of organisations in using the term prevention. The Association of Youth Centres is an example for that and simultaneously an other example for the continuity of penal welfare thinking in Vienna. It stands in opposition to the rising new criminologists of 'everyday life' like Marcus Felson (1994), Ekblom & Tilly (2000) or Ronald Clark (1994) who accompany liberal concepts of crime control. These experts push crime prevention as the normal way of dealing with crime problem. For experts thinking in predicaments of penal welfarism crime is not a normal form of behaviour, is not routinely produced by the normal patterns of social and economic

life. For them crime is a deviation from normal civilized conduct and is explicable in terms of faulty socialization or social conditions in general. This perspective is still dominant in Vienna and the reluctance to crime prevention is a consequence of this 'modern' (in opposition to a 'late modern') approach (see also Garland 2001, 127ss.).

Following the evaluation of the expert interviews and the collected material in the three research sites (Leopoldstadt, Donaustadt and Floridsdorf) the following conclusions seem plausible:

First, it is not common to talk about crime prevention as such. As we observed on the level of the activities in the city, the term crime prevention certainly is not part of the common rhetoric used in Vienna. There seems to be a peculiar taboo or barrier to classify actions and programmes as crime prevention. Most of the interviewed persons refused to label their work as crime prevention in a way, which implied respect of, as well as, aversion for this term. Although some programmes can clearly be classified as crime prevention, they are not seen as such.

Second, there is an apparent deficiency of comprehensive, organised and co-ordinated community crime prevention projects. However, this does not mean that crime prevention projects or crime preventing activities do not exist in Vienna. It just implies that crime prevention projects in the research sites often do not seem to follow a certain concept or a long-term strategy. Therefore most of the organizations do not issue any specific program or decree as regard to crime prevention. However, most of the organizations seemed to be well informed about local crime and disorder problems of their communities and thus know what they fight against and what they want to achieve. Especially organizations working with children and young people (youth centres, children home and high school) seem to have a good grasp of the term *prevention* and put this understanding into action. Their manuals and annual reports show clear aims, objectives and constructive methods.

It is common for the districts we have investigated that the '*Bezirksvorsteher*' (political head of the district) gathers the representatives of important organisations (being active in the district) in case of (crime) troubles, in order to solve the problem. So did the '*Bezirksvorsteher*' of the Donaustadt district where troubles took place in a night club. The bouncers at the door had the order to detain young males from Kosovo to visit the night club. The result of this measure were tensions between young people and some fights. The '*Bezirksvorsteher*' told us that he visited together with the police the bouncer of the night club and together they settled the conflict. It is an example among others how prevention policy works, without being called and classified as 'prevention'.

Third, although crime prevention project seemed to be quite uncoordinated compared to projects from abroad they do seem to work. Most of the activities do work, if one takes into account the crime statistics, but they work in a very subtle way. There seems

to be a common understanding as to what works and according to that people seem to act and react.

Fourth, crime prevention activities are found in the primary, secondary and tertiary sector. It is quite interesting that many projects target the offender and the victim at the same time. A reason for this could be that most projects try to re-educate people and change their behaviour patterns (general ethic education, conflict settlement).

And finally, most of the organization do not produce statistics or engage in any evaluation process. It is however important to add that evaluations or documentations do exist in most of the organizations dealing with children and young people. Also the quality of these evaluation (documentation) reports should not be underestimated, including detailed visitors frequencies statistics, accounts of their objectives and target groups.

To sum up, it can be said that the thinking in terms of penal welfarism, established after 1945 in Austria, is less damaged in this country and in Vienna than in many other EC-countries (Stangl 2003). The new liberal concept of the 'advanced liberalism' to maintain law and order is of small(er) relevance in Austria. Examples where we can observe the liberal regime in Austria are the health system or the reforms concerning the retirement funds as well as Austria's universities. The leading idea behind this reforms is the question how much money will I have to invest personally for my pension, for my health or for the right to study at a public university? It is an interesting fact that in the field of law and order and crime control this discussion has been until now of little importance. The political field of law and order is especially in Vienna still an island in a more and more liberal society and it is an open question how long the idea of penal welfarism will be dominant.

6. Urban Problems and (In)Securities: The Case of Vienna

The following chapter will focus on a very limited range of topics related to urban characteristics, and to what might be named the Viennese "culture of security". The first section is on crime trends and discourses on insecurity. The second section sketches the Viennese style of governance and administration, including some paragraphs on housing markets and legal regulations on housing that have determined the Viennese urban landscape to a considerable degree. The third section deals with socio-economic change and the transformation of Viennese society in the second half of the 20th century. Finally, two specific features of Austrian political culture, also relevant for the adequate understanding of the Viennese policies and strategies of "inclusion", and recent tendencies after the turnaround ("Wende") in 2000 are sketched.⁹

6.1 Crime Trends and Discourses on Insecurity in Vienna (1980-2002)

Until the mid 1980s debates and discussions on (in)security in Vienna were more or less a ritualistic exchange of simple political arguments, or rather statements. The (conservative) opposition presented crime statistics and reports by the police that suggested

⁹ For more detailed accounts, comments on demographic and economic indicators etc. cf. Hanak 2004a.

some evidence of increasing security problems and thus instigated corresponding scenarios of impending crisis. The responsible governmental departments, (social democrat) ministers and police presidents, on the other hand, pointed to the favourable state of security and confirmed the efficient work of the executive. Issues of security and rising crime figures became a relevant issue immediately after the opening of the east-borders and the following waves of migration to Austria, and especially the Vienna region. Since the mid 1990s, however, crime-trends and official data on crime were no longer perceived as relevant information in political and media discourses or campaigns on (in)security. This state of affairs started to change in 2001/2002 when rising crime figures were reported and discussed in the media, and when the political opposition (Social Democrats, Green Party) argued that the crime problem had been brought about or aggravated by recent police reforms.

The crime trends of the past two decades (1980-2002) can be summarised as follows: Until 1987/1988 Vienna shows a rather stable, for some categories of offences (for instance: robbery) even a remarkably low rate in reported offences. Furthermore it is remarkable that the number of overall occurrences, in particular with regard to property crimes (theft, fraud), were slightly under the scale that was registered for the West-Austrian cities (Salzburg, Innsbruck). Over that period a relatively stable stage of urban and social development was reflected in largely stable official data on crime and delinquency. During the period from 1988 to 1992 the situation changed completely: Vienna, but also some other East-Austrian districts witnessed a significant and dynamic increase regarding reported crimes, which was mainly caused by the trends in property crimes and was assumed to be an immediate result of the opening of the east-borders. In Vienna this sudden dynamics of reported offences at first (1988/1989) was restricted to certain parts of the city (especially the central Innere Stadt district, the Leopoldstadt district and its Mexikoplatz area, a notorious meeting and market place for tourists from eastern Europe, and the districts close to the Mariahilferstraße shopping facilities), but then spread to many other densely built up districts in the early 1990s. Crime statistics show that the increase in reported offences between 1988-1992 specifically concerned thefts from motor vehicles, pocket-picking, domestic burglaries and shoplifting. In media and political discourses on (in)security this development was interpreted as immediately being related to the opening of the borders, migration, tourists from East Europe, and foreigners as perpetrators. Moreover, statements from the police authorities, figures on the increasing share of non-Austrian offenders and comments in the media made this connection appear plausible. The so called "*Kriminaltourismus*" (crime tourism) was established both as an explanation and a topic in the news and in political debates. Discussions on the topic elaborated on a new type of foreigners' delinquency, sharing little in common with the notorious stereotypes of "*Ausländer-*" or "*Gastarbeiterkriminalität*", but rather relating to mobile "travelling offenders" (and groups of offenders) who have no official or legal place of residence in Austria.

