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Living Together Apart: Vienna's Immigrant Enclaves

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Abstrakt

Diese Arbeit untersucht die komplexe soziale Dynamik in Wien und konzentriert sich dabei auf die Zuwanderergemeinschaften, die unterschiedliche Enklaven in der Stadt bilden. Es werden die Interaktionen zwischen diesen Gruppen und der einheimischen Bevölkerung untersucht, wobei versucht wird zu verstehen, wie die Einstellungen der Wiener Bevölkerung die Integrationserfahrungen der Menschen in diesen Enklaven beeinflussen. Mit Hilfe von qualitativen Methoden, einschließlich Fokusgruppeninterviews und theoretischen Ansätzen wie der Sozialkapitaltheorie und der Kontakthypothese, wird untersucht, wie diese Enklaven sowohl als Räume zur Bewahrung der kulturellen Identität als auch als potenzielle Hindernisse für eine breitere soziale Integration fungieren. Durch die Analyse von Fokusgruppengesprächen deckt die Arbeit die unterschiedlichen Perspektiven und Herausforderungen auf, mit denen die verschiedenen Gemeinschaften konfrontiert sind, und bietet damit wichtige Leitlinien für die Verbesserung des gemeinschaftlichen Miteinanders und der Inklusivität in Wien.

Abstract

This thesis explores the complex social dynamics of Vienna, focusing on the immigrant communities that create distinct enclaves within the city. It examines the interactions between these groups and the local population, seeking to understand how the attitudes of Viennese people shape the integration experiences of those within these enclaves. Using qualitative methods, including focus group interviews and theoretical frameworks such as Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis, the research investigates how these enclaves act both as spaces for preserving cultural identity and as potential obstacles to broader social integration. Through the analysis of focus group conversations, the thesis uncovers the diverse perspectives and challenges faced by different communities, offering important guidance for enhancing community cohesion and inclusivity in Vienna.

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Introduction

Vienna, often celebrated for its rich cultural heritage and historical significance, is a city marked by diversity and multiculturalism. According to the City of Vienna, at the beginning of 2023, 34.2% of Vienna's population were foreign nationals, and an additional 27.7% were Austrian nationals born abroad (see Stadt Wien, 2023: n.p.). This data reflects a city that is home to a wide array of cultures and ethnicities. Among these diverse groups, the religious landscape is particularly varied. Approximately 700000 people in Vienna identify as Roman Catholic, making it the largest religious group. There are also significant populations of Muslims, with around 200000 adherents, Orthodox Christians numbering around 150000, and Protestant Christians at about 70000. Additionally, there are approximately 65000 people who identify with other religions, including Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism (see Statista, 2022: n.p.). Furthermore, Vienna is home to a considerable number of individuals from various national backgrounds, including those from the former Yugoslavia, Turkey, Germany, Poland, and Romania, who make up a significant portion of the population (see Stadt Wien, 2023: n.p.).

This rich mosaic of cultures and religions has led to the formation of various immigrant enclaves within the city. Immigrant enclaves are neighborhoods or districts where a high concentration of a particular ethnic or cultural group resides. These enclaves often develop as new immigrants settle in areas where they can find familiar cultural and social networks. In Vienna, several districts are known for their significant immigrant populations (see Logan et al., 2022: 300).

Despite this rich multicultural fabric, Vienna has paradoxically been labeled the most unfriendly city in the world in the Expat City Ranking, raising questions about the integration and acceptance of these diverse populations (see Harper, 2023: n.p.). So, the contrast between Vienna's high percentage of immigrants and its ranking as the least welcoming city raises concerns about the possible problems facing the community as a whole. Upon closer scrutiny,

it may appear that the sentiment towards immigrants among Viennese individuals, reflects a notable lack of warmth or acceptance. This dichotomy presents an interesting setting for exploring the relationship between the Viennese community and people living in immigrant enclaves.

Drawing from personal experiences as an immigrant living and studying in Vienna, this research explores the interactions and challenges within the city's diverse cultural landscape. The journey of moving to Austria for educational purposes and integrating into the local community involves maintaining a strong connection to cultural roots while navigating the complexities of assimilation. These dual perspective fuels a curiosity about why some immigrants choose to form close-knit enclaves rather than integrating more fully into the broader society. There is a particular interest in investigating whether this choice is influenced by the unwelcoming attitudes of the locals in the city.

Immigrant enclaves can be seen as both supportive spaces that preserve cultural identity and, at times, as barriers to broader social integration. On the one hand, these communities foster “bonding social capital,” providing strong networks where migrants can access important resources and get social support. According to Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), these networks help newcomers find jobs, navigate language barriers, and retain a sense of cultural continuity. This supportive environment can be invaluable in countering the isolation or discrimination migrants may face in the broader society of locals. For many migrants, enclaves are sanctuaries that protect cultural practices, language, and traditions, helping them maintain their identity amidst pressures to assimilate (Lee & Zhou, 2015). This sense of continuity is often crucial for psychological well-being, as enclaves provide a safe space to connect with others who share common experiences and values, helping migrants feel grounded and resilient in the face of challenges from the broader society. Smith (2017) emphasizes that businesses established within these communities often cater to the specific cultural needs of their residents,

which can boost the local economy and offer employment to newcomers who might face barriers in the mainstream job market. Enclaves can thus facilitate a sense of empowerment and economic independence, allowing migrants to build livelihoods within familiar cultural frameworks and support others in their community. Additionally, positive local perceptions, according to Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), can reduce prejudice and encourage integration. Communities with supportive attitudes are more likely to provide employment and social opportunities for immigrants, as shown in Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) study on second-generation immigrants. At the same time, there are potential downsides. While these communities create a sanctuary for cultural preservation, they can also limit migrants' interactions with the larger society, potentially hindering integration. Scholars like Smith (2017) describe how the insularity of some enclaves can restrict migrants' access to broader educational or job markets, making it harder for them to achieve upward social mobility and engage with diverse perspectives. This is where "bridging social capital" becomes important; connections with the larger society can open doors to new opportunities and experiences outside the enclave. Without these bridges, enclaves can unintentionally deepen social divides, creating economic and social barriers over time (Putnam, 2000).

The primary aim of this research is to investigate the phenomenon of "living together but apart" within the context of Vienna's immigrant enclaves. This study seeks to understand the possible problems that arise in the community as a result of this separation. By exploring the relationships between people living in these enclaves and the broader Viennese community, this research aims to shed light on the interactions and challenges that define their coexistence. This paper will demonstrate, through the lens of Social Capital Theory and Intergroup Contact Theory, that immigrant enclaves have both positive and negative impacts on the lives of migrants. These enclaves arise not only from the opportunities they offer—such as cultural preservation and mutual support—but also as a response to exclusion and discrimination that

migrants often face in new communities. By examining the dual roles these communities play, this study seeks to explore how enclaves function both as protective spaces and, at times, as barriers to broader social integration. Vienna's historical role as a cultural crossroads in Central Europe makes it an important case study for understanding how diverse communities interact (see Novy, 2011: 239). The city's emphasis on social harmony and the preservation of national identity adds complexity to the discussion, as it attempts to balance cultural diversity with national cohesion. This balance is further complicated by the longstanding popularity of right-wing movements in Austria, which have maintained significant support by advocating for stricter immigration laws and emphasizing the preservation of national identity against the perceived threat of migrant influences (see Mazzoleni et al., 2023: 183). Acknowledging the importance of preserving the cultural heritage of immigrant communities while maintaining national identity, this research seeks to explore the understanding of how immigrants' cultural diversity can coexist with broader societal values. The findings of this study have the potential to inform public policy, community development, and academic research. By better understanding the role of cultural identity in enclaves in Vienna, the research aims to contribute to the creation of more culturally sensitive and inclusive policies.

Given the contextual background provided above, the main research question was formulated as follows: How do local attitudes towards immigrants influence the social cohesion and integration processes of people living in the immigrant enclave communities?

The objectives of this research are multifaceted. Firstly, the research seeks to analyze the impact of local attitudes on the the social cohesion and integration processes of immigrants living in enclaves. It investigates how both positive and negative perceptions by locals affect immigrants' daily lives and integration efforts, as well as the extent to which these attitudes influence immigrants' sense of belonging and acceptance in Vienna. Another key objective is to understand the perceptions and experiences of immigrants regarding their relationships with

the local community. By gathering qualitative data, the study aims to identify common themes and narratives that characterize these relationships. Additionally, the research aims to identify the challenges faced by both immigrants and locals in their daily interactions, assessing how these challenges impact social cohesion.

The study also examines the role of cultural identity and community support within enclaves in influencing the integration of immigrants. It explores how cultural heritage and community networks within enclaves contribute to or hinder the integration process, analyzing the support mechanisms available within these communities and their effectiveness. Furthermore, the research seeks to explore how local policies and initiatives affect the integration of immigrant communities. This includes reviewing some existing policies and programs aimed at facilitating immigrant integration and assessing their effectiveness from the perspective of both immigrants and locals. Additionally, the research evaluates the role of immigrant enclaves in either facilitating or hindering integration of people living in it into the broader society. It investigates the functions of enclaves as safe havens versus barriers to broader societal integration, determining the dual role of enclaves in preserving cultural identity while also impacting the integration process.

Understanding the relationship and social cohesion processes between immigrant enclave communities and local people in Vienna aligns closely with the core objectives of Development Studies. The International Development program emphasizes the importance of analyzing social inequalities, cultural diversity, and globalization dynamics. This research contributes directly to these goals by exploring the impact of local attitudes on immigrant integration and social cohesion. The emphasis on qualitative methods aligns with the program's interdisciplinary approach, valuing diverse methodologies to capture the complexity of development issues. By employing focus groups, the study highlights the voices and perspectives of marginalized or discriminated communities. Investigating the dual role of

immigrant enclaves—as protective spaces for cultural preservation and potential barriers to broader societal integration—addresses key concerns in Development Studies about balancing cultural diversity and social unity. This research enhances the academic discussion on migration and development and supports the program's mission to address complex social issues in multicultural contexts.

The research does not aim to cover the entire immigrant experience in Austria but rather focuses on specific enclaves within Vienna. It will not delve deeply into economic or purely policy-driven aspects of immigration, except as they directly affect social integration and community interactions. Instead, the emphasis will be on qualitative data gathered through focus groups.

The paper will be structured into several chapters, each addressing different aspects of the research process and findings. The first chapter will begin with the Clarification of Key Terms, which is crucial for setting a solid foundation for the research. This chapter will include several important subtopics. First, the term Migrants and Immigrants will be clarified, distinguishing between general migration and the specific context of immigrants who move to a new country with the intention of settling permanently. This section will explore the different challenges and experiences faced by immigrants compared to other types of migrants, providing a clear understanding of who is being referred to in the research. Next, the concept of Immigrant Enclaves will be examined. This subchapter will define immigrant enclaves, explaining their formation, characteristics, and significance within host societies. It will discuss how these enclaves serve as both spaces for cultural preservation and potential barriers to broader social integration, offering insights into their dual role within the urban landscape of Vienna. Following this, the chapter will delve into Considering the Term "Enclave". This section will critically assess whether the term "enclave" is appropriate for describing Vienna's immigrant communities. It will explore alternative terms and definitions, considering the unique aspects

of these communities and whether they fit the traditional understanding of an enclave or should be described differently. The chapter will then discuss Integration and Assimilation, two key concepts in understanding the immigrant experience. This subchapter will explore the processes through which immigrants become part of the host society, including the tension between retaining cultural identity and adapting to the dominant culture. It will also address the implications of these processes for both immigrants and the broader society. Social Cohesion is another essential concept that will be defined and discussed in this chapter. This section will explore the importance of social cohesion in fostering a harmonious and inclusive society. It will consider how immigrant enclaves contribute to or challenge social cohesion, particularly in a multicultural city like Vienna. This first chapter will lay the groundwork for the subsequent chapters, ensuring that the key terms and concepts used throughout the thesis are clearly defined and understood.

The second chapter “Literature” lays the foundation for understanding how local attitudes towards immigrants influence social cohesion and integration processes within immigrant enclave communities. The chapter begins with a review of the literature, emphasizing the significant role that immigrant enclaves play in preserving cultural heritage and identity. These enclaves serve as sanctuaries where immigrants can maintain their traditions, languages, and social practices, offering a sense of continuity amidst the pressures to assimilate. Another critical topic explored is the role of Education in the lives of immigrants and the host society. The literature also examines how educational aspirations and experiences can differ significantly by gender within immigrant enclaves. The chapter then addresses the complexities of assimilation, one of the most challenging aspects of the immigrant experience. In examining local attitudes towards immigrants, the literature shows the significant impact that local acceptance has on the integration process. The chapter also explores the role of public perception and media representation in shaping public attitudes towards immigrants. “State of

Art” provides an overview of the most relevant literature in recent years, noting that many studies have been quantitative in nature and primarily conducted in other regions. Next, the chapter highlights the variety of methodologies employed in studies on immigrant enclaves and local attitudes. Finally, the chapter identifies a significant research gap in the current body of literature, particularly concerning the qualitative exploration of relationships between immigrant enclaves and the local population in Vienna.

The third chapter “Theoretical Frameworks” presents the relevant theories and demonstrates how they apply to the research questions. The first major theoretical foundation discussed is “Social Capital Theory”. This section explores the evolution of Social Capital Theory, its key concepts, and its application in understanding social networks and their impact on community and individual success. The chapter then moves to “Contact Hypothesis/Intergroup Contact Theory”, another critical framework for the study. This section traces the development of the Contact Hypothesis, from its initial formulation to its contemporary applications.

The fourth chapter, titled “Austrian Context”, provides an overview of the historical and contemporary factors that have shaped Austria's approach to immigration and its impact on national identity, politics, and social dynamics. The chapter begins with an exploration of Austrian national identity. The narrative follows Austria's transformation from a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to a neutral state with its own national narrative, particularly focusing on the shifts that occurred after the fall of the Iron Curtain and Austria's deeper integration into the European Union. This section also touches on the influence of the 2015 European migrant crisis and the resulting debates over national identity, integration, and multiculturalism. Next, the chapter delves into the historical development of immigrant enclaves in Vienna, tracing the roots of these communities from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The chapter then shifts focus to right-wing movements in Austria, providing an analysis of the rise of right-wing populism and its impact on immigration and national identity.

The text traces the history of the FPÖ, its transformation under Jörg Haider, and its success in capitalizing on anti-immigrant sentiments. Following this, the chapter examines policies developed by the Austrian government to support the integration of immigrants and refugees. The section on “Relationship” explores how the attitudes and behaviors of the host population significantly influence the success of integration efforts. Finally, the chapter “Changes” highlights the role of educational initiatives, public awareness campaigns, and leadership in fostering understanding and reducing prejudice.

The fifth – Methodology - chapter, outlines the research design, sampling methods, and data collection and analysis techniques used in the study. It emphasizes the importance of transparency and credibility, ensuring the research process is thoroughly explained for evaluation of validity and reliability. The chapter discusses “Focus Groups” as the primary data collection method. The “Data Collection” section describes the preparation of open-ended questions for focus group discussions, emphasizing the need for flexibility in guiding conversations. Ethical considerations, such as informed consent and participant anonymity, are also discussed. “Data Analysis” outlines the use of thematic analysis to identify and analyze patterns in the data. It describes the coding process, grouping codes into themes, and interpreting these themes to generate insights.

Chapter six presents the findings from the interviews conducted with residents of immigrant enclaves in Vienna. The analysis focuses on the lived experiences of these individuals, exploring how they perceive their interactions with the broader local community. Next chapter shifts focus to the perspectives of local Viennese residents, presenting the findings from focus group interviews conducted with this group. “Comparative Analysis” chapter compares the findings from the enclave residents and local Viennese interviews are compared to identify commonalities and differences in their perspectives. The comparative analysis highlights areas of alignment and divergence between the two groups.

The final chapter of the thesis provides a summary of the key findings and their relevance to the study's objectives. It reflects on the overall contribution of the research to the academic discourse on immigration and integration, highlighting the insights gained from the interviews and analyses. The conclusion also offers recommendations for policymakers and researchers. The chapter ends by suggesting directions for future research, acknowledging the limitations of the current study and identifying areas where further exploration is needed.

1. Clarification of Key Terms

To understand the the subject better, it is essential to clarify several key concepts and terms. The precise definitions are crucial to establish a solid foundation for the analysis and to prevent any potential misinterpretations. According to Foppe van Mil and Henman (2016), defining terminology in research is crucial for ensuring that readers grasp the exact concepts being discussed, particularly when terms may have multiple interpretations or connotations (see Foppe van Mil & Henman, 2016: 709-710). Moreover, definitions matter because they shape the audience's perceptions, which can vary due to differences in education, professional training, and cultural context. Such variations can significantly impact how research findings are interpreted and applied (see Foppe van Mil & Henman, 2016: 711).

1.1. Migrants and Immigrants

Migrants generally refer to people who move from one place to another, often for reasons such as employment, education, or better life. This broad category includes individuals who relocate within their own country (internal migration) or across international borders (international migration). Migrants can be further categorized based on the duration and purpose of their move, such as temporary labor migrants, students, or refugees (see International Organization for Migration, 2022:n.p.). Immigrants are a subset of migrants who move to a new country with

the intention of settling there permanently. Unlike temporary migrants who may plan to return to their home country, immigrants often seek long-term residence and mostly integration into the host society. This distinction is crucial in understanding the different challenges and opportunities faced by these groups. For instance, immigrants often face pressures towards assimilation and integration, while temporary migrants may focus more on maintaining ties to their home country and returning after their work or study period ends. According to Torkington and Ribeiro (2018), the distinction between migrants and immigrants is not merely semantic but has significant implications for social representations and public perceptions. Their study highlights that media representations often blur these distinctions, leading to stereotypes and generalized perceptions of these groups (see Torkington & Ribeiro, 2018: 24-26). The terminology used to describe these groups can also impact their legal status and access to rights and resources. As noted in the study, legal definitions and classifications of migrants, immigrants, and refugees play a crucial role in determining their treatment and the policies that govern their lives. The choice of terms can thus influence not only social attitudes but also policy decisions (see Torkington & Ribeiro, 2018: 23).

1.2. Immigrant Enclaves

An immigrant enclave is a location in a host nation where a big number of immigrants from a specific nationality, ethnicity, or culture settle down and form a unique community. These enclaves frequently display common cultural norms, languages, customs, and social networks that support the immigrant group's efforts to maintain its cultural identity. Neighborhoods, districts, or even entire cities that are defined by a concentration of people who have a common immigrant history might be considered immigrant enclaves, but their sizes can vary. These enclaves are vital in molding the immigrant encounter within the broader context of the host society (see Logan et al., 2022: 299-300).

In many cities across the world, varied religious populations have created neighborhoods with a unique mix of social, religious, and cultural aspects. Examples would be Vatican City in Rome, where the city-state enclaved within Rome serves as the spiritual and administrative center of the Catholic Church (see Barryborderpoints, 2023: n.p.). Mecca and Medina, the holiest city in Islam and the destination for the annual pilgrimage, are considered among the most significant religious enclaves for Muslims (see Ostling, 2022: n.p.). Jerusalem holds profound religious significance for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The Old City, in particular, is an enclave where major religious sites like the Western Wall, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the Dome of the Rock coexist in close proximity (see Britannica, 2024: n.p.). One more example would be Salt Lake City in the United States, which is a religious enclave for members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), commonly known as Mormons (see American Communities Project, 2023: n.p.).

When it comes to Vienna, in different parts (districts) of city, there are concentrations of different people from particular nations or cultural backgrounds. For example, Favoriten (10th district), is known for having a significant Muslim population, especially significant Turkish population. They have their own businesses, restaurants, mosques, shops, salons etc, that preserve Turkish heritage (see Lielacher, 2023: n.p.). "Wir als Polizei haben den Bezirk verloren. Der Bezirk ist fest in türkischer Hand" (Lielacher, 2023: n.p.). Ottakring (16th district) is so called Balkan district and is home to a varied population from Albania, Kosovo, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other Balkan nations. The district exhibits a blend of Balkan customs and civilizations. In this district there is even a street named "Balkanstraße" (see Der Standard, 2008: n.p.). Simmering is another district where residents from Middle Eastern countries, including Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, have established a presence (11th district). Mosques, schools, cultural organizations, Islamic Federation, and even Islamic cemetery are located in this district (see Herbst, 2014: n.p.). 12th district of Vienna, also called

Meidling has big Asian population, also including people from Afghanistan and Central Asian countries (see Wagner, 2020: n.p.). Brigittenau (20th district) and Leopoldstadt (2nd district) are famous for their Jewish Community and historic quarter. Its significant Jewish history is reflected in its synagogues, schools, and Chabbad-only eateries, among other things (see Stadtbekannt, 2019: n.p.). Many diplomats, expatriates, and foreign organizations call Landstraße (3d district) home. It is well-known as a center for international diplomacy (see Bauer, 2016: n.p.).

1.3. Considering the Term "Enclave"

Given the information mentioned above and a deeper exploration of the term "enclaves," questions arise regarding the appropriateness of labeling these groups as such in this research. While examining these communities in Vienna, it becomes evident that they display some characteristics of immigrant enclaves, such as cultural preservation and concentrated ethnic populations. However, they often lack the seclusion and exclusivity typically associated with true enclaves. It was seen on examples of Classic Immigrant Enclaves, like Chinatown in New York City or Hasidic Jewish Enclaves in Brooklyn. Chinatown is defined enclave with a high concentration of Chinese immigrants. It has its own unique cultural, social, and economic infrastructure, including Chinese-language schools, Chinese-owned businesses, and cultural festivals. However, this enclave is relatively self-contained and distinct from the surrounding neighborhoods, making it a classic example of an immigrant enclave (see Zhou & Logan, 1989: 809). Neighborhoods such as Williamsburg and Borough Park in Brooklyn have large populations of Hasidic Jews. These enclaves are highly insular, also with their own schools, businesses, and community organizations that cater specifically to their members. The cultural and religious practices are maintained rigorously, and there is limited interaction with non-Hasidic communities (see Deutsch & Casper, 2021: 45-49).

Given the more integrated nature of Vienna's immigrant communities, they also may be referred to as "ethnic neighborhoods" or "cultural districts" rather than strict "enclaves." This distinction acknowledges both their cultural significance and their integration within the host society. This interaction can both aid in the integration process and maintain cultural identity, striking a balance that pure enclaves might not achieve. Nonetheless, using the term "enclave" remains acceptable as it captures the essential aspects of cultural preservation and community concentration (see Logan et al., 2022: 299-302).

1.4. Integration and Assimilation

Integration refers to the process through which immigrants become an integral part of the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres of the host country. But it is important to note, that effective integration requires adjustments from both immigrants and the host society, allowing immigrants to retain their cultural identities while engaging fully in the host society. This concept underscores a reciprocal process where both newcomers and the host community adapt to each other, fostering a sense of belonging and mutual respect (see Corbett et al., 2021: 1-3). On the other hand, assimilation describes a different pathway where immigrants gradually adopt the cultural norms of the host society, often at the expense of their original cultural identities. Unlike integration, assimilation involves a one-way adaptation, with immigrants conforming to the dominant culture. This process can lead to the loss of distinct cultural traits, languages, and traditions, as immigrants and their descendants blend into the majority population. Historically, assimilation has been critiqued for its expectation that minority groups must relinquish their unique cultural identities to achieve acceptance in the broader society (see Corbett et al., 2021: 2-5).

Education is pivotal in the integration and assimilation of immigrants, serving as the primary environment where young immigrants engage with the host society's culture, language, and

norms. Mastery of the host country's language is essential for effective integration and the development of bridging social capital, a critical element for successful integration. However, immigrant students frequently face educational disparities due to language barriers, socio-economic challenges, and limited access to resources (see Ghaffar-Kucher, 2016: 4-6).

It is also important to note that when discussing terms or explaining aspects related to immigrants in this paper, these discussions often encompass individuals residing in immigrant enclaves as well. Although theories and definitions are generally not specifically designed for "enclaves," these communities are included within the broader category of "immigrants." This distinction is crucial for thoroughly understanding the topics discussed, as it permits the use of broader theoretical perspectives to address the specific circumstances and issues experienced by those in immigrant enclaves.

1.5. Social Cohesion

Social cohesion refers to nature of social interactions within a society, emphasizing the strength of relationships and the sense of belonging among members of a community. Social cohesion is often seen as a multidimensional construct that involves mutual trust, shared values, and active participation in societal activities. It encompasses the ability of a society to ensure the well-being of all its members by fostering inclusion, reducing disparities, and promoting solidarity and cooperation (see Schiefer & van der Noll, 2016: 582-585). It is worth noting, that enclaves play a dual role in social cohesion. In a way, enclaves help preserve the cultural identity of immigrant groups, providing a sense of belonging and community. This preservation can strengthen social cohesion within the enclave as members share common values, traditions, and social networks. Within enclaves, strong social relations and networks are often formed, contributing to a supportive environment. However, while enclaves support internal social cohesion, they can sometimes present challenges for broader societal integration. If the enclave

is highly insular, it may limit interactions with the host society, potentially hindering the development of trust and shared values between enclave members and the broader community (see Qadeer & Kumar, 2006: 3-4).

1.6. Cultural Identity and Heritage

Cultural identity encompasses the values, traditions, customs, and symbols that define a cultural group. This identity is learned, passed through generations, and binds people together into a community. Bhugra notes that cultural identity includes religion, rites of passage, language, dietary habits, and leisure activities, all of which shape how individuals see themselves and their place in the world. For immigrants, maintaining cultural identity involves preserving these elements within the context of their new environment, which can be challenging due to the pressures of assimilation and acculturation (see Bhugra, 2004: 21-22).

According to Prinz and Siegel (2019), cultural identity is impacted by the migration process, where immigrants face the challenge of balancing their original cultural identity with the need to adapt to the host society. Immigrants may either turn inward, reinforcing group solidarity within their diaspora, or outward, assimilating into the host culture. Factors influencing this choice include the cultural distance between the immigrant and host cultures, the size of the immigrant community, and the opportunities for integration within the host society. A large and cohesive diaspora can help preserve cultural identity, offering support and reducing the mental stress associated with acculturation (see Prinz & Siegel, 2019: 6-7).

When it comes to the cultural heritage, in immigrant enclaves it involves the preservation and continuation of cultural traditions, customs, and practices from the immigrants' countries of origin. According to Colomer (2013), cultural heritage plays a crucial role in the well-being of elderly immigrants and refugees by providing a sense of identity and community. This heritage includes tangible elements such as language, food, and traditional attire, as well as

intangible aspects like rituals, religious practices, and community events (see Colomer, 2013: 19-21).

So, all these terms are interconnected and essential for understanding the full scope of this research. For instance, distinguishing between "immigrants" and "migrants" is crucial, as they are sometimes used interchangeably. In this research context, "immigrants" specifically refers to individuals who intend to settle permanently in the host society, often facing pressures towards assimilation. Social cohesion is vital for harmonious coexistence and is influenced by the cultural identity of immigrants and the overall cultural diversity within the city. Immigrant enclaves serve as focal points where cultural heritage is preserved, creating unique microcosms within the broader society. Specifically defining these terms is important for this research and the research question because it establishes a clear framework for analyzing the interactions and challenges faced by both immigrants and the host society. Precise terminology will enable more accurate exploration of how integration and social cohesion are impacted by local attitudes, and how cultural diversity and heritage are maintained or altered within enclaves.

