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Integration of migrants from the perspective of social ties and neighbour relations

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CMR Working Papers

48/106

Agata Górny, Sabina Toruńczyk-Ruiz

Integration of migrants from the perspective of social ties and neighbour relations

June 2011

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Executive Summary

The publication demonstrates preliminary results from the survey conducted in three Warsaw neighbourhoods Żelazna Brama, Szczęśliwice and Wilanów. The total sample consisted of 696 persons: 233 in Żelazna Brama, 242 in Szczęśliwice and 221 in Wilanów. Research was carried out within the project titled 'Generating Interethnic Tolerance and Neighbourhood Integration in European Urban Spaces' (GEITONIES). The research was financed under the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Community for Research and co-ordinated by the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa. Centre of Migration Research and Faculty of Economic Sciences at University of Warsaw were responsible for the study in Poland. The research covered six big European cities: Vienna (Austria), Salonika (Greece), Rotterdam (Netherlands), Warsaw (Poland), Lisbon (Portugal), and Bilbao (Spain).

In Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice the Vietnamese constituted the dominant migrant group, while in Wilanów second-generation migrants originating from Western European countries and the U.S. prevailed. Moreover, the neighbourhoods differed in terms of socio-demographic characteristics and physical setting: while Żelazna Brama is an area located closest to the city centre, with a concentration of blocks of flats in which single person households prevail, Szczęśliwice and Wilanów are much more prestigious areas situated further from the centre, with lower housing and a bigger proportion of well-off families among the residents.

The main research findings demonstrate both important differences among the three neighbourhoods, as well as between migrants and natives. In general, Szczęśliwice appears as the most positively perceived neighbourhood, regarding its infrastructure, level of trust, level of attachment to the area, or feeling of safety. Żelazna Brama is relatively the worst perceived neighbourhood – with higher anonymity and lower level of safety and social cohesion, whereas Wilanów ranks second.

As regards differences pertaining to the residents' background, migrants appear to be less familiar with people in their area and have less 'weak ties' in the neighbourhood, but at the same they tend to assess their area more positively and are more attached to the neighbourhood. Proportionally they more often establish strong ties within the neighbourhood. Neighbours seem to play a more important role in social networks of migrants than in those of natives, which confirms a general tendency of migrants to rely on local ties.

Interethnic contacts in the neighbourhood are rather rare, and if they exist, they include mainly interactions between migrants and natives, whereas interethnic contacts between representatives of different ethnic groups are hardly observable. In an analysis of migrants and Poles' strong ties, ethnic homogeneity of the researched residents' relations is even more visible. Both Poles and migrants first of all tend to mention their co-ethnics as persons most important to them. Moreover, the evolution of interethnic relations pertaining to living in a multi-ethnic area is very limited. At the same time however, xenophobic attitudes are rather seldom in the researched areas. This may be related to the low number of migrants present in Poland, which makes the issue of migrant inflow a problem of a rather abstract nature.

1. Introduction

Attention of social researchers has already for some time been given to the declining role of the neighbourhood in the lives of contemporary urbanites (Wirth 1938; Sennett 1977; Wellmann 1979; Fisher 1982). According to the advocates of this thesis, the anonymity of the today's metropolis has freed people from local ties, and its diversity allows forming social relations that base not on physical proximity, but on common interests and values. Indeed, most of the relations and activities in which people nowadays engage seem to be located outside the neighbourhood (e.g. Wellmann 1979). Among other things, the significance of the neighbourhood has been questioned as regards social networks maintained beyond the immediate home area (for a review see: Unger and Wandersman 1985). However, at the same time many researches believe that neighbourhood still plays a considerable role in our lives, as it contributes to the formation of social interactions, as well as may provide a sense of security and a feeling of attachment to the area and to fellow residents (ibid.)

From the perspective of ethnic studies, what seems crucial is how the neighbourhood composition affects various aspects of integration. Recently, a number of researchers have reported that living in ethnically concentrated neighbourhoods is detrimental to many aspects of community cohesion. Several scholars have demonstrated that in diverse areas, residents tend to be less trusting (Alesina and Ferrara 2002; Leigh 2006; Putnam 2007), less cooperative (Putnam 2007), manifest less civic attitudes (Stolle, Soroka, Johnson 2008), and are less attached to their neighbourhood (Taylor, Gottfredson, Brower 1985; Oliver 2010). However, evidence for this negative effect of diversity comes mainly from the United States, whereas the degree to which those findings hold true in European societies is subject of hot debate (see for example: Letki 2008, Tolsma, van der Meer and Gesthuizen 2009, Gijsberts 2011, Lancee and Dronkers 2011).

This publication demonstrates preliminary results from the survey conducted in three Warsaw neighbourhoods within the project titled 'Generating Interethnic Tolerance and Neighbourhood Integration in European Urban Spaces' (GEITONIES). The research was financed under the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Community for Research¹ and co-ordinated by the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa. Centre of Migration Research and Faculty of Economic Sciences at University of Warsaw were responsible for the study in Poland. The research covered six big European cities: Vienna (Austria), Salonika (Greece), Rotterdam (Netherlands), Warsaw (Poland), Lisbon (Portugal), and Bilbao (Spain). In each of the cities fieldworks and surveys were conducted in three selected neighbourhoods. Areas chosen for the fieldwork were characteristic for relatively high share of migrants residing there.

The goal of the project was to examine how the neighbourhood and its ethnic composition shapes interethnic relations, both in terms of interactions and attitudes towards each other. Thus, its results contribute to the discussion about the impact of the direct residential setting on neighbourhood cohesion. In particular, the following research questions have been addressed:

¹ Grant Agreement number 216184.

- Which different modes of interethnic coexistence can be identified in European urban settings? Which factors can be pointed out as being causal to the development of these different modes?
- What types of urban areas facilitate forming interethnic relations?
- How are multi-ethnic neighbourhoods perceived by the residents themselves? What differences between the natives and migrants may be observed in this respect?
- What neighbourhood factors are more conducive to fostering an environment of understanding and tolerance?