By the mid 1990s crime figures for many types of (property) offences, and the city's overall crime rate had returned to largely normal, stable, and predictable levels, and

remained so until 1999. In the mid 1990s approximately 10.000 crimes were reported per 100.000 of the population, with almost 70 per cent of the city's crime load relating to property offences.¹⁰ Considering the changed geopolitical situation, the economic development and its various effects on the labour market (rising unemployment since the early 80's), increased mobility and economic transactions in the entire Vienna Region, and the restructuring of various legal and illegal markets, the average annual increase in crimes over this period, amounting to no more than 1 or 2 per cent, ought to be considered moderate or even low. However, a definitely over-proportional increase has been observed for specific categories of offences, for instance shoplifting, the possession and trafficking of illegal drugs, fraud and (especially for the late 1990s and after) robberies and muggings, whereas other sorts of crimes have remained largely constant (for instance assault / physical injury, burglaries in private homes or shops).

A return to the "normal" state of affairs had also been noticed with regard to the spatial distribution of reported crimes around the mid 1990s. In recent years Vienna's long-standing patterns have been reproduced: A relatively high quantity of offences (per 100.000 of the population) is registered in the central district and some districts immediately adjoining the centre, obviously due to the fact that these parts of the city are shaped by a multitude of favourable opportunity structures, shopping facilities, various markets, functioning as "attractions" and "targets" in many respects. Crime rates for the rest of the densely built up urban area are largely inconspicuous. A rather moderate or low crime rate is characteristic for most of the peripheral, not so densely built up districts and suburbs, the village like settings, and the middle or upper class residential areas in the western outskirts. Thus, crime rates in Vienna coincide positively with attractiveness and urban atmosphere – implying that (property) crimes occur most frequently in settings close to the city centre, that are shaped by a considerable concentration of various urban attractions and opportunities, and not in disorderly deteriorating settings where the disadvantaged strata and marginalized groups are concentrated. (Due to the moderate level of segregation urban areas with an extremely biased population and specific local problems primarily resulting from patterns of segregation are difficult to find in Vienna.)

A special problem that has been mentioned by most experts from the ranks of the police, and has also been reported repeatedly in the media in 2000/2001 concerns the increasing crime figures with regard to robbery/mugging, especially during the last two years - compared to other European cities approximately 2000 reported cases per year are by no means outstanding, but obviously the increase has been considerable, and for a long time Viennese crime figures with regard to robbery and mugging have been quite low. By some experts the trend is explained as basically reflecting changed patterns of behaviour of drug users/ addicts, and muggings are largely understood as

¹⁰ In 1999 the rate of reported crimes was about 9.600 per 100.000 citizens in Vienna. Comparative figures for other Austrian cities (1997) were 12.700 for Innsbruck, 10.100 for Salzburg, 9.100 for Linz, and 8.300 for Graz.

drug related crimes, also with regard to spatial distribution: Concentrations of muggings in certain places (usually railway and underground stations, traffic junctions etc.) are perceived as indicators of increased activities and presence of drug users and dealers in the respective settings. This applies for the Schwedenplatz area in the Inner City; for the Westbahnhof and Südbahnhof railway stations, and some sections of the Gürtel traffic route between the two, including the Matzleinsdorfer Platz and Südtiroler Platz junctions and some local tram lines; the pedestrian precinct of the Favoriten district, extending between two of the district's underground stations; the Wien Mitte railway station and its surrounding, and to a certain degree for the vicinity of some other underground stations and public transport junctions.

Drug trafficking is described as now being largely in the hands of black Africans, and seems to have shifted away from certain bars and pubs to various locations of the public (or semi public) realm (public transport and railway station facilities), obviously due to the use of mobile telephones for arranging illegal exchanges and business transactions. There have been repeated complaints to the police president from the side of the population with regard to black Africans dealing drugs in various settings of the public realm. From the perspective of the police the issue causes considerable difficulties, since police raids rarely produce sufficient evidence as demanded by the prosecuting authorities, at the same time leading to civil rights organisations complaining about xenophobic and racist attitudes. Nevertheless, occasional police action is delivered, mainly to give the impression that something is done about the problem from the side of the authorities.

There have been no substantial and persistent media campaigns and policy discourses on crime problems and fear of crime in the late 1990s. Except for the significant increase in robbery/mugging crimes, a certain constant irritation about drug related crime and security problems, including police controls in refugees' accommodations in various districts and locations in Vienna, and occasional reports on the illegal activities of Romanian groups of offenders in 2003 there were no current debates on crime trends and issues of urban insecurity in public spaces. Even if reports on certain types of crimes and offences frequently suggest these are mainly committed by non-Austrian perpetrators this has not yet triggered an amalgamating of xenophobic and "fear of crime" rhetoric on a broader level.

6.2 Governance: From Municipal Capitalism to the Welfare State

In retrospect (and in international comparison) Vienna appears as a well organized, densely regulated and orderly city in many respects, with her almost 70 administrative departments which were (and still are) quite effective and successful in coping with most sorts of "fordist" issues and challenges: Guaranteeing broad access to many social services and benefits, providing remedies and facilities for many sorts of difficult situations and crises, providing a largely satisfactory social, commercial and urban infrastructure, creating and promoting favourable preconditions for individual and collec-

tive consumption. In return, this performance was honoured by a considerable degree of acceptance and approval from the side of the population.

In keeping with certain longstanding (centennial) traditions of “municipal capitalism” and the “Red Vienna” of the inter-war years there is still (and more than ever) a wide range of welfare and service institutions, programs and offers that has undergone further differentiation and extension during the 1980s and 1990s. The range of agencies comprises both municipal and state run programs and facilities, advisory and information centres, hotlines etc., but also offers that are provided by private and/or confessional organizations. The majority of agencies and programs focus on clients in trouble, on special target groups, or on concrete phenomena and consequences of marginalization – and it is only a minority of agencies and programs that put some emphasis on community integration and community relations on a neighbourhood level.