2. Literature

The literature review in the scientific research serves as a critical foundation for understanding the topic, in this case, how local attitudes towards immigrants influence social cohesion and integration processes within immigrant enclave communities. The existing body of literature on this topic is varied. This part aims to situate this study within the extensive body of academic work.

2.1. Review

It is evident, that Immigrant enclaves play a vital role in preserving the cultural heritage and identity of immigrant communities. hese enclaves serve as sanctuaries where immigrants can hold onto their cherished traditions, languages, and social practices, creating a comforting sense

of continuity and belonging. This preservation is vital for their psychological well-being, offering a refuge from the often overwhelming pressure to assimilate. However, the literature also highlights a bittersweet reality - limited exposure to the broader society and economic disadvantages (see Logan et al., 2002: 299-300). Smith (2017) emphasizes that while immigrant enclaves provide a protective environment for cultural preservation, they can also create economic disadvantages due to limited access to broader job markets and educational opportunities (see Smith, 2017: 45-47). Similarly, Lee and Zhou (2015) discuss the dual nature of immigrant enclaves, highlighting how these communities offer essential support networks and cultural continuity, yet often at the cost of reduced social mobility and economic integration (see Lee & Zhou, 2015: 102-105).

One more commonly discussed topic in the literature is the role of education in lives of immigrants and the host society. Ghaffar-Kucher (2016) mentions the importance of language proficiency for effective integration, as it facilitates communication, educational achievement, and employment opportunities. Also, the fact, that Multicultural education programs that celebrate diverse cultural backgrounds can reduce cultural barriers and promote mutual understanding among students from different backgrounds (see Ghaffar-Kucher, 2016: 3-6). Zhou and Kim (2006) discuss the role of ethnic educational institutions within enclaves. They explain that these institutions support cultural retention while promoting academic success among immigrant youth (see Zhou & Kim, 2006: n.p.). Furthermore, studies have shown that educational aspirations and experiences can differ significantly by gender within immigrant enclaves. For instance, Foner and Dreby (2011) highlight that immigrant parents often have different educational expectations for their sons and daughters, influenced by cultural norms and values from their countries of origin. Girls may be encouraged to pursue education to a lesser extent than boys, or their education may be seen as less of a priority due to traditional gender roles (see Foner & Dreby, 2011: 550-553). Additionally, Dallalfar (1994) discusses how

gender expectations within Iranian immigrant enclaves in the United States affect the educational and career aspirations of young women, often limiting their opportunities compared to their male counterparts (see Dallalfar, 1994: 546-549). Jaimoukha (2005) discusses how Chechen enclaves in Europe maintain a strong sense of cultural identity and cohesion, but face significant challenges regarding integration, particularly in educational settings. Chechen families often prefer community-based educational support systems that align with their cultural and religious values, which can sometimes limit their children's exposure to the broader educational opportunities available in the host society (see Jaimoukha, 2005). Similarly, Speckhard and Akhmedova (2006) highlight the role of gender expectations within Chechen communities, noting that traditional gender roles can influence educational aspirations and outcomes, often prioritizing education for boys over girls (See Speckhard & Akhmedova, 2006: 10-12).

One more feared thread is assimilation. One of the key challenges in assimilation is the loss of cultural identity. Immigrants often struggle to balance retaining their cultural heritage while adapting to the host society's norms and values. This conflict can lead to a sense of alienation and identity crisis and not knowing where one belongs. According to Berry (1997), the process of assimilation involves significant psychological stress as individuals navigate the pressures to conform to the dominant culture, potentially leading to marginalization if they are unable to fully integrate (see Berry, 1997: 13-15). Immigrants who do not speak the host country's language fluently face difficulties in accessing education, employment, and social services. This barrier can hinder their ability to integrate fully into the society and can lead to economic disadvantages. Portes and Zhou (1993) discuss how limited language proficiency can result in lower socio-economic mobility and restrict access to better job opportunities (see Portes & Zhou, 1993: 83-85). And of course, discrimination and social exclusion are pervasive issues that slow down the assimilation of immigrants. Waters and Jiménez (2005) highlight how

discrimination can lead to systemic inequalities, limiting immigrants' access to resources and opportunities necessary for successful assimilation. It also points out that discrimination in the labor market can result in immigrants being overrepresented in low-paying, low-status jobs, regardless of their qualifications and skills (see Waters & Jiménez, 2005: 107-110).

To look at the literature from the different side, local attitudes towards immigrants also play a crucial role in shaping immigrant communities. According to Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), local acceptance significantly reduces prejudice and promotes intergroup contact, which is essential for integration. When locals are open and accepting, immigrants feel valued and are more likely to engage with the broader community (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006: 752-753). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) conducted an in-depth study on the second generation of immigrants in the United States, focusing on how local attitudes impact their integration. Their research revealed that supportive local attitudes significantly improve employment prospects for immigrants. Employers and institutions in communities with positive perceptions of immigrants are more willing to hire and invest in immigrant talent, which aids in their economic integration (see Portes & Rumbaut, 2001: 88-89). Phillips (2010) shows that inclusive attitudes lead to more diverse neighborhoods where immigrants and natives coexist, enhancing social cohesion. On the other hand, negative attitudes often result in residential segregation, with immigrants confined to enclaves, which can hinder their integration into the broader society (see Bolt et al., 2010: 171-172).

And finally, one more highly relevant topic that comes up in the literature is public perception and media representation. Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017) carried out an extensive cross-European study, revealing how crucial media coverage is in shaping public opinion during the refugee crisis. They found that the way media portrays immigrants can significantly influence public attitudes. When the media focuses on positive stories and humanizes immigrants by highlighting their contributions to society, it can foster empathy and support for

their integration into host communities. This positive representation helps counteract negative stereotypes and promotes a more inclusive society (see Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017: 3-6). For example, Van Dijk (2000) conducted a discourse analysis on how the media perpetuates racism through its coverage of ethnic minorities. The study revealed that media emphasizing criminality, economic burden, or cultural incompatibility associated with immigrants leads to increased prejudice and discrimination among the public. Such representations often depict immigrants as "others," which can exacerbate social tensions and hinder integration efforts (see van Dijk, 2000: 38-40).

2.2. State of Art

With regard to the most relevant literature in last decade, the majority of studies are quantitative in nature, primarily conducted in the United States, Canada, or Latin America. For example, Danzer and Yaman (2013) focused in their study on the fact, that lack of integration is not only fault of the immigrants that do not want to immigrate, but also on the willingness of the host society to help in the integration process.

While many societies complain about a lack of integration among their immigrant population, little is known about the reasons for this failure. The public debate often focuses on a perceived lack of migrants' willingness (demand) to integrate; however, there is an often neglected supply side to the market for integration. Can immigrants who are willing to integrate succeed? One common prerequisite for successful integration of immigrants into the host society is the interaction with natives (Danzer & Yaman, 2013: 313).

There was a study done in Vienna by Springer and Bauer (2014), where residential patterns in Vienna by religion and ethnicity were analyzed. This study identified clustered immigrant populations in specific neighborhoods, including enclaves (Springer and Bauer, 2014). The strength of this study is that it collected large-scale data which can be used for further research

on this topic. This data however overlooks the qualitative aspects influencing enclave relationships and dynamics.

The Integration and Diversity Monitor of the City of Vienna from 2023 is a significant publication in the realm of immigration research and integration and diversity monitoring. This report serves as an important resource for understanding the dynamics of immigrant integration in Vienna. The report showcases indicators related to immigrant integration, including demographic trends, employment rates, education levels, housing patterns, social participation and many more. One of the strengths of the report is its use of empirical data collected from various sources, including official statistics, surveys, and administrative records of the state. However, it is important to note that the information provided in the report is not specifically focused on immigrant enclaves and their groups. Instead, the report offers an overview of integration and diversity-related aspects within Vienna, encompassing a broad range of societal dimensions (see Stadt Wien – Integration und Diversität, 2023).

An article by Liedl et al. (2020) delves into the dynamics of social capital and its distribution across different social groups in Austria. Authors explored how personal connections to individuals in higher-status occupational positions or occupations with varying levels of social prestige shape individuals' access to social capital. The study adopts a subjective approach to measure social origin, considering individuals' self-assessment rather than relying on objective variables like parents' occupation or education level. Study found, that individuals with higher levels of self-assessed social origin tended to have more diverse and prestigious network structures. This aligns with previous research indicating that social capital is intricately linked to the reproduction of social inequality, with unequal access to social capital deeply rooted in social structures (see Liedl et al., 2020). So, although Liedl et al. (2020) delve into the distribution of social capital across different social groups in Austria, this research will be more

focused on the socio-cultural interactions and implications within immigrant enclaves and between these enclaves and the local population in Vienna.

Work of Demireva (2022) relates to this research the most, since it discusses the discourse surrounding ethnic enclaves, particularly in European contexts. It offers an overview of the societal perceptions and political discussions regarding ethnic enclaves. Although it is not about Vienna but Europe in general and it concentrates more on cultural distinctiveness and economic dynamics, it still is a useful resource when it comes to the topic. Research found, that when people live in ethnic enclaves it is harder for migrants and minorities to find good jobs. Also, if the second generation grows up in these areas, they might find it hard to get high-ranking jobs in mainstream society as well and it becomes a closed circle. But it is a hard to prove, because researchers can not just move people to different places to see what happens with them in different settings. So, finding our direct causes it difficult (see Institute for Social and Economic Research, 2022).

2.3. Methodological Approaches in Existing Research

The methodologies used in studies about immigrant enclaves and local attitudes are as varied and rich as the stories they aim to tell. Smith (2017), for example, through heartfelt in-depth interviews, brings to life the economic struggles of immigrants in enclaves, showing both the protective cocoon and the confining nature of these communities. In Vienna, the meticulous statistical analysis by Springer and Bauer (2014) maps out residential patterns, providing a bird's-eye view of clustered immigrant populations and setting the stage for deeper exploration. Ghaffar-Kucher (2016) uses surveys to shed light on the vital role of language proficiency, capturing the struggles and triumphs of immigrants as they navigate educational and job opportunities. Lee and Zhou (2015) blend interviews with data analysis to portray the dual nature of enclaves. Berry's (1997) longitudinal study poignantly tracks the psychological toll

of assimilation over the years, highlighting the evolving challenges immigrants face as they strive to fit in while holding on to their roots. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) offer a longitudinal lens on the second generation of immigrants in the U.S., showing how welcoming attitudes can open doors to economic success and integration. Danzer and Yaman (2013) emphasize the power of native interaction in smoothing the path to integration, reminding us that it's not just the immigrants who need to change, but the host society too.

2.4. Research Gap

The current body of research on immigrant enclaves in Austria, particularly Vienna, reveals significant gaps. While there is a noticeable public discourse around the discrimination faced by refugees and legal immigrants—ranging from language barriers to cultural practices such as covering hair (see Schönherr et al., 2019:18)—there is a lack of in-depth exploration into the roots of these issues. For instance, even the Islamic integration association in Vienna is often criticized and perceived as an obstacle to integration. An illustrative quote from a local commentary highlights this sentiment: “Es mussten erst Kindersoldaten auftreten damit endlich die Österreichische und Wiener Politik reagiert. Der verlängertem Arm des türkischen Präsidenten Erdogan und seiner islamisch fundamentalistischen Arbeiterpartei AKP also ATIB, der in Österreich als islamischer Integrationsverein tätig ist wird endlich als das wahrgenommen was er wirklich ist ein „Integrationsverhinderer“ (Moade_Admin, 2018: n.p.). There is especially big lack of qualitative research on the relationships between immigrant enclaves and the local population. While quantitative studies provide essential data on demographics and socio-economic conditions, they often fail to capture the nuanced, lived experiences of individuals within these communities.

When examining enclave research specific to Vienna, only a few studies stand out. One such study is Hassan (2014), which explored the experiences of Southern Sudanese women migrants

and how migration has led to shifts in ethnic and tribal loyalties, fostering the development of ethnic enclaves. Hassan's study highlighted the ambivalence of migration, characterized by fear of the unknown and hope for better opportunities. It investigated two distinct enclaves: the Sisterhood Organization, centered around a church and religious activities, and the Southern Sudanese Women Association for Development, driven by highly educated women. While both enclaves provide essential support to the women, internal tensions were evident, especially within the Sisterhood Organization, where some women felt marginalized or judged by others. The research found that migration prompted a shift from tribal to ethnic loyalties, with the church playing a pivotal role in facilitating these enclaves.

Hassan's study employed a qualitative methodology, using participant observation and in-depth interviews with eight women. However, this work has notable limitations. First of all, Hassan's study focuses narrowly on Southern Sudanese women, leaving out other significant immigrant groups in Vienna. Vienna is home to various other communities, such as those from Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and Eastern Europe, yet there is little exploration of how these groups form and interact within their own enclaves. A more inclusive study could offer a comparative analysis of multiple ethnic groups to highlight similarities and differences in how these enclaves function. The small sample size (eight participants) limits the ability to generalize the findings, and the absence of a quantitative approach or survey method weakens the study's broader applicability. Also, while Hassan's study sheds light on gendered experiences within enclaves, it leaves unexplored how men and mixed-gender communities navigate these spaces. Future research should broaden the scope to include the experiences of males as well. While Hassan touches on internal dynamics within enclaves, her study does not fully explore how enclaves interact with the broader Viennese society. Future research should investigate how enclaves affect social cohesion at the city level, considering both positive impacts and potential challenges (see Hassan, 2014).

Czingon (2011) focuses on the economic aspects of ethnic enclaves, specifically examining Turkish grocery businesses in Vienna. The study explores how these businesses operate within ethnic enclaves and their attempts to "break out" into the broader Austrian market. It highlights the tension between catering to ethnic community needs and expanding to mainstream markets. While the study provides insights into the social embeddedness of these businesses, it remains concentrated on economic strategies, without addressing intergenerational, gender dynamics, or broader social integration aspects crucial for understanding social cohesion. Future research could benefit from expanding beyond the economic dimension to include these factors (see Czingon, 2011).

Michael Pacione's article, "Ethnic Segregation in the European City: The Case of Vienna" (1996), examines the spatial distribution of ethnic minorities in Vienna, focusing on patterns of ethnic segregation. Pacione analyzes how economic, social, and housing policies have shaped the urban geography of the city, leading to segregated ethnic enclaves. He highlights that while Vienna does not have the extreme segregation seen in some other European cities, there are clear divisions in where immigrant groups, particularly Turks and former Yugoslavs, tend to settle. The research shows that these groups face barriers in the housing market and are often concentrated in lower-quality, densely populated areas. Pacione discusses the consequences of this segregation, such as limited access to resources, social services, and opportunities for integration into mainstream Austrian society. However, the study is primarily focused on spatial and housing dimensions of ethnic segregation and does not research the social integration, local-migrant relationships or day-to-day experiences of immigrants within these enclaves. This gap could also be addressed in the future (see Pacione, 1996).

In summary, while the existing literature provides a broad overview of the challenges and opportunities within immigrant enclaves, there is a need for further qualitative exploration, particularly in the context of Vienna not focused only on one ethnicity but much broader society

of enclaves. While there has been some focus on residential patterns, economic questions, and social capital in immigrant communities in Austria, there is a lack of qualitative studies that explore everyday interactions between enclave communities and the local population.

3. Theoretical Frameworks

In this chapter, the theoretical foundations that support this research are presented, providing a detailed look at the relevant theoretical perspectives. This chapter will show how these theories apply to the research questions, demonstrating the scholarly grounding of the study. This approach ensures the research is not conducted in isolation but is deeply rooted in established scientific theories (see Bourdieu, 1986).

3.1. Social Capital Theory

The primary conceptual framework is based on Social Capital Theory. Social Capital Theory posits that the networks of relationships among people in a society hold significant value. These networks can provide various resources and benefits, much like financial capital or physical capital. In essence, social capital refers to the collective value of all social networks and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other source. Social Capital Theory has evolved significantly since its inception. Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, initially conceptualized Social Capital Theory in the 1980s. Bourdieu defined social capital as the aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to possession of a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Essentially, he argued that social capital comprises the social networks and the resources one can access through these networks. Bourdieu's perspective highlighted how social capital contributes to the maintenance and reproduction of power and status within societies. His work focused on the unequal distribution of social capital, emphasizing that those with extensive networks and high social

capital could leverage these connections to maintain their privileged positions (see Bourdieu, 1986).

Robert Putnam, an American political scientist, significantly expanded Social Capital Theory in the 1990s. Putnam's research, particularly in his book "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community" (2000), introduced the concepts of bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital exists within a group of people who are similar in some important way, such as family members or close friends. This type of social capital provides strong support and can help individuals cope with personal challenges. However, it might also create an insular community that is resistant to outsiders. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, connects diverse groups of people. It helps in creating broader identities and more inclusive societies by linking individuals from different backgrounds. This type of social capital can provide access to new information, opportunities, and resources that are not available within a single group. So, he argued that a decline in social capital (e.g., fewer community organizations, decreased social trust) leads to negative consequences for social cohesion and democratic participation (see Putnam, 2000). In academic terms, Social Capital Theory is utilized to understand how social networks impact various outcomes, such as economic development, community well-being, and individual success. It suggests that people who are well-connected are more likely to succeed because they can draw on their social networks for support, information, and opportunities. So, social capital is seen as a crucial element in both personal and communal development (see Bourdieu, 1986).

Over time, Social Capital Theory has been refined and adapted to various contexts beyond Bourdieu's and Putnam's initial formulations. Researchers have applied the theory to study different social phenomena, including: Community Development (see Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Gittel & Vidal, 1998), Economic Growth (see Knack & Keefer, 1997; Fukuyama, 1995) and Social Integration (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou & Bankston, 1998).

Despite its widespread application and recognition Social Capital Theory also faced several critiques from scholars from different disciplines. For example, Fine (2001), in his book “Social Capital versus Social Theory” argues, that the term "social capital" has been used too loosely, encompassing a wide range of social phenomena without a clear, consistent definition. Portes (1998) highlighted the difficulties in quantifying social capital, noting that it is often measured indirectly. Interesting critique more related to this study was the fact, that critics also point out the potential negative consequences of social capital. For example, bonding social capital, which strengthens ties within a homogenous group, can lead to exclusivity and discrimination against outsiders. This issue is discussed by Portes and Patricia Landolt (1996), who examine how strong in-group ties can foster exclusionary practices and slow down broader social integration. Within these enclaves, bonding social capital is typically strong, as residents share common languages, cultures, networks, and experiences. This strong internal network can provide support for new immigrants, helping them adapt to their new environment, find jobs, and access resources. Newcomers there might rely on established community members for guidance in every field of life. The social capital within these enclaves can also act as a buffer against the negative effects of unfriendliness or discrimination from the broader society. By fostering a sense of solidarity and collective identity, the social networks within an enclave can enhance the well-being and resilience of its residents (see Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993).

So, while strong bonding social capital within enclaves is beneficial, it is also important for these communities to develop bridging social capital. Connections with the broader society can provide access to additional opportunities and resources that are not available within the enclave. Bridging social capital can increase broader social integration, helping immigrants build relationships outside their community, which can lead to better social cohesion (see Putnam, 2000).

In modern research, Social Capital Theory continues to evolve, incorporating insights from various disciplines like sociology, economics, political science, and public health. Contemporary studies often focus on digital social capital, examining how online networks and social media influence social capital formation and its effects on society. For example, the book "Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community" by Robert Putnam examines how social capital has changed in the context of declining face-to-face interactions and increasing digital communication. Another significant contribution is the special issue of the journal *Societies* titled "Social Media and Social Capital," edited by Sonja Utz and Nicole Muscanell. This collection of articles explores how social media platforms like Facebook affect social capital by maintaining connections with both strong and weak ties, facilitating new connections, and blurring audience boundaries.

Social Capital Theory is particularly important for immigrant enclave research because it provides a framework for understanding how the networks within these communities contribute to both their internal cohesion and their integration into the broader society. Social Capital Theory offers a lens to investigate how bonding and bridging social capital influence not only the internal functioning of these communities but also their interactions with the broader Austrian population. In the context of Vienna, Social Capital Theory will help explain how immigrants rely on the bonding social capital within their ethnic communities for support, resources, adaptation to their new environment etc. However, the theory also highlights the limitations of relying solely on bonding social capital. As seen in Vienna, where immigrant groups often experience discriminations, strong in-group ties can sometimes act as barriers to wider social integration. This is where bridging social capital becomes critical. So, by applying this theory, this study can explore whether the insularity of immigrant enclaves in Vienna contributes to the social tensions that exist between locals and immigrants, and how fostering more bridging social capital could enhance social cohesion in the city.

3.2. Contact Hypothesis/ Intergroup Contact Theory

Gordon Allport's Contact Hypothesis, formulated in 1954, posits that under certain conditions, direct contact between members of different groups can reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations. These conditions include equal status between groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support from authorities (see Allport, 1955). Early studies focused on confirming the basic premises of Allport's hypothesis. For example, Williams (1947), provided empirical support for Allport's hypothesis by demonstrating reduced racial tension in integrated military units. Williams found that soldiers in racially mixed units reported more positive attitudes toward each other than those in segregated units. While later research explored the nuances and specific conditions under which contact reduces prejudice. Dixon (2010) examined the political implications of intergroup contact, highlighting the complexity of its effects on different social groups (see Dixon et al., 2010).

Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp (2006) made significant contributions to the Contact Hypothesis with their comprehensive meta-analysis of intergroup contact theory. They analyzed data from over 500 studies and found robust evidence that intergroup contact generally reduces prejudice. Their work demonstrated that while Allport's optimal conditions (equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support from authorities) enhance the effects of contact, positive outcomes can occur even in their absence. Samuel Gaertner and John Dovidio (2000) extended the Contact Hypothesis through their Common Ingroup Identity Model. This model suggests that reducing intergroup bias can be achieved by transforming members' perceptions of group boundaries from "us" and "them" to a more inclusive "we."

Scholars have also discussed and critiqued various aspects of this hypothesis. Another point of contention is the long-term impact of intergroup contact. While initial contact may reduce prejudice, maintaining these effects over time is challenging. Some studies suggest that without

ongoing interactions and supportive structures, the benefits of contact may diminish (see Dovidio et al., 2003).

The Contact Hypothesis provides practical guidance for designing interventions aimed at reducing prejudice. It has been applied in various real-world contexts, including schools, workplaces, and communities. Programs that facilitate cooperative learning, shared goals, and equal status interactions between diverse groups have been shown to effectively reduce biases and improve relationships (see Aronson & Bridgeman, 1979). However, there have been critiques of it as well. For example, one of the main limitations is the hypothesis's reliance on specific conditions for optimal contact—equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support from authorities. These conditions are often difficult to achieve in real-world settings, where power imbalances, conflicting interests, and lack of institutional support are common. Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux (2005) argue that focusing too narrowly on these conditions can overlook the complexities of intergroup dynamics and the broader societal structures that perpetuate inequality (see Dixon et al., 2005).

The Contact Hypothesis is particularly applicable to this study of the relationship between immigrant enclaves and locals in Vienna. This theory can be particularly useful in exploring how and under what conditions interactions between residents of immigrant enclaves and the native Viennese population lead to better social cohesion.

In conclusion, both Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis will be useful to understand the bigger picture of the relationship between immigrant enclaves and their interactions with the local population in Vienna. Together, these theories complement each other by addressing both the internal dynamics of enclaves (through social capital) and the external interactions with the broader society (through contact). By applying them in tandem, this research can provide a better view of how social networks within enclaves and intergroup

interactions contribute to either the persistence of segregation or the promotion of social cohesion in Vienna.

4. Austrian Context

The chapter on the Austrian context and relationships will overview of the historical and contemporary factors shaping Austria's approach to immigration and its impact on national identity, politics, and social dynamics.

4.1. Austrian National Identity

The concept of Austrian national identity has undergone significant transformation, especially from the mid-20th century onwards. Before World War II, Austrian national identity was complex and often intertwined with broader German identity, due to the shared language and cultural heritage within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and later the First Austrian Republic. Before the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Austrian identity was largely tied to the Habsburg monarchy and the idea of a multi-ethnic empire. The empire itself was a patchwork of various ethnicities and languages, with no singular national identity that could be easily defined. Instead, loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty and the imperial structure often took precedence over nationalistic sentiments (see Beller, 2007:145-147). With the dissolution of the empire after World War I, Austria found itself a small, landlocked republic with a population that identified more with German culture and language than with any distinct Austrian identity. This identification with Germanness was evident in the early 20th century, where many Austrians saw themselves as part of the greater German nation. The notion of "Anschluss," or the unification of Austria with Germany, was a popular idea among many Austrians during this period. But even during this period, there were competing notions of Austrian identity. Some Austrians began to emphasize a unique Austrian identity distinct from Germany, particularly in the cultural and intellectual spheres. This included the promotion of

Austrian art, literature, and the idea of Austria as the successor to the Habsburg legacy, which was different from the aggressive nationalism seen in Germany (see Judson, 2016: 221-225).

Following the events of World War II and the fall of Nazism, Austrians began to consciously reject a German identity, leading to the emergence of a distinct Austrian identity. This process was further accelerated by the political and social upheavals that followed the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989. The Allied occupation and Austria's subsequent declaration of neutrality in 1955 further reinforced the need for a unique national narrative that was separate from Germany (see Schimmelpfennig, 2014: 445-446). The Allied powers, particularly the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, played a crucial role in shaping this new identity through their occupation and the policies they implemented in Austria (see Bischof & Pelinka, 1996: 3-5). One of the central aspects of this redefinition was the promotion of the idea that Austria was the "first victim" of Nazi aggression, a narrative that became enshrined in the 1943 Moscow Declaration. This document, signed by the Allies, stated that Austria was to be liberated from German control and restored as an independent state. This victim narrative allowed Austrians to distance themselves from the atrocities committed during the war and facilitated the creation of a separate Austrian national identity distinct from that of Germany (see Steininger, 2008: 13-18). The new Austrian identity that emerged after the war was characterized by a strong emphasis on neutrality, which became a cornerstone of Austrian foreign policy. In 1955, the Austrian State Treaty was signed, officially ending the occupation and reestablishing Austria as a sovereign state. Alongside this, Austria declared its permanent neutrality, which was incorporated into the constitution. This neutrality was not only a political stance but also became a key element of national identity, symbolizing Austria's commitment to peace and its separation from the polarized blocs of the Cold War (see Gehler, 2005: 214-216). But although the victim narrative was dominant for many years, there was a gradual shift towards acknowledging Austria's complicity in Nazi crimes. This was particularly evident in

the 1980s and 1990s, as Austria engaged in more open discussions about its role during the war and its responsibility in the Holocaust (see Hitz, 2021: n.p.).

The fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 was a pivotal moment in the evolution of Austrian national identity. As Andreas Schimmelpfennig (2014) notes, the events of 1989 catalyzed substantial changes, particularly in the recognition and status of ethnic minorities within Austria. The recognition of various ethnic groups, such as Slovaks, Hungarians in Vienna, and Roma, highlighted a broader move towards inclusivity and a redefinition of what it meant to be Austrian (see Schimmelpfennig, 2014: 447-448). This period necessitated a re-evaluation among ethnic minorities about their place within Austria. Many members of these groups faced an internal process of deciding whether to remain a minority in Austria or join the majority in their respective national states. This internal reflection was a significant aspect of the broader national identity redefinition occurring in Austria during this time (see Schimmelpfennig, 2014: 450).