In this study, neighbourhood is understood both in the social and geographical sense. It is a small area inhabited by a collection of people, which furthermore includes certain facilities in which the residents may meet each other (compare for example: van Eijk 2010). In geographical terms, the neighbourhood was defined as the area accessible within a short walk from home (compare for example: Kearns and Parkinson 2001, van Eijk 2010). It is thus a small area that includes places in which residents carry out their daily routines (Blokland 2003) and in which social relations can be formed: spatial proximity can translate into social proximity. Such understanding of neighbourhood seems to be particularly suitable when the influence of the neighbourhood on social relations is studied, as frequent encounters with the same fellow residents are more probable within a small scale (compare: van Eijk, 2010).

In GEITONIES surveys both migrants and natives were studied. It should be stressed, however, that the definition of a ‘migrant’ was rather specific allowing for capturing ethnic diversity in the studies areas and for comparability between ‘old cities of immigration’, like Rotterdam and Viena, and ‘new cities of immigration’ like Warsaw. A ‘migrant’ was defined as a person whose at least one parent had been born abroad outside the country of residence. The place of birth of the respondent was not decisive in distinguishing between migrants and natives. In this way the second-generation migrants were included in the population of ‘migrants’ in the approach applied for the GEITONIES.

The report is divided into six main sections. We start with some facts and figures about Warsaw and the studied neighbourhoods with respect to the present migrant population. Next, we present the perceptions of neighbouring and neighbourhood, giving particular emphasis to the ways the Polish and migrant residents get along with each other, their level of trust, attitudes towards each other and the reputation of the neighbourhood. In chapter four we concentrate on the dimensions of interethnic coexistence: we analyse contacts with and knowledge of people in the neighbourhood, as well as the size and ethnic composition of social networks. The development of interethnic relations is the focus of chapter five, while the modes of interethnic coexistence are analysed in chapter six. Finally, we draw some brief conclusions and form policy recommendations for the local and national levels.

2. Research method and its application

2.1. The city and the neighbourhoods

2.1.1. Migrant population in Warsaw

Compared to other cities covered by the GEITONIES project, Warsaw has by far the smallest number of migrants: various estimates show that foreigners constitute not more than 2% of the Warsaw population (Kępińska and Okólski 2004; Okólski 2010), which is, however 10 times as much as the share in the general Polish population (compare Central Statistical Office 2002). At the beginning of 2000s, Warsaw was the only Polish city with a positive migration balance and where foreigners are visible and important in the city's life (Kępińska and Okólski 2004).

Although data on migrants are very poor in Poland and precise figures are unknown, some general remarks about the migrant groups can be made. As regards the ethnic composition of the migrant population, the following groups should be distinguished:

- Eastern-Europeans from the former-USSR,
- The Vietnamese,
- Western-Europeans and North Americans,
- Chechens.

The groups differ in terms of socio-economic and cultural characteristics, as well as socio-economic status and migration patterns. Among the Eastern-Europeans, the **Ukrainians** constitute the biggest group. Due to well-established connections with Polish society and small cultural distance, those migrants easily adjust to life in Poland. Many Ukrainian migrants have Polish families or Polish roots. Therefore, assimilation and integration are the most frequent acculturation strategies among Ukrainians in Poland. As a consequence, in terms of their spatial distribution in Warsaw, they do not reveal a strong tendency to concentrate spatially, but are quite dispersed throughout the whole city (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Piekut, 2007).

A completely different group in terms of acculturation strategies and migration patterns are the **Vietnamese**. Although they may be fewer in number than the Ukrainians, they remain the most visible migrant group in Warsaw as regards structural and spatial characteristics. They are a group that can be characterized as an ethnic enclave with a high level of ethnic cooperation and self-organization (Halik 2000, Halik and Nowicka 2002). Great cultural and geographical distance and a lack of institutional support for integration have contributed to very poor integration of the Vietnamese migrants into Polish society. Moreover, a strong Vietnamese community in Poland with exceptionally well developed networks and ethnic institutions allows migrants to retain their own culture and to operate almost exclusively within their own ethnic group. Unlike the Ukrainians, they tend to concentrate spatially, frequently choosing the same streets and buildings. Over a half of the Vietnamese households are located in three Warsaw districts: Śródmieście, Ochota and Wola (Grzymała-Kazłowska and Piekut, 2007).

‘Western’ migrants – citizens of West European countries, Americans and Canadians – constitute another distinct group of migrants in Poland and in Warsaw. They started to come to Poland already in the early 1990s, responding to the demand for highly-skilled professionals in transforming Polish economy, especially in financial and banking sectors. Alongside the decreasing demand for western skills, the inflow from western countries has later fallen. However, a group of western workers, including English language teachers, is still visible especially in Warsaw. In terms of social integration in Poland, they tend to enter, first of all, networks of English speaking experts in which Poles occupying high-level management positions also operate. Some of them take a more Poland-oriented integration path. However, this applies first of all to migrants married to a Polish partner (compare for example Piekut 2010).