Obviously there are quite a number of measures, programs and facilities that contribute to social integration and prevention in a rather broad and comprehensive sense, but are not actually considered as strategies of (crime) prevention in the first place. The concept of prevention is used relatively rarely, mainly with regard to drug and/or health related problems and when addressing juveniles as a special target group, but has been recently applied also for situations of actual or impending loss of accommodation. Nevertheless the following strategies and institutions of “prevention” (or rather integration) should be mentioned:

- * Setting up and maintaining urban renewal agencies in disadvantaged districts and quarters (focusing on housing related problems, design of public space, mediating neighbour's disputes, dealing with residents' complaints, organizing “integrative action” in the neighbourhood etc.);
- * Setting up and maintaining local branches of the Vienna Integration Funds in districts with a high proportion of migrant residents, one of the functions being the mediation of disputes between Austrian and migrant residents, but also offering language courses and (legal) advice to migrants, sports, leisure time and cultural activities for children and youths;
- * Maintaining a reasonable mix of population and counteracting extremely biased composition of the local population, by means of “soft urban renewal” and other policy measures.
- * Establishing and maintaining neighbourhood / communications / youth centres, especially in quarters where there is no satisfactory commercial infrastructure for social and leisure time activities;
- * Establishing and maintaining hotlines, advisory centres, shelters and sanctuaries for battered women (*Frauennotruf*, *Frauenhäuser*), victims of sexual abuse and other persons in financial and/or emotional trouble.
- * Developing (and applying) guidelines and for planning and building which also consider issues of safety and security in a broad sense, especially for women – avoiding the

creation of “anxiety spaces” (*Angsträume*), for instance with regard to designing underground car parks, public transport stations, housing estates, doorways, passages etc.

Housing Conditions and Regulations

Obviously the structure and appearance of cities, and the patterns of segregation, are largely shaped and determined by the interplay of real estates markets, and by legal regulations on land use and housing.

Until the 1980s very strict legal regulations on tenant protection have largely prevented or halted the formation of a capitalist real estates market and its typical effects on urban segregation and dynamics. These regulations were introduced in 1918, at a time of severe economic crisis and poverty, when many households could no longer afford to pay their rent and actually faced the risk of eviction and homelessness. Consequently protection laws restricted landlords' factual options to cancel existing contracts, and also fixed (very moderate) “ceilings” (upper limits) for rent, hardly permitting substantial interests for landlords. Although these regulations underwent a series of modifications and adaptations during the following decades, the basic principle of tenant protection has been maintained. Considering this both ideological and legal framework, and its economic consequences, housing construction was mainly in the hands of the municipality, and later of cooperative building societies (*gemeinnützige Wohnbaugesellschaften*). In contrast to many other cities a clear majority of dwellings (almost 80 per cent) are rented homes, usually let on the legal basis of contracts for an unlimited period (*unbefristete Mietverträge*). Owner occupied homes (flats and houses) amount to some 17 per cent of the Viennese housing stock. About half of the city's dwellings were erected after World War II, but one third still belong to the founders' period housing stock, mainly dating from the second half of the 19th century. Due to the high proportion of old housing stock (and to the lack of capital on the side of most landlords, resulting from the low rent policy) a relatively high proportion of substandard housing has persisted. It was only in the 1970s and 1980s that the quantity of substandard housing has substantially decreased, due to grants for improving housing conditions in old buildings (*Förderungen für Wohnungsverbesserung*), measures of “soft urban renewal” etc. Especially since the 1980s modifications of legal regulations have created massive incentives for improving substandard flats, permitting landlords to realize rental earnings according to the market situation for substandard objects after adapting them to contemporary standards). Recent micro census data indicate that meanwhile less than 10 per cent of the Viennese housing stock are substandard. – The decrease of substandard housing obviously implies an improvement of general housing conditions for broad strata of the population, but at the same time has substantially increased expenditures for housing (that have been quite low until the 1980s), in the case of new contracts. Especially for groups whose purchasing power is below average and who for some reason have no access to the city's considerable stock of council housing improvements in the housing sector have brought about some negative effects. (De facto this mainly applies for migrants who came to Vienna in the late 1980s and after).

Another specific feature of Viennese housing conditions, related to the above mentioned historical peculiarities, is the considerable significance of public housing. About one quarter of dwellings are municipal property, to be let to eligible persons and households according to defined criteria of allocation (*Vergaberichtlinien*). Approximately 30 per cent of the population live in public housing flats. Until recently this segment of the housing "market" was only accessible for Austrian citizens (including their partners and relatives), a factor that proved significant for the city's patterns of segregation. In quarters with a high proportion of council housing (suburban housing estates, fringe of the densely built up area) the proportion of non-Austrian citizens has typically been below 10 per cent, in most founders' period quarters, the immigrant population amounts to some 35 or 40 per cent.

Like in many other cities substandard housing is distributed unevenly over the municipal area, and there is a significant concentration in certain types of quarters and neighbourhoods. Census data from 1991 demonstrate that the proportion of substandard housing is more than 35 per cent in practically all of the city's so called "founders' period problem quarters". At the same time micro-census data from 2000 indicate that meanwhile 83 per cent of flats/homes/dwellings can be classified as "Category A", providing bathroom, toilet and central heating inside the dwelling, and less than 10 per cent are still classified as substandard (usually due to lack of adequate sanitary facilities etc.).

Census data for the last decades show a significant increase regarding the average size of flats and dwellings, and it is especially the average floor space per resident that has steadily increased over the post war period. Due to the decrease in average household size (2000: 2.0), the available floor space per resident has grown by no less than 50 per cent between 1961 and 1991. Obviously these basic figures do not mirror the significant differences and disparities considering various groups and strata. More differentiated analysis proves that available floor space is distributed extremely uneven for different ethnic groups: For migrants from the former Yugoslavia per capita floor space amounts to 15 square metres, for Turkish migrants to no more than 10 square metres. It is also other indicators that imply that migrants are disadvantaged with regard to both housing conditions and housing costs (comparatively high costs for low quality housing), a complex bundle of legal and social discrimination linked to the lack of access to public housing (cf. Kaufmann 1999).

Another instructive indicator on housing relates to the households' average costs and expenditures per month. For quite a long time Viennese households spent no more than 10 per cent (or even less) of their income on housing (typically: rent), mainly due to the fact that legal regulations on housing and tenants' protection kept rents low and effectively hindered the development of a dynamic capitalist real estates market. The situation began to change in the 1980s and 1990s, when the legal upper limit (*Kategoriemietzins*) was abolished for the Category A segment of the housing stock in case of new contracts, which largely left the fixing of rents to the market forces, and when an enor-

mous and effective incentive for the upgrading of low quality or substandard flats was introduced. It is not so much the present (average) level of rents and housing costs that appears notable, but the speed of the rise in rents. Data for 2000 indicate that average costs (rent) are 4.50 EUR per square metre, which should be considered moderate or low when compared to the situation in other comparable cities, and which obviously is much lower than rents for objects that are presently offered on the market. The difference between average costs and costs with regard to new contracts and flats offered on the market obviously mirrors the degree to which tenants and households with long term contracts, dating from the early 1980s or before, still enjoy the privilege of cheap housing.