The early 2000s were a critical period for Austrian national identity, marked by Austria's deepening integration into the European Union and the accompanying shifts in political, social, and cultural landscapes. Austria joined the EU in 1995, and this membership had a profound impact on how Austrians perceived their national identity, both in relation to Europe and within the broader global context. One of the key features of this period was the tension between national sovereignty and European integration. Many Austrians grappled with the implications of EU membership on their national identity, particularly the perceived loss of autonomy. This period saw the rise of euroscepticism, fueled by concerns that Austria's unique cultural and political identity might be diluted within the larger EU framework (see Müller, 2009: 3-4).

The Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), which gained significant political influence during this time, capitalized on these sentiments by promoting a nationalist agenda that emphasized the preservation of Austrian identity against what was seen as encroaching European influence

(Müller, 2009: 10-11). Despite these concerns, Austria's integration into the EU also led to a redefinition of national identity that embraced a more multicultural and European dimension. The early 2000s were characterized by increased mobility, economic integration, and cultural exchange within the EU. Culturally, Austria's EU membership encouraged a greater emphasis on its role as a mediator and cultural bridge between Eastern and Western Europe. This role was not only political but also cultural, as Austria sought to position itself as a hub of European cultural exchange (see Müller, 2009: 18).

Moreover, EU membership necessitated legal and social changes that affected the lives of Austrians, particularly in terms of immigration and labor mobility. The influx of workers and migrants from other EU countries introduced new dynamics to Austrian society, challenging traditional notions of national identity and prompting debates over multiculturalism, integration, and the preservation of national traditions. The early 2000s also saw Austria engaging more actively in EU institutions and policies, which in turn influenced domestic perceptions of identity. Austrians increasingly saw themselves as part of a broader European community, even as they maintained a distinct sense of national pride. This dual identity—Austrian and European—became a defining feature of the national consciousness during this period (see Pantserev, 2019:n.p.).

The 2015 European migrant crisis was a significant event that had profound implications for national identity across Europe, including Austria. The sudden influx of refugees and migrants, primarily from the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia, prompted intense debate and polarization within Austrian society. Austria, situated along the main migration route through the Balkans, became a key transit country and destination for many migrants. The arrival of large numbers of refugees in a relatively short period sparked a national debate about immigration, integration, and the preservation of cultural identity. This debate was characterized by a sharp division between those who advocated for a humanitarian response

and those who expressed concerns about the cultural and social impacts of mass immigration (see Bauer, 2016: 68-70). The migrant crisis intensified existing tensions within Austrian society regarding national identity and integration. On one hand, there were strong expressions of solidarity, with many Austrians volunteering to help refugees and support their integration into Austrian society. This response was rooted in Austria's historical self-image as a neutral and humanitarian nation, willing to aid those in need (see Müller, 2009: 23.24).

On the other hand, the crisis also led to a surge in nationalist and anti-immigrant sentiments. Once again, political parties like the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) capitalized on fears about the cultural and economic impact of immigration, promoting a narrative that emphasized the protection of Austrian identity from perceived threats posed by large-scale immigration. This rhetoric was not just about the immediate pressures of the migrant crisis but also reflected deeper anxieties about the erosion of traditional Austrian values and identity in the face of globalization and European integration (see Müller, 2009: 22-33).

The government's response to the crisis reflected these tensions. Initially, Austria adopted an open-door policy, allowing a significant number of refugees to enter the country. However, as the political and social pressures mounted, Austria began to tighten its borders and impose stricter immigration controls, signaling a shift towards a more restrictive stance on immigration. So, this crisis contributed to the rise of populist and right-wing parties that advocated for stricter immigration policies and a more exclusive national identity. These parties framed the crisis as a threat to Austria's cultural and national integrity, using it to galvanize support among voters who felt alienated by the rapid social changes brought about by immigration (see Steinmayr, 2016: 6-8).

Modern Austrian national identity is increasingly influenced by its multicultural society. Austrian society has generally embraced certain aspects of multiculturalism, particularly in the cultural and culinary spheres. For example, the presence of Turkish, Balkan, and Middle

Eastern communities has enriched Austria's culinary scene, making foods like kebabs and falafel popular across the country. Additionally, cultural festivals and events celebrating diversity are common, particularly in Vienna (see Koc & Özkan, 2009: n.p.). However, multiculturalism in Austria is not without its challenges. There are ongoing debates about how to balance the preservation of Austrian cultural traditions with the integration of new cultural influences. The influx of immigrants, particularly since the 2015 migrant crisis, has introduced new cultural dynamics into Austrian society. While this has presented challenges, it has also enriched the cultural fabric of the nation, leading to a more inclusive and diverse understanding of what it means to be Austrian. Efforts to integrate these diverse communities into the broader Austrian society are ongoing, with varying degrees of success. Integration policies, language programs, and social initiatives are part of Austria's approach to managing its multicultural population. However, debates continue around issues of identity, belonging, and the extent to which Austria should maintain its traditional cultural norms versus embracing a more multicultural identity (see IOM, 2004: 50-51).

4.2. Historical Development of Immigrant Enclaves in Vienna

The establishment of immigrant enclaves in Vienna can be traced back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a period marked by significant migration within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During this time, Vienna attracted a large number of migrants from various parts of the empire, including Czechs, Hungarians, Jews, Poles, and others. These groups settled in specific neighbourhoods, creating ethnic enclaves that contributed to Vienna's cosmopolitan character. The diversity within these enclaves reflected the multicultural nature of the empire itself, which was a defining feature of Austrian identity at the time. Notably, areas like Leopoldstadt became home to a significant Jewish population, while districts like Margareten housed many Czech and Slovak migrants. These communities brought with them their

languages, customs, and traditions, enriching Vienna's cultural landscape and contributing to its reputation as a melting pot of cultures (see Perchinig, 2005: 6; Stadtbekannt, 2019: n.p.).

The interwar period and the rise of nationalism across Europe caused significant disruptions in these communities, as ethnic tensions and economic difficulties increased. The annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany in 1938 led to the persecution and destruction of Jewish communities in Vienna, devastating one of the city's most vibrant and culturally significant enclaves. This dark chapter in history marked a temporary but profound interruption in Vienna's multicultural fabric (see Wagnleitner et al, 2024: n.p.).

After World War II, Austria experienced another wave of immigration, particularly with the arrival of "guest workers" from Turkey, Yugoslavia, and other countries during the economic boom of the 1960s and 1970s. These workers were initially seen as temporary laborers, but many ended up settling permanently in Vienna. These enclaves were characterized by the preservation of cultural practices, languages, and religious traditions, creating a mosaic of ethnic communities within the city. The presence of these communities introduced new cultural elements into Vienna, from culinary diversity to religious practices, while also creating spaces where migrant identities could be maintained and passed on to future generations (see Graf, 2024: 2-7). In addition to cultural and religious institutions, these enclaves also saw the establishment of social networks and businesses that catered to the specific needs of these communities, further entrenching their presence in the city. However, the integration of these enclaves into the broader Austrian society has not been without challenges. Issues of social integration, economic inequality, and cultural tensions have periodically surfaced, reflecting the ongoing negotiation of identity and belonging within the city (see Herczeg, 2015: 91).

4.3. Right-Wing Movements in Austria

The roots of right-wing populism in Austria can be traced back to the post-World War II period, but it gained significant momentum in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The FPÖ, originally founded as a liberal party, underwent a transformation under the leadership of Jörg Haider in the 1980s and 1990s. Haider's leadership marked a shift towards a more nationalist and anti-immigrant platform, which resonated with segments of the Austrian population that were increasingly concerned about the impact of immigration on social cohesion and national identity (see Luther, 2003: 136-137). The party's rhetoric often focused on the preservation of Austrian culture and the perceived threats posed by multiculturalism. The FPÖ's success in the late 1990s and early 2000s was indicative of broader trends in Europe, where similar movements were gaining traction by tapping into fears about immigration and cultural displacement. The FPÖ's anti-immigrant stance has been central to its political strategy. The party has consistently framed immigration as a threat to Austria's social fabric, linking it to issues such as crime, unemployment, and the erosion of traditional values. This narrative has been particularly effective during times of economic uncertainty or social tension, when concerns about competition for jobs and resources are heightened (see Luther, 2003: 138). During 2015 crisis the FPÖ capitalized on people's sentiments by promoting stricter immigration controls and policies that favoured the protection of Austrian identity over the integration of newcomers. This stance led to the adoption of more restrictive immigration policies by the government (see Lehner, 2019: 49-54). So, these kinds of movements have challenged the narrative of Austria as a multicultural society and have instead promoted an exclusionary vision of national identity, one that is rooted in ethnic homogeneity and cultural conservatism. This shift has led to increased tensions between immigrant communities and the native Austrian population, exacerbating issues of social integration and economic inequality.

One notable example is the FPÖ's rhetoric during the 2017 general election campaign, where they used slogans such as "Die Islamisierung gehört gestoppt!" or "Vienna must not become Istanbul" to suggest that immigrants, particularly those from Muslim-majority countries, posed a threat to Austrian cultural identity and public safety. The party argued that uncontrolled immigration was leading to an increase in crime, particularly sexual assaults and other violent crimes, although these claims were often based on anecdotal evidence rather than comprehensive data (see Kurier, 2017: n.p.). Another example is the FPÖ's frequent linking of immigration to unemployment. The party has argued that immigrants are taking jobs from native Austrians and putting pressure on the welfare system. This rhetoric was particularly pronounced during times of economic uncertainty, such as during the European financial crisis, when the FPÖ claimed that immigrants were exploiting Austria's social benefits at the expense of hardworking Austrians. The party has also been vocal in its opposition to the construction of mosques and Islamic cultural centers, arguing that these institutions represent the spread of a foreign culture that is incompatible with Austrian values (see Miklin et al., 2019: n.p.).

Immigrant communities, particularly those from Muslim-majority countries, have often been the target of discriminatory policies and practices, further marginalizing these groups and hindering their integration into Austrian society. One prominent example is the ban on full-face veils (burqas and niqabs) in public spaces, which was introduced in Austria in 2017. This law, officially known as the "Anti-Face Covering Act," was framed as a measure to promote integration and security, but it has been widely criticized for specifically targeting Muslim women and reinforcing negative stereotypes about Islam (see Miklin et al., 2019: n.p.). Another example is the controversial "Islam Law" (Islamgesetz) of 2015, which, while modernizing the legal framework for Islamic religious communities in Austria, also imposed restrictive measures, such as prohibiting foreign funding of mosques and religious organizations. This law was seen by many as singling out the Muslim community for special scrutiny and control,

contributing to a sense of alienation and suspicion among Muslims in Austria (see Sejdini, 2024: 32-35). There have also been instances where Muslim children and students have faced discriminatory practices in schools. Reports have highlighted cases where Muslim students were pressured to remove headscarves or where their religious practices, such as fasting during Ramadan, were not accommodated by school authorities. Such incidents have fostered a sense of exclusion and have complicated the integration of Muslim youth into Austrian society (see Miklin et al., 2019: n.p). These policies and practices, while often justified under the guise of promoting integration, have had the effect of further marginalizing Muslim communities in Austria. They reinforce social divisions and contribute to a climate of discrimination, making it more difficult for these communities to fully participate in and contribute to Austrian society.

FPÖ has not only targeted Muslim communities but has also focused on other immigrant groups and ethnic enclaves in its political rhetoric. Following Austria's accession to the European Union and the subsequent inclusion of Eastern European countries, the FPÖ raised concerns about an influx of migrants from these countries, often associating them with organized crime, begging, and illegal employment. The FPÖ has argued that these groups also take advantage of Austria's social welfare system and contribute to social disorder. The Roma community has also been a target of the FPÖ's discourse. The party has frequently used stereotypes about the Roma, portraying them as unwilling to integrate and as a source of criminal activity. In some of its campaigns, the FPÖ has highlighted "Roma problem" and their presence in Vienna as an example of failed integration policies (see Falter, 2024: n.p.).

When it comes to the enclaves specifically, the party has often depicted these as "no-go zones" where Austrian laws and values are allegedly disregarded. This portrayal has been used to justify calls for tougher immigration laws, increased police presence, and policies aimed at reclaiming these neighbourhoods for native Austrians. They also criticised immigrants from the former Yugoslavia, particularly those who came to Austria during the Balkan wars in the

1990s. These immigrants, many of whom are Serbian, Croatian, or Bosnian, have been portrayed by the FPÖ as contributors to tensions. The party has criticized the presence of these communities, suggesting that they have not fully integrated into Austrian society and that their cultural practices are at odds with Austrian norms. This rhetoric has been used to argue against further immigration from these regions and to promote policies that prioritize the assimilation of these groups into Austrian culture (see Miklin et al., 2019: n.p).

When it comes to its popularity, over the past few decades, the FPÖ has seen fluctuating but overall growing popularity, particularly under the leadership of Jörg Haider in the late 1980s and 1990s, when the FPÖ moved away from its earlier liberal positions and embraced a more populist, right-wing agenda. This strategic repositioning resonated with a segment of the Austrian electorate that was increasingly concerned about issues related to immigration and national identity. In the 1999 general election, the FPÖ secured 26.9% of the vote, making it the second-largest party in Austria and enabling it to enter into a coalition government with the Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) (see Luther, 2003: 144-146). The FPÖ's popularity continued into the 21st century, although it faced challenges and internal divisions, particularly after Haider's departure. Despite these challenges, the party managed to regain momentum by capitalizing on public fears surrounding immigration, especially during the 2015 European migrant crisis (see Lehner, 2019: 49-54). So, in the 2017 general election, the FPÖ reached another peak of popularity, securing 26% of the vote. This result once again positioned the party as a key player in Austrian politics, leading to its inclusion in a coalition government with the ÖVP, under Chancellor Sebastian Kurz (see Luther, 2003: 144-146). The FPÖ's platform, which consistently frames immigration as a fundamental threat to Austria's social fabric and cultural heritage, has contributed to a political climate that marginalizes immigrant communities. The party's rhetoric and policies have been criticized for fostering division and exclusion, rather than promoting integration and inclusivity. As a result, the growing influence

of the FPÖ poses a significant challenge to the multicultural identity of cities like Vienna, where diverse communities try to coexist (see Liebhart, 2015: 94-98).

The FPÖ's persistent framing of immigration as a danger to Austria's traditional values and national security fosters an environment of suspicion and hostility towards immigrant communities. Such rhetoric not only influences public perception but also shapes policies that can exacerbate the social and economic marginalization of these communities. When immigrant communities are continuously portrayed as outsiders or threats, it may reinforce a sense of otherness among both the host society and the immigrant groups themselves. This sense of alienation can lead immigrant communities to withdraw into their own ethnic enclaves, where they can preserve their cultural practices and avoid the hostility or discrimination they might face in broader society. It can be suggested, that the FPÖ's influence contributes to the development of these enclaves as relatively closed societies, where integration into the wider Austrian and Viennese community becomes more challenging. The party's anti-immigrant rhetoric often leads to policies that limit the opportunities for immigrants to engage with the broader society, such as restrictions on religious and cultural expression in public spaces, or the reduction of funding for integration programs. These policies can create environments where immigrants feel unwelcome or pressured to conform to a narrowly defined national identity, which in turn strengthens the cohesiveness of ethnic enclaves as protective spaces. And the social stigma attached to being part of an immigrant community in a society where right-wing populism is influential can discourage individuals from seeking integration. When integration is perceived as synonymous with losing one's cultural identity or facing discrimination, many within these communities may choose to remain within the confines of their ethnic enclaves, where they find social support and cultural familiarity.

In recent years, many countries across Europe and beyond have seen a rise in right-wing parties and populist movements that share similar anti-immigrant and nationalist platforms.

These parties often capitalize on public concerns about immigration, national identity, and economic security, portraying themselves as defenders of traditional values against the perceived threats of globalization and multiculturalism. However, despite the dominance of right-wing parties in many regions, there remains a significant pushback against these narratives. In cities like Vienna, where multiculturalism is deeply ingrained in the social fabric, there are strong countervailing forces that continue to promote inclusivity, diversity, and integration. Many civil society organizations, NGOs and many community groups actively work to support immigrant communities and foster social cohesion, often directly challenging the exclusionary policies and rhetoric of right-wing parties (see Junos, 2024). And although right-wing parties have garnered substantial support, there remains a sizable portion of the population that values multiculturalism and advocates for more open and inclusive policies. This ongoing struggle between exclusionary and inclusive visions of society is a key feature of the current political climate in Austria. While right-wing parties like the FPÖ have influenced public discourse and policy in significant ways, the battle over national identity and multiculturalism is far from settled.

4.4. Policies

The Austrian government has also developed a series of integration policies aimed at supporting the incorporation of immigrants and refugees into Austrian society. These policies reflect the government's response to the increasing diversity and complexity of its immigrant population. One key initiative is the 2011 National Action Plan for Integration (NAP.I), which marked a significant change in Austria's approach to managing immigration. This framework focuses on essential areas like language acquisition, education, and labor market access to help immigrants integrate effectively. Despite its scope, the plan has been criticized for not sufficiently addressing deeper issues related to social inclusion and systemic discrimination,

which continue to pose challenges to successful integration (see Bundeskanzleramt Österreich., 2011). The Integration Agreement, first introduced in 2003 and updated in 2017, is another important component of Austria's integration strategy. This agreement requires non-EU immigrants to learn German and gain knowledge of Austrian society and its legal system. In 2017, Austria also introduced the Compulsory Integration Year, which targets asylum seekers and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection. This policy requires participants to take part in language courses, job training, and community service as part of their integration process. The program is designed to improve the employability of immigrants and encourage their active participation in Austrian society (see Integration Agreement, 2017). In Vienna, the "StartWien" program offers newly arrived immigrants an introduction to life in the city. This program, launched in collaboration with the city of Vienna, provides a package of services including German language courses and information sessions about the legal system (see StartWien, 2024). The "Mentoring for Migrants" program is another example of Austria's efforts. This initiative pairs immigrants with local mentors who assist them in navigating the job market, understanding workplace culture, and building professional networks. For instance, a Syrian refugee who took part in the program credited his mentor with helping him find his first job in Austria, which he described as a crucial step in his integration journey (see WKO, 2023). But despite these positive examples, challenges remain. Many immigrants, particularly those from marginalized communities, continue to face discrimination. For example, Muslim women who wear headscarves often encounter bias in the job market, where they are passed over for positions despite having the necessary qualifications. This highlights the limitations of integration policies when societal attitudes and prejudices are still deeply rooted. The Austrian government has also launched initiatives like "DialogForum," a platform for dialogue between immigrants and native Austrians aimed at fostering mutual understanding and reducing social tensions. These forums provide a space for open discussion about the challenges and

opportunities of living in a multicultural society. Participants have shared personal stories about their integration experiences, with some noting that these discussions helped them feel more connected to their new community (see Dialogforum, 2024).

4.5. Relationship

When immigrants and refugees arrive in a new country, their ability to integrate successfully into the broader society often depends not only on official policies but also on the social acceptance and attitudes of the host population. This unfriendliness can manifest in various forms, including discrimination in the workplace, bias in housing markets, and unequal treatment in public services, such as healthcare. Such experiences can lead immigrant communities to feel marginalized and alienated, prompting them to seek out familiar cultural environments where they can find support and a sense of belonging. (see Berry, 2001: 619-627). The more pronounced the unfriendliness or discrimination faced by immigrants, the stronger the pull towards these enclaves can become, as they offer a refuge from the hostility of the wider environment. When immigrant communities cluster together, they may have fewer opportunities to interact with natives, learn the language, and integrate culturally and socially. This separation can lead to a cycle where the lack of integration is both a cause and a consequence of the unfriendliness and exclusion experienced by immigrants (see Alba & Nee, 2003: 13-15). For instance, if immigrants primarily interact within their own communities, their exposure to Austrian culture, language, and social norms may be limited, which can perpetuate the perception among native Austrians that these groups are unwilling or unable to integrate. This perception can, in turn, reinforce negative attitudes and unfriendliness towards immigrants, making it even more difficult for them to integrate into the broader society. And while official policies can set the framework for integration, the attitudes and behaviors of the host population play a crucial role in determining the success of these efforts. When immigrants

feel unwelcome, they are more likely to retreat into enclaves, which can hinder social cohesion and perpetuate divisions within the city (see Song & Szurop, 2024: n.p.).

4.6. Status

Immigrants are often categorized based on perceived economic value, cultural compatibility, and legal status, which influences how they are treated by the host population. For instance, refugees and asylum seekers, who are often perceived as vulnerable and dependent, may face more discrimination and hostility compared to highly skilled migrants who are seen as contributing positively to the economy. Consterdine (2023) explains that this differential treatment is rooted in economic anxieties and cultural fears, where immigrants who are perceived as a drain on resources or as culturally incompatible are more likely to be viewed negatively. And legal status plays a significant role in shaping attitudes as well. Unauthorized immigrants or those with temporary status are often viewed with suspicion and hostility, as their precarious legal situation is associated with illegitimacy and transience. This is contrasted with immigrants who have secured legal residency or citizenship, who are generally perceived more favorably (see Consterdine, 2024: 3837-3840). Research by Federico and Baglioni (2021) suggests that public attitudes often contribute to a migrant hierarchy, where different groups of immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are perceived and treated differently based on factors such as their origin, legal status, and perceived economic contribution. This hierarchy can influence both the opportunities available to these groups and the barriers they face (see Federico & Baglioni, 2021: 3).

4.7. Changes

Academic research suggests that educational initiatives are vital in fostering understanding and reducing prejudice. Incorporating multicultural education into school curricula can expose students to diverse perspectives, promoting social cohesion and reducing stereotypes. Banks

(2008) highlights how such education can lead to greater tolerance by helping students appreciate the complexities of different cultures and histories (see Banks, 2008: 16-17). Public awareness campaigns that showcase the positive contributions of immigrants play a significant role in shifting public perceptions. These campaigns are effective because they humanize immigrants, challenging negative stereotypes and offering a more balanced narrative. Other studies have demonstrated that exposure to positive media representations can significantly influence attitudes and reduce bias (see Joyce & Harwood, 2014). Leadership from political and community figures is essential in shaping public attitudes as well. Leaders who advocate for inclusion and emphasize the benefits of diversity can have a significant impact on public opinion. When leaders promote messages of unity and inclusivity, it can lead to more favorable public attitudes towards immigrants (see Almqvist & Sandberg, 2023:61-64). During the COVID-19 pandemic, Austria, like many other countries, heavily relied on foreign-born healthcare workers to manage the crisis. The significant role played by these professionals, particularly in critical areas such as intensive care units and general patient care, brought about a shift in public perception towards immigrant healthcare workers. Research indicates that the pandemic highlighted the indispensable contributions of foreign-born doctors and nurses, which in turn led to a more favorable perception of immigrants in the healthcare sector. According to a study by De Lange et al. (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic provided a unique context where the public could directly observe the critical contributions of foreign workers, leading to a temporary reduction in negative stereotypes and an increased appreciation for their skills and dedication. The crisis emphasized the need for a diverse and well-staffed healthcare system, and public sentiment towards these workers improved as people began to realize the extent to which they were reliant on immigrant labor to maintain essential services. Furthermore, media coverage during the pandemic often highlighted the stories of immigrant healthcare workers, showcasing their personal sacrifices and professional contributions. This

increased visibility and the narrative of these workers as "heroes" during the pandemic contributed to a temporary but notable shift in public opinion, with many Austrians expressing greater appreciation for the multicultural composition of their healthcare system (see Pan American Health Organization, 2022).

So, building on these insights, Social Capital Theory offers a compelling framework for understanding how these dynamics play out in society. Social capital, which refers to the networks, norms, and trust that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives, is essential for the integration of immigrants and the reduction of prejudice. When immigrants arrive in a new country, their ability to integrate and succeed often hinges not just on official policies but also on the social capital they can access. The formation of ethnic enclaves, as discussed, can be seen as a response to limited bridging social capital—those connections that link people across different social groups. These enclaves provide bonding social capital, offering tight-knit support within the community, but they may also limit broader societal integration due to fewer interactions with the host population (see Putnam, 2000: 23-26). The success of integration efforts, therefore, depends significantly on the extent to which bridging social capital can be fostered between immigrants and the host population. Positive interpersonal contact, as outlined in Allport's Contact Hypothesis, is crucial for building this form of social capital. When individuals from different backgrounds engage in meaningful interactions, such as in diverse workplaces or through community initiatives, it not only reduces prejudice but also builds trust and mutual respect. This process enhances the social fabric of society by connecting different groups and enabling more inclusive attitudes (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006:756-758). Economic initiatives that encourage immigrant participation in the workforce or support immigrant entrepreneurship also contribute to building social capital. When immigrants are seen as contributing economically, it changes public perception and fosters a more positive and inclusive attitude towards them. This shift

not only benefits the immigrants but also strengthens the community by creating new networks of trust and cooperation across different social groups (see Kloosterman & Rath, 2001:129-131).

5. Methodology

Explaining the methodology in detail is crucial for several reasons, all of which contribute to the transparency and credibility of the study. By clearly outlining the research design, sampling methods, and data collection and analysis techniques, the methodology will allow to evaluate the validity and reliability of the research. This transparency will ensure that the study's findings are seen as trustworthy and based on a solid research process. And a well-explained methodology will strengthen the credibility of the research by demonstrating that each step was conducted systematically and thoughtfully, including acknowledging and addressing potential biases, limitations, and challenges, and describing the measures taken to address them (see Sharples et al., 2015:131-132).

5.1. Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research is focused on understanding the meaning and experiences of individuals, exploring how people interpret and make sense of the world around them. It is distinct from quantitative research in that it primarily uses words and pictures rather than numbers, avoiding statistical analysis. The approach tends to investigate a few cases in great depth, emphasizing individual experiences rather than making broad generalizations. A key characteristic of qualitative research is its flexible sampling strategy, which evolves during the study, driven by inductive logic as theoretical concepts and ideas emerge. The data collection and analysis processes are iterative, meaning that the research design is not fixed in advance but adapts as the study progresses. Researchers aim to understand phenomena within their natural settings, described from the participants' perspectives, which allows for a rich contextual understanding.

The influence of the researcher can also be acknowledged and reflected upon, recognizing that objectivity might distance the researcher from the participants, thus valuing the subjective involvement of the researcher (see Sharples et al., 2015:119-120).

Qualitative research employs a variety of techniques to explore the complexity of social phenomena, capturing the depth and nuance of human experiences. According to Creswell and Poth (2018), some of the most commonly used qualitative methods include interviews, focus groups, participant observation, case studies, and ethnography. Interviews are a central method in qualitative research. They can be structured, semi-structured, or unstructured, with each type offering different levels of flexibility in how questions are asked and how conversations evolve (see Creswell & Poth, 2018: 164). Focus groups involve guided discussions with a small group of participants to explore their attitudes and beliefs about a particular topic. The group dynamics often elicit rich data through interaction and shared experiences, which can reveal collective perspectives and social norms that might not emerge in individual interviews (see Creswell & Poth, 2018: 165). Participant observation is a technique where the researcher immerses themselves in the natural environment of the participants to observe behaviors, interactions, and social dynamics firsthand. This method allows researchers to understand the context in which the participants' experiences occur, providing insights that are grounded in real-life settings (see Creswell & Poth, 2018: 166). Case studies offer an in-depth examination of a single case or a small number of cases within their real-life context. This approach is particularly useful for studying complex phenomena in detail, allowing researchers to explore the intricacies of specific instances (see Creswell & Poth, 2018: 167). Ethnography is a method rooted in anthropology, involving the detailed study of people and cultures through extended observation and participation. Ethnographers seek to understand the cultural practices and social norms of a group by immersing themselves in the daily lives of the participants, often over long periods (see Creswell & Poth, 2018: 168).