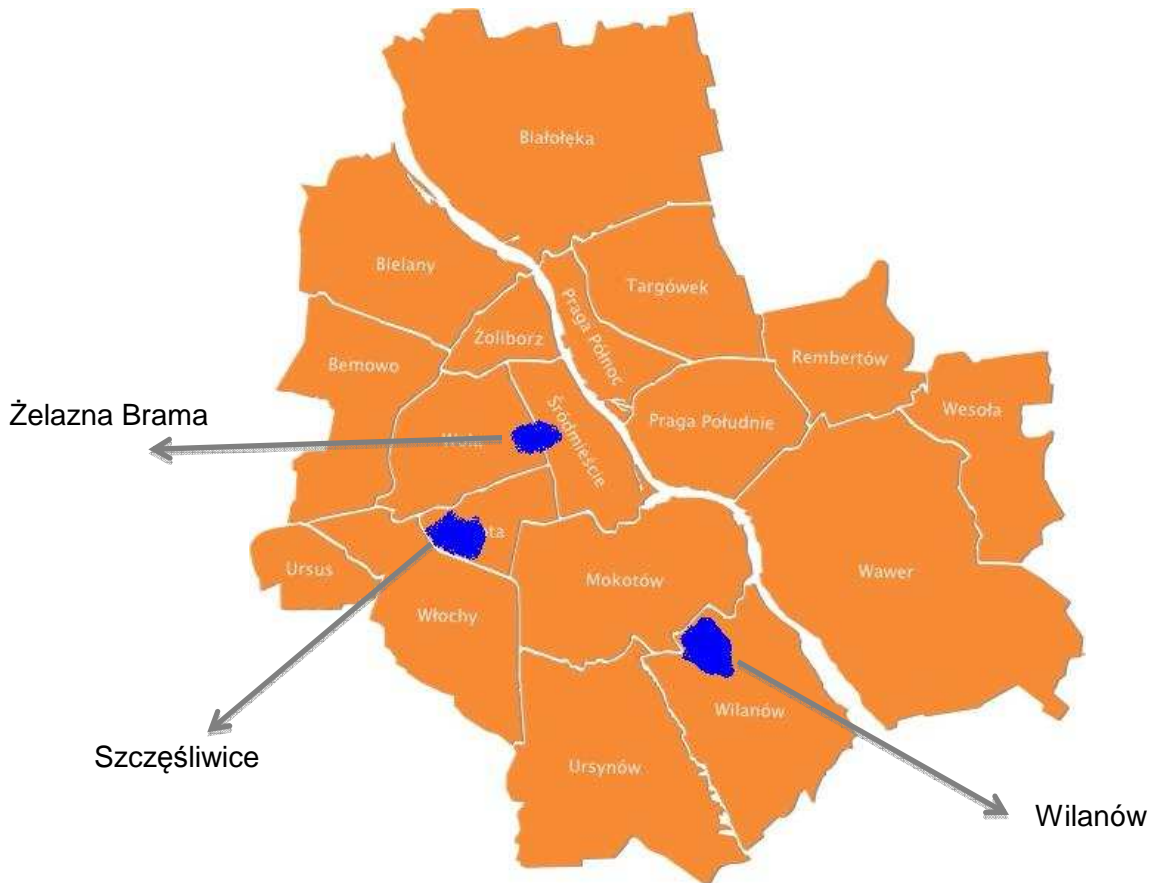
In terms of some general characteristics of the migrant population in Warsaw, it should be said that there is a prevalence of temporary migrants and a relatively high proportion of foreigners with irregular status. As regards the purpose of stay, three main categories of foreigners should be distinguished: 1) labour migrants (including entrepreneurs and specialists), 2) foreign students and 3) asylum seekers and refugees. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, from 2007 to 2009 the number of issued work permits has more than doubled: 12153 work permits were given in Poland in 2007, while in 2009 – their number has risen to 29340. Each year around a half is issued in the *Mazowieckie* province: in 2009 it was 13 979 permits (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy database). Obviously, this number is lower than actual number of migrants working in the respective region, as since 2004 EU citizens have been allowed to work in Poland without a work permit.

2.1.2. Neighbourhoods selected for the survey

For the selection of neighbourhoods for the survey, a special compilation of the population census data from 2002 supported by a qualitative research was used. The census data allowed to identify districts in Warsaw with relatively high numbers of migrants, and to distinguish three types of areas within the city (compare Smętkowski 2009):

1. prefabricated concrete housing estates built after 1975;
2. varied types of buildings and social structure;
3. buildings built before the mid-1970s.

Due to a low reliability of the national census data as regards the presence of foreigners in Poland (underestimation of number of foreigners in the general population), a qualitative approach has been further applied, involving observation, consultations with migration experts and migration researchers, consultations with local authorities, studies in local kindergartens and schools (taking the number of foreign pupils as an indication of the number of foreigners present in the given area). Eventually, three neighbourhoods have been selected: **Szcześliwice**, **Żelazna Brama** and **Wilanów**. Their location within Warsaw can be seen on the map below:

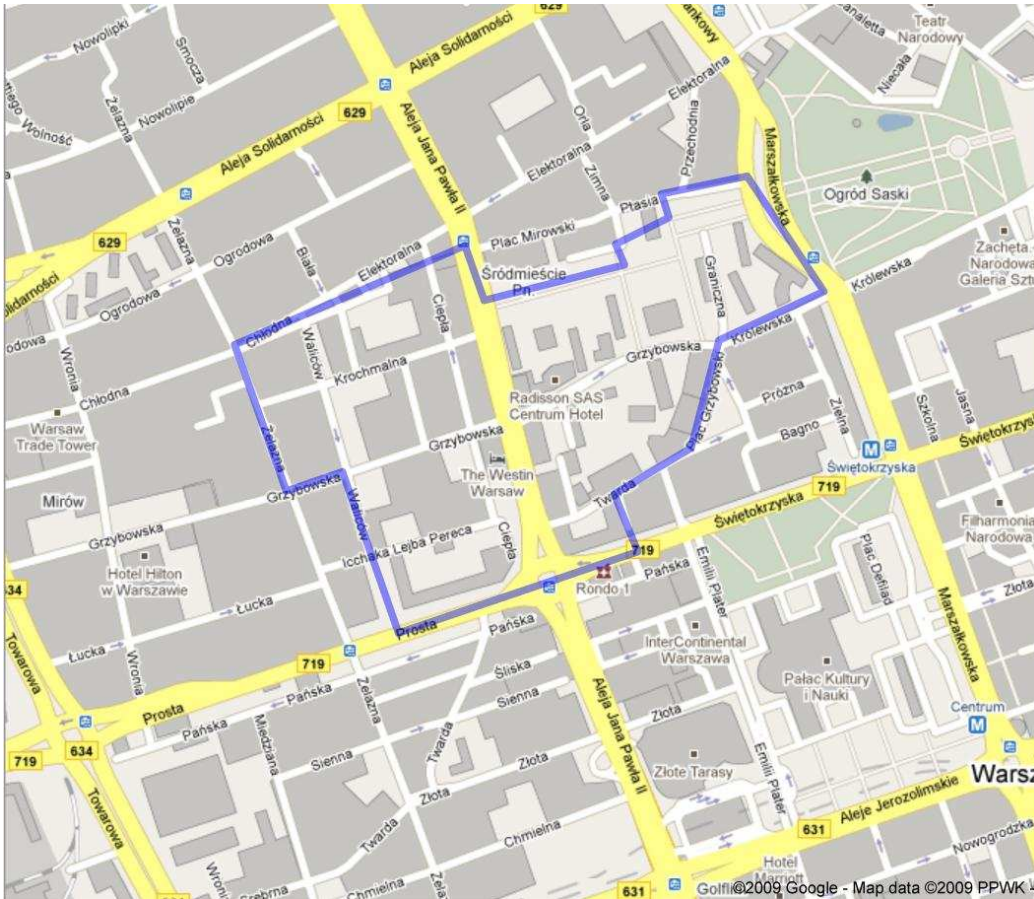


Map 2.1 Location of neighbourhoods within Warsaw

Source: Own elaboration

Żelazna Brama

Żelazna Brama is located close to the city centre, and is a part of two Warsaw city districts: Śródmieście and Wola. It is an area with more than 13000 inhabitants and around 7000 apartments. The main part of the neighbourhood is a housing estate (big blocks of flats) built in the years 1965-1972 in place of the former Jewish ghetto, which was located here during the Second World War and after the liquidation completely destroyed. The estate includes 19 blocks of flats rising 15 floors high and containing up to 400 apartments each, most of which are of rather small size. There are also several newer buildings incorporated in the neighbourhood, and a few pre-war buildings.