6.3 Socio-Economic Change and Modernization 1950-2000: Features and Consequences of Austro-Fordism

In the 1960s and 1970s the city witnessed a period of full employment, with unemployment rates of no more than 1 to 2 per cent. Starting in the early 1980s there were significant and for some time steady increases in unemployment. The so called „Registerquote“, which is a special Austrian measure of unemployment, relating registered unemployed persons to the total of unemployed and (wage earning) employed persons, but not including the self employed, has amounted to 7 or even 8 per cent for recent years. The number of registered unemployed persons has been around 70.000 for the last years, with male, elder, unskilled persons clearly over-represented. In 2000 24.333 persons received unemployment benefits, and 33.882 the so called „Notstandshilfe“, a reduced transfer payment that is granted to those who are no longer entitled to unemployment benefits, since duration of unemployment has exceeded the term for which the regular benefits are available. The official figures indicate that there is a substantial portion of long term unemployment, possibly due to the fact that unemployment in Vienna is not so much seasonal unemployment (as is the case in many other Austrian provinces with a strong tourism sector in the regional economy.)

Compared to other (European) cities Vienna's rate of employment appears quite high (75 per cent), and it is also the employment rate of women that appears quite remarkable and contributes to an overall rate that puts Vienna in Europe's leading group. Obviously the high employment rate is linked to the fact that many sorts of social insurance benefits and entitlements require some regular participation in and integration into the official labour market. According to Vienna's position in the national hierarchy of cities, the largest portion of employment has been in the various branches of the services sector, whereas agriculture and manufacturing (especially since the 1970s) are of minor importance. Recent data demonstrate that no more than 12 per cent of the city's labour force are employed in manufacturing. It is also the high proportion of employment in the public (services) sector that appears quite remarkable, and can be considered a significant feature of the urban economy and labour market. A substantial portion of the labour force are employed in the national or municipal administration and in various branches and institutions of the social insurance system. Since the 1980s the real estates branch, economic services (*„unternehmensbezogene Dienstleistungen“*) and

the health and welfare sector have witnessed substantial increases in employment. (Source: Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien 2000)

A labour force of about 75.000 are employed with the municipality and the city's public services, and another 91.000 with the federal administration. These figures imply that almost a quarter of the city's labour force are part of the "public services", which to a certain degree can be considered a specific socio-cultural milieu.

Data on the spatial distribution of unemployment in Vienna were collected for 1999 and the material demonstrates that the unemployment rate for the 23 Viennese districts varies from 3.0 (for the Innere Stadt) to 6.6 per cent (for the Leopoldstadt). For most of the (rather) "middle class" districts it is below 5 per cent, for districts with a more working class image it is about 6 per cent. When focusing on the (altogether 250) "Zählbezirke" (usually: areas with a population of 5.000 to 15.000, and relatively homogenous with regard to population and housing stock) the range of unemployment rates is from 3 to 10 per cent, and there are practically no regular residential areas all over the city where the 10 per cent level is surpassed, and where a significant concentration of unemployed persons is encountered. Maxima (around 8 to 10 per cent) can be observed in quarters with large public housing estates, whereas unemployment rates in the city's founders' period problem quarters with their high proportion of migrant population are closer to the city's average rate and rarely exceed the 5 to 6 per cent level. (Source: Magistrat der Stadt Wien, Geschäftsgruppe Planung und Zukunft, Arbeitslosenquote 1999) The spatial distribution of unemployment once more suggests the moderate level of socio-spatial segregation, and the lack of residential quarters where substantial proportions of the population are no longer included in the regular labour market.

The Viennese Welfare State: A Culture of Inclusion rather than Participation

In Vienna the fordist era has been lasting until the 1990s (and beyond), and only lately certain modifications and restructuring can be observed, which up to now have little in common with the sort of neo-liberal turnaround that has occurred in many other west-European countries and cities. (To a certain degree this refusal of mainstream tendencies is also opposed to certain policy trends that partly succeeded on the national political level.) Thus, Vienna still appears as a city that is known for having maintained its welfare infrastructure, and also makes use of that image for her positioning in the international competition of cities. Public transport, public education, institutions and programs of adult education, a broad range of social services and counselling programs are available. Furthermore, an extending scope of leisure time facilities, sports and recreational areas, cultural attractions, and popular events are accessible. Other than in many European cities Vienna witnessed no essential polarization and divide in the 1980s and 1990s. Policy efforts at preventing dramatic segregation, decay and social conflict, especially in districts and quarters where there is a certain concentration of disadvantaged or marginalized groups, were more or less successful. Tendencies of "Verslumung" (quarters turning into slums), as diagnosed in the early 1990s for some founders' period quarters were stopped or diminished. However, in some respects a reproduction

of longstanding disparities has occurred. It is especially one pattern of discrimination and marginalization that has been persisting since the 1970s. Immigrants (the so called guest workers of the 1970s and their successors) still hold a rather marginal position in Viennese society, and opportunities for social integration and cultural participation are altogether unsatisfactory. Legal and social discrimination both on the labour and housing market, and also with regard to access to social benefits are seen as largely self evident and hardly ever discussed as problematic issues. Generally speaking, the Viennese type of local welfare state (and the corresponding mode of social inclusion) is based on the authorities' providing a largely satisfactory (social) infrastructure rather than on the pillars of civil society and on arrangements of participation from the side of the subjects (cf. Novy et.al.).

Apart from the special issue of immigration the dominant pattern of social integration (inclusion) can be summarized as follows: A considerable amount of pragmatic inclusion for the (Austrian) population, a policy that seeks to avoid (or reduce) segregation and conflict, and a relatively low level of actual (political, social movements, grass roots) participation, can be described as the specific pattern of a local welfare state that was established and developed without a strong basis in civil society.

6.4 Political Culture: "Durchstaatlichung" and „Social Partnership“

Historians have characterised the case of Austria as "state formation from above", around an accepted political centre:

"Vienna as capital and city of residence (...), point of concentration of the finance capital, as the city of the *Hofoper* (...) has been accomplishing this function since the 18th century in an extraordinary way. (...) In all comparative social scientific studies, the Republic of Austria is described as distinctively monocephalistic and organized around its centre." (Hanisch 1997)

Elaborating on the specific characteristics of Austrian state-formation, the author also refers to the special quality of the Austrian bureaucracy:

"The much praised and hated strength of the Austrian bureaucracy can be explained by two factors: Firstly, the structural differences in the spotted mixture of peoples in the Habsburg monarchy were more strongly pronounced than in the west of Europe: divides by tribes, geographical conditions and cultural antagonisms, divides by religion, language and mentality, divides by different stages of economic development. (...) In contrast to the west, the bureaucracy already bit itself into society very early, and deeply, and the "state" took over many social functions. Secondly, because of this the "civil" society remained underdeveloped and could not disengage from the state. Modernisation received its impulses rather from above than from below." (l.c.)