The qualitative approach was chosen for this study because it is well-suited to uncovering the real experiences and insights of individuals within these communities. While interviews are great for getting personal perspectives, they do not capture the collective experiences that emerge when people interact with each other. That is why focus groups were considered a better fit for analyzing the social dynamics within enclaves. Although participant observation could have added valuable context, on its own, it would not provide a complete picture for this research. However, during focus groups, there is still an opportunity to observe how people engage with one another, adding another layer to the analysis. Case studies, while useful for deep dives into specific situations, seemed too narrow given the broader scope of this study. Ethnography, which involves fully immersing oneself in a group's culture, could be a powerful next step in future research (see Creswell & Poth, 2018). But starting with focus groups makes sense as it offers a strong foundation for understanding group dynamics before potentially moving on to more immersive methods like ethnography.

5.2. Focus Groups

To understand the perspectives of both groups from within, the most fitting method as explained above would be focus groups or focus group interviews. These method offers an opportunity for participants to interact in group settings and discuss the topic at hand. As noted by Aurini et al. (2016), this qualitative approach helps discover different viewpoints and understand how participants influence each other. It also allows for the gathering of in-depth information from many people in a short time. Since the researcher aims to explore the depth and nuances of participants' responses through open-ended questions and discussions, focus groups are considered a qualitative method. Among its benefits, participants can address each other directly and respond to questions posed by fellow participants. However, challenges such

as potential arguments or the risk of discussion polarization may arise (see Aurini et al., 2016: 8-9).

Focus groups dig deeper into social issues, rather than collecting a statistically representative sample of a larger population. Jenny Kitzinger's work on the methodology of focus groups emphasizes the importance of interaction between research participants as a key element of qualitative research. She notes that group discussions have been popular since the 1970s and 80s, especially within niches like communication research, health education, and media reception studies. However, Kitzinger critiqued the fact that, despite their widespread use, focus groups have not been systematically developed as a research technique within social sciences at that time and many studies that employed focus groups failed to fully utilize the potential of participant interactions, often treating the method as a convenient way to gather multiple opinions rather than as a way to explore the dynamics of group conversation. She also pointed out, that while focus groups can sometimes approximate participant observation, they are still artificially created situations. Therefore, rather than assuming that the data from focus groups naturally reflects everyday interactions, researchers should use these sessions to actively engage participants, helping them articulate and explore their thoughts in ways that might not happen outside the research setting (see Kitzinger, 1994:116-117).

5.3. Sampling

Sampling in focus groups is a critical aspect that shapes the quality and relevance of the data. Unlike quantitative research, where the aim is often to achieve a statistically representative sample, focus groups prioritize purposive sampling to gather rich, contextually relevant information. According to Krueger and Casey (2015), the selection of participants for focus groups should be guided by the purpose of the study and the characteristics of the target population. The authors emphasize that homogeneity within groups can be beneficial as it

encourages participants to share more openly and interact more freely with one another. However, this does not mean that the sample should be uniform. Participants should be similar in ways that are relevant to the discussion but diverse enough to provide a range of perspectives on the topic at hand (see Krueger & Casey, 2015: 21). They suggest that groups typically consist of 5 to 10 participants, as this size is small enough to allow everyone to contribute but large enough to generate a variety of opinions. In focus group sampling, it is also important to consider the use of multiple groups to capture the diversity of opinions within the target population. Krueger and Casey note that conducting several focus groups with different subsets of the population helps to ensure that the findings are not overly influenced by the dynamics of a single group (see Krueger & Casey, 2015: 25-27). Since the group size can be determined based on various factors, such as the emotional intensity of the topic, ensuring each participant has time to speak, and managing potential heated discussions, among others, following these considerations, two focus groups were chosen for this research: locals and immigrant enclaves. The locals group comprises individuals living in Vienna who are not associated with or residing in immigrant enclaves. This group aims to explore the attitudes of Viennese residents towards migrants and their way of life. Specifically, it targets Austrians by birth and upbringing, rather than individuals who acquired Austrian citizenship later in life and now live in Vienna. The second group consists of individuals residing in immigrant enclaves within Vienna. This will open up the perspectives of those living within these enclaves. Each focus group will consist of six participants, totaling twelve individuals.

People will be contacted to participate in the research, and they will be provided with an explanation of the research purpose, data handling procedures, and data storage methods. If they agree to participate, the meeting place and time will be communicated to them. They will then sign a consent form (see Appendix 1) indicating their agreement to participate and their understanding of the privacy policies. The meeting will take place in a coffee shop, and

participants will be offered coffee as a token of appreciation for their time and effort. Since the group of local participants was available to me, they were approached directly and asked to participate. To reach the people in enclaves was more difficult and the only successful way that worked, was through contacting one of the girls living in the enclave which has a blog in social media, which then helped to gather other people for the focus group. The demographic characteristics of the participants, such as age, gender, socioeconomic status etc. will be discussed in the analytical part below.

5.4. Data collection

Two sets of questions were prepared for the two groups, with the primary difference being the focus—one set targets the enclave's perspectives, and the other addresses local perspectives. The questions are predominantly open-ended, deliberately avoiding those that could be answered with a simple yes or no. The intent was not to conduct a structured interview, but rather to create a logical sequence of questions that could guide the conversation while allowing for flexibility to deviate and then return to the main points as needed. Each question was carefully connected to the overarching research question. For example, with the research question being: "How do local attitudes towards immigrants influence the social cohesion and integration processes of people living in the immigrant enclave communities?" the formulated questions included, "What factors contribute to the level of acceptance migrants experience in Viennese society?" and "How does the concentration of migrants in immigrant enclaves affect social cohesion in Vienna?" (see Appendix 2 & 3). The interview questions were initially drafted in English and subsequently translated into German. Given that interviews and discussions will likely be conducted in German, this will guarantee that all participants can fully comprehend and engage with the materials provided. Additionally, the consent form was prepared in German, as it is the primary language of the country. In focus group research, obtaining informed consent from participants is a crucial ethical requirement that ensures

transparency and protects the rights of participants. According to Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey (2020), the consent form should include key information such as the purpose of the study, the voluntary nature of participation, any potential risks or benefits, confidentiality measures, and the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. They emphasize that participants should be informed about who will have access to the data, how long it will be stored, and the ways in which the findings will be reported, ensuring that their identities remain anonymous if promised (see Hennink et al., 2020: 80-83). For this research, these steps were carefully followed, and the university's guidelines were used as a foundational template. This template was then adapted to suit the specific needs and context of the study (see Appendix 1).

So, in these focus group interviews, I will take on the roles of both the moderator/interviewer and the Note Taker. The moderator is responsible for introducing the research, considering ethical tasks, and facilitating discussions. According to Morgan (1997), the moderator not only guides the conversation but also probes for deeper questions, encourages participation from all members, and manages group dynamics to prevent dominant voices from overshadowing quieter participants. The physical setting of the focus group is another important consideration in data collection. Morgan emphasizes that the environment should be comfortable and free from distractions, allowing participants to engage fully in the discussion (Morgan, 1997: 42-44). So, I will begin with introductory remarks and questions, and also conclude the interview. It is advisable for the moderator to intervene as little as possible, and if the group veers off topic, they must guide them back. With consent, discussions will be audio-recorded. Simultaneously, the Note Taker (myself) will record key issues discussed, ensuring that if the recording fails, discussions can be reconstructed. Additionally, non-verbal information and body language will be noted (see Aurini et al., 2016:117; 163-167). Finally, the audio recordings will be transcribed for further analysis.

5.5. Data Analysis

The data analysis for this study will be conducted using a thematic analysis approach, focusing on systematically identifying and analyzing patterns within the collected data. The process begins with the transcription of focus group discussions, which will be carefully reviewed and coded using Microsoft Word. The combination of focus groups and thematic analysis offers several benefits. Focus groups provide rich data that reflects group dynamics, shared and divergent perspectives, and the social construction of ideas. Thematic analysis helps to distill this data into coherent themes that capture the essence of the discussions (see Krueger & Casey, 2014: 56).

The process of data analysis begins with the transcription of the focus group discussions. These transcripts serve as the foundational data, which will be meticulously reviewed and coded using Microsoft Word. The coding process involves assigning shorthand labels, or codes, to segments of text that are relevant to the research questions or emerging themes. This step is crucial for organizing the data in a way that facilitates deeper analysis. As Braun and Clarke note, coding is not a one-time task but an iterative process where codes may be refined, expanded, or added as the researcher becomes more familiar with the data (see Braun & Clarke, 2006: 94).

When coding in thematic analysis, there are two main approaches: bottom-up (inductive) and top-down (deductive). For this research, a bottom-up approach was more fitting. The reason for this is that the goal was for the data to guide the analysis, allowing themes to emerge naturally rather than imposing pre-existing categories or frameworks onto it. This inductive process is particularly useful in exploratory research, where the goal is to uncover insights that are directly rooted in the participants' own words and experiences. To start, transcripts will be read line by line, identifying significant phrases, concepts, or ideas that stand out. The initial codes developed will be broad and descriptive, aiming to capture the essence of the discussions

without filtering them through any preconceived notions. As the analysis will progress, these codes will be continuously reviewed and refined. Similar codes may be combined into broader categories or broken down into more specific sub-codes (see Braun & Clarke, 2006: 94).

Once the initial coding is complete, the next step is to group these labeled segments into broader categories that reflect overarching themes or concepts. These categories are not just a simple aggregation of codes but are analytically developed to capture the nuances of the data. By organizing the data into these thematic categories, the analysis can explore how different codes relate to one another and how they contribute to the research question. This structured approach allows for the identification of patterns within the data that might not be immediately apparent (see Braun & Clarke, 2006: 80-81). The thematic analysis will then progress to the interpretation phase, where the focus shifts from merely identifying themes to understanding the underlying meanings and implications of these themes. This involves a move beyond simple description, aiming to capture the essence of the data in a way that shows participants' perspectives and experiences. The final analysis will be presented in a narrative form that answers the research question (see Krueger & Casey, 2014: 63). In addition to the thematic analysis, a comparative analysis will be conducted to explore similarities and differences in perspectives among different participant groups to identify both common themes and unique viewpoints that emerge from the data (see Creswell & Poth, 2018: 155).

5.6. Ethical considerations

When it comes to any research it is very important to be aware of the ethics and have ethical considerations before jumping into the field. Other than privacy and consent, it must be clearly explained to the participants, what the purpose of the study is. If it is not clear, some people might even get scared and not participate in it. It will be also important to guarantee them anonymity, because lot of people do not want to say the truth because it might have

consequences for them, but with guaranteed anonymity there is a chance, that they might say everything they want to. Resnik (2015), also explains that adhering to ethical standards is also essential for upholding societal values and maintaining public trust in science. Honesty, for example, entails a prohibition against falsifying, fabricating, or misrepresenting data or results. If something goes wrong, it is important to address it, distinguishing between error, bias, and disagreement is important, as honest mistakes differ from intentional deception. But overall, openness is paramount in promoting objectivity (See Resnik, 2015: 92).

Since this paper will be looking for the connection between two different groups of people, it will be very important to be culture-sensitive. The research must be done in a way, that none of the groups feel that the research is bias in any direction. Avoiding harm to participants is another foundational principle of ethical research. This means that researchers must consider the potential physical, psychological, social, and legal risks that participation in the study might pose. Researchers must also be mindful of how their findings might be interpreted or used, particularly in ways that could harm the communities they study. This requires a careful balance between the pursuit of knowledge and the responsibility to avoid contributing to harm or injustice. According to Mertens (2014), ethical research should aim to benefit society while minimizing harm, and researchers should be proactive in considering the broader implications of their work (see Mertens, 2014: 85).

The role of the researcher in qualitative research is inherently subjective, and this subjectivity must be managed carefully to avoid bias and ensure the credibility of the research. This involves being transparent about one's positionality, including how one's identity, values, and experiences influence the research. According to Pillow (2003), reflexivity is not just about acknowledging biases but also about actively engaging with them to enhance the depth and authenticity of the research findings (see Pillow, 2003: 179). So, by reflecting on their role,

researchers can better understand the dynamics of their interactions with participants and how these dynamics may impact the data collection and analysis process (see Berger, 2015: 220).

6. Interview Analysis: Enclaves

Since I could not reach my target audience in person due to their closed societal structure, I turned to social media for help. This challenge initially seemed insurmountable, as I had no direct connections within these communities. However, through persistence, I eventually discovered a valuable resource—a woman on Instagram who runs a private blog focused on the experiences of women living in Vienna. Recognizing the potential of her platform, I reached out with a detailed message explaining my research and asking if she would be interested in participating and sharing my offer with her community. This approach was crucial, as it allowed me to bypass the barriers of direct contact, reaching individuals through a trusted intermediary.

After a few days of anticipation, she responded positively, indicating that she had found several women who were willing to participate. We arranged to meet at a local coffee shop, providing a neutral and comfortable environment for the interviews. Given the sensitive nature of the topics, the choice of location was critical in ensuring participants felt at ease.

Understanding the importance of diverse perspectives, I also inquired if she knew any men who might be interested in participating. However, she mentioned that the men in these communities were unlikely to take the interviews seriously and would be reluctant to sit in a café with women to discuss their lifestyle. This insight was telling, reflecting the gender dynamics within these enclaves and influencing the composition of my study participants.

Consequently, the respondents were individuals living in migrant enclaves in Vienna, consisting of six participants labeled P1, P2, P3, P4, P5, and P6 (their names were changed for anonymity purposes). This group provided a rich diversity of perspectives within their common cultural context.

During the interviews, I learned that all participants were female and married, with ages ranging from as young as 18 to 45 years old. Most of them had at least one child, with some managing several children. Interestingly, among the six women interviewed, four were related in some way, underscoring the close-knit nature of these communities. Their personal situations varied significantly: two were working, two were studying, one had just had a baby and was taking care of it, and another was trying to start her own business. Additionally, two of the women had moved to Austria from their countries of origin, while the other four were born in Vienna. This dynamic of the group showed a broad spectrum of experiences, from those navigating a new cultural landscape to those balancing dual identities from birth.

The discussion was conducted in Russian and later translated into German (see Appendix 4). Language choice was an important consideration; while the younger participants spoke perfect German, the older women did not, and it was easier for everyone to converse in Russian. This language dynamic highlighted generational differences in adaptation and integration, with younger participants being more linguistically integrated into Austrian society, but respecting elders so much that they preferred to speak the language that elders understand better.

Their ages were distributed as follows: three were between 18 and 24 years old, one was between 25 and 30 years old, and two were between 31 and 45 years old. There were no participants aged 45 or older. We decided to proceed in rounds to ensure that each participant could answer every question, allowing me sufficient time to take notes as well.

	Participant ID	Age Range	Marital Status	Children	Occupation	Relation to Others	Place of Birth	Language Used in Interview
0	P1	18-24	Married	Yes	Working	Related	Born in Vienna	Russian
1	P2	18-24	Married	Yes	Studying	Related	Born in Vienna	Russian
2	P3	18-24	Married	Yes	Just had a baby	Related	Born in Vienna	Russian
3	P4	25-30	Married	Yes	Studying	Related	Born in Vienna	Russian
4	P5	31-45	Married	Yes	Working	Not related	Moved to Austria	Russian
5	P6	31-45	Married	Yes	Starting a business	Not related	Moved to Austria	Russian

Summary of the group 1

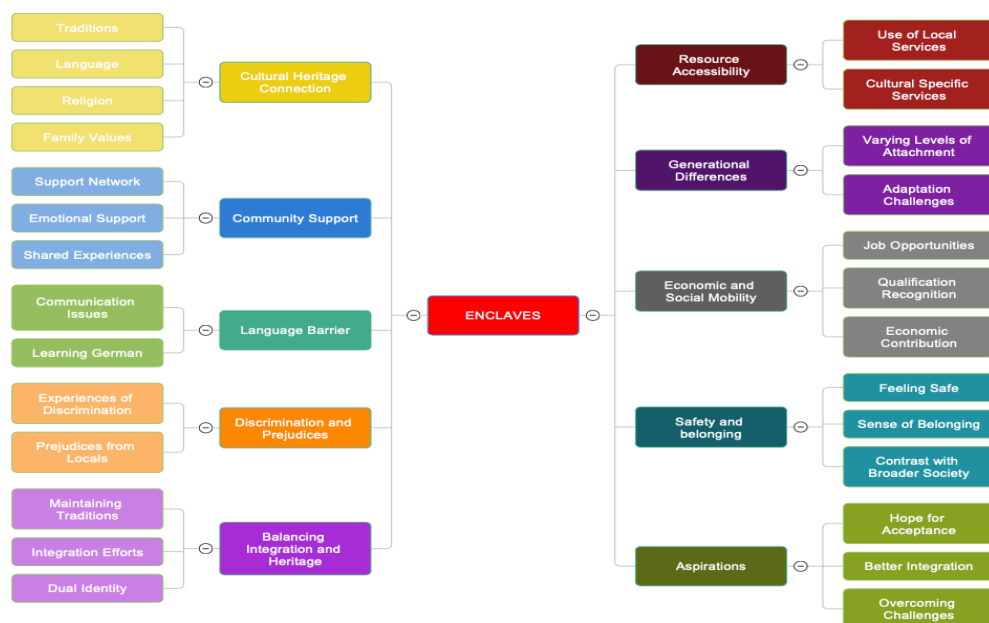
During the coding of the transcript, several key labels emerged (see Appendix 4 & 5). The first major theme was "Cultural Heritage Connection" which included traditions (mentioned by P1),

language (by P1 and P4), religion (by P1 and P6), and values (by P1 and P4). All participants felt deeply connected to their cultural heritage and pointed out its importance in their lives. For instance, P4 mentioned the significance of speaking their native language at home to ensure their children remain connected to their roots. When it comes to the resource accessibility, while participants are generally satisfied with the services and resources within their enclaves, they recognize the importance of occasionally using services outside their community to ensure better integration and access to broader opportunities. Another significant theme was "Community Support" which encompassed labels such as Support Network (P1, P6), Emotional Support (P1, P2, P5), and Shared Experiences (P1, P2). This support was described as one of the most crucial aspects of their lives. P1 highlighted how the community acts as a family, always ready to help each other in times of need. P2 shared a touching story about receiving emotional support from the community when feeling isolated. Leaving the community is seen as challenging and impractical. The "Language Barrier" was another important topic. Immigrants in enclaves expressed frustration over communication issues and difficulties accessing services (P1 and P3). P1 recounted an incident where they struggled to communicate their needs at a local service provider, feeling helpless. P2 and P3 discussed the challenges of learning German. Language barriers are a primary challenge, hindering access to jobs, education, and services. Discrimination against their culture and religion, particularly affecting children in schools, and the non-recognition of their qualifications in Austria are critical issues. Participants (P1, P2, P5, P6) also spoke about negative perceptions and biases from locals and their experiences with discrimination and stereotypes (P1, P5, P6). Negative events, such as terrorist attacks and subsequent stigmatization, have led to setbacks in integration efforts. For example, P6 described the hurtful stereotypes they encounter daily. Experiences of prejudice and discrimination upon arrival led many to seek safety and acceptance within their communities. Integration is viewed as a reciprocal process that requires

effort from both immigrants and locals. The most significant challenge for participants was "Balancing Integration and Heritage". They strive to keep cultural traditions alive (P3, P4), make attempts to integrate into local society (P3, P5), and face difficulties balancing dual identities (P2, P3, P6). P3 mentioned the inner conflict of wanting to fit in while also preserving their cultural identity. P4 spoke about the challenges of raising children who can balance both their cultural heritage and the local culture. Utilizing services within and outside the enclave (P1, P3, P4) and the importance of cultural-specific services (P1, P6) were also discussed. P1 appreciated having access to services that understood their cultural needs, such as specific medical practices and grocery stores. P4 pointed out the benefits of using both enclave and broader community services to achieve a balanced lifestyle. Women also noted generational differences among immigrants, such as differences in adaptation between older and younger generations (P4, P6) and different levels of cultural attachment (P4). P6 highlighted the struggle of bridging the gap between respecting elders' traditions and embracing new cultural norms. "Economic and Social Mobility" was another crucial topic. Immigrants face limited economic opportunities due to systemic barriers (P2, P6), challenges in recognizing qualifications (P3), and a desire to contribute economically while maintaining cultural identity (P6). P6 mentioned desire to succeed economically without compromising cultural values. Safety and belonging were also significant concerns, with the enclave providing a safe and secure environment (P1, P6) and a sense of belonging (P1, P2). P1 described the enclave as a haven where they feel understood and accepted, unlike in the broader Viennese society where they often feel marginalized (P5). Participants feel understood and accepted within their community, unlike their experiences outside where prejudices and misunderstandings are common. The enclave provides a safe space to practice their culture and shield against discrimination. P2 expressed gratitude for the supportive community, which offers a sense of safety and emotional security. They also wished for greater acceptance by locals in the future (P1, P2, P6), better integration

for future generations (P3, P4), and a desire to overcome current integration challenges (P2, P5). P1 and P6 hoped for a future where their children would face fewer barriers and stereotypes. They also pointed out, that respect for cultural practices are essential for true integration and that true integration requires full societal acceptance of cultural practices and identities, beyond superficial tolerance.

Towards the end of the discussion, it became clear that the participants, who were very active at the beginning, were becoming increasingly tired. The answers began to be repeated. This was a signal to me that it was time to bring the discussion to an end. Although there were opportunities to delve deeper into personal life stories and diverse experiences, this would have strayed from the main focus of the research. Therefore, I made sure that the discussion always remained focused on the central topic of the research. These labels reflect the diverse experiences shared by the participants in the focus group, showing the challenges and the support systems within the immigrant enclave:



Despite the overall success of this focus group interview, one significant limitation was the inability to reach male participants. The reluctance of men to participate, as noted by the intermediary contact, may reflect broader societal norms and expectations regarding gender

roles and interactions within these enclaves. It suggests a possible gender divide, where men may feel less comfortable engaging in open discussions, particularly in mixed-gender settings or about personal and lifestyle topics. So, exclusion of male voices from this study suggests that there may be underlying cultural or social barriers that prevent men from participating in such research, and this needs to be addressed in future studies.

For example, the theme of "Community Support" exemplifies bonding social capital within the enclave. Participants P1, P6, and others emphasized how the community acts as a support system, akin to family, providing emotional and practical aid. This aligns with Social Capital Theory, which highlights how strong internal networks within an enclave help immigrants adapt to new environments by offering resources like employment opportunities, emotional support, and shared cultural practices. For instance, P1's reliance on the community for emotional support when feeling isolated shows how the enclave serves as a buffer against external challenges such as discrimination and societal prejudice. This bonding social capital strengthens group cohesion but also limits opportunities for bridging social capital, which is essential for broader integration into Austrian society. But Social Capital Theory would argue that without developing bridging social capital—connections outside the enclave—these individuals remain limited in accessing broader societal resources and opportunities, such as jobs or education, outside their immediate community. The Contact Hypothesis has also become relevant when considering the participants' challenges with prejudice and discrimination from the local population. Experiences shared by P5, P6, and others reflect negative intergroup interactions, where stereotypes and stigmatization persist, especially following major events like terrorist attacks. According to Allport's theory, structured opportunities for positive contact under conditions like equal status and shared goals could help reduce this prejudice. For instance, P1 and P6 expressed a desire for greater acceptance and reduced barriers for their children, which suggests a longing for the types of bridging social

capital that would foster greater social integration. The "Balancing Integration and Heritage" theme further exemplifies the importance of intergroup contact. Participants, particularly P3 and P4, struggled to maintain their cultural identity while integrating into Austrian society. This reflects the tension between preserving strong bonding social capital within the enclave and building bridging social capital with the local population.

So, by applying Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis together, it becomes clear that the enclave's internal networks provide significant support but also contribute to social isolation, particularly in relation to language barriers and economic mobility. The participants' experiences with discrimination highlight the need for increased positive contact with locals to foster understanding and reduce prejudice, as emphasized by the Contact Hypothesis.

7. Interview Analysis: Locals

In a focus group discussion, I interviewed six Austrians, referred to for research purposes as H1, H2, H3, H4, H5, and H6. This took place at my workplace in Vienna, where nearly everyone, except for a few, are Austrians. Many of the participants cannot speak English as a second language and can only communicate in German, primarily using dialect rather than standard German. I sent an internal message asking if anyone would like to participate in this research, and I managed to gather six people for the discussion during a break in the office meeting room. The group consisted of people of various ages and genders, including one person over 75 years old. This diversity was beneficial as it allowed for comparisons from the past. The older participants were married with children, while the younger ones, under 30, were unmarried and childless. All participants were employed. The group comprised two women and four men, aged as follows: one between 18-24, two between 25-30, one between 31-45, and two over 45. The discussion was conducted in German. As with the first focus group, we decided to proceed in rounds to ensure everyone could answer each question. This also gave

me time to take some notes. The discussion was conducted in German and later transcribed into German (see Appendix 5).

Participant ID	Age Range	Marital Status	Children	Occupation	Relation to Others	Place of Birth	Language Used in Interview
H1	31-45	Unmarried	No	Employed	Colleague	Austria	German
H2	25-30	Unmarried	No	Employed	Colleague	Austria	German
H3	25-30	Unmarried	No	Employed	Colleague	Austria	German
H4	45+	Married	Yes	Employed	Colleague	Austria	German
H5	18-24	Unmarried	No	Employed	Colleague	Austria	German
H6	75+	Married	Yes	Employed	Colleague	Austria	German

Summary of the group 2

All participants identified as ethnically Austrian, which influenced their perspectives on integration and cultural identity. Their cultural background shaped their views on what it means to be "integrated" into Austrian society and the expectations placed on immigrants to adopt Austrian customs and language. They have also lived in Vienna for the majority of their lives, with some residing in specific neighborhoods known for having high concentrations of immigrant populations. This long-term residence in Vienna provided them with a personal perspective of the city's evolving demographics and social dynamics. The participants were all employed, reflecting a middle-class socioeconomic status. This status has also likely influenced their views on every issue: such as housing, job competition, immigration etc., all of which were discussed in relation to the presence of immigrant communities in Vienna.

The discussion began with focus on importance of language for integration. Participants discussed the challenges faced in areas with high concentrations of immigrant populations, including safety concerns and feelings of exclusion. Participants were critical of how stereotypes contribute to tensions and discrimination. But there was consensus that both sides need to make changes to avoid further division. The discussion also highlighted different perspectives on choosing neighborhoods based on ethnic composition. Demographic changes in neighborhoods with strong immigrant enclaves were seen as affecting the housing market and social dynamics. Concerns about the threat to Austrian cultural identity due to the presence

of immigrant enclaves were a recurring theme during the whole conversation. We also discussed the political impact of immigration and public opinion was also discussed and how interactions between locals and immigrants can help reduce prejudices and increase acceptance.