Map 2.2 Map of the Żelazna Brama neighbourhood

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of google maps

The blocks of flats in Żelazna Brama are widely known to attract foreigners to live there, which has been also confirmed by the population census data: foreigners are relatively over-represented in the neighbourhood compared to the total Warsaw population. Although detailed data on the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood are not available and due to a very small number of foreigners in Warsaw in general, could actually be misleading, what can be said is that the Vietnamese seem to be the biggest migrant group in the area. The area became a popular location for the Vietnamese in the 1990s, which was mainly due to its proximity to the city centre and good public transport connections with the “Stadion Dziesięciolecia”, an enormous outdoor market, where many Vietnamese had worked as traders. After the market was closed, the number of the Vietnamese living in the Żelazna Brama neighbourhood has begun to fall, but their presence there is still visible.



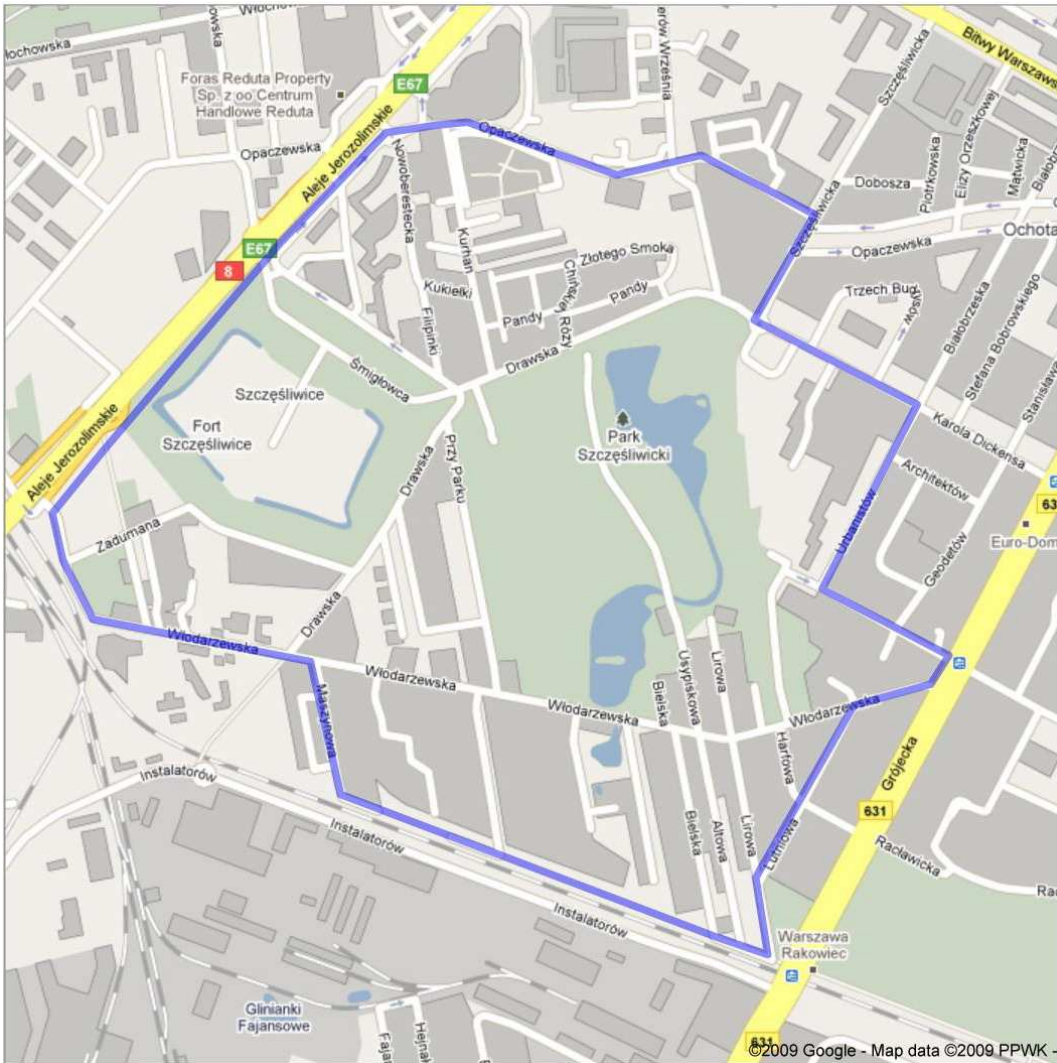
Photo 2.1 The Żelazna Brama neighbourhood

In terms of the socio-demographic structure of the neighbourhood, its population is overrepresented by elderly residents – the share of residents in the age group 65+ is much higher than among the Warsaw residents in general (24.9% vs. 16.5%), while children (age group 0-14) are underrepresented (8.4% in the neighbourhood vs. 12.4% in Warsaw). Due to the small size of the available flats in the blocks of flats, Żelazna Brama is also a place of residence chosen by persons living on their own (56.9% households in the area are one-person households, whereas the relative share in the whole city is 38.3%). In terms of economic activity, Żelazna Brama residents show similar characteristics as the general Warsaw population: 46.5% of the inhabitants are economically active, while 12.9% are unemployed (compare: Górny 2009).

In terms of infrastructure, Żelazna Brama is well equipped with municipal kindergartens and schools built already during the Polish People's Republic (before 1989). Numerous shops, cafes, bars and various types of services are easily accessible in this neighbourhood. It is also one of the best locations in Warsaw in terms of public transport, as bus, tram and metro lines cross here.