Thus, politics "from below" has been no significant pattern in Austrian political history. The high degree of "Durchstaatlichung" (= the state's penetrating and pervading many realms of social life) in Austrian society also implies a high density of regulations with

regard to every day life, a multitude of official and state competences and responsibilities, which amount to a sort of regime that both anticipates some, and makes unnecessary other, programs and agencies which in more liberal European countries have been invented and installed as measures and modes of prevention, social control and welfare.

The traditional shaping of Austrian mentalities and ideology through "*Beamtentum*" (bureaucracy) and hierarchical social order as well as the limited significance of liberal attitudes, entrepreneurial ideologies of competition and the famous "spirit of capitalism" is remarkable. Compared to western Europe, Austria experienced a belated emergence of capitalist society, and has been lacking a self-confident bourgeois class that would have been capable to play a hegemonic part (Becker 2000), a configuration that to some extent has been lasting until today. A pragmatic belief in authorities and institutions is relatively widespread and unshaken. Protected sectors and milieus within society, where every day life, biographies and identity are not primarily determined by forces, requirements and behavioural patterns of competition and market rules are not restricted to small "islands" and enclaves but have comprised larger parts of the Austrian society. (Lichtenberger 2000) The expansion of the bureaucracy and the consequent development of the welfare state in the decades after the war, led more and more Austrians into a convenient form of dependency and security, especially regarding employment, entitlements to various pensions, protection against certain risks and life incidents (cf. Kuzmics 1998). This configuration has resulted in a coupling of dependency, security and maintenance for relatively broad segments of the population.

"The amalgamation of cultural and economic traditions of the former Great Empire with the contemporary achievements of a social welfare state have created a very special style in politics and a way of life that is distinctly Austrian." (Lichtenberger 2000).

Obviously, the described pattern can be assumed to be more relevant in the capital of Vienna than in other parts of the country, and to affect the widespread and dominant attitudes towards (in)security / risk etc. in many ways.

Institutions and Arrangements of "Social Partnership"

The Austrian social partnership has been a type of politics not based on democratic participation, but on the constant representation of (labour and business) interests in the political system. Important political decisions were negotiated between or among institutions and representatives of social partnership (both formal and informal), and the resulting compromise was finally approved by the parliament, and as a result, enjoyed a high degree of factual acceptance. Thus, on the one hand, especially in periods of economic growth during the post war decades, a "reasonable" distribution of resources, based on negotiations and compromise has been guaranteed, and sufficient (material) provision for broad parts of the population has been ensured. On the other hand, the democratic quality of the system has remained unsatisfactory. Political competition and market mechanisms tended to be blocked and certain groups and cate-

gories of the population have been excluded from political participation and representation.

Apart from the specific significance of social partnership in a strict sense, Austrian political culture and "*Realverfassung*" have been shaped by various arrangements and patterns of class compromise, and of avoiding confrontation: It stands to reason, that this peculiar political culture can be seen as a reflex both of the massive tensions and conflicts of the 1930s that led to the civil war, and the experiences in the age of the national socialism (including the second world war and the years of occupation that were to follow immediately after). Thus, the first half of the 20th century meant a series of turbulences and entanglements for Austria and its population, and in many respects the country resembled an "experimental station of the apocalypse" (Karl Kraus). In contrast, a long lasting phase of continuity and prosperity set in in the 1950s, and persisted until the end of the century.

From "Consensus" to "Conflict" Democracy: Restructuring of the Political Field around the Millennium

The political situation around the millennium (2000/2001) and since has been characterized as a transition from consensus to conflict democracy. The "turnaround" in Austrian politics (2000) started when the "big coalition" of Social Democrats and People's Party (that had lasted from 1986 to 2000, under Social Democrat chancellors) broke up and a coalition of People's Party and Freedom Party was negotiated in February 2000. There was a new polarisation and divide between a "right wing" government and a "left wing" opposition, not witnessed in Austria since the sixties, also meaning that the institutions and arrangements of the former social partnership did lose part of their influence.

Declared goals of the new government were primarily: Attaining zero deficit (*Nulldefizit*) for the coming years, reduction of the state to its core competences, administrative reform, measures of privatisation, limiting public expenditures. Social policy is partly rephrased in terms of supporting families, various sorts of private provisions were promoted and advanced. Until the end of the 1990s, the rearrangement and restructuring of the Austrian welfare state could not clearly be classified as a retreat, even if such tendencies – and especially persistent rhetoric – are unmistakable since the 1980s. However, there were some moves in the opposite direction, especially benefiting the ill/disabled/ and people in need of care and their relatives. With regard to foreigners a restrictive immigration policy had been introduced in the early 1990s. In order to achieve reforms and implementation of the above mentioned goals, institutions in which officials and managers with a traditional social partnership attitude were neutralised and restructured.¹¹ Obviously a conversion of the state and of society into a "national competition state" is intended, and some of the obstacles are to be removed.

¹¹ This pertains to the debates and manoeuvres related to the reorganisation of the system of social insurance (*Hauptverband der Sozialversicherungsträger*) where longstanding arrangements and principles of social partnership were challenged and violated by the government.

However, in autumn 2002 the government coalition broke up, because of severe tensions and very different ideas on the FP's political strategy in the coalition. The national elections in November 2002 brought about a disaster for the FP which dropped from 26 to 10 per cent of votes, with most of the floating voters drifting to the VP, which came up the strongest party, with a share of 42 per cent, and clearly outmatching the Social Democrats' 36.5 per cent. After long negotiations the VP and FP finally agreed to form another coalition, with the FP's political influence clearly reduced.

Considering economic policy, the "zero deficit" as the paramount goal and objective was soon abandoned. Several reforms that touched important spheres of Austrian society (for instance social insurance, nationalized industries, Austrian federal railways, police authorities etc.) and also (if not primarily) aimed at cutting down Social Democrat influence continued. Furthermore, 2003 was characterized by a series of strikes and protests unprecedented during the decades of Austrian post-war "social partnership" politics. In May 200.000 people demonstrated against the government's plans regarding the reform of the pensions system in Vienna, and there were series of strikes and protest meetings at the schools and universities, at the VOEST-Alpine steel works and the Austrian Federal Railways. Thus, the change from consensus to conflict democracy has concerned not only the agents and institutions of the political system, but has involved significant strata of the population.

The brief sketch of recent political change and turbulences, especially after several decades of stability and continuity, could be assumed to affect the population's attitudes and evaluations with regard to security. However, the available survey data, and the empirical evidence collected in the framework of INSEC do not suggest substantial irritation and insecurity. Of course, irritations and insecurities of that type may appear in the near future.