During the coding of the transcript, several key labels emerged. The first major theme was “Integration and Acceptance”. This included language proficiency (mentioned by H2 and H4), cultural adaptation (by H1, H3, H4, and H5), respect and gratitude (by H4), and personal contact (by H6). Participants pointed out that integration into Austrian society involves a strong command of the German language. Cultural adaptation, as mentioned by H1, H3, H4, and H5, is also crucial, encompassing the adoption of local customs and behaviors. Additionally, H4 stressed the importance of showing respect and gratitude towards Austria for the support it provides to immigrants. Challenges and difficulties were another significant theme. Participants discussed the feeling of exclusion, with H1 and H4 expressing that they sometimes feel like outsiders in their own country. Safety concerns were highlighted by H6, who mentioned feeling unsafe in certain neighborhoods, especially at night. Surprisingly, unequal treatment of different immigrant groups, particularly the perceived preferential treatment of Ukrainians, was a concern for H5. Emotional discomfort resulting from demographic changes and the increasing presence of immigrants was mentioned by H4, H5, and H6. Cultural contribution and enrichment emerged as a notable theme. H4 pointed out the economic contributions of immigrants, particularly in sectors with labor shortages. The opportunity to learn from other cultures was seen as a positive aspect by H2. Stereotypes and misconceptions were also mentioned. Participants talked about how stereotypes and misconceptions are reinforced by media and public perceptions, with H5 and H6 emphasizing the negative impact this has on integration. Cultural misunderstandings, mentioned by H3 and H4, contribute to these stereotypes. H3 raised concerns about the future integration of immigrant youth,

highlighting the potential long-term impact on their employment prospects. Participants also pointed out, that the residential choices were influenced by the presence of immigrant populations. H1, H3, and H4 admitted to avoiding certain areas with high immigrant populations, while H2 and H6 preferred visiting ethnic neighborhoods to access specific goods. Impact on cultural identity was a significant concern for many participants. H1, H3, H4, H5, and H6 felt that the presence of immigrant enclaves undermines their cultural heritage. Participants also provided suggestions for improvement. They highlighted how important education is (H2, H3, H5, and H6). H3, H4, and H6 also emphasized the need for stricter government policies to ensure effective better integration. So, these categories and subcategories reflect the diverse experiences shared by the participants in this focus group:



In analyzing the second focus group discussion, Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis offer important lenses through which to understand the participants' perspectives and experiences. This group discussion reflects a different form of social capital compared to the immigrant enclave. Participants in this group are ethnically Austrian and represent a

community that benefits from bonding social capital within the dominant culture. Their perspectives on integration emphasize the expectation that immigrants adapt to Austrian norms and language, reflecting the insider status they hold within their social networks. Participants H1, H3, and H4's concerns about the changing demographics and cultural identity underscore how bonding social capital within their group supports their cultural cohesion, but also reinforces boundaries between "insiders" and "outsiders." While some participants, like H2 and H6, appreciated cultural diversity, the majority expressed concern about demographic shifts and the preservation of Austrian identity, revealing the limits of social capital when it comes to building bridges across different cultural groups. The Contact Hypothesis also plays a significant role in interpreting the participants' discussion of integration and cultural adaptation. Many participants, such as H2, H4, and H6, stressed the importance of language proficiency as key to successful integration, which echoes Allport's premise that positive intergroup contact requires some level of common ground—here, the German language. However, the participants' concerns about safety and exclusion in immigrant-heavy neighborhoods, as noted by H6, indicate that intergroup contact is either limited or fraught with negative experiences, reducing the opportunities for positive interaction that the theory suggests are necessary to reduce prejudice. The theory is particularly relevant in interpreting H4's and H5's complaints about the preferential treatment of certain immigrant groups, like Ukrainians. This highlights the complexity of contact without equal status, a condition which Allport identified as a potential barrier to reducing prejudice. So, the lack of structured opportunities for equal, cooperative interactions between locals and immigrants—whether due to socioeconomic differences or language barriers—explains why the participants perceive immigrant groups with suspicion, despite acknowledging the positive contributions some immigrants make to the economy.

Overall, this discussion was less emotional and felt less connected to people. It was different from the dynamic of the first group, where participants really wanted to talk and share their problems. In this interview people were more distant, even though they answered all the questions, it didn't feel like I had reached their hearts. It seemed like they gave their answers more out of a sense of obligation rather than an inner need to share their perspectives and experiences. Also, the conversation was much shorter than the first one.

Nevertheless, they were genuinely happy that someone wanted to hear their opinion on the subject. It was interesting when one of the interviewees corrected my German and said that the word I had said was wrong. This confirms the 1st group's point that even if you have a C2 certificate (which I have) and make a small mistake, you will be judged for it. Even though I'm doing this research for my masters and work in the same company as the interviewee, it does not matter, they just harshly (and it was not put kindly) correct you and belittle you. At that moment I felt really ashamed and regretted saying that word, which made me not want to continue the conversation.

Interestingly, I noticed during the transcription process that none of the participants used gender-inclusive language, despite its promotion in academic and professional settings. This observation suggests a potential disconnect between institutional expectations and everyday communication practices in Austria.

So, this focus group discussion also showed the complex relationship between local attitudes and the immigrant enclave communities in Vienna. The participants' responses reflect a mix of personal experiences, cultural biases, and societal concerns that shape their perspectives on immigration and integration. While there was a general acknowledgment of the benefits that multiculturalism brings to the city, there was also a palpable sense of unease about the changing social landscape. One of the key takeaways from this discussion is the importance of language as both a tool for integration and a marker of cultural identity. The participants emphasized that

proficiency in German is crucial for immigrants to be accepted into Austrian society. However, this expectation comes with the implicit understanding that language proficiency is not just about communication but also about adopting the local dialect and customs. This highlights the tension between preserving cultural identity and the pressure to assimilate. The feelings of exclusion expressed by some participants suggest that even native Austrians can feel like outsiders in their own country, particularly in areas with high concentrations of immigrant populations. This sentiment reflects broader societal concerns about demographic changes and the preservation of cultural heritage. The discussions around safety, particularly from the female participants, reveal underlying anxieties about social cohesion and the perceived impact of immigration on public spaces. The focus group also brought to light the role of stereotypes and media narratives in shaping public opinion. The participants were aware of how media portrayal of immigrants can reinforce negative stereotypes and contribute to social divisions. Yet, there was also a recognition that these stereotypes are not easily dismantled, particularly when they are reinforced by personal experiences or anecdotal evidence. This presents a significant challenge for integration efforts, as overcoming deeply ingrained prejudices requires more than just policy changes—it demands a shift in societal attitudes. While some participants admitted to avoiding certain neighborhoods, others appreciated the cultural diversity offered by ethnic enclaves, particularly in terms of food and cultural experiences. This dichotomy highlights the complex and often contradictory nature of local attitudes towards immigrants, where appreciation and apprehension coexist.

8. Comparison

The findings from both focus groups showcase complex themes and issues that have been somewhat discussed in existing research on immigration and integration. The focus group with enclave members, in particular, emphasized the importance of cultural heritage, language

barriers, and community support—an alignment that resonates with Berry's (1997) acculturation theory. Berry's model, which describes how individuals balance maintaining their original cultural identity while adapting to a new cultural context, is directly relevant to the experiences shared by the enclave participants. These participants highlighted the significance of preserving their native language, religion, and traditions while navigating the demands of integrating into Austrian society. This balance of maintaining cultural heritage while attempting to integrate in their own way echoes the “integration” strategy in Berry's model, where both cultural maintenance and participation in the larger society are valued (see Berry, 1997:7-12).

In contrast, the native Austrians' focus group revealed concerns about cultural preservation from a different angle. Here, the emphasis was on the perceived threat of cultural erosion due to the presence of immigrant communities. This concern is reflective of Huntington's (1996) "Clash of Civilizations" thesis, which argues that cultural and religious identities will be the primary sources of conflict in the post-Cold War world (see Huntington, 1996:183-198). However, this perspective has been critiqued by scholars who argue for the positive impact of cultural diversity. For instance, Putnam (2007:137) discusses the social complexities of diversity, suggesting that while it can initially lead to social fragmentation, over time it fosters greater social capital and innovation.

The locals' concerns about safety and exclusion in neighborhoods with high immigrant populations can be linked to Allport's (1955) Contact Hypothesis, which posits that under certain conditions, intergroup contact can reduce prejudice (see Allport, 1955: 326-339). The negative perceptions and feelings of exclusion among locals suggest that these conditions—such as equal status, common goals, and institutional support—may not be adequately met in the context of Vienna's immigrant enclaves. This indicates a need for targeted interventions that promote more positive interactions between locals and immigrants.

The theoretical frameworks that were used in this research offer understanding of the dynamics observed in both focus groups. Berry's acculturation theory (1997) is particularly applicable to the enclave participants, who demonstrate both integration and separation strategies. While some participants expressed a desire to integrate and participate in the broader society, the persistent reliance on their community for support and the preservation of cultural practices suggest elements of separation. This duality reflects the complexity of acculturation, where individuals and communities try to navigate between adaptation and cultural preservation. The locals' responses also align with aspects of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979:33-47), which suggests that individuals make part of their identities based on their membership in different social groups. The concern among locals about cultural dilution and their exclusion from certain urban spaces can be seen as a defense mechanism of their in-group identity. This theory helps explain the resistance to cultural integration that some native Austrians exhibit, as it threatens their social identity and the homogeneity of their cultural group. In addition, the theoretical perspective of Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital also becomes relevant (see Bourdieu, 1986: 17-21). The enclave members' struggles with language barriers and the recognition of qualifications can be viewed through the lens of cultural capital, where the skills, knowledge, and cultural competencies valued by society are unequally distributed. The enclave participants' limited access to this form of capital—manifested in the difficulty of language acquisition and the non-recognition of their qualifications—hampers their ability to integrate fully into Austrian society. This creates a cycle where they remain reliant on their enclaves for support, further entrenching their separation from the broader society.

The demographic composition of the two focus groups offers additional layers of analysis. The enclave group consisted exclusively of women, many of whom were engaged in various roles such as employment, education, and caregiving. This contrasts sharply with the local

group, which was mixed-gendered but predominantly male. The absence of male voices in the enclave group suggests gender-specific barriers to participation in such discussions, potentially reflecting traditional gender roles within these communities. Age also played a significant role in shaping the perspectives within each group. In the enclave group, younger participants demonstrated a greater linguistic integration, speaking German fluently, while older participants struggled with the language and preferred to communicate in Russian. This generational divide highlighted the differing experiences of integration and cultural retention, where younger individuals, while more integrated linguistically, continue to navigate the cultural expectations and norms of their elders. In contrast, the local group's older participants expressed nostalgia for a more culturally homogeneous Vienna, suggesting that demographic changes are perceived as more disruptive by those who have lived through more significant cultural shifts.

The socioeconomic status of the participants also influenced their views on integration and multiculturalism. The enclave participants, while engaged in various economic activities, expressed frustration over systemic barriers that limit their economic mobility, such as the non-recognition of their qualifications and discrimination in the job market. On the other hand, the local participants, who were all employed and reflective of a middle-class status, viewed immigration primarily through the lens of competition for resources—housing, jobs, and social services. It showed that there are broader societal tensions between immigrant communities striving for upward mobility and the established population concerned with preserving their economic status.

Comparing the findings from Vienna with other urban contexts reveals both unique and shared challenges of integration. Vienna, like many European cities, has seen significant demographic shifts due to immigration, leading to the creation of immigrant enclaves. Similar patterns can be observed in cities such as Berlin and London, where immigrant communities

often cluster in specific neighborhoods (see Crul & Mollenkopf, 2012:1024; Vertovec, 2007:257). However, the responses from the Vienna focus groups suggest a particular sensitivity to cultural preservation and identity that may be more pronounced in Austrian society, known for its strong historical and cultural ties. In contrast, cities like Toronto or New York, which have long histories of immigration, tend to exhibit a more fluid approach to integration, with a greater acceptance of cultural pluralism (see Goonewardena & Kipfer, 2005: 670-671; Kasinitz et al., 2008:1-5). This is reflected in the literature where studies on North American cities highlight the concept of "multiculturalism" as an accepted norm (see Kymlicka, 2012:20), as opposed to the more assimilationist expectations observed in Vienna. The enclave participants in Vienna, while navigating a difficult integration process, might find a different experience in a city where multicultural policies are more deeply entrenched and supported by the state.

The locals' concerns about safety and cultural erosion can also be contextualized within broader European sentiments, particularly in countries where immigration has become a contentious political issue. The rise of right-wing populism in Europe, fueled by fears of cultural dilution and economic competition, resonates with the anxieties expressed by the native Austrian participants. This comparison suggests that the local group's views may be reflective of a larger, continent-wide phenomenon, where integration is increasingly seen as a zero-sum game, rather than a mutually beneficial process (see Vieten & Poznting, 2016: 533-539).

This analysis reveals that while Vienna shares common challenges with other multicultural cities, it also presents unique dynamics shaped by its specific historical, cultural, and social context. The emphasis on cultural preservation and the tension between integration and cultural identity are central themes that resonate across both groups, but in different ways.

9. Discussion and Conclusion

This study set out to explore the immigrant communities within Vienna and the attitudes of the native Austrian population towards these communities and vice versa, driven by personal motivation stemming from my own experience as an immigrant living and studying in the city. The initial steps involved identifying the significant immigrant population in Vienna and contrasting it with the city's reputation for being unfriendly. The aim of this research was to delve into the integration process and challenges faced by immigrant enclaves, contributing to academic knowledge and community development. The research question of the study was "How do local attitudes towards immigrants influence the social cohesion and integration processes of people living in the immigrant enclave communities?".

To answer this research question, the study began with defining key concepts such as "migrants," "immigrant enclaves," "integration," and "social cohesion." This chapter was crucial because it established a shared language and conceptual framework that guided the entire study. Defining "migrants" allowed to focus specifically on individuals who relocate with the intention of settling permanently, setting the scope of the research to address the unique experiences and challenges faced by this group. Similarly, defining "social cohesion" was essential to understanding how well immigrant communities integrate into the host society and how this integration affects the harmony in the broader society. For instance, the definition of "integration" set the stage for exploring the complex processes by which immigrants become part of the host society, encompassing economic, social, cultural, and political dimensions. This understanding was important when interpreting the focus group interviews, where participants discussed their experiences of navigating these various aspects of integration. The definition of "immigrant enclaves" also provided a basis for analyzing how these communities serve as both protective spaces and areas of cultural reinforcement, which was a key finding in the study.

The literature review was another foundational element of the thesis. By exploring existing research on integration, residential patterns, and social capital, I was able to contextualize the research question within a broader academic discourse. The literature highlighted the dynamics of immigrant enclaves and the factors influencing their development. The reviewed literature also highlighted gaps in existing research, such as the need for more empirical studies on the impact of local attitudes on immigrant integration in Vienna, thus justifying the focus of this thesis.

The chapter on "Austrian National Identity" was included to explore how historical and contemporary factors shape Austria's approach to immigration and integration. Understanding the evolution of Austrian national identity was crucial for interpreting the local attitudes expressed in the focus group interviews. The tension between cultural preservation and adaptation, as well as the impact of national identity on perceptions of immigrants, were central themes in the study's findings. This chapter provided the socio-political context.

The introduction of Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis provided essential frameworks for analyzing the collected data. Social Capital Theory helped explain how social networks within enclaves support immigrant adaptation and buffer against local unfriendliness, a key finding in the focus group discussions. The Contact Hypothesis offered a framework for understanding how increased interactions between locals and immigrants might reduce prejudice and improve social cohesion, directly relating to the study's exploration of integration challenges.

The study employed a qualitative approach using focus groups to gather data, which was crucial for capturing the perspectives of both enclave residents and local people living in Vienna. The choice of focus groups allowed for an in-depth exploration of the social dynamics and attitudes that quantitative methods might overlook. This methodological decision was directly connected to the research question, as it enabled the study to delve into the real

experiences of the participants, uncovering how local attitudes influence the integration process. Ethical considerations were also highlighted to ensure that the research was conducted responsibly. The data collection process involved explanation of recruiting participants, obtaining consent, and recording discussions for transcription and analysis.

One of the most striking interpretations of the findings is the persistent tension between maintaining cultural identity and the pressures of assimilation. Immigrant enclave members expressed a deep attachment to their cultural heritage, which they strive to preserve through language, traditions, and community support. This attachment is not merely a personal preference but a critical component of their identity and social support system. However, this same attachment poses challenges to integration, as it can sometimes lead to social separation from Austrian society. On the other hand, native Austrians expressed concerns about the dilution of their cultural identity and the perceived lack of integration among immigrant communities. However, there is a fundamental misunderstanding in the expectations of native Austrians; they often refer to what they expect from immigrants as "integration," when in reality, their demands align more closely with "assimilation." Integration implies a two-way process where both the immigrant and host society adapt and accommodate each other, allowing for the preservation of cultural identities within a shared societal framework. Assimilation, however, involves the immigrant shedding much of their cultural identity to conform entirely to the host culture. This confusion is significant because it highlights the differing expectations and the resultant frustrations on both sides. The pressure on immigrants to assimilate rather than simply integrate leads to a clash of expectations, where immigrants feel the need to protect their cultural identities, while natives perceive any retention of cultural differences as a failure to integrate. Understanding this distinction is crucial for developing effective integration policies that respect cultural diversity while fostering social cohesion. For immigrant communities, cultural preservation is seen as vital, not only for personal identity but

also for maintaining the continuity of their cultural heritage. This is particularly evident in the ways these communities organize around cultural events, religious practices, and linguistic preservation. The language barrier, for example, is not just a challenge for integration but is also a means of preserving cultural ties. Many immigrants feel that by maintaining their native language, they are keeping a vital link to their home country and cultural roots. On the other hand, native Austrians expressed concerns about the dilution of their cultural identity and the perceived lack of integration among immigrant communities. Their insistence on language proficiency and cultural adaptation as prerequisites for integration reflects an underlying desire to maintain cultural homogeneity. This perspective aligns with social identity theory, where the in-group (native Austrians) seeks to preserve its distinctiveness in the face of increasing diversity. This desire for cultural preservation among natives manifests in various forms, from public discourse to policy preferences, where there is a clear expectation for immigrants to conform to Austrian cultural norms. The findings of this study have significant implications for public policy. One of the most critical areas for policy intervention is language acquisition and support. The study highlights the central role of language proficiency in the integration process, as emphasized by both immigrant and local participants. However, the challenges faced by immigrants in acquiring language skills, particularly among older generations, suggest the need for more accessible and targeted language education programs. These programs should not only focus on language proficiency but also include cultural education to facilitate smoother integration.

Socioeconomic barriers and integration: Another implication of the findings is the need to address the socioeconomic barriers that hinder the integration of immigrant communities. Many immigrants, despite being well-qualified in their home countries, find it difficult to have their qualifications recognized in Austria. This leads to underemployment or employment in low-skilled jobs, which limits their economic mobility. The lack of recognition of foreign

qualifications is not only an individual problem but also a systemic issue that affects the broader integration process. Policymakers should consider initiatives that recognize foreign qualifications and provide pathways for immigrant professionals to integrate into the local job market. Such initiatives would not only enhance the economic mobility of immigrant communities but also contribute to the overall economic growth of the city. For example, the development of bridging programs that offer additional training or certification to help immigrants meet local standards could be a useful for integrating skilled workers into the economy. Additionally, the study found that immigrant enclaves often develop their own economic ecosystems, with businesses and services specifically catering to the community's needs. While this self-sufficiency provides essential support for enclave members, it can also contribute to the perception of social separation and exclusion among native Austrians.

Social interaction and community engagement: The study revealed that many Austrians feel disconnected from immigrant communities, which exacerbates feelings of exclusion and cultural anxiety. This disconnect is particularly pronounced in neighborhoods with high concentrations of immigrant populations, where locals often feel like outsiders in their own country. This feeling of displacement is not just about physical space but also about the cultural and social changes that come with increasing diversity. Community engagement initiatives should focus on creating opportunities for more meaningful interactions between different cultural groups. This could include joint community projects, cultural festivals, or local government-sponsored programs that encourage collaboration between immigrants and native Austrians. By creating spaces where people from different backgrounds can interact and share experiences, these initiatives can help reduce prejudice and build stronger community ties. The study also found that media representation plays a significant role in shaping public perceptions of immigrant communities. Negative stereotypes and sensationalized reporting contribute to a climate of fear and misunderstanding, which hinders the integration process. Policymakers and

media organizations should collaborate to promote narratives that celebrate diversity and highlight the contributions of immigrant communities to society. This could involve campaigns that showcase positive stories of immigrants who have successfully integrated and contributed to the local community. Moreover, the study highlighted the use of non-gender-inclusive language by local participants, despite the promotion of such language in academic and professional settings. This observation points to a disconnect between institutional expectations and everyday communication practices in Austria. The persistence of non-inclusive language suggests that top-down policies may be insufficient in changing deep-seated cultural habits. More grassroots efforts, such as educational campaigns, posters etc. may be necessary to bridge this gap and promote more inclusive communication practices.

Gender dynamics and linguistic practices: Further analysis of the focus group data revealed gender-specific challenges within immigrant communities that impact the integration process. Women, particularly those from more traditional backgrounds, often face additional barriers to integration, such as limited access to language courses or cultural restrictions that limit their participation in public life. For example, immigrant women who do not work outside the home may have fewer opportunities to interact with the broader society, making it harder for them to learn the language and integrate into the local culture. This isolation can be compounded by cultural norms that discourage women from participating in public life, leading to a cycle of exclusion and marginalization. Addressing these challenges requires targeted interventions that consider the unique needs of immigrant women, such as language courses with childcare support or community programs that encourage female participation. In contrast, the study found that men in immigrant communities often face different challenges.

Stereotypes, safety and economic contributions: When discussing the opinions of native Austrians regarding immigrant enclaves in Vienna, the need for integration into Austrian society was a recurrent theme. The necessity for immigrants to speak fluent German was

emphasized, as language proficiency is seen as essential for participating fully in Austrian life. However, many locals expressed concerns that immigrants struggle to adapt to Austrian cultural norms and behaviors, which fosters feelings of exclusion and emotional discomfort among the native population. Safety concerns, particularly among women, were also highlighted in the study. Many native Austrian women reported feeling unsafe in areas with high immigrant populations, especially at night. These concerns are often linked to broader fears about cultural differences and the perceived lack of integration. The study suggests that these safety concerns are not necessarily based on actual crime rates but are instead influenced by media portrayals and public discourse that emphasize the risks associated with immigration. Despite these challenges, participants acknowledged the cultural contributions of immigrants, particularly in enriching Vienna's multicultural society. Immigrants bring diversity in food, music, art, and traditions, which many locals appreciate. However, the economic contributions of immigrants, especially in sectors with labor shortages, are often overshadowed by integration issues and cultural misunderstandings of some individuals. These misunderstandings are fueled by stereotypes and misconceptions, which are reinforced by media and public perceptions. Some participants admitted to avoiding areas with high immigrant populations, while others visit ethnic neighborhoods specifically for goods and services that are not available elsewhere. This selective engagement with immigrant communities highlights the complexity of multicultural interaction in Vienna, where cultural exchange exists alongside social separation.

Community support and enclave dynamics: The formation and evolution of immigrant enclaves are significantly influenced by a combination of external pressures and community needs. Negative experiences with Viennese society drive immigrants to seek refuge in enclaves where they feel safer and more accepted. These enclaves offer crucial support networks for new arrivals, providing emotional and practical assistance that might not be readily available

from the broader society. For many immigrants, these enclaves serve as safe havens where they can escape the marginalization and isolation they might feel in broader society. Within these enclaves, immigrants can maintain their cultural practices, speak their native languages, and engage in communal activities that reinforce their cultural identity. This sense of belonging is particularly important for those who face discrimination or hostility outside of their communities. Over time, these enclaves develop their own infrastructure, including businesses, services, and cultural institutions tailored to the community's needs. This evolution helps maintain the enclave's cultural identity while providing essential support to its members. For example, ethnic grocery stores, religious institutions, and community centers become important hubs where immigrants can connect with others who share their background and experiences. However, the existence of these enclaves also contributes to the perception of social separation and exclusion among native Austrians. The study found that many locals view these enclaves as closed-off communities that resist integration. This perception is often reinforced by physical and social boundaries that separate immigrant communities from the rest of the city. For instance, some enclaves are located in specific neighborhoods that are known for their ethnic composition, creating a sense of division between different parts of the city.

Based on the evidence presented in this study, several overarching conclusions can be drawn. First, the integration process in Vienna is deeply influenced by the cultural and linguistic dynamics of both immigrant and native populations. The tension between cultural preservation and cultural adaptation is a central theme that defines the experiences of immigrant communities and the expectations of the host society. Second, language proficiency emerges as a critical factor in the integration process, serving as both a tool for communication and a marker of cultural identity. For native Austrians, language proficiency is often equated with successful integration, while for immigrant communities, it represents a way to preserve

cultural ties and ensure the continuity of their heritage. Third, the study highlights the importance of community support and the role of enclaves in providing a sense of safety and belonging for immigrant populations. These enclaves serve as both protective spaces and areas of cultural reinforcement, allowing immigrants to navigate the challenges of integration while maintaining their cultural identity. Fourth, the findings suggest that integration is not a linear process but a complex and ongoing negotiation between cultural identity and societal expectations. Both Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis provided essential frameworks to interpret the results of the focus group discussions. Social Capital Theory helped to explain the reliance on bonding social capital within immigrant enclaves, particularly evident in the first interview. The immigrant women highlighted the strong support networks within their community, which served as crucial mechanisms for navigating challenges like discrimination and language barriers. However, this reliance on bonding capital also demonstrated the limitations of integration, as these networks often insulated enclave members from the broader society, thus reducing opportunities to develop bridging social capital and interact with native Austrians. On the other hand, the Contact Hypothesis helped to analyze the second interview with native Austrians, offering a lens through which to understand their concerns about integration and the impact of limited intergroup contact. Participants expressed apprehensions about the cultural shifts brought on by increasing immigrant populations, particularly in neighborhoods with high immigrant concentrations. The theory suggests that structured, positive contact between locals and immigrants, under conditions of equality and cooperation, could reduce these prejudices. However, the lack of such interactions, coupled with concerns about safety and cultural identity, has perpetuated stereotypes and created social divides. To answer the research question, this study found that the formation and evolution of immigrant enclaves are significantly influenced by a combination of external pressures and community needs. While unfriendliness and lack of acceptance from the

Viennese people are not the sole reasons for the formation, evolution, and dynamics of immigrant enclaves, they are significant contributing factors. The negative experiences with Viennese society drive immigrants to seek refuge in enclaves where they feel safer and more accepted. These enclaves provide a protective environment where cultural practices can be maintained without the pressures of assimilation. The bad interactions and unwelcoming attitudes from the broader society not only push immigrants into forming these enclaves but also reinforce their decision to stay within them, as the enclave becomes a sanctuary from the discrimination and cultural alienation they experience outside. Thus, the perceived unfriendliness of the Viennese people indeed influences immigrants' preference to live in enclaves in Vienna, as these spaces offer a sense of community, security, and cultural preservation that is often lacking in the broader society. If, however, interactions between immigrants and the broader society were more positive and welcoming, there is a possibility that, over time, more immigrants would feel comfortable integrating into society and might decide to leave the enclaves. While not everyone would choose to do so, a certain percentage of people whose perspectives and experiences could be positively influenced by friendly interactions might opt for greater engagement with the broader community. Unfortunately, under the current circumstances, where unfriendliness and exclusion are prevalent, this possibility is severely limited.