Szczęśliwice

Szczęśliwice is an area located in the southern-west part of Warsaw, within the Ochota district. It surrounds the Szczęśliwicki Park, one of the biggest and most beautiful parks in the city. The area hosts around 7500 inhabitants, and the number of dwellings reaches almost 3000. The neighbourhood comprises relatively new housing estates mostly built in the 1990s and 2000s (although blocks of flats from the 1970s and 80s and pre-war buildings can be also found in the neighbourhood). This fact determines the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the neighbourhood's residents: high proportion of families with children (62.2% of the neighbourhood's population), and a very small share of elderly people (6.6% persons aged 65 and more).



Map 2.2 Map of the Szczęśliwice neighbourhood

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of google maps

Furthermore, Szczęśliwice is a place of residence chosen by relatively wealthy people. The apartments in modern new residential estates (often gated communities) are expensive and often quite luxurious. Thus, it is not surprising that highly educated people (41.5% from the neighbourhood population), managers (15.4%) and specialists (39.8%) are overrepresented in the area. This is accompanied by a very high share of economically active people – 66.1% – and extremely low unemployment rate: 6.2% (compare Górny 2009).

The area was chosen as a case study neighbourhood for the survey, as qualitative observations supported by quantitative data have shown that Szczęśliwice is one of the most popular Warsaw areas among foreigners. This popularity has been also portrayed in the 2002 population census data showing that the proportion of ‘foreign-born persons’ is over three times higher in Szczęśliwice than in the whole Warsaw. Moreover, an overrepresentation of ‘foreign immigrants’ is even higher, with a 4.4% share for Szczęśliwice (compared to 0.6% for Warsaw). Although adequate data are not available, it appears that Szczęśliwice is an area characterised by the highest concentration of Vietnamese migrants within Warsaw borders. The neighbourhood has attracted the Vietnamese to settle here in the recent years, especially after the ‘Stadion Dziesięciolecia’ was closed and the Vietnamese vendors started to move to Wólka Kosowska – a new trading centre on the outskirts

of Warsaw. The fact that Szczęśliwice is on the way to Wólka Kosowska appeared to be a motivation strong enough for the Vietnamese to move to Szczęśliwice in the last few years. It is also worth mentioning that according to qualitative research, apart from the Vietnamese, also Chinese migrants have chosen to live in Szczęśliwice.

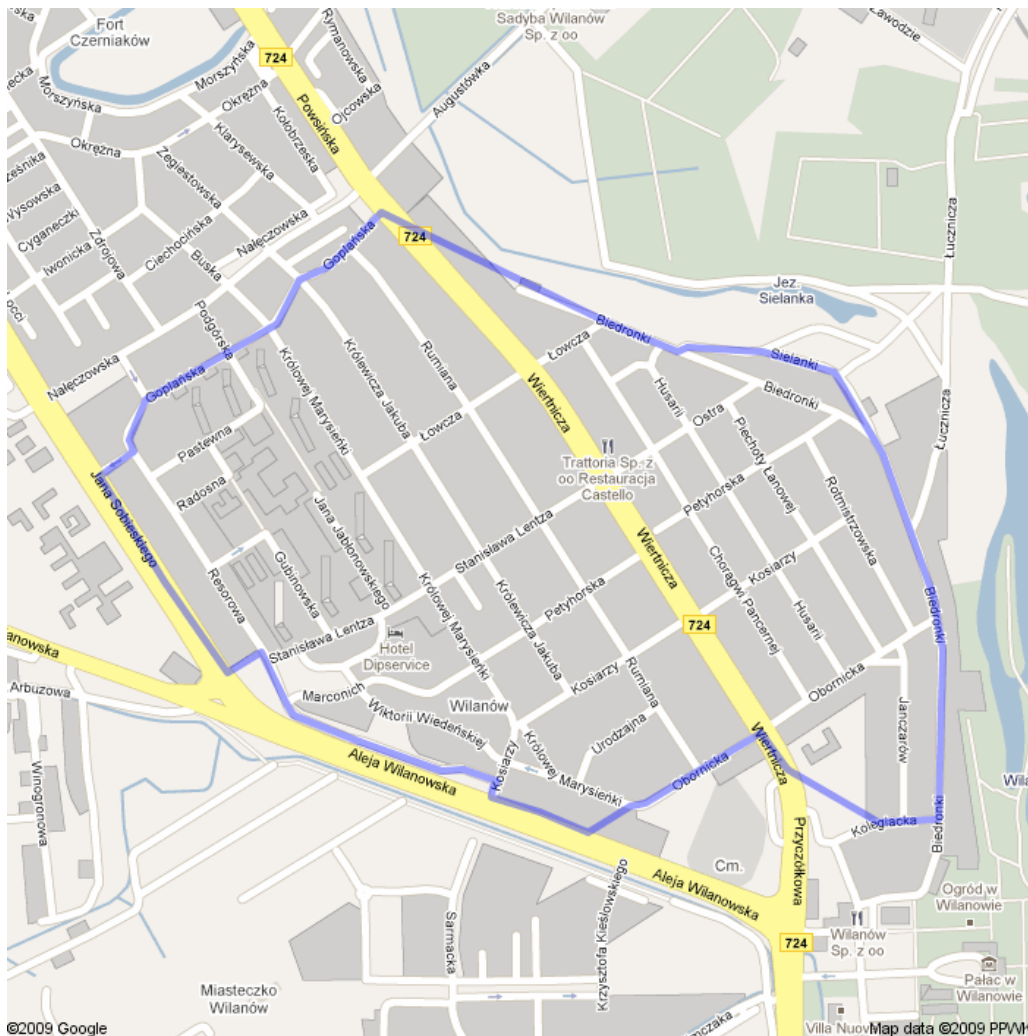
The fact that Szczęśliwice is a relatively new neighbourhood bordering well-developed areas constituting the heart of the old Ochota district contributes to a quite poor infrastructure of the neighbourhood and a 'bedroom' character of the community. The Szczęśliwice residents take advantage of the infrastructure of the old Ochota district, where schools, medical and social services, as well as shops, restaurants and cafes are present. However, elegant private schools and kindergartens, available even for very small children, become quite frequent in this neighbourhood.