Considering politics, Vienna can be described as a very special case when compared to the other Austrian provinces. That obviously implies a precarious political and ideological tension between centre and periphery, latent most of the time, but more apparent on some occasions. Vienna as the Austrian capital can look back on a centennial tradition as a "fordist" or "municipal socialist" city – a tradition that was only interrupted between 1933 and 1945, in the years of the authoritarian corporative state (*Ständestaat*) and the following national-socialist era. Since the end of World War II the city has been governed by social democrat majorities and mayors. There is a remarkable contrast between the former field of (class) politics in the first half of the 20th century and the field of pragmatic, de-ideologized, social partnership politics, without any substantial confrontations between competing ideological "camps" that developed in the post-war decades, before a background of a constant social democrat hegemony. However, before the background of continuity over these decades there has been a shift of priorities in municipal politics that obviously mirrors social change and modernization, and their impact on social democrat programs and styles of governance: Municipal politics in Vienna have shifted from orthodox class politics to the exten-

sion and modernization of the local welfare state, and lately emphasize strategies of modern city marketing without abandoning the achievements of the previous stages.

7. Some conclusions, and explanations

Obviously some useful prerequisites that have proved plausible when it comes to explaining the emergence of insecurities, anxieties, and fear of crime in late modern societies and cities, also exist in Vienna. The most relevant can be summarized as follows:

1/ A process of individualization has continued for several decades, with the usual consequences that have been described for most European societies: Dissolving of traditional milieus of class and status, emergence and spread of more sporadic patterns of association, according to life style and "distinction" (Bourdieu), with (relatively) solid social bonds and relationships giving ways to "weak ties" (Granovetter) etc. The whole complex also has its effects on the system of formal and informal controls, and late modern individuals are no longer subject to the former arrangements and restraints of informal control, and "authority". Changed life styles also affect the public sphere, and public space in particular. (Only in relatively few types of settings, like for instance in market places and shopping streets, the public realm appears as a setting where all sorts of action takes place and where many groups of urban society are supposed to mix and interact, but in many other parts of the city public space has turned into a sort of asphalt wasteland (Hanak 2003), mainly used for the purposes of road traffic and for parking cars - at least this sort of description applies for many streets and squares in the not so attractive residential quarters of the city.) Informal controls on a local level are weak, in this respect Viennese society (and Viennese residential quarters) are not so different from many other (west) European cities.

2/ Certain effects of globalisation have affected, and still do affect, Austrian society, and especially the eastern region of the country, due to the geopolitical situation and proximity to the former "Iron Curtain". In the years following the opening of the eastern borders (1989/1992) the new mobility caused considerable changes, with regard to migration, and of course also affecting the regional labour and housing markets, tourism etc., with some of these changes causing "insecurities" and irritations, at least for the concerned segments of the Austrian population. For some urban areas waves of immigration have resulted in a substantial exchange of the local population. However, there was a return to normalcy and stability by the mid-1990s, after more restrictive legal regulations curbed immigration, and took some pressure from the city's housing market, and its integrative capacity in general. But it is also some other, more recent aspects and consequences of globalisation that ought to be mentioned: Increased numbers of refugees and asylum seekers came to Austria in the 1990s and since, with many of them finding themselves in a rather precarious situation, since political asylum is only granted to a small minority, and the others are defined as "refugees for economic reasons" (*Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge*). Due to the precarious and irregular status of this population there is no factual access to the official labour market and social insurance, to regular sources of income, and to social and cultural participation in Austrian society.

Thus, parts of this "redundant" population engage in various fields of the shadows economy, black markets, illegal services, drug trafficking etc. (Vienna as the only large city provides the most favourable opportunity structures for these activities, and consequently is the most attractive turf and action space for the respective populations.) Of course the visible presence and the deviant activities related to these groups have caused some concern among agencies, and insecurities among groups of the local population that are confronted with the disturbing side-effects of illegal enterprises.

3/ Apart from actual consequences and effects of globalisation on the city, "global anxieties" as an important aspect of the media discourse are discussed and commented in Austria and Vienna much the same way as in other countries and cities all over Europe. (For instance repeated reports on terrorist activities and menace, reports on environmental risks and disasters, on wars and political crises all over the globe, in rare cases involving events in countries quite close to Austria, for instance in the case of the civil war and ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia, etc.).

4/ Since 2000/2001 the crime rate has been rising rapidly in the Vienna region, especially with regard to property offences, and risks of victimization have also increased (for instance: theft from motor vehicles, pocket picking, robbery/mugging), and of course concern with this trend that came as a surprise, after a period of stable or slightly decreasing crime figures, has also been reflected in media reports, and to a certain extent: in political debates on issues of security, police performance etc.

5) Rising rates of unemployment, and rising rates of precarious employment (compared to the preceding decades of fordist policy), implying that the segment of the population that can no longer or only with some difficulty maintain a moderate level of consumption is growing, even if available survey data do not provide striking evidence on the subject. (The proportion of Viennese citizens who say they feel their financial situation is somewhat critical or who define their own situation as coming close to poverty has not changed much over the last years.) Another aspect of plausible insecurity relates to the situation of the younger age brackets whose entering the labour market has become more problematic than was the case for preceding generations and cohorts. Vocational training and education no longer guarantee satisfactory jobs and income, leading to insecurities with regard to vocational careers, life and career planning etc. - There is no satisfactory information on the growth of marginal groups (for instance: homeless persons), but numbers can be assumed to have increased since the 1990s, even if acute symptoms of poverty become visible and concentrated only in specific spots of the urban landscape (homeless, beggars).

6) Symptoms of social and physical disorder, at least in certain types of settings and areas. (Deviant groups and individuals congregating in the surrounding of some traffic junctions; "disorderly pubs", physical disorder in the old housing stock of residential quarters with a considerable proportion of substandard housing, buildings in an unsatisfactory state of maintenance, signs of vandalism etc.) Of course the mentioned symp-

toms of disorder are moderate, and by no means excessive, compared to many other cities. Nevertheless, several types of social and physical disorder and "incivilities" as described in the relevant literature (for instance Skogan 1990) are visible and can be encountered, and therefore may affect the subjects' sense of security.

7) Last, but not least the transition from "social partnership" and "consensus" to "conflict democracy" on the national level after the 1999 elections and the formation of the VP/FP government coalition in early 2000 could be assumed to cause and intensify manifold insecurities in those who are interested in a stable and solid political regime, and especially among those who have been well represented in the old social partnership model and by the traditional institutions of social partnership, and who now are at risk of losing some of their influence. It is also the ongoing political debates with their permanent subtext of signifying or rather suggesting, that many things will have to change, and stressing the necessity of reforms in many fields of politics (especially: impending cuts in order to secure the pensions and health system, limiting free access to higher education etc.)