Overall, based on the evidence presented in this study, several conclusions align with and expand upon previous research on immigrant enclaves and their integration. First, as Logan et al. (2002) and Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) suggest, the integration process for immigrants in Vienna is significantly shaped by the tension between cultural preservation and adaptation. This study confirms that immigrant communities rely heavily on "bonding social capital" within enclaves to maintain their cultural identity and navigate challenges such as discrimination and language barriers. The close community networks within these enclaves,

which provide both practical and emotional support, act as sanctuaries, reinforcing findings from Lee and Zhou (2015) on how enclaves serve as protective spaces for cultural continuity. Language proficiency also is as a critical factor in the integration process, and it serves as both a communication tool and a marker of cultural identity. This study supports Ghaffar-Kucher (2016), who highlights the importance of language skills for successful integration, but it also shows that, for immigrant communities, language ties them to their heritage, adding another layer to the integration challenge. This dual role of language as both a bridge and a boundary confirms findings by Zhou and Kim (2006), who point out that linguistic proficiency can enable cultural preservation within ethnic institutions while also facilitating engagement with the host society. The role of enclaves as safe spaces for community support and cultural reinforcement is another key finding that aligns with Smith (2017) and Lee and Zhou (2015). These studies emphasize that enclaves protect cultural identity and provide a refuge from societal pressures to assimilate, which this study corroborates in the context of Vienna. However, as Portes and Landolt (1996) note, this inward focus on bonding social capital can have drawbacks. This study shows that such insularity can limit interactions with the broader society, reinforcing economic and social divides and restricting upward mobility—findings consistent with Lee and Zhou's (2015) work on how enclave isolation can reduce social mobility and access to resources.

The theoretical frameworks of Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis were crucial for interpreting these findings. Social Capital Theory helps explain the reliance on bonding social capital within enclaves, particularly given the unwelcoming attitudes that immigrant communities often encounter. This inward focus on bonding networks is protective but limits "bridging social capital," reducing opportunities for immigrants to connect with the broader community and thus restricting integration. Contact Hypothesis is also highly relevant here, offering insight into native Austrians' perspectives and concerns about cultural shifts.

In addressing the research question, this study aligns with Demireva (2022) by showing that immigrant enclaves are shaped by both internal community needs and external societal pressures. Unfriendly attitudes and exclusion from Viennese society, while not the sole reason for enclave formation, significantly drive immigrants to seek refuge in these communities where they feel safer and more culturally accepted. This aligns with Berry (1997), who notes that lack of acceptance can lead immigrants to retreat into protective cultural enclaves to avoid the psychological stress associated with assimilation. Finally, this study suggests that more welcoming and positive interactions between immigrants and the broader society could potentially reduce the insularity of enclaves, allowing for greater social integration. This reflects findings by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), who argue that positive intergroup contact can foster acceptance and mutual respect. However, as Waters and Jiménez (2005) indicate, current societal exclusion limits this potential, reinforcing the role of enclaves as both sanctuaries and barriers.

Based on these findings, several practical recommendations can be made for policy changes. There is a clear need for more accessible and tailored language education programs that address the specific needs of different demographic groups within immigrant communities. These programs should be designed to not only teach the language but also to provide cultural education that helps immigrants understand and navigate the social norms of Austrian society. Policymakers should also implement initiatives that recognize and validate foreign qualifications, providing clear pathways for immigrant professionals to integrate into the local job market. There should be increased efforts to promote intergroup contact through community engagement initiatives. Media organizations and public institutions should work together to promote inclusive and balanced narratives about immigration, immigrants, and integration.

This study contributes to the field of development studies by shedding light on the dynamics of immigrant enclaves within Vienna and their relationship with Viennese society. By applying Social Capital Theory and the Contact Hypothesis, the study highlights how social relationships can mitigate the effects of local unfriendliness and support immigrant adaptation. The findings underscore the importance of balancing cultural preservation with the need for social cohesion and mutual understanding. However, it is important to acknowledge the study's limitations. The sample size, while sufficient for a qualitative study, may not fully capture the diversity of experiences within the whole immigrant and local populations. The focus groups were limited to specific communities, and their experiences may not be representative of all immigrant or local groups in Vienna. Additionally, the study's focus on Vienna limits the generalizability of the findings to other contexts. Several areas for future research have emerged from this study. First, there is a need for longitudinal studies that track the experiences of immigrant communities and native populations over time. Such studies could provide a better understanding of how integration processes evolve and how attitudes and perceptions change in response to social and political developments. Longitudinal research would also allow for the exploration of how second and third-generation immigrants navigate their cultural identities in relation to their Austrian peers. Another area for future research is the role of education in the integration process. Schools are often the first point of contact between immigrant children and the host society, making them crucial sites for studying integration dynamics. Research could explore how different educational approaches impact the integration experiences of immigrant children and their families. Finally, it would be beneficial to expand the scope of research to include a broader range of voices, such as policymakers, educators, or other stakeholders involved in integration efforts. Including these perspectives could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the systemic factors influencing integration and help identify effective strategies for fostering social cohesion.

The recommendations provided in this chapter offer practical steps that can be taken to enhance the integration process, promote social cohesion, and address the challenges identified in the study. By fostering a more inclusive and supportive environment, Vienna can continue to thrive as a city that embraces its diversity and builds a stronger, more cohesive society for all its residents.

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Appendix

1: Consent form

Teilnehmerinformation und Einwilligungserklärung

Teilnehmerinformation „Dynamics of Immigrant Enclaves in Vienna“

Sehr geehrte/r Interviewte/r Interviewte/r

Herzlichen Dank für die Bereitschaft für eine Gruppendiskussion zum Thema **Dynamik von Immigranteneinkerkern in Wien**.

Kurzinformation über die Forschungsarbeit

Immigranteneinkerkern sind bestimmte Stadtteile oder Gebiete in Wien, in denen Zuwanderer mit unterschiedlichem kulturellem Hintergrund in großer Zahl leben. Diese Einkerkern weisen oft einzigartige soziale, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Merkmale auf, die die Erfahrungen und Interaktionen sowohl von Zuwanderern als auch von Einheimischen prägen.

Der Zweck der Studie

1. Verständnis der Erfahrungen und Wahrnehmungen von Personen, die innerhalb von Immigranteneinkerkern in Wien leben.
2. Untersuchung der Meinungen und Einstellungen von Einheimischen zu Immigranteneinkerkern und deren Einfluss auf die breitere Gemeinschaft.
3. Untersuchung des Ausmaßes, in dem Immigranteneinkerkern und lokale Gemeinschaften interagieren und sich gegenseitig beeinflussen.

Zwecke der Datenerhebung und Verarbeitung: Die Daten werden als Grundlage für die Forschung gesammelt, um die Perspektiven der Befragten zu verstehen.

Welche Daten werden gespeichert?

Indirekt personenbezogene Audiodaten, nicht personenbezogene, anonymisierte Transkripte.

Wie lange werden die Daten gespeichert?

In der Regel: 10 Jahre

Wer hat Zugriff auf die Daten?

Nur Forschende haben Zugriff auf die indirekt personenbezogenen Audiofiles, Ausschnitte aus anonymisierten Transkripten: LeserInnen der Studienarbeit. Einige Ihrer Aussagen können möglicherweise in öffentlich zugänglichen Berichten (anonym – d.h. ohne Nennung von Namen) zitiert werden.

Widerruflichkeit erteilter Einwilligungserklärungen

Wenn Sie eine Einwilligung erteilt haben, Ihre personenbezogenen Daten zu verarbeiten, haben Sie das Recht, die erteilte Einwilligung jederzeit mit Wirkung für die Zukunft zu widerrufen, d.h. Ihr Widerruf berührt die Rechtmäßigkeit der vor dem Widerruf auf Basis der Einwilligung erfolgten Verarbeitung Ihrer Daten nicht.

Zusätzlich haben Sie folgende Rechte

- Recht auf Auskunft über die betreffenden personenbezogenen Daten
- Recht auf Berichtigung, Löschung oder Einschränkung der Verarbeitung
- Recht auf Datenübertragbarkeit und Widerruf

Diese Rechte können Sie beim/ bei der verantwortlichen Forscherin Mariam Lomidze geltend machen (a01651686@unet.univie.ac.at)

Außerdem besteht das Recht auf Beschwerde bei der österreichischen Datenschutzbehörde, Wickenburggasse 8, 1080 Wien, Telefon: +43 1 52 152 0, E-Mail: dsb@dsb.gv.at.

Einwilligungserklärung „Projektname/Forschungsfrage“

Ich habe dieses Informationsschreiben gelesen und verstanden. Alle meine Fragen wurden beantwortet und ich habe zurzeit keine weiteren Fragen mehr.

Mit meiner persönlich datierten Unterschrift gebe ich hiermit freiwillig mein Einverständnis zur Teilnahme an einem Interview.

Ich weiß, dass ich diese Einwilligung jederzeit und ohne Angabe von Gründen widerrufen kann.

Eine Kopie dieser Teilnehmerinformation und Einwilligungserklärung habe ich erhalten. Das Original verbleibt beim/bei der Forscher/in

.....

(Datum und Unterschrift der/des Teilnehmerin/Teilnehmers)

.....

(Datum und Unterschrift der/des Forscherin/Forschers)

2: 1st set of questions

1. In your opinion, what factors contribute to the level of acceptance migrants experience in Viennese society?
2. Could you elaborate on the difficulties you face as a result of residing in a city with immigrant enclaves?
3. In what ways do you think migrants enrich Vienna's cultural landscape, and what contributions do they make to its diversity? In what ways do they hinder it?
4. What factors do you believe contribute to migrants' decisions to reside in immigrant enclaves rather than other areas of Vienna?

5. How do you perceive the concentration of migrants in certain areas of Vienna, such as immigrant enclaves?
6. In your opinion, how does the concentration of migrants in immigrant enclaves affect social cohesion in Vienna?
7. What role do misconceptions or stereotypes about immigrants play in contributing to tensions between locals and migrants in Vienna?
8. What changes in the demographics or dynamics of your neighborhood due to the presence of immigrant enclaves have you experienced?
9. In your opinion, what could be done to improve the integration of migrants into Viennese society?
10. Why, if so, do you feel that your cultural identity is threatened by the presence of migrants in Vienna?
11. In your opinion, what steps could be taken to foster greater acceptance and integration of migrants into mainstream Viennese society?
12. How do you envision the future relationship between migrant enclaves and the broader Viennese society?

German Version:

1. Welche Faktoren tragen Ihrer Meinung nach zur Akzeptanz von MigrantInnen in der Wiener Gesellschaft bei?
2. Könnten Sie die Schwierigkeiten erläutern, mit denen Sie konfrontiert sind, weil Sie in einer Stadt mit Immigrantenenklaven wohnen?
3. Inwiefern bereichern MigrantInnen Ihrer Meinung nach die Wiener Kulturlandschaft, und welchen Beitrag leisten sie zu deren Vielfalt? Auf welche Weise behindern sie diese?
4. Welche Faktoren tragen Ihrer Meinung nach dazu bei, dass sich MigrantInnen eher für eine Enklave als für ein anderes Gebiet in Wien entscheiden?

5. Wie nehmen Sie die Konzentration von MigrantInnen in bestimmten Gebieten Wiens, wie z.B. Immigrantenklaven, wahr?
6. Wie wirkt sich Ihrer Meinung nach die Konzentration von Migranten in Immigrantenklaven auf den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt in Wien aus?
7. Welche Rolle spielen falsche Vorstellungen oder Stereotypen über ImmigrantInnen, die zu Spannungen zwischen Einheimischen und MigrantInnen in Wien beitragen?
8. Welche Veränderungen in der Demografie oder Dynamik Ihrer Nachbarschaft aufgrund der Anwesenheit von Immigrantenklaven haben Sie erlebt?
9. Was könnte Ihrer Meinung nach getan werden, um die Integration von MigrantInnen in die Wiener Gesellschaft zu verbessern?
10. Wenn ja, warum haben Sie das Gefühl, dass Ihre kulturelle Identität durch die Anwesenheit von MigrantInnen in Wien bedroht ist?
11. Welche Maßnahmen könnten Ihrer Meinung nach ergriffen werden, um die Akzeptanz und Integration von MigrantInnen in die Wiener Gesellschaft zu verbessern?
12. Wie stellen Sie sich das zukünftige Verhältnis zwischen Immigrantenklaven und der Wiener Gesellschaft vor?

3: 2nd set of questions

1. How connected do you feel to your cultural heritage while living in Vienna's immigrant enclave?
2. How would you rate the sense of community within your enclave?
3. How satisfied are you with the services and resources available within your enclave?
4. How strongly do you feel that the lack of acceptance by locals has influenced the formation and concentration of immigrant enclaves in Vienna?

5. How can living in an immigrant enclave provide a sense of safety and belonging for migrants who feel unwelcome in other parts of Vienna?
6. What are the main challenges you face as a member of an immigrant enclave in Vienna?
7. How do you navigate between maintaining your cultural identity and integrating into Viennese society?
8. How is your enclave misunderstood by the larger Viennese community, if at all?
9. Can you share any personal experiences that led you to choose to live in your current enclave community?
10. How might your sense of belonging and social integration be influenced if you were to live in a country where the local population is known for being more welcoming and inclusive?
11. Is there anything that could change in the local society or host country that would make you leave your immigrant enclave?
12. Have you noticed any changes in the relationship between your enclave community and the broader Viennese society over time?
13. How might greater acceptance and inclusion by locals lead to a reduction in the concentration of migrants in immigrant enclaves?
14. How do you envision the future relationship between migrant enclaves and the broader Viennese society?

German Version:

1. Wie verbunden fühlen Sie sich mit Ihrem kulturellen Erbe, während Sie in der Wiener Immigrantenenklave leben?
2. Wie würden Sie das Gemeinschaftsgefühl in Ihrer Enklave bewerten?
3. Wie zufrieden sind Sie mit den Dienstleistungen und Ressourcen, die in Ihrer Enklave zur Verfügung stehen?

4. Wie stark glauben Sie, dass die mangelnde Akzeptanz durch die Einheimischen die Bildung und Konzentration von Immigrantenklaven in Wien beeinflusst hat?
5. Wie kann das Leben in einer Immigrantenklave ein Gefühl der Sicherheit und Zugehörigkeit für Migranten vermitteln, die sich in anderen Teilen Wiens nicht willkommen fühlen?
6. Was sind die größten Herausforderungen, denen Sie als Mitglied einer Immigrantenklave in Wien gegenüberstehen?
7. Wie schaffen Sie es, Ihre kulturelle Identität zu bewahren und sich in die Wiener Gesellschaft zu integrieren?
8. Wie wird Ihre Enklave von der größeren Wiener Gemeinschaft missverstanden, wenn überhaupt?
9. Können Sie von persönlichen Erfahrungen berichten, die Sie dazu bewogen haben, in Ihrer derzeitigen Enklave zu leben?
10. Wie könnte Ihr Zugehörigkeitsgefühl und Ihre soziale Integration beeinflusst werden, wenn Sie in einem Land leben würden, in dem die lokale Bevölkerung für ihre Gastfreundschaft und Integration bekannt ist?
11. Gibt es irgendetwas, das sich in der lokalen Gesellschaft oder im Gastland ändern könnte, das Sie dazu bringen würde, Ihre Immigrantenklave zu verlassen?
12. Haben Sie im Laufe der Zeit Veränderungen in den Beziehungen zwischen Ihrer Enklavengemeinschaft und der breiteren Wiener Gesellschaft festgestellt?
13. Wie könnte eine größere Akzeptanz und Integration durch die Einheimischen dazu führen, dass sich die Konzentration von MigrantInnen in Immigrantenklaven verringert?
14. Wie stellen Sie sich die zukünftige Beziehung zwischen Immigrantenklaven und der breiteren Wiener Gesellschaft vor?

4: Transcript: Enclaves

Interviewerin: Danke Leute noch Mal für die Teilnahme wir können jetzt mit der Diskussion-Teil beginnen. Ihre Teilnahme bedeutet mir und der Forschung wieder mal sehr viel und ich bin froh dass ich mein Zielpublikum irgendwie erreicht habe und ein großes Dankeschön an P1 die uns Verbunden hat. So anzufangen meine erste Frage wäre wie verbunden Sie sich mit Ihrem kulturellen Erbe fühlen während Sie in der Wiener Immigrantenenklave leben?

P1: Gerne gerne also für mich bedeutet es wirklich dass ich eine tiefe Verbundenheit zu meinem kulturellen Erbe pflege. Viele von uns haben ähnliche Hintergründe und Erfahrungen was ein starkes Gefühl der Zusammengehörigkeit schafft. Wir feiern traditionelle Feste was uns Gelegenheit gibt uns zu versammeln gemeinsam zu essen und unsere Bräuche zu pflegen. Die Sprache ist auch wichtige im täglichen Leben. In vielen Haushalten wird unsere Sprache gesprochen und wir besuchen Kulturvereine in denen unsere Kinder die Sprache und Kultur lernen können. Die traditionelle Küche ist auch ein zentraler Bestandteil unseres Alltags wir vermissen unser Essen daher gibt es natürlich einige Dinge die hier nicht angeboten werden also gehen wir gerne in unsere Geschäfte und Restaurants um die Dinge zu genießen die wir vermissen. Die Religion spielt für viele von uns eine wichtige Rolle. Gemeinsam ermutigen wir uns gegenseitig religiöser zu werden unsere Religion besser zu verstehen und uns nicht von Menschen die sie belächeln oder nicht verstehen von unserer Kultur vertreiben zu lassen. Wir verurteilen sie nicht dafür es ist nur nicht das Beste für uns. Die Familie ist ein zentraler ich würde sagen wichtigster Aspekt unserer Kultur. Viele von uns leben in Großfamilien oder haben enge Netzwerke die uns dabei helfen unsere Traditionen und Werte zu bewahren und weiterzugeben. Nur weil wir beschlossen haben in ein anderes Land zu ziehen heißt das nicht dass unsere Kinder ihre Wurzeln ihre Sprache ihre Religion usw. vergessen müssen.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Traditions, Language, Religion, Family Values

P2: Ich stimme völlig zu aber ich möchte noch kurz sagen dass als ich von P1 über das Thema der Studie erfuhr war ich zwar etwas verwirrt weil ich das Wort "Enklave" noch nie gehört hatte also habe ich es auch gegoogelt und ich bin nicht ganz sicher dass wir in der Enklave leben aber ich verstehe die Idee.

Andere: lachen sie und sagen sie hätten dasselbe getan

P2: Ja und ich denke dass der kulturelle Erbe nicht ein abtretbares Teil von uns ist jedoch bedeutet es nicht dass man nach der Migration ins neues Land genau mit gleichem Perspektiven Prioritäten und Mentalität das Leben weiterführen soll wie man es im Heimat gemacht hätte. Meiner Meinung nach sollte man sein kulturelles Erbe nicht herauslöschen oder ignorieren jedoch muss man sich richtig ins neue Land integrieren.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Integration Efforts

P3: Ich fühle mich meinem kulturellen Erbe sehr verbunden aber ich versuche auch eine Balance zu finden. Aber ich möchte nicht meine eigenen Traditionen vergessen. Es ist wichtig für mich dass meine Kinder beide Kulturen verstehen und schätzen.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Traditions, Maintaining Traditions: Dual Identity

P4: Ich hatte eine Phase in der ich nicht wusste wohin ich eigentlich gehöre weil ich hier geboren bin und nie in meinem Heimatland gelebt habe. Aber mein Heimatland ist meine

Familie hier und ich lerne von ihnen sie sind das was ich kenne. Aber als ich zur Schule ging war ich ein bisschen peinlich berührt weil wir zu Hause überhaupt kein Deutsch gesprochen haben und alle anderen Kinder natürlich Deutsch sprachen. Und später als wir dann in einem bestimmten Alter unseren Kleidungsstil geändert haben war das natürlich eine große Sache in der Klasse. Alle dachten meine Familie hätte mich dazu gezwungen.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Language, Experiences of Discrimination: Balancing Integration and Heritage

P5: Ich liebe es so sehr es gibt so viel zu lieben ich wünschte ich könnte anderen Menschen die ganze Kultur erklären damit sie diese so sehr lieben können wie sie es verdient. Wenn sie es verstehen könnten würden sie uns nicht so sehr verurteilen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Promoting Cultural Diversity

P6: Ja mir ist es auch sehr wichtig. Es gibt mir eine Identität und ein Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit. Was bedeutet es überhaupt sie nicht zu respektieren und sie zu vergessen? dann muss man in Schande leben denn wer seine Geschichte nicht respektiert kann kein anderes Land lieben wenn er sein eigenes nicht will.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Family Values

Interviewerin: Also sie haben ein starkes Gemeinschaftsgefühl so wie ich das verstehe

P1: ja würde ich sagen ist sehr stark und unterstützend. Wir leben wie eine große Familie in der sich jeder um den anderen kümmert. Wenn jemand Hilfe braucht sei es bei alltäglichen Aufgaben oder in schwierigen Situationen können wir uns aufeinander verlassen. Es ist nicht wie bei österreichischen Familien die sich einmal in der Woche zum Essen treffen wenn sie Zeit haben. Für uns zählt das nicht zu den richtigen Familienwerten. Für uns ist sogar der Cousin des Cousins des Cousins des Cousins die engste Familie eine Schwester oder ein Bruder die wir einladen können mit uns zu leben solange sie es brauchen sie zu ernähren und zu unterstützen. Das ist etwas was wir tun werden nicht einmal eine Wahl. Wenn wir jemanden aus unserer Heimat treffen den wir nicht kennen ist er uns näher als Österreicher die wir seit Jahren kennen. Dieses enge Miteinander schafft ein Gefühl von Sicherheit und Zugehörigkeit das besonders wichtig ist wenn man fern von der ursprünglichen Heimat lebt. Unsere Kinder wachsen in diesem Umfeld auf lernen die Werte der Gemeinschaft und des gegenseitigen Respekts. Wir verstehen einander und wir verurteilen uns nicht dafür dass wir wir sind.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Community Support, Support Network: Emotional Support

P2: Es ist immer schön mit den Leuten zu kommunizieren die gleichen Probleme Mentalität oder abbringen haben. Wir alle die ihre Heimat hinter gelassen haben hatten ein Grund und dementsprechend auch ein ziel was wir erreichen wollten daher finde ich dass man nicht wieder in Gemeinschaft sich sperren sollte. Es ist klar das manche Inländer nie verstehen werden was wir alles durchgemacht haben was uns es gekostet hat mental sich auf das neue Land vorzubereiten und wie schwierig es ist z.B mit MA35 die Sache der Dokumente zu klären. Über solche Themen haben die Inländer keine Erfahrungen und es ist unmöglich dass die was empfehlen oder dein Schmerzen mitleiden und in solchen Pfählen kommt das Gemeinschaft ins Spiel dass jedoch nicht bedeutet das man sich nur auf seine Heimat und Leute mit gleichem Migrationshintergrund in seinen Lebenskreis haben soll. Ich bin ein bisschen wie eine Rebellin in unserer Gemeinschaft. Ich arbeite in einem österreichischen

Friseursalon wo ich putze und ich kommuniziere auch mit den Leuten dort was gut für meine mentale Gesundheit ist. Aber viele Leute in unserer Gemeinschaft verstehen mich nicht und wir diskutieren oft darüber. Wie Sie sehen bedecke ich mein Haar nicht vollständig; es ist leicht bedeckt und das ist meine Entscheidung. Ich bin sehr direkt und stark denke ich und viele können es nicht es ist nicht leicht anders zu sein.

- **Label:** Support Network: Shared Experiences, Communication Issues: Discrimination and Prejudices

P3: Ja genau das beweist genau dass das Gemeinschaftsgefühl sehr stark ist aber manchmal fühle ich mich auch eingeeengt. Es ist gut zu wissen dass man Unterstützung hat aber es ist auch wichtig sich außerhalb dieser Blase zu bewegen und Kontakte zu lokalen zu knüpfen. Es bedeutet nicht dass ich mein Land nicht lieben muss nur weil ich österreichische Freunde oder Klassenkameraden habe. Es ist nicht so schwarz-weiß.

- **Label:** Support Network: Emotional Support, Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P4: teilweise stimme zu und verstehe die Mädchen aber meine persönliche Wahl ist meine ganze Zeit mit den Menschen zu verbringen die ich liebe mich um meine Familie und meinen Ehemann zu kümmern mich auf sie zu konzentrieren und nicht durch andere Dinge abgelenkt zu werden. Es wäre genauso wenn ich in meinem Heimatland leben würde.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Family Values

P5: Manchmal ist es eine gute Sache manchmal ist es Druck so wie P2 mit Kommentaren umgehen musste wie: "Warum arbeitest du nicht bei uns? Warum musst du in einem österreichischen Salon putzen?"

- **Label:** Support Network: Shared Experiences

P6: Ich denke alles wurde bereits gesagt aber ich mag unsere Gemeinschaft und die Österreicher mögen wahrscheinlich auch ihre Gemeinschaften. Warum gibt es überhaupt ein Problem? Wir sind wer wir sind und sie sind wer sie sind. Es gibt mir persönlich Sicherheit in einem fremden Land.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Community Support, Feeling Safe: Sense of Belonging

Interviewerin: Interessant aber wenn sie dafür beurteilt werden dass Sie sich außerhalb Ihrer Gemeinschaft bewegen/arbeiten gibt es genug Arbeitsplätze und Ressourcen für alle in Ihrer Enklave? Sind Sie mit den Dienstleistungen und Ressourcen die in Ihrer Enklave zur Verfügung stehen also zufrieden?

P1: Also zufrieden warum nicht? Wir haben hier alles was wir brauchen. Es gibt viele unsere Geschäfte und Restaurants die uns mit vertrauten Lebensmitteln und Gerichten versorgen. Es gibt viele ältere Menschen die kein Deutsch sprechen und nicht erklären können was sie brauchen also gehen sie zu unseren Ärzten unseren Apotheken unseren Geschäften wo sie sich erklären können und nicht verurteilt werden. Und das heißt nicht dass ich wenn ich zum Beispiel etwas brauche nicht zu Lidl oder Hofer gehe oder zu Läden die nicht zu uns gehören aber in unseren Läden gibt es auch eine Gemeinschaft man kennt jeden man grüßt jeden usw. Was Dienstleistungen betrifft ja man kann sich zum Beispiel auch in einem österreichischen Salon die Haare schneiden lassen aber wir glauben dass unsere Leute im Dienstleistungsbereich mehr Erfahrung haben und unsere Bedürfnisse besser erfüllen.

Niemand würde eine schwarze Peron fragen warum sie nicht in einen österreichischen Friseursalon geht sondern in einen Salon wo man weiß wie man schwarze Haare behandelt.