Photo 2.2 The Szczęśliwice neighbourhood

Wilanów

Wilanów is an area located in the southern part of Warsaw, and from all three studied areas it is the one located furthest from the city centre. The area has a population of around 10000, and almost 4000 apartments. It is one of the most prestigious residential areas in Warsaw, consisting mostly of family houses, and thus having one of the smallest numbers of inhabitants and lowest population density within the Warsaw boroughs. For the survey only a part of the Wilanów district has been taken into account, namely the area closest to the Wilanów Palace. Apart from small family houses a few big blocks of flats built in 1970s and 1980s have also been included, as they are located in the same streets. Very new residential estates, different and rather independent from the rest of the district, have been excluded from the research. Nevertheless, it is worth adding that similarly to the Szczęśliwice neighbourhood, Wilanów is a relatively heterogeneous area in terms of building types. Consequently, various characteristics pertaining to the Wilanów population and its family structures are very close to the average characteristics of Warsaw inhabitants.



Map 2.2 Map of the Wilanów neighbourhood

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of google maps

Wilanów became a popular location for highly-skilled professionals from the West working in international companies and embassies. We have chosen this neighbourhood because of the presence of American migrants, but Western European nationalities and other migrant groups are also present here. It is worth mentioning that in Wilanów various embassies and private residences of ambassadors can be found, which also contributes to a higher representation of foreigners in the area comparing to the whole Warsaw. An overrepresentation of migrants has been also supported by the 2002 population census data demonstrating that ‘foreign-born persons’ constitute 1.7% of Wilanów population, whereas ‘foreign migrants’ 2.8%. Both proportions are higher for Wilanów than for the whole Warsaw.

Wilanów has a relatively good infrastructure in terms of number of kindergartens, schools, medical and social services, although only a few shops and cafés are available. As in Szczyliwice, there are many private kindergartens in this neighbourhood – especially international and foreign (mostly American, European and German) schools and kindergartens are located here. However, apart from the neighbouring Wilanów Palace surrounded by a park, not many public places where neighbours can meet and interact are available, and it seems that the neighbourhood’s residents tend to spend their free time in private houses.



Photo 2.3 The Wilanów neighbourhood

Source: Own elaboration – photos taken during the fieldwork

2.2. Technical details on the survey

The survey was conducted in three neighbourhoods: Żelazna Brama, Szczęśliwice and Wilanów, among residents aged 25 and older, who had been living in the neighbourhood for at least one year. The survey was questionnaire based, and was conducted with the usage of Paper and Pencil Interviews. The overall fieldwork phase lasted over one year: from May 2009 until May 2010. The survey itself has been conducted from September 2009 until May 2010.

Before the fieldwork took place, letters, leaflets and posters in Polish, English and Vietnamese were distributed among residents of the neighbourhoods and administrations of the buildings, in order to inform about the research in each neighbourhood and to provide trust among the residents. Moreover, local organisations and institutions were notified of the research. Special attention was given to approach migrant organizations and ethnic community leaders: apart from disseminating information about the survey among them, special meetings were arranged in order to build key actor contacts that could facilitate access to migrant groups. During the survey, at the end of each interview symbolic gifts for participating in the research were offered to respondents (cups and pens with the logo of University of Warsaw).

At the first stage of the fieldwork, in each neighbourhood a complete inventory of addresses of dwellings has been made. Afterwards the inventory has been transformed into an enumerated list, from which a random sample of the addresses has been drawn. Due to the small number of migrants in Warsaw compared to the 5 remaining cities that take part in the project, the target Warsaw sample was different than in other cities: quotas for migrants were reduced from 100 persons to 50 persons in each neighbourhood.

As regards the sampling procedure, initially a random sample of the addresses was drawn, a part of which each interviewer was given. If a dwelling was inhabited by more than one person, the last birthday method was used in order to randomly select the interviewee from the household. Three attempts were made in order to approach

the selected person for the interview. However, this method turned out to be very time consuming - the response rate was around 30%. In the course of three months, only 153 interviews were made using this sampling method, in which only 8 with migrants.

Due to those problems, a small alteration in the sampling procedure was employed, and a random route method was applied. In addition, quotas for ethnic background, age and sex were stipulated in order to guarantee larger heterogeneity within the sample. Interviewers were given information on starting points within the neighbourhoods (addresses selected randomly from the address inventory) and detailed instructions how to move along streets and select buildings and dwellings within them. In order to choose an individual from the selected household, the last birthday method was used as beforehand.

In order to include migrants in a bigger proportion than they actually constitute in the total population in the given area (which does not exceed a few percent), additional methods as regards accessing migrants were applied. This was also due to frequent reluctance of the chosen migrants to being interviewed. Persons with a migrant background were often afraid that the interview was in fact conducted for local administration or the migration bureau. The biggest problems were encountered among the Vietnamese migrants – in this group refusals were most common. Therefore, apart from the standard procedure used for the rest of the sample, migrants were approached not only in their place of residence but also in public places (e.g. parks) and workplaces within the neighbourhoods, in a few cases the snowball technique was also used. Furthermore, interviewers approached the Vietnamese migrants in Vietnamese schools and the Polish-Vietnamese Friendship Society. In those cases the way to find respondents of migrant origin differed from the original, while the selection criteria for the interview remained unaltered.

2.3. Basic structure of the samples in the three neighbourhoods

Altogether 696 persons were interviewed: 233 in Żelazna Brama, 242 in Szczęśliwice and 221 in Wilanów. This section demonstrates the basic structure of the total sample as regards the respondents' background, as well as the structure of the samples in each of the three neighbourhoods (see Tables A1-A24 in Appendix).

Table 2.1. Total sample

Background	Frequency	Percent
immigrant background	179	25.7
native background	517	74.3
total	696	100.0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In both Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice, the dominant migrant group were the Vietnamese, while in Wilanów – the most common origins of the migrant respondents was the US and other English-speaking countries. It is worth noting that in the 'Vietnamese' neighbourhoods (Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice), migrants were

usually born abroad themselves, while in Wilanów the migrant residents were in most cases second generation migrants: out of 55 persons with a migrant origin as many as 38 were born in Poland.

As regards age, in Żelazna Brama, among natives the youngest and the oldest groups prevailed. This corresponds with the fact that the neighbourhood consists mostly of small flats – occupied predominantly by elderly persons and students living on their own. The vast majority of migrants in this area, in turn, were under 35 years old – in fact migrants from the Żelazna Brama neighbourhood were the youngest among migrants from all the investigated Warsaw areas. In Szczęśliwice the two youngest groups were dominant, both among the native and migrant residents. In Wilanów, the age groups were split relatively evenly among the natives, while among migrants the youngest age group (under 35) was dominant.