On the other hand, some other useful ingredients to insecurities and anxieties are largely or completely absent:

- 1) There is no plausible scenario of urban decay or decline (suggesting that the city's future prospects are in question or that the city might move into a negative trajectory);
- 2) There is no awareness of polarization and divide (some groups and quarters/districts appearing as losers, others as winners of modernization and restructuring, economic and social losses and profits accumulating in certain parts and milieus of the city);
- 3) There is no plausible scenario of moral decline and crisis;
- 4) Violence as a significant aspect of urban life is largely absent and there is no obsession with aggression in public spaces, hooligans, gangs of juveniles, and political and/or xenophobic riots have not occurred during the last decades;
- 5) The urban infrastructure (transport, energy, services, administration etc.) is hardly ever perceived as deteriorating, unreliable, every day routines are rarely impaired by various breakdowns of the technical and social infrastructure;
- 6) There is no understanding of marginal and residual groups as "dangerous classes" in a strict sense: Of course there are "undesirable" individuals and groups that are more or less rejected and/or considered outsiders, but not really understood as dangerous and/or a class. ("Gangs from the east", "black drug dealers" might come relatively close to such stereotypes and appear regularly as scapegoats and troublemakers in media reports and political debates on security, but the stereotype is not primarily constructed around a notion of danger and menace);
- 7) Extreme versions of social and physical disorder (slums, no go areas, ungovernable spaces, abandoned spaces..) are missing.
- 8) The increase of crime and victimisation relates primarily if not exclusively to property offences (theft, burglary, vandalism), and not to violence and other intimidating

transactions. Crime is not linked to "confrontation", most of the time, and the loss of property is low to moderate in most cases.

- 9) With regard to property crimes the distribution of victimisation risks seems relatively fair, according to survey data (general urban risk rather than specific groups bearing an unacceptable load); and more serious risks are obviously connected to specific milieus and life styles.
- 10) There is a general discourse on the high quality of living, and most of the time the aspect of safety/security has been explicitly stressed: Vienna as a safe city (also: the social image of the city, ecological standards, cultural life, leisure time facilities and events as important factors...) Occasional city rankings support the slogan of Vienna as a very liveable city, and are proudly presented in the media.
- 11) There have been relatively few media reports and campaigns on insecurity in the late 1990s and around the millennium. (The situation was quite different in the late 1980s and early 1990s when the label of "crime tourism" was introduced. However, the absence of crime as a major concern has changed somewhat in recent years.)

Considering the findings from the quantitative and qualitative research the second set of factors seems to bear more significance, and largely suspends or neutralizes the interplay of forces and tendencies that can be assumed to promote and to intensify "insecurities" and "anxieties". Some recent survey data that were collected in summer and autumn 2003 (based on a total of 8300 interviews) may serve to illustrate some aspects of Viennese living conditions, also relating to issues of security, and the way they are evaluated by the population.

73 per cent of respondents say they feel safe with regard to crime risks in their residential surrounding, 18 per cent are ambivalent/undecided, and 9 per cent say they feel (rather) unsafe. (Corresponding figures from the quantitative INSEC-survey show a proportion of 12 to 16 per cent feeling (rather) unsafe in their quarter, indicating that the respondents' evaluation of local security is somewhat more critical in our research sites.) With the exception of theft from motor vehicles crime risks are perceived to be rather low. 12 per cent of the respondents were victims to property offences during a twelve month period preceding the interview. (This rate has increased when compared to figures from a survey that was conducted in 1995, and showed a proportion of 9 per cent.) Over the same period there has been no change with regard to victimisation through violence (assault etc.), which is reported by 2 per cent of the respondents. Approximately half of the violence experiences, and almost 90 per cent of property offences (!) were reported to the police. The situation with regard to security/safety is still perceived to be altogether favourable, nevertheless there is a substantial proportion of respondents (40 per cent) who feel that "protection from crime" has changed for the worse over the last years.

The survey data altogether suggest that the quality of living has improved rather than changed for the worse during the last years, especially considering the public transport network, shopping opportunities, housing quality, leisure time opportunities, design of

public space, green areas, and cultural life. However, there are two more aspects and domains of urban life that are supposed to have definitely changed for the worse: Road traffic and employment opportunities. (Source: IFES, *Leben und Lebensqualität in Wien*, 2003)

Another survey that is conducted annually (cf. Giller 2003) on the national level, shows that perceptions of security have been rather stable over the last decade. Even if the data point to a slight decrease in the population's sense of security when compared to the previous year, what is more surprising is the fact that the existing patterns and distributions have remained much the same for quite some time, regardless of the specific events, crises and changes concerning the political, economic and social conditions. Furthermore, the level of (in)security proves practically the same in the city of Vienna and in small communities (with a population up to 5000). Thus, there is no evidence of specific "urban insecurities" and fears. Considering socio-demographic variables the women, the retired, the less educated, and those with low income are somewhat more insecure than the others. The considerable political turbulences in 2003 (strikes, protests and demonstrations, discussions on the pensions reform, rising crime figures, further increase in unemployment etc. on the national level) have produced no more than minor effects on the population's general sense of security. (The item used in the survey does not relate to crime but addresses the respondent's feelings and evaluation with regard to safety/security.)

Comparing the quantitative data from Vienna to those from other cities

The following brief notes sketch a few significant and surprising differences, and all of them point in the same direction: Obviously respondents in the Viennese research sites view Vienna as a relatively safe (and satisfactory) city, in many respects. First of all, a substantial minority of 42 per cent feel that "crime" is a (rather) big problem in the city. (However, in the other cities and research sites more than 70, and up to 90 per cent view crime as a major problem.) The situation with regard to "illegal drug trafficking on the street" is somewhat similar: It is considered a (rather) big problem by 55 per cent of respondents in Vienna, compared to 70, 80 and more per cent in the other cities. The same tendency applies for "unsafe public transport", which is considered a (rather) big problem by no more than 13 and 20 per cent in the two Viennese research sites, but by some 30 or 50 per cent in the other cities, and an incredible maximum of 85 per cent in Krakow. In Vienna, almost a quarter of respondents complain about littered streets and parks in their district, compared to an average of 50 to 60 per cent in the other cities and sites. In Vienna approximately a quarter of respondents complain about groups of loitering teenagers as a (rather) big problem in the district – in some of the other sites the comparative figure is beyond 50 per cent. Violence in public space is considered a major problem by a little more than 10 per cent in Vienna, compared to almost 30 per cent elsewhere, and even 50 per cent or more in Krakow and Amsterdam Zuidoost. The difference between the cities and sites is less impressive when regarding the corresponding figures on "risk assessment": Approximately 5 per cent view the risk of being attacked and injured in their quarter (rather) high in Vienna; in several other sites the

comparative figure is around 10 per cent, again with an extreme of more than 30 (!) per cent in Krakow. Comparative data show less variation with regard to experiences of victimization: So obviously the significant "sense of security" (or: lack of insecurity) among the Viennese population cannot be explained by lower risks of victimisation in the first place, but depends on other factors. And this sense of security is not confined to "evaluation" and "rhetoric" only, but also relates to patterns of actual behaviour: The percentage of respondents who say they never or rarely leave their home after dark is lowest in the Viennese research sites (approximately 15 per cent), compared to some 20 to 45 per cent in the other sites. The sub-group of those saying they avoid leaving home mainly because of fear of being attacked or robbed, amounts to no more than 5 per cent in Vienna (and mostly concerns elder women), but to 15 or 20 per cent in some other research sites. Last but not least, one of the most impressive differences relates to a specific aspect of welfare resources and the respondents' perception of health care provisions: In Vienna 5 per cent complain about insufficient medical care being a (rather) big problem. Comparative figures for most of the Amsterdam, Budapest and Krakow research sites are around 40 to 50 (!) per cent, and the Hamburg research sites positioned somewhere between these extremes.