- **Label:** Use of Local Services: Cultural Specific Services

P2: In Österreich und insbesondere in Wien sind die Ressourcen und Dienstleistungen sehr gut aufgebaut und verbreitet. Es ist alles was man so wünschen sollte und ich glaube eine der Gründe wieso man nach Österreich ziehen sollte sind eben die Infrastruktur und die Lebensqualität in Österreich. Auch in „Enklave“ (macht eine Geste mit den Händen) sind Dienstleistungen extrem gut aufgebaut es ist sehr oft der Fall dass in teile der Wiens Bezirke wo Enklaven zu finden sind Mehrheit vom MitarbeiterInnen in Geschäfte Ordinationen und in Rechtsanwaltskanzleien auch von den Enklaven kommen gleiche Sprache sprechen und gleiche Mentalität haben. Es ermöglicht für die Ältere Generationen für denen die Integration etwas schwieriger ist sich auch wohl zu fühlen und die Dienstleistungen und Ressourcen voll zu nutzen. Natürlich könnte ich bei uns im Salon oder an einem prestigeträchtigeren Ort arbeiten aber ich bin hierhergezogen um ein besseres Leben zu haben. Deshalb möchte ich etwas im Leben erreichen. Das AMS hat mir geholfen diesen Job zu bekommen weil ich bei meiner Ankunft keine Qualifikationen hatte. Aber ich bin nicht hierhergezogen um genau so zu leben wie in meinem Heimatland. Aber ich liebe auch meine Leute mein Land unsere kulinarischen Traditionen und alles daran.

- **Label:** Use of Local Services: Generational Differences, Job Opportunities: Qualification Recognition

P3: Die Dienstleistungen sind gut aber ich finde es wichtig auch die Angebote außerhalb der Enklave zu nutzen. Zum Beispiel hatten wir kürzlich ein Projekt eines orientalischen Bazars wo Mädchen ihre Produkte zeigen und verkaufen konnten. Es wurde ein sehr beliebter Basar in Wien nicht nur für unsere Leute sondern auch für Österreicher und andere Nationalitäten. Aufgrund unserer Kultur haben wir ihn als reinen Frauen-Basar gestaltet und viele waren enttäuscht weil es hier akzeptiert wird dass Paare solche Dinge zusammen machen. Aber wer wirklich Spaß haben wollte kam auch alleine und wir haben ihnen unsere Kultur nähergebracht.

- **Label:** Use of Local Services: Cultural Specific Services

P4: Ich bin zufrieden aber ich denke dass wir uns nicht nur auf unsere eigenen Dienstleistungen verlassen sollten. Es ist wichtig auch österreichische Angebote zu nutzen und sich daran zu gewöhnen. Zum Beispiel werde ich mein Baby natürlich in den österreichischen Kindergarten und die Schule schicken aber zu Hause werden wir unsere Sprache sprechen und unsere Kultur vermitteln genauso wie wir aufgezogen wurden.

- **Label:** Use of Local Services: Generational Differences

P5: Die ständige Frage in meinem Kopf ist wie viel ist genug? Ist es notwendig oder werde ich meine Geschichte und meine Wurzeln verlieren? Ich habe nichts gegen österreichische Schulen aber dann denke ich wenn meine Kinder "zu europäisch" aufwachsen werden sie von unserer Gemeinschaft verurteilt werden.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Dual Identity

P6: Also generell bin ich sehr zufrieden. Die speziellen Dienstleistungen für unsere Gemeinschaft sind notwendig da sie unsere kulturellen und sprachlichen Bedürfnisse berücksichtigen. Sie erleichtern den Alltag erheblich.

- **Label:** Use of Local Services: Cultural Specific Services

Interviewerin: Hmm oft haben Sie jetzt erwähnt dass Ihre eigenen Leute Sie verurteilen aber glauben Sie dass die mangelnde Akzeptanz durch die Einheimischen die Bildung von solchen Immigrantenvierteln in Wien beeinflusst hat?

P1: Ich glaube dass die mangelnde Akzeptanz durch die Einheimischen einen großen Einfluss hat. Viele von uns haben bei Ankunft Diskriminierung und Vorurteile erfahren was es schwierig gemacht hat sich in die breitere Gesellschaft zu integrieren. Infolgedessen haben wir uns in bestimmten Stadtteilen zusammengeschlossen wo wir uns sicherer und akzeptierter fühlen. Diese Gemeinschaften bieten uns nicht nur Schutz sondern auch emotionelle Unterstützung. Viele unserer Freunde sind in andere Länder wie Deutschland Frankreich oder Vereinte Staaten eingewandert und wenn wir sprechen und ja natürlich liebt niemand Migranten besonders aber die Österreicher sind meiner Meinung nach die kältesten und unnahbarsten Menschen. Man kann sich nicht mit Österreichern integrieren selbst Leute die perfekt Deutsch sprechen und so aussehen wie sie können das nicht was soll man über uns sagen die wir völlig anders aussehen und uns anders kleiden? sogar unsere dritte Generation die perfekt Deutsch spricht aber dunkler aussieht kann sich nach ihrem Universitätsabschluss nicht vollständig integrieren und ist immer noch von unserer Gesellschaft abhängig.

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P2: Teilweise stimme ich zu dass mangelnde Akzeptanz der Einheimischen es beeinflusst jedoch finde ich nicht dass man in Österreich gezwungen ist ein Teil der Enklave zu sein. Personen die in solchen Gesellschaften leben fühlen sich etwas akzeptierter in Community aber es bedeutet nicht dass die in Enklaven wohnen müssen. Meiner Erfahrung nach die ÖsterreicherInnen Akzeptieren die ImigrantInnen nur dann wenn die Richtig in der Gesellschaft integriert sind. Es braucht Zeit muhe und viel Arbeit zu beweisen dass man mit Einheimischen gleichgestellt sein kann oder dass man auch Respektiert und Akzeptiert wird aber nach der Akzeptierung hat man dieser Probleme nicht so oft wie am Anfang. Und natürlich gibt es für uns keine Möglichkeit uns vollständig zu integrieren zum Beispiel mit Kopftüchern oder sogar mit B2 Deutsch-Niveau. Es gibt viele Gründe dafür: Wenn wir kein Schweinefleisch essen gelten wir als zu religiös. Aber wenn die Hälfte des Landes vegan oder vegetarisch isst wird es als Rettung des Planeten genannt.

- **Label:** Communication Issues: Discrimination and Prejudices

P3: (lacht) ja ich bin auch der Meinung dass die mangelnde Akzeptanz sicherlich eine Rolle gespielt hat aber ich denke es liegt auch an uns aktiv auf die österreichische Gesellschaft zuzugehen. Beide Seiten müssen an der Integration arbeiten. Wir wollen auch nicht vollständig verschmelzen weil wir Angst haben unsere Werte zu verlieren. Sie haben ihre eigenen Gründe warum sollten wir es also tun?

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P4: Ich stimme zu dass mangelnde Akzeptanz ein Faktor ist aber ich glaube dass viele Menschen sich einfach wohler fühlen wenn sie in der Nähe von Landsleuten leben. Es ist eine natürliche Reaktion auf die Herausforderungen der Migration.

- **Label:** Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P5: Ich denke dass die solche Konzentrationen weniger mit mangelnder Akzeptanz zu tun hat und mehr mit Bequemlichkeit. Menschen suchen nach Vertrautheit in einer neuen Umgebung was zu solchen Gemeinschaften führt wie bei uns.

- **Label:** Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P6: Ja natürlich die sind sehr kalt. Es hat einen großen Einfluss. Ich denke dass jeder von uns irgendwann die Chance hatte sich mehr in Richtung Integration zu bewegen oder in unserer Gemeinschaft zu bleiben und die Interaktionen die wir mit den Einheimischen hatten haben uns diesen Weg wählen lassen. Ob es Schulen Universitäten oder für manche als sie hierhergezogen sind zu diesen Zeitpunkten haben wir solche Diskriminierungen erfahren dass wir den Grad der Integration so gewählt haben.

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

Interviewerin: Sie haben auch das Thema von Gefühl der Sicherheit und Zugehörigkeit für MigrantInnen angesprochen. Warum ist es für euch so wichtig fühlen Sie sich in anderen Teilen Wiens nicht willkommen?

P1: Ich glaube wir sind mehr verstanden und akzeptiert hier was sehr wichtig ist wenn man in einem fremden Land lebt. Wenn jemand alltägliche Probleme oder größeren Schwierigkeiten hat es gibt immer jemanden der hilft. Wir sind mehr als nur Nachbarn. Leider gibt es oft Vorurteile und Missverständnisse. Viele denken wir seien alle Terroristen oder dumm weil wir an Gott glauben. Diese negativen Stereotype machen es schwer sich in die breitere Gesellschaft zu integrieren und dort ein Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zu finden. Deshalb ist die diese Familie so wichtig für uns. Hier können wir wir selbst sein ohne Angst vor Diskriminierung oder Vorurteilen. Wir brauchen Orte an denen wir uns nicht diskriminiert fühlen weil wir im Sommer ganz in Schwarz gekleidet sind oder wenn wir beten müssen. Auch in unseren Gemeinden gibt es einige Nachbarn die uns immer beschimpfen weil wir ihrer Meinung nach laut schmutzig von Männern diskriminiert faul usw. sind.

- **Label:** Feeling Safe: Sense of Belonging

P2: Wie ich am Anfang erklärt habe es geht nur ums verstehen der Probleme voneinander. Sicherheitsgefühl für Immigranten entsteht dann wenn die sich wie in zu Hause fühlen wenn man Personen in seinem Leben hat die ihn verstehen und seine Probleme auch durchgemacht haben. Ich glaube Jeder Immigrant hat Zeitpunkt in seinen Leben wo er die Enklaven und dementsprechend auch die Personen von dem gleichen Migrationshintergrund braucht um durchzukämpfen und sich zu integrieren. Einige Immigranten bleiben leider in diesem Kreis für immer und integrieren sich nicht in die Gesellschaft. Am Anfang ist sehr schwer sich willkommen zu fühlen nicht nur weil ÖsterreicherInnen dich nicht akzeptieren aber auch weil man sich zuerst an neues Leben Regeln Traditionen und lebensstill anpassen soll. Wir wissen manchmal selbst nicht wie was gehört und dieser Angst stresst und als nächster sind wir dann nicht mehr selbstbewusst. Das alles passiert in Enklaven nicht deswegen ist man eher sicherer jedoch man muss von seinem Comfort-zone rauskommen um sich zu entwickeln.

- **Label:** Support Network: Emotional Support, Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P3: Man muss es balancieren irgendwie. Man muss auch bemühen dieses Gefühl außerhalb der eigenen Gemeinschaft zu finden. Nur so kann echte Integration stattfinden.

- **Label:** Support Network: Emotional Support, Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P4: Ich stimme zu es ist definitiv ein sicherer Ort aber man sollte sich nicht ausschließlich darauf verlassen. Die wirkliche Herausforderung besteht darin auch in der breiteren Gesellschaft einen Platz zu finden. Ich nehme viele Kurse um mich selbst zu entwickeln und

habe viele österreichische Freunde aber ich kann ihnen nicht sehr eng sein ich stimme ihrem Lebensstil auf diesem Niveau nicht zu und die sind genauso eingestellt.

- **Label:** Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P5: Es wurde richtig gesagt es ist wie zuhause eine Komfortzone aber es verhindert ja die Integration. Es ist wichtig sich dieser Sicherheit nicht zu sehr hinzugeben.

- **Label:** Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P6: Ich bin froh dass hier wir uns entfalten und unsere Kultur leben können ohne Angst vor Diskriminierung zu haben.

- **Label:** Feeling Safe: Sense of Belonging

Interviewerin: Was sind dann die größten Herausforderungen denen Sie als Mitglied einer Immigranteneinklaven in Wien gegenüberstehen?

P1: Eine der größten ist sicherlich die Sprachbarriere. Viele von uns kommen hierher ohne fließend Deutsch zu sprechen und das kann die Kommunikation im Alltag erschweren sei es bei der Arbeitssuche im Umgang mit Behörden oder einfach beim Einkaufen. Das Lernen der Sprache ist daher entscheidend aber es erfordert Zeit. Ohne Sprache kann man außer unserer Gesellschaft nicht arbeiten wenn wir Hilfe von der Stadt bekommen sind wird dafür beurteilt wenn wir in unsere Gemeinschaft arbeiten sind wir auch beurteilt also es gibt keinen richtigen Weg. Auch in vielen Berufen wird keine Rücksicht auf unsere Religion und unsere Feste genommen manche Männer wollen nur dass ihre Frauen mit anderen Frauen zusammenarbeiten und sie verstehen das nicht. Für uns ist es bereits normal geworden aber das Schlimmste ist wenn unsere Kinder wegen ihrer Kultur und Religion diskriminiert werden. Wenn sie in der Schule ausgelacht oder als "scheiß Ausländer" beschimpft werden. Vor Kurzem ist auch ein neues Lied herausgekommen von dem mein Kind mir erzählt hat dass es beliebt geworden ist. Es handelt davon dass Deutschland nur für Deutsche sei und dass Immigranten gehen sollten. Manchmal singen Leute dieses Lied wenn sie an unseren Kindern vorbeigehen. Natürlich versucht die Schule zu helfen aber es ist schwer zu kontrollieren was Kinder sagen.

- **Label:** Communication Issues: Learning German, Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P2: Am Anfang ist alles schwer angefangen beim Kauf eines Verkehrstickets bis zur Terminbuchung beim Arzt. Besonders schwierig ist es jedoch für Immigranten sich richtig zu definieren. Was ich damit meine ist dass wenn sich ein Immigrant nicht an Regeln hält oder eine Straftat begeht viele Einheimische alle Immigranten dafür verantwortlich machen oder als kriminell betrachten und alle Ausländer in einen Topf werfen. Andererseits wird wenn ein Österreicher eine Straftat begeht dies von Einheimischen oft als Ausnahme oder Einzelfall betrachtet was für mich keinen Sinn ergibt.

- **Label:** Communication Issues: Learning German, Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P3: Die Sprachbarriere ist eine der größten Herausforderungen für mich. Auch dass unsere Qualifikation nicht anerkannt sind.

- **Label:** Communication Issues: Learning German, Job Opportunities: Qualification Recognition

P4: Für mich eine der größten Herausforderungen ist die Balance zwischen Integration und Bewahrung der eigenen Kultur. Manchmal fühlt es sich an als müsste man sich entscheiden aber das sollte nicht der Fall sein.

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Balancing Integration and Heritage

P5: Die größten Herausforderungen sind Vorurteile und Diskriminierung. Es ist schwer sich in eine Gesellschaft einzufügen die einen oft nicht willkommen heißt. Wir werden immer dafür beurteilt dass wir nicht integriert sind aber auch die Einheimischen versuchen nicht sich mit uns zu engagieren und uns zu vermeiden. Sie betrachten uns mit kritischem Blick und machen Kommentare also ist das alles schwer.

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P6: Die größte Herausforderung ist sich akzeptiert und respektiert zu fühlen. Oft gibt es Vorurteile die den Alltag erschweren. Auch die wirtschaftliche Integration ist schwierig da es weniger Jobmöglichkeiten gibt. Ich bekam auch einen Job mithilfe von AMS und die Leute beurteilen mich weil ich bedeckt bin und sie den Job mehr "verdient" haben als ich. Aber niemand sieht dass ich arbeite um meine ganze Familie zu ernähren. Ich habe 4 Kinder und ich bekomme das Geld nicht von der Regierung ich arbeite dafür vollzeit.

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals, Job Opportunities: Economic Contribution

Interviewerin: Okay wie genau würdet ihr dann sagen dass ihr versucht Ihre kulturelle Identität zu bewahren und gleichzeitig sich in die Wiener Gesellschaft zu integrieren?

P1: Mmm Ich denke dass ich Deutsch spreche und meine Kinder eine österreichische Schule besuchen ausreichend Integration ist. Ich sehe nicht was ich noch mehr tun könnte. Ich respektiere jeden und schade niemandem.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Integration Efforts

P2: Kulturelle Identität ist in uns allen verankert das kann niemand nehmen.

Selbstverständlich haben auch Österreicherinnen eine kulturelle Identität die man zuerst kennenlernen sollte bevor man über Integration nachdenkt. Um sich zu integrieren sollte man wissen wo man sich integriert welche Prioritäten Perspektiven und Traditionen das Land hat. Alle Migrantinnen müssen akzeptieren dass sie sich an österreichische Regeln und Lebensstile anpassen sollen und erst danach kann Integration gelingen. Der Prozess ist lang und auf dem Weg trifft man immer wieder auf verschiedene Herausforderungen jedoch sollte man nicht aufgeben sondern sich weiterentwickeln. Meiner Meinung nach ist das beste Zeichen einer erfolgreichen Integration wenn die kulturelle Identität nicht verloren geht und die Immigrantinnen es schaffen mit ihrer kulturellen Identität akzeptiert zu werden.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Integration Efforts

P3: Ich versuche an vielen Veranstaltungen teilzunehmen aber oft muss ich meine Kinder mitnehmen und dort werden wir auch beurteilt. Meistens trinken oder rauchen die Leute dort und ich möchte nicht in solcher Umgebung sein. Es ist schwierig Teil der Gemeinschaft zu sein wenn man nicht die gleichen Interessen oder Vorlieben teilt.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Dual Identity

P4: Ich bewahre meine kulturelle Identität indem ich traditionelle Feste feiere und meine Muttersprache spreche. Gleichzeitig engagiere ich mich in der Gemeinde und versuche ein aktives Mitglied der österreichischen Gesellschaft zu sein. Ich fühle mich wie eine Brücke für die älteren Menschen in meiner Gemeinschaft und Österreich indem ich ihnen helfe sich mit

Dienstleistungen und Ressourcen zu verbinden die ihnen vielleicht nicht vertraut sind. Es ist erfüllend zu sehen wie sie hier im Leben zurechtkommen. Außerdem finde ich mich oft dabei kulturelle Unterschiede zu erklären und Stereotypen auf beiden Seiten abzubauen.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Dual Identity, Support Network: Emotional Support

P5: Alles was wir vom Aufwachen bis zum Schlafengehen tun gehört zu unserer kulturellen Identität. Wie wir uns integrieren sind größtenteils Dinge die wir tun müssen weil der Staat es verlangt. Wenn ich zum Beispiel in die Fahrschule gehe und mich dort integriere und kommuniziere dann nur weil ich muss nicht weil ich es will. Aber auch dafür haben wir Lösungen gefunden: Wir haben eigene Schulen und können Prüfungen in unserer Sprache ablegen.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Integration Efforts

P6: Ich würde sagen dass durch den Besuch der Hochschule.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Integration Efforts

Interviewerin: Und was würden Sie sagen wie wird Ihre Enklave von der größeren Wiener Gemeinschaft missverstanden wenn überhaupt?

P1: Es gibt viele Missverständnisse. Viele Leute außerhalb verstehen nicht vollständig wer wir sind und was uns wichtig ist. Manche denken vielleicht dass wir nicht genug tun um uns anzupassen aber für uns ist es wichtig unsere Identität zu bewahren während wir hier leben. Zum Beispiel wenn ich Russisch Sprache und sogar Russisch am Telefon im öffentlichen Verkehr spreche erhalte ich diese Blicke wie "oh diese Ausländern"...

- **Label:** Communication Issues: Discrimination and Prejudices

P2: Wir werden oft als Ghettos oder Ähnliches beschrieben nur weil Menschen mit gleichem Migrationshintergrund in einem Haus oder Teil des Bezirks zusammenwohnen. Das bedeutet nicht dass für sie andere Regelungen gelten. Es ist unverständlich wenn Enklaven als Plätze für Kriminalität gekennzeichnet werden. Falls in einer Enklave etwas Kriminelles passieren sollte sind für die Einheimischen alle Kriminellen und dieser Bereich wird sofort als unsicher und kriminell bezeichnet. Aber wenn in einer österreichischen Wohngemeinde ein Österreicher mit der Axt drei Leute erschneidet ist es nur ein Einzelfall und man darf keine Angst vor Einheimischen haben.

- **Label:** Communication Issues: Discrimination and Prejudices

P3: Ja ich stimme zu es gibt viele Missverständnisse vor allem hinsichtlich unserer Werte und Lebensweise. Manche denken wir wollen uns nicht integrieren aber in Wirklichkeit versuchen wir unsere Identität zu bewahren und uns gleichzeitig anzupassen.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Integration Efforts

P4: und oft wird angenommen dass wir uns absichtlich isolieren aber das stimmt nicht.

- **Label:** Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

P5: Die Wahrheit ist dass viele von uns gerne mehr Kontakt zu Einheimischen hätten aber oft auf Vorurteile stoßen die wir schon angesprochen haben.

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P6: Genau und manche sehen uns als eine Bedrohung oder als unwillig aber in Wirklichkeit suchen wir nur nach einem Ort an dem wir uns sicher und verstanden fühlen.

- **Label:** Feeling Safe: Sense of Belonging

Interviewerin: Können Sie dann genau von persönlichen Erfahrungen erzählen die Sie dazu bewogen haben in Ihrer derzeitigen Enklave zu leben?

P1: Ja es ist mein Comfort-Zone. Es war die Herzlichkeit und Unterstützung die ich von Anfang an erfahren habe. Als ich neu ankam war alles so überwältigend und fremd aber die Gemeinschaft hier hat mich sofort aufgenommen und mir geholfen mich einzuleben. Es war beruhigend zu wissen dass ich hier Menschen habe die meine Sprache sprechen die meine Kultur verstehen und die mir helfen konnten mich in dieser neuen Umgebung zurechtzufinden. Ich bin nicht alleine.

- **Label:** Support Network: Emotional Support

P2: Wie ich schon gesagt habe ist es für mich einfacher akzeptiert zu fühlen wenn ich Menschen in der Nähe habe die meine Mentalität und Identität verstehen wo ich nichts beweisen muss und über meine Integrationsprobleme laut reden kann.

- **Label:** Support Network: Emotional Support

P3: Es ist immer beruhigend zu wissen dass ich nicht alleine bin.

- **Label:** Support Network: Emotional Support

P4: Meine Familie und Freunde leben hier. Und das war keine Entscheidung im eigentlichen Sinne; es sollte so sein es wurde nicht einmal darüber nachgedacht.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Family Values

P5: Hier habe ich nicht nur meine Familie und Freunde sondern auch meine kulturellen Traditionen und Werte erfahren und weitergegeben bekommen. Diese enge Bindung hat mich stark geprägt.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Traditions, Family Values

P6: Genau wie alle gesagt haben es ist unsere Familie alles was wir kennen und man wählt seine Familie nicht man ist Teil von ihr.

- **Label:** Cultural Heritage Connection: Family Values

Interviewerin: Wie könnte Ihr Zugehörigkeitsgefühl und Ihre soziale Integration beeinflusst werden wenn Sie in einem Land leben würden in dem die lokale Bevölkerung für ihre Gastfreundschaft und Integration bekannt ist?

P1: Ich denke wenn ich in einem anderen Land ginge in dem ich die Sprache sprechen könnte könnte sich die Geschichte anders entwickeln. Auch wenn ich jünger wäre könnten die Dinge anders sein. Dennoch würde ich meine Heimat Kultur Sprache und Religion weiterhin schätzen. Ich würde sie nicht vergessen oder mich von ihnen distanzieren wollen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Promoting Cultural Diversity

P2: Es wurde einiges vereinfachen weniger stress und mehr Fröhlichkeit bringen wahrscheinlich auch meine Karriere oder persönliche Entwicklung etwas beschleunigen aber wenn man Teil der Gesellschaft sein will muss man auf jeden Fall sich integrieren in einige Länder ist es einfacher aber bedeutet nicht dass ich morgen mich entscheiden kann dass ich in eine der solche Land leben will und heute auf morgen ich als Teil der Gesellschaft anerkannt werde.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Overcoming Challenges

P3: Ich denke dass mein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl und meine Integration in einer gastfreundlicheren Umgebung deutlich verbessert wären. Wenn die lokale Bevölkerung offener und einladender wäre würde das meinen Stress reduzieren und mir helfen schneller Freundschaften zu schließen und mich als Teil der Gesellschaft zu fühlen.

- **Label:** Feeling Safe: Sense of Belonging

P4: In einem solchen Land würde ich mich wahrscheinlich schneller integrieren und wohler fühlen. Die Gastfreundschaft der Einheimischen würde mir helfen mich akzeptiert zu fühlen und mir den Mut geben aktiver an der Gesellschaft teilzunehmen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Better Integration

P5: Ich glaube es würde die Motivation erhöhen die lokale Sprache zu lernen und mich kulturell anzupassen ohne das Gefühl zu haben meine eigene Identität aufzugeben.

- **Label:** Maintaining Traditions: Integration Efforts

P6: Ich denke vielleicht würde es unser ganzes Leben nicht verändern aber die Interaktionen die wir derzeit mit Einheimischen haben könnten besser und stärker sein. Und vielleicht würden wir es so sehr mögen dass wir versuchen würden uns mehr zu integrieren und mehr Freundschaften zu schließen. Aber das kann man nicht vorher sagen.

- **Label:** Varying Levels of Attachment: Adaptation Challenges

Interviewerin: Gibt es irgendetwas das sich in der lokalen Gesellschaft oder im Gastland ändern könnte das Sie dazu bringen würde Ihre Immigrantenklaven zu verlassen?

P1: Jetzt? Ich denk jetzt nein dass es unmöglich ist. Ich sehe nicht wie ich meine Gemeinschaft verlassen und mich vollständig in eine österreichische Familie integrieren könnte. Vielleicht gab es zu Beginn als ich hier ankam eine kleine Möglichkeit zwischen den Wegen zu wählen aber jetzt gibt es keinen Weg mehr.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Acknowledging Cultural Practices

P2: Etwas zu ändern um es zu verlassen trifft die Frage für mich persönlich nicht wirklich in meiner Situation da es meine persönliche Entscheidung ist so zu leben. Es gibt jedoch vieles zu ändern was uns helfen würde sich besser zu integrieren z.B. die erste Einstellung der Einheimischen. Was ich damit meine ist dass beim ersten Treffen oder Kennenlernen vom Einheimischen fast immer das Gefühl kommt dass wir auf dem falschen Fuß unserer Beziehung anfangen weil ich Immigrant bin. Wenn diese Einstellung weniger vorkommen würde und mich die ÖsterreicherInnen erst danach 'beurteilen' würden nachdem wir uns kennengelernt haben wäre die Integration nicht nur für mich sondern auch für alle anderen ImmigrantInnen viel einfacher. Und es gibt sogar verschiedene Stufen davon. Es ist eine Sache wenn man Immigrant ist aber eine ganz andere noch schlimmere wenn man Asylbewerber ist.

- **Label:** Communication Issues: Discrimination and Prejudices

P3: Ich würde niemals mein Volk und das was ich habe mit meiner Wahl verlassen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Acknowledging Cultural Practices

P4: Es ist als würde man einem Österreicher sagen du bist kein Österreicher mehr. Es spielt keine Rolle ob man es sagt oder nicht es ändert nichts an der Realität. Also es ist unmöglich es einfach zu verlassen es ist unser ganzes Leben. Wie soll man das überhaupt verlassen?