Among the Żelazna Brama residents, a vast majority of the natives have moved in to the neighbourhood more than 10 years ago, and only less than a quarter moved in later than 10 years ago. This is consistent with the fact that elderly people and students prevail among inhabitants of this area. Migrants, in turn, are mainly newcomers in the neighbourhood – most of them have been living in the Żelazna Brama neighbourhood for not longer than 5 years. In Szczęśliwice, the majority of respondents – both of migrant and native origin – have moved in to the area less than 10 years ago, which can be explained by the fact that the neighbourhood is relatively new. In Wilanów we can see the biggest proportion of residents living in the area for more than 10 years (with a very high share of persons living there since birth), which is due to the old character of the neighbourhood. It is also worth noticing that as many as 40% of migrants have always lived in Wilanów. The latter should be interpreted by the fact that foreigners present in this area are predominantly second-generation migrants, and thus have often lived in Poland and even in the same neighbourhood since birth.

3. Setting the scene: perception of neighbouring and the neighbourhood

3.1. Getting along with each other: perception and evaluation

Regarding the evaluation of the social relations in the neighbourhood, most of the respondents perceive the people in their area as welcoming to newcomers. The most positive answers were given in Szczęśliwice, while the least positive – in Żelazna Brama.

Interestingly enough, in all three neighbourhoods, migrants more often than natives perceive the people in their area as welcoming to newcomers (see Table 3.1). Thus it seems that Poles have a worse opinion about their own attitude towards newcomers than they actually present in their behaviour. The majority of migrants agree that their co-residents are open to newcomers (in Szczęśliwice as many as 76.9%), while among the Polish respondents the share of positive answers is only around a half. Differences between migrants and natives are statistically significant in all three neighbourhoods.

Table 3.1. Getting along with each other: ‘People in this area are welcoming to new people moving in’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	55.9	47.0	76.9	55.4	67.3	50.3
neutral	33.9	25.4	16.9	26.8	23.6	21.8
disagree	5.1	14.4	3.1	14.3	7.3	14.5
don't know	5.1	13.3	3.1	3.6	1.8	13.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	59	181	65	168	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 7.707, df=3; p=0.052;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 10.759, df=3; p=0.013;

Wilanów: chi square = 9.185, df=3; p=0.027.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Concerning the view on the neighbours' cooperation in trying to improve the area, the opinions were even more positive, however this time no consistent trend differentiating the migrants and natives could be observed. In Szczęśliwice and Wilanów, migrants tend to express more positive views (see Table 3.2). However, differences between migrants and Poles are statistically significant only in the Szczęśliwice neighbourhood, in which the share of positive answers among migrants amounts to 84.4% (while among natives – 57.7%). In Żelazna Brama, in turn, the distribution of answers among migrants and Poles was rather similar: a little less than one third of the respondents (both of Polish and of migrant origin) agree with the statement that people in the area pull together to improve it, around one quarter has a neutral opinion, and one tenth disagree.

Table 3.2 Getting along with each other: ‘People in this area pull together to improve it’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	59.3	61.3	84.4	57.7	58.2	54.8
neutral	27.1	22.7	12.5	22.6	25.5	19.9
disagree	8.5	12.7	1.6	16.1	10.9	19.3
don’t know	5.1	3.3	1.6	3.6	5.5	6.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	59	181	64	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 1,458 df=3; p=0,692;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 16,149, df=3; p=0,001;

Wilanów: chi square = 2,393, df=3; p=0,495.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Moreover, migrants have more positive opinions on the quality of relations in the neighbourhood: in all three studied areas, migrants more often than Poles disagreed with the statement that people in their area do not get along very well (see Table 3.3). However, differences are statistically significant only in the Żelazna Brama neighbourhood, in which 59.3% migrants vs. 37.7% natives disagree with the statement. In general, from all the three investigated neighbourhoods, Żelazna Brama is the area in which the image of neighbour relations is, in the view of respondents, the least positive.

Table 3.3 Getting along with each other: ‘People in this area don’t get along very well’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	6.8	10.8	7.7	14.3	13.0	11.5
neutral	25.4	29.9	15.4	20.2	18.5	22.4
disagree	59.3	37.7	70.8	63.1	63.0	53.3
don’t know	8.5	21.6	6.2	2.4	5.6	12.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	59	167	65	168	54	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 9,828, df=3; p=0,020;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 4,588, df=3; p=0,205;

Wilanów: chi square = 2,948, df=3; p=0,400.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

From the three areas, Wilanów singles out as the one in which residents perceive the people in the neighbourhood as knowing each other relatively well. In contrast, Żelazna Brama is perceived as the area with the biggest level of anonymity, from among the three neighbourhoods. Interestingly enough, although migrants report to have less everyday contacts in the neighbourhood than Poles, they more often disagree with the statement that people in their area hardly know each other (see Table 3.4) (differences statistically significant in the Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice neighbourhoods).

Table 3.4 Getting along with each other: ‘People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	40.7	54.4	26.6	53.9	25.5	30.1
neutral	40.7	20.0	31.3	22.2	32.7	31.3
disagree	15.3	18.3	32.8	19.8	34.5	31.9
don't know	3.4	7.2	9.4	4.2	7.3	6.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	180	64	167	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square =10.497, df=3; p=0.015;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 14.592, df=3; p=0.002;

Wilanów: chi square = 0.449, df=3; p=0.930.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Most of the respondents in all three neighbourhoods do not perceive their area as conflicting. Interestingly enough, in Szczęśliwice and Wilanów, Polish residents more often than migrants tend to confirm that there are often tensions between different categories of people, while in Żelazna Brama the direction of differences was the opposite (and statistically significant): migrants more often than natives perceived conflicts to be present.