Problems related to physical and/or social disorder are understood to be not so significant in both of the Viennese research sites. There were hardly any items that were agreed to be a major problem by a substantial proportion of respondents. Vandalism ranks highest and is mentioned by some 30 per cent, with only moderate differences across the quarters; several other types of "disorders" and "incivilities" are considered relevant and disturbing by about a quarter of respondents. – Comparative figures from the other cities amount to some 50 to 70 per cent for specific types of disorder (for instance vandalism, loitering groups of teenagers, violence in public places, drunks on the street, homeless/beggars, littered streets and parks), and some research sites obviously are characterized by a high "density" and accumulation of disorders.¹²

The brief comparative overview can be summarized as follows:

1/ Crime and drug trafficking in public space are understood to be a major problem by approximately half of the Viennese respondents, but by a clear/vast majority in the other cities/quarters.

2/ Safety in public spaces and in public transport facilities are considered (much) more favourable by the Viennese respondents than in most other cities and sites.

3/ The assessment of risk with regard to the most relevant criminal victimisations is low to moderate (and by no means exaggerated) in the Viennese research sites, and much lower than in the other cities with regard to domestic burglary.

4/ The proportion of respondents who have been subject to criminal victimization over the last 3 years is not so different across the research sites (usually some 20 to 30 per cent), but more significant differences can be detected when examining the "qualitative" aspects of victimization. (Robberies and muggings can be assumed to affect the

¹² For the figures in this section cf. "Insecurities in European Cities" – Sample Survey in City Districts. University of Hamburg, Department of Criminology, 2003.

sense of security more than theft from motor vehicles and vandalism. Again the victimisation rates with regard to robbery, burglary and theft appear somewhat lower in Vienna, but the difference between Vienna and some other cities/sites is not so dramatic.)

5/ In contrast to the evidence from some other cities and sites the Viennese data also reveal a considerable level of "trust in the system", trust in authorities etc.

Conditions of (In)Security Revisited:

Semantics of Vernacular Discontent and the Long Shadow of the Risk Society

In the case of Vienna existing (and increased) urban crime risks and experiences of victimization do not affect the population's sense of security so much. The long shadow of the risk society is not so pervasive in the empirical data, and there seems to be no widespread awareness of "living in insecure times". A clear majority feel rather safe, and to the others insecurity and fear of crime are not primarily related to distinct perceptions of urban danger and risk, but are embedded in a more comprehensive syndrome of dissatisfaction (actual living conditions not corresponding to personal demands and aspirations, negative evaluation of local social change), and a more pronounced awareness of disorder. The majority's sense of security obviously coincides with the widespread impression that symptoms of social and physical disorder are sporadic and not so dramatic in the subjects' residential quarters and in the other relevant action spaces, and that there is no accumulation and extreme intensification of disorder in certain problematic settings and estates. This pronounced sense of security has remained relatively constant over the last years, and various political and economic transformations, both on the national and international level, have caused no more than minor irritations of the population's basic confidence. Furthermore there is a high level of trust in the system that is believed to provide urban infrastructure, reasonable living conditions and welfare state provisions in many respects. (Key words: Housing conditions, shopping opportunities, leisure time facilities, public transport, ecological standards, health care facilities.) "Trust in the system" has not (yet) been negatively affected by the substantial changes in the field of national politics that occurred around the millennium (transition from consensus to conflict after the breakdown of the big coalition government). This sort of evidence and interpretation is largely in keeping with our quantitative data, and also with two recent surveys (IFES 2003, *Leben und Lebensqualität in Wien*; Giller 2003).

Empirical research in the framework of INSEC shows that the two (interrelated) factors "trust in the system/infrastructure" and "moderate level of disorder in public space/on estates" obviously support the population's sense of security. Furthermore, Viennese stereotypes of insecurity & crime (for instance as being "imported" from abroad) have not yet resulted in the construction of a "dangerous class", and to specific insecurities related to this class. (Even if there is a broad implicit consensus, also reflected in and reinforced by many media reports, that the recent increase in crime rates is mainly due to property offences committed by travelling and mobile offenders, and to drug related crimes committed by foreigners not belonging to the regular population etc., the stigmatised groups are not perceived as "dangerous" in a strict sense, and xenophobic

attitudes and discourses rarely mix up with relevant discourses on and sentiments of “fear” in a strict sense.)

Considered from that angle, Vienna's hidden agenda of prevention (promoted and realized by means of agencies that hardly ever refer to the concept explicitly) has proved quite successful over the last decade: Focusing on integration with regard to immigrants (*Integrationsfonds*), soft urban renewal and area management (*Gebietsbetreuung*), and preventing both rapid exchange of population and extreme concentrations of disadvantaged strata in certain quarters and districts of the city. (Thus, the strategy of maintaining a reasonable mix of population wherever possible may result in a ubiquitous but moderate level of “disorder”, experienced as largely “normal” by most of the population, but also prevents the accumulation and intensification of problems in certain hot spots, and the emergence of “ungovernable spaces”).

The empirical evidence that has been collected in the framework of INSEC basically confirms and supports some of the findings from other surveys: The quality of living in the city of Vienna is evaluated highly by a clear majority of the population, and existing problems and troubles are not primarily presented and complained about in a semantics of insecurity, anxiety, or fear of crime. In the Viennese ideological framework “global anxieties” function as a sort of counter-weight or a contrast medium rather than as amplifiers of “local insecurities”: Contrasting the scenarios of real and imaginary “global disorder”, as provided and reinforced in the media (and to a certain extent: academic discourses) makes the vernacular troubles and turbulences shrink to mere nuisances that are accepted more easily.

In and after a decade of substantial and accelerated social, (geo)political and economic change (especially: opening of the eastern borders followed by increased immigration to the country; Austria's integration into the European Community; various effects of globalisation on the national economy, the state apparatus and on society in general; government's efforts to cut public expenditures and continued discussions on the necessity of restructuring the welfare, and especially the pensions system; break up of the big coalition and formation of the present government; the shift from the traditional Austrian arrangements of “consensus democracy” and “social partnership” to a political system that is reshaped by tendencies of polarization, confrontation, divide and dissensus, there still seems to be a broad (ideological) consensus about living in a comparatively safe society. Compared to earlier decades, the traditional and fundamental differences between different groups, strata and age brackets have become blurred and levelled, and obviously the subject's feelings of insecurity can no longer be described (and understood) by referring to a very limited scope of factors, especially gender, age, education and socio-economic status (cf. Hanak 2002). More “individualized” and contingent patterns of perception have emerged, with some of them associated to the above mentioned “syndrome of discontent” rather than to issues of crime and urban danger, or to “global anxieties”.

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