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Acknowledging Cultural Practices

P5: Wenn es weniger Diskriminierung und mehr Unterstützung für Migranten gäbe wäre besser aber es scheint mir nicht realistisch.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Reducing Stereotypes

P6: Eine signifikante Verbesserung in der Einstellung der Einheimischen gegenüber Migranten könnte mich dazu bewegen mehr zu integrieren aber nicht es zu verlassen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Better Integration

Interviewerin: Haben Sie im Laufe der Zeit Veränderungen in den Beziehungen zwischen Ihrer Enklavengemeinschaft und der breiteren Wiener Gesellschaft festgestellt?

P1: Ja ich würde nicht sagen dass es am Anfang alles Sonnenschein und Regenbogen war. Nach der Welle von 2015 begann eine große Ablehnung gegenüber uns nicht nur gegenüber unserer Nation sondern allen Migranten und Asylsuchenden. Der letzte Tropfen war der terroristische Angriff im 1. Bezirk in Wien. Seitdem wurden wir oft fälschlicherweise als Terroristen abgestempelt.

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P2: Es gibt vorschritte da das Welt sich entwickelt und Informationsaustausch sowie Meinungsäußerung sich vereinfacht hat. Muss ich auch aber leider sagen dass es in Österreich sehr langsamer Prozess ist.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Overcoming Challenges

P3: Ich kann jetzt genau nicht erinnern aber ja nach 2015 würde ich auch sagen ...

- **Label:** Experiences of Discrimination: Prejudices from Locals

P4: Ich habe sowohl positive als auch negative Veränderungen bemerkt. Es gibt mehr Initiativen zur Integration aber auch Rückschläge besonders nach negativen Ereignissen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Overcoming Challenges

P5: Es gibt mehr Dialog aber nicht viel Fortschritt ehrlich zu sein. Nach terroristischem Angriff haben wir die Schritte zurück gemacht.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Reducing Stereotypes

P6: Ja das war sehr traurig.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Reducing Stereotypes

Interviewerin: Ja ich kann mich auch erinnern so was denkt ihr dann wie könnte eine größere Akzeptanz und Integration durch die Einheimischen dazu führen dass sich die Konzentration von MigrantInnen in Immigrantenenklaven verringert?

P1: Wenn wir uns in der breiteren Gesellschaft willkommen und akzeptiert fühlen würden hätten wir weniger Bedarf an isolierten Gemeinschaften wo wir uns gegenseitig unterstützen. Ja Akzeptanz bedeutet vollständige Akzeptanz einschließlich allem was wir sind. Viele Leute sagen heute dass sie liberal sind aber dann kommen immer wieder Einschränkungen. Sie diskriminieren nicht es sei denn wir tragen Hijabs im Schwimmbad oder beten auf der Straße wenn wir müssen. Es ist immer so eine Kombination. Solange sie uns nicht so sein lassen wie wir sind glaube ich nicht dass eine echte Integration möglich ist. Viele wollen uns einfach aus dem Land haben.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Overcoming Challenges

P2: Stimmt es ist mehr oder weniger direkt miteinander verbunden wenn es größere Akzeptanz von der Seite der Einheimischen geben wurde wäre es einfacher für die Immigranten die sich bis dahin denken dass sie nur in Immigrantenenklaven willkommen sind die Integration vereinfachen und dementsprechend auch deren Qualität von Sicherheit und Selbstbewusstsein steigen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Better Integration

P3: Ja aber kann sein oder nicht man kann es nicht so sagen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Overcoming Challenges

P4: Einfach gesagt wenn ich wüsste dass ich im Park nicht ausgelacht werde weil ich beim Sport bedeckt bin würde ich öfter in den Park gehen...

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Acknowledging Cultural Practices

P5: Größere Akzeptanz würde die Angst vor Diskriminierung und Vorurteilen reduzieren ja Aber es würde unsere Kultur und Überzeugungen nicht ändern also würde es auch nicht ändern wer wir sind und wofür wir gehasst werden.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Reducing Stereotypes

P6: Wenn die Einheimischen Migranten als gleichwertige Mitglieder der Gesellschaft akzeptieren würden würde dies das Gefühl der Isolation natürlich verringern.

- **Label:** Feeling Safe: Sense of Belonging

Interviewerin: Und die letzte Frage für heute ich weiß ich habe Ihnen schon viele Fragen gestellt aber um das Ganze abzuschließen wie stellen Sie sich die zukünftige Beziehung zwischen Immigrantenklaven und der wiener Gesellschaft vor?

P1: Es braucht mehr gegenseitiges Verständnis und Respekt. Wenn die Einheimischen bereit sind uns als gleichwertige Mitglieder der Gesellschaft anzuerkennen und unsere kulturellen Unterschiede zu akzeptieren könnte sich das Verhältnis verbessern. Eine bessere Herangehensweise wäre: Wir leben unser Leben sie leben ihres und jeder respektiert den Raum des anderen. So kann jeder glücklich sein.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Enhancing Mutual Understanding

P2: Man muss nur es nur wollen und dafür viel Arbeiten! Es ist nicht unmöglich es kann für Jemand lang dauern aber wenn man es will und nicht nach erstem Hindernis sich wieder im Immigrantenklaven einsperrt ist das meiner Meinung nach sehr wohl möglich.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Overcoming Challenges

P3: Hoffentlich müssen unsere hier geborenen und aufgewachsenen Kinder nicht durch das durchgehen was wir durchgemacht haben und können ein Leben genießen wie es jedem Menschen zusteht.

- **Label:** Feeling Safe: Future Aspirations

P4: Ich hoffe nur dass die Menschen in der Zukunft nicht wegen ihrer schlechten Lebensbedingungen aus ihren Heimatländern auswandern müssen.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Better Integration

P5: In Zukunft hoffe ich dass Migranten und Einheimische harmonischer zusammenleben können.

- **Label:** Hope for Acceptance: Better Integration

P6: Ich bin optimistisch dass sich die Beziehungen verbessern werden vielleicht in 10 oder 20 Jahren oder für unsere Kinder und Enkelkinder aber irgendwann.

- **Label:** Feeling Safe: Future Aspirations

Interviewerin: Vielen vielen Dank für die persönliche Einblicke und die Teilnahme!

5: Transcript: Locals

Mahlzeit und nochmal vielen Dank dass ihr euch die Zeit genommen habt an meiner Diskussion teilzunehmen! So anzufangen meine erste Frage wäre über die Akzeptanz in Wien... welche Aspekte tragen Ihrer Meinung nach zur Akzeptanz von MigrantInnen in der Wiener Gesellschaft bei?

H1: Gerne gerne. Also ich würd' sagen die Integration in die österreichische Gesellschaft Kultur und Verhalten.

Label: Cultural Adaptation

H2: Also meiner Meinung nach das akzentfreie Deutsch.

Label: Language Proficiency

H3: Naja wenn diese sich unserem System unseren Gegebenheiten unseren Regeln anpassen das ist was zur Akzeptanz beiträgt.

Label: Cultural Adaptation

H4: Man muss gut Deutsch reden unsere Kultur und Verhaltensregeln kennen und auch einander respektieren. Nicht nur an sich denken sondern auch vielleicht ein bisschen dankbar sein dass unser Land ihnen irgendwas gebracht und geholfen hat.

Label: Language Proficiency, Cultural Adaptation, Respect and Gratitude

H5: Also ich find's wichtig dass Migranten sich auch richtig reinhängen und die österreichische Kultur verstehen und schätzen. Das zeigt dass sie wirklich dabei sind und sich integrieren wollen. Wenn ich zum Beispiel aufs Oktoberfest oder zu österreichischen Konzerten geh und Leute seh die offensichtlich keine Österreicher sind aber unsere Lieder singen und zu unserer Musik abgehen freut mich das voll. Aber bei den meisten Leuten krieg ich das Gefühl die mögen uns gar nicht und wollen uns nur ausnutzen.

Label: Cultural Adaptation

H6: Außerdem is' der persönliche Kontakt total wichtig. Wenn Einheimische gute Erfahrungen im direkten Kontakt mit MigrantInnen machen kann das echt helfen Vorurteile abzubauen und die Akzeptanz zu steigern.

Label: Personal Contact

Könnten Sie die Schwierigkeiten erläutern mit denen Sie konfrontiert sind oder waren weil Sie in einer Stadt mit vielen Immigrantenklaven wohnen?

H1: Ehrlich gesagt manchmal fühle ich mich als ich nicht dazugehöre selbst im eigenen Land.

Label: Feeling of Exclusion

H2: Ich persönlich habe ich keine Schwierigkeiten damit bisher gehabt.

Label: No Difficulties

H3: Persönlich habe ich auch keine Schwierigkeiten aber meine Mutter zum Beispiel wohnt in einem Gemeindebau. Sie ist eine von fünf Einheimischen unter zehn Stiegenbewohnern und sie würde am liebsten ausziehen weil dort verschiedene Kulturen ihre Lebensweise ausleben.

Label: Feeling of Exclusion

H4: Manchmal fühle ich mich unwohl wenn an Orten wie Märkten in der U-Bahn oder auf der Straße mehr Migranten sind als Einheimische. Nicht persönlich aber auf einer emotionalen Ebene tut es mir leid weil es sich so anfühlt als das Land nicht mehr uns gehört wir sind die Minderheit.

Label: Emotional Discomfort

H5: Ich fand zum Beispiel es nicht fair dass die Ukrainer alles serviert bekommen haben während andere Nationalitäten zumindest versucht haben Deutsch zu lernen.

Label: Unequal Treatment

H6: Ja ich denke viele würden in Bezug auf die Ukrainer zustimmen und in manchen Vierteln fühle ich mich manchmal unsicher besonders nachts wenn ich alleine als Frau unterwegs bin... und es gibt Gruppen von Männern mit Bärten die laut eine Sprache sprechen die ich nicht verstehe.

Label: Safety Concerns

Aber um es aus der anderen Perspektive zu betrachten inwiefern bereichern MigrantInnen die Wiener Kulturlandschaft und welchen Beitrag leisten sie zu deren Vielfalt? Auf welche Weise behindern sie diese?

H1: Wien ist bekannt für die multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Die Mischung der verschiedenen Kulturen zeigt sich in Essen Musik Kunst Tanz usw. In manchen Bereichen wird jedoch die österreichische Kultur verdrängt oder nicht mehr zugelassen.

Label: Multicultural Society, Cultural Contribution

H2: Für mich es ist immer gut andere Kulturen kennenzulernen. Es erweitert den Horizont. Man wird daran erinnert dass man nicht der Nabel der Welt ist.

Label: Cultural Exchange

H3: Ich glaube die "Ausländer" die unsere Kultur bereichern sind feste Bestandteile unserer Gesellschaft und mehr oder weniger integriert. Jene die in Enklaven wohnen leben ihre Religion Sitten usw. aus.

Label: Integration Issues

H4: Ich denke dass in Bereichen in denen wir einen Mangel an Fachkräften haben wie z.B. Ärzte Pflegepersonal IT-Fachkräfte Dienstpersonal die aus anderen Ländern kommen Österreich wirklich helfen können. Österreicher wollen einfach nicht in diesen Bereichen arbeiten und uns fehlen immer noch Arbeitskräfte. Aber viele von ihnen kommen hierher und tun nichts bekommen Geld gute Wohnungen und bringen dem Land nichts.

Label: Economic Contribution

H5: Ich finde es wichtig dass die Integration von Migranten in die Gesellschaft gefördert wird. Man sollte jedoch auch darauf achten dass sie unsere Werte und Gesetze respektieren. Das ist wo das Problem besteht.

Label: Integration Issues

H6: Es gibt sicherlich viele positive Aspekte der multikulturellen Gesellschaft in Wien. Aber der Staat muss anders vorgehen. Ich find' es gibt eine große Kluft zwischen uns und den anderen und wir brauchen irgendeine Lösung.

Label: Multicultural Society, Integration Issues

Gibt es Zeiten in denen Sie bestimmte Viertel meiden weil dort große Gruppen von Immigranten-Enklaven ansässig sind? Oder besuchen Sie gezielt ethnische Viertel um etwas Spezielles zu kaufen das von locales Geschäften nicht angeboten wird?

H1: Ja ich würd sagen beides.

Label: Avoidance of Certain Areas, Preference for Ethnic Neighborhoods

H2: Ja ich gehe gerne zum Brunnenmarkt essen. Manche Viertel wie der Reumannplatz meide ich jedoch nur wegen der Menschenansammlungen.

Label: Preference for Ethnic Neighborhoods, Avoidance of Certain Areas

H3: Das Wort „Zeiten“ ist falsch. Wir meiden einige Viertel in Wien da wir uns dort nicht aufhalten um spezielle Waren zu kaufen sondern eher wegen des Einkaufs- und Lieferverkehrs.

Label: Avoidance of Certain Areas

H4: Ich erinnere mich daran den 2. Bezirk gemieden zu haben weil dort viele Juden leben und nach ihrem Angriff auf Gaza haben arabische Länder angekündigt jüdische Viertel anzugreifen.

Label: Avoidance of Certain Areas

H5: Also ich persönlich meide keine bestimmten Viertel wegen der ethnischen Zusammensetzung. Es ist mir wichtiger wohin ich gehe basierend auf den angebotenen Dienstleistungen oder Produkten.

Label: Preference for Ethnic Neighborhoods

H6: Ich bin oft in den 2. Bezirk weil es dort viele russische Lebensmittelgeschäfte gibt wo ich Produkte kaufen kann die wir entweder nicht verkaufen oder überhaupt nicht haben.

Label: Preference for Ethnic Neighborhoods

Welche Faktoren tragen dazu bei dass sich MigrantInnen eher für eine Enklave als für ein anderes Gebiet in Wien entscheiden?

H1: Viele Österreicher vor allem die ältere Generation lassen keine Integration zu weshalb sich MigrantInnen denke ich oft unwohl fühlen und mit Gleichgesinnten "zusammenschließen".

Label: Feeling of Exclusion

H2: Die Wiener und Österreicher sind einfach zum Großteil rassistisch kann ich ja sagen. Es gibt viel Alltagsrassismus.

Label: Stereotypes and Misconceptions

H3: Und sie haben einfach den starken Wunsch unter sich zu bleiben.

Label: Preference for Ethnic Neighborhoods

H4: Ich denke sie verstehen dass wir einfach sehr unterschiedlich sind und keine Verbindung zueinander haben also bleiben sie bei ihren Leuten und wir bleiben wie wir sind.

Label: Feeling of Exclusion

H5: Also ich denke dass Sprache und die Verfügbarkeit von kulturellen Einrichtungen eine große Rolle spielen. Dann fühlen sie sich weniger fremd glaub ich.

Label: Cultural Adaptation

H6: Ja das sehe ich auch so. Man fühlt sich einfach wohler wenn man umgeben ist von Menschen die die gleiche Sprache sprechen und die gleichen kulturellen Bräuche haben. Sie sind auch nicht bereit sich zu integrieren sie kommen nicht mit diesem Wunsch hierher obwohl sie fliehen weil ihre Länder nicht besonders gut sind aber anstatt in das gute Land zu kommen und so zu leben wie wir es hier tun wollen sie die Gewohnheiten ihres "schlechten Landes" hierher bringen was keinen Sinn ergibt. Warum sollte man so weiterleben wie vorher und wovor man weggelaufen ist?

Label: Cultural Adaptation, Stereotypes and Misconceptions

Wie wirkt sich die Konzentration von MigrantInnen in Immigrantenenklaven auf den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt in Wien aus?

H1: Diese Viertel werden oft negativ bewertet und ausgeschlossen.

Label: Negative Perceptions

H2: Hmm ich befürchte leider dass die hohe Konzentration von Migranten in bestimmten Vierteln den Eindruck erweckt dass diese Menschen nicht bereit sind sich vollständig oder zum Teil zu integrieren.

Label: Negative Perceptions

H3: Also unbedingt nicht positiv.

Label: Negative Perceptions

H4: Es fühlt sich wirklich so an als seien wir Ausländer in unserem Land sind.

Label: Feeling of Exclusion

H5: Also ich erinnere mich an eine Zeit als ich in einem Viertel gewohnt habe das hauptsächlich von Migranten bewohnt wurde. Es war manchmal schwierig weil die Einheimischen und die MigrantInnen sich oft nicht gut verstanden haben. Zum Beispiel gab es Spannungen wegen der unterschiedlichen Lebensgewohnheiten und der Lautstärke besonders in den Abendstunden. Das hat definitiv den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt beeinflusst.

Label: Cultural Misunderstandings

H6: Ich kann das verstehen. In meinem Viertel gibt es auch viele Migranten aus Osteuropa und dem Nahen Osten. Manchmal fühlt es sich so an als ob wir uns in unseren eigenen

Gruppen aufhalten ohne wirklich viel miteinander zu interagieren.

Label: Cultural Misunderstandings

Was glaubt ihr wie tragen falsche Vorstellungen oder Stereotypen über MigrantInnen in Wien zu Spannungen zwischen Einheimischen und MigrantInnen bei?

H1: MigrantInnen ziehen sich zurück und bleiben unter sich dadurch fehlt die Integration die Vorstellungen der Einheimischen wird dadurch verstärkt und die Meinung immer schlechter.

Label: Reinforcement of Stereotypes

H2: Es fördert Spannungen und Aggressionen und erweitert die Kluft.

Label: Reinforcement of Stereotypes

H3: Das eben kaum Hinweise zu sehen sind dass die Migranten unsere Regeln akzeptieren
einfaches Beispiel: Eltern reden mit ihren 2–15-jährigen Kindern in ihrer Muttersprache. Wie soll jemals der jugendliche hier einen passenden Job finden?

Label: Reinforcement of Stereotypes, Impact on Youth

H4: Klar Stereotypen sind meistens Mist aber manchmal stimmen sie halt. Natürlich sind nicht alle Muslime Terroristen und nicht alle Russen trinken Wodka aber ab und zu gibt es kleine Sachen die zeigen dass manche Stereotypen stimmen.

Label: Stereotypes and Misconceptions

H5: Ich finde die Medien übertreiben manchmal. Immer wenn was Schlechtes passiert schreiben sie sofort die Herkunft der Person dazu. Aber als während der Pandemie die meisten Ärzte mit Migrationshintergrund waren und geholfen haben hat das niemand erwähnt.

Label: Reinforcement of Stereotypes

H6: Ja und wenn Österreicher was Schlechtes tun wird ihre Nationalität natürlich nirgends erwähnt. Und in der Politik ist es auch ein großes Thema viele Leute wählen jetzt rechte Parteien weil sie es hassen dass es hier so viele Migranten gibt. Nicht nur in Österreich sondern in Europa.

Label: Reinforcement of Stereotypes

Beschreiben Sie ob es während Ihrer Wohnungssuche Momente gab in denen Sie bestimmte Viertel Häuser oder Höfe aufgrund der dort starken Konzentration von ImmigrantEnklaven bewusst vermieden haben?

H1: Ja gab's schon.

Label: Avoidance of Certain Areas

H2: Nee würd' ich so nicht sagen.

Label: No Avoidance

H3: Ich bin gottseidank nicht in der Situation eine Wohnung zu suchen damals so um 1990 gab es null Bedenken heute würde ich 50 % der Stadt meiden.

Label: Avoidance of Certain Areas

H4: Ja als ich meine Wohnung besichtigte fragte ich die Nachbarn wie es ihnen gefällt dort zu leben und sie erwähnten gleich zu Beginn dass es dort nicht viele Ausländer gibt was selten ist.

Label: Avoidance of Certain Areas

H5: Ich hab' darüber während der Wohnungssuche nicht nachgedacht aber vielleicht hätte ich das tun sollen denn jetzt bin ich nicht so glücklich mit meiner Situation.

Label: Negative Experiences

H6: Und ich wohne schon über 10 Jahre in meiner Wohnung und andere Leute sind ausgezogen und jetzt sind etwa 80 Prozent der neuen Leute die einziehen aus anderen Ländern. Das ist einfach traurig.

Label: Demographic Shifts

Und wie haben die demografischen oder sozialen Dynamiken Ihrer Nachbarschaft durch das Vorhandensein von ImmigrantEnklaven verändert?

H1: Keine Ahnung kann ich nicht wirklich beurteilen.

Label: No Opinion

H2: Ich kann mich ehrlich gesagt nicht mehr an die Zeiten erinnern als es viel anders war. So weit ich mich erinnere bin ich so aufgewachsen.

Label: No Opinion

H3: Ja wie schon erwähnt hat sich die gesamte Dynamik verändert.

Label: Demographic Shifts

H4: Also wenn in den Gemeindewohnungen die eigentlich für Wiener gedacht sind die meisten Leute Ausländer sind ist das einfach tragisch. Was soll man dazu noch sagen?

Label: Demographic Shifts

H5: Für mich verändert sich das noch immer Schritt für Schritt. Man merkt es erst gar nicht dann sieht man es aus der Ferne und stellt fest dass sich alles geändert hat.

Label: Demographic Shifts

H6: Ich glaube es hat uns Österreicher negativ beeinflusst. Wir fühlen uns auf unserem eigenen Land weniger willkommen als andere. Die bekommen Hilfe und Wohnungen und wir müssen arbeiten und Steuern zahlen. Und dann sind wir noch die Bösen weil wir unsere Kultur in unserem Land erhalten wollen.

Label: Negative Perceptions, Demographic Shifts

Inwiefern haben Sie persönlich von den Geschäften Restaurants oder kulturellen Angeboten innerhalb von Immigranten-Enklaven profitiert oder wurden davon beeinträchtigt?

H1: Ich persönlich liebe das Essen/die Lebensmittel anderer Kulturen habe dadurch begonnen öfter Essen zu gehen die Kulturen besser kennen zu lernen - also würde sagen mich hat es positiv beeinflusst.

Label: Positive Experiences

H2: Hauptsächlich profitiere ich vom Lebensmittel Angebot.

Label: Positive Experiences

H3: Weder noch da wir hier keinen Kontakt haben.

Label: No Impact

H4: Ich gehe oft im 10. Bezirk weil sie wissen wie man Haare und Nägel gut macht und bessere Salons haben (lacht).

Label: Positive Experiences

H5: Ich denke es trägt dazu bei dass Wien eine multikulturelle Stadt ist. Aber niemand hat etwas gegen Restaurants und Geschäfte hier und da aber ganze Viertel wo man uns beurteilt? Das ist das Problem.

Label: Cultural Misunderstandings

H6: Ich möchte sie nicht direkt nennen aber es ist auch unfair für Ausländer. Menschen aus manchen Ländern werden vom Staat gut behandelt und manche nicht. Warum sollte das so sein? Wir sollten alle gleich behandeln aber dass wir viele Migranten haben bedarf keiner Diskussion das ist die Realität.

Label: Unequal Treatment

Wie wirkt sich die Präsenz von MigrantInnen in Wien auf Ihre kulturelle Identität aus? Haben Sie das Gefühl dass Ihre kulturelle Identität durch die Anwesenheit von solchen Immigrantenenklaven in Wien bedroht ist?

H1: Leider ja nicht meine direkt aber die kulturelle Identität von Wien schon.

Label: Threat to Cultural Identity

H2: Nee hab ich nicht.

Label: No Threat

H3: Ja. Sicher. und zwar sehr stark. vor allen wenn die 8–14-Jährigen die heute kaum den Unterricht folgen können da die deutsche Sprache ein Fremdwort ist irgendwann einmal 20-

25 Jahre alt sein werden und sicher nicht als Straßenkehrer arbeiten wollen.

Label: Threat to Cultural Identity, Impact on Youth

H4: Ja das ist 'ne Angst die viele von uns haben. Dass wir einfach verschwinden.

Label: Threat to Cultural Identity

H5: Komischerweise ist es nicht so dass wir sie beeinflussen sondern sie uns. Österreicher werden bald in der Minderheit sein. Ich schwör'.

Label: Threat to Cultural Identity

H6: Ja und ich denke der Staat muss ein paar Regeln strenger machen. Sonst kommen immer mehr Leute hierher aber die die dieses Land so gemacht haben dass andere hierherziehen wollen werden nicht mehr hier sein. Und dann wird's wie in den Ländern aus denen sie geflohen sind.

Label: Threat to Cultural Identity

Was könnte von der Seite der Nachbarschaft oder Regierung getan werden um die Integration von MigrantInnen in die Wiener Gesellschaft zu verbessern oder ist das nicht notwendig?

H1: Die Akzeptanz ein entscheidender Punkt an dem von beiden Seiten dringend gearbeitet werden muss.

Label: Acceptance Improvement

H2: Ich denk gratis Deutsch Kurse und Förderungen z.B für die Mütter die ja doch oftmals zu Hause bleiben.

Label: Education and Programs

H3: Und zum Beispiel zwingend vorzugeben dass Deutsch gelernt und gesprochen wird dass die Migranten unsere Kultur akzeptieren und eben wenn dieses nicht der Fall ist dass hier kein Platz für diesen Personenkreis ist.

Label: Government Policies, Cultural Adaptation

H4: Ich denke dass mehr Bildung auf beiden Seiten erforderlich ist. Die Migranten werden nicht einfach sagen: "Okay wir ziehen weg" also wird sich die Situation nicht so schnell ändern. Ja wir mögen es nicht aber wir müssen es irgendwie zum Funktionieren bringen. Aber wie darauf habe ich keine Antwort.

Label: Education and Programs

H5: Mehr Austauschprogramme und gemeinsame Veranstaltungen in den Nachbarschaften damit sich die Leute besser kennenlernen und verstehen können? Ich weiß es nicht...

Label: Community Initiatives

H6: Und vielleicht könnten strengere Kontrollen und Maßnahmen helfen um sicherzustellen dass MigrantInnen sich auch wirklich integrieren wollen und nicht nur hierher kommen um von den sozialen Leistungen zu profitieren.

Label: Government Policies

Wie stellen Sie sich das zukünftige Verhältnis zwischen Immigrantenklaven und der Wiener Gesellschaft vor?

H1: Ich hoffe dass die Wiener Gesellschaft Migranten stärker akzeptiert während auch die Migranten sich mehr anpassen und offen für kulturelle Veränderungen sein sollten.

Label: Future Integration

H2: Da denk' ich nicht drüber nach ehrlich zu sein.

Label: No Opinion

H3: Ehrlich gesagt - schlecht.

Label: Pessimistic Outlook

H4: Beide Seiten müssen sich ändern sonst wird die Situation noch schlimmer und dann haben wir eine richtige Trennung zwischen Österreichern und Ausländern.

Label: Mutual Adaptation

H5: Wenn wir wollen dass sich die Leute hier wohlfühlen und integrieren dann müssen wir sie auch willkommen heißen. Aber gleichzeitig sollten die Migranten auch bereit sein sich

anzupassen und die Sprache zu lernen. Sonst bleibt jeder in seiner eigenen Blase und das bringt niemandem was.

Label: Future Integration

H6: Meiner Meinung nach wenn jemand hierherkommt sollte er schon ein bisschen Interesse an unserer Kultur zeigen. Die Regierung sollte mehr Programme zur Integration anbieten aber auch sicherstellen dass diese wirklich genutzt werden. Es kann nicht sein dass wir uns immer nur anpassen müssen.

Label: Education and Programs, Future Integration

Und das war's! Es war echt interessant eure Perspektiven zu hören. Vielen vielen Dank dass ihr die Zeit genommen habt und Ihre Pause geopfert habt um an meiner Diskussion teilzunehmen! Danke!

6: Audio URLs

Group 1: <https://we.tl/t-htBs3ZPv5s>

Group 2: <https://we.tl/t-UP8h7I4jj4>