Table 3.5 Getting along with each other: ‘There are often tensions between different categories of people’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	11.9	4.5	7.7	14.3	5.5	6.1
neutral	27.1	15.2	10.8	9.5	20.0	20.9
disagree	50.8	60.7	75.4	71.4	67.3	54.0
don't know	10.2	19.7	6.2	4.8	7.3	19.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	178	65	168	55	163

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10,334, df=3; p=0,016;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 1,988, df=3; p=0,575;

Wilanów: chi square = 4,846, df=3; p=0,183.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A comparison of means have not revealed any significant differences between migrants and natives in different age groups, gender or education groups in any of the neighbourhoods. However, in the total sample there are statistically significant differences regarding all the above statements related to perceived neighbour relations. This can be treated as a confirmation of the differences between migrants and natives in the overall attitude towards the neighbourhood and its residents – in general, migrants have a more positive perception of the neighbourhood coexistence and neighbour relations than Poles. The descriptive statistics and results for the t-test can be demonstrated in the Appendix (see Tables A25 and A26 in Appendix).

3.2. What does the neighbourhood and the people living there mean to the respondents?

As far as assessment of everyday interactions in the neighbourhood is concerned, migrants in the ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’ more often than Polish respondents report that they enjoy daily exchanges with their

neighbours (although differences were statistically insignificant). The Szcześliwice residents appear as the most satisfied with their daily interactions with neighbours – among migrants the share of positive answers has amounted to as much as 72.6%, while among natives – to 55.4% (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.6. ‘I enjoy the daily exchanges with the people in my neighbourhood’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)^a

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szcześliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	49.2	43.0	72.6	55.4	52.7	50.9
neutral	35.6	43.0	21.0	30.4	36.4	36.4
disagree	10.2	11.7	4.8	12.5	9.1	9.7
don't know	5.1	2.2	1.6	1.8	1.8	3.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	179	62	168	55	165

^a Differences between migrants and natives within neighbourhoods statistically insignificant

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

It is also in Szcześliwice that the interviewed migrants most often said they would miss the people in their neighbourhood if they moved away (see Table 3.7). Again in both ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’ the proportion of persons giving positive answers is higher among migrants than among natives (39.7% vs. 28.3% in Żelazna Brama, and 46.0% vs. 34.5% in Szcześliwice). In Wilanów, the tendency is the opposite: natives more often than migrants say that they would miss the area in case of moving away (40.4% vs. 32.7%).

Table 3.7. ‘I would miss the people in my neighbourhood if I moved away’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szcześliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	Native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	39.7	28.3	46.0	34.5	32.7	40.4
neutral	20.7	18.3	31.7	16.1	40.0	24.7
disagree	34.5	50.0	22.2	46.4	23.6	34.3
don't know	5.2	3.3	0.0	3.0	3.6	0.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total abs.	58	180	63	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 4,615, df=3; p=0,202;

Szcześliwice: chi square = 15,760, df=3; p=0,001;

Wilanów: chi square = 8,314, df=3; p=0,04.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A majority of respondents disagree with the statement that they are annoyed by the people in their neighbourhood. Natives more often than migrants claim to be annoyed by their neighbours (differences are statically significant for Szcześliwice). Szcześliwice is again the area in which the views of respondents represent the most positive opinions about the neighbourhood.

Table 3.8. ‘People in my neighbourhood annoy me’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	6.8	10.1	1.6	10.1	1.8	10.3
neutral	15.3	16.2	8.1	10.7	18.2	20.6
disagree	76.3	72.6	85.5	79.2	78.2	69.1
don't know	1.7	1.1	4.8	0	1.8	0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	179	62	168	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 0,738, df=3; p=0,864;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 12,857, df=3; p=0,005;

Wilanów: chi square = 7,229, df=3; p=0,065.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In all three investigated neighbourhoods, more than half of respondents claim to care about their neighbourhood. The Żelazna Brama residents appear as the least caring about their neighbourhood, while residents of Szczęśliwice and Wilanów are similar in expressing less caring-oriented answers. No significant statistical differences have been observed between migrants and natives.

Table 3.9. ‘I care about my neighbourhood’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)^a

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	52.5	58.1	68.3	69.0	69.1	72.0
neutral	32.2	24.6	27.0	20.8	21.8	15.9
disagree	11.9	16.2	3.2	8.3	7.3	11.6
don't know	3.4	1.1	1.6	1.8	1.8	.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	179	63	168	55	164

^a Differences between migrants and natives within neighbourhoods statistically not significant

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

As regards feeling of safety in the neighbourhood, the majority of respondents claim that people in their neighbourhoods make them feel safe in their area. The Szczęśliwice residents are most positive about their safety. No significant statistical differences have been observed between migrants and natives in any of the three neighbourhoods.

Table 3.10. ‘The people in my neighbourhood make me feel safe here’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)^a

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
agree	64.4	59.8	86.2	77.4	65.5	59.4
neutral	27.1	24.6	9.2	12.5	25.5	27.9
disagree	6.8	12.3	3.1	9.5	5.5	11.5
don't know	1.7	3.4	1.5	.6	3.6	1.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	179	65	168	55	165

^a Differences between migrants and natives within neighbourhoods statistically not significant

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A large number of residents of the investigated areas are proud of their neighbourhoods – in the more prestigious areas, i.e. Szczęśliwice and Wilanów, shares of proud respondents are over 50%, while in Żelazna Brama – slightly lower than 50%. Interestingly enough, in Szczęśliwice, migrants claimed to be more proud of the area than the natives (73.4% vs. 54.2%, difference statistically significant), while in the two other neighbourhoods, no significant differences have been observed.

Table 3.11. ‘I am proud about my neighbourhood’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
agree	44.8	45.5	73.4	54.2	61.8	59.0
neutral	31.0	33.5	21.9	23.8	29.1	24.7
disagree	13.8	18.2	4.7	20.8	7.3	14.5
don't know	10.3	2.8	0	1.2	1.8	1.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	176	64	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 5,803, df=3; p=0,122;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 11,106, df=3; p=0,011;

Wilanów: chi square = 2,046, df=3; p=0,563.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A majority of the researched residents claim to be attached to their neighbourhood. In Żelazna Brama and Wilanów, natives feel more attached to the area than migrants, although only in the former the differences are statistically significant. Interestingly enough, despite the young age of the Szczęśliwice neighbourhood, residents of this area appear to be the most place attached, particularly in the migrant group.

Table 3.12. ‘I feel attached to this place’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	46.6	68.6	76.9	68.5	61.1	67.9
neutral	32.8	13.1	15.4	15.5	27.8	20.6
disagree	17.2	16.6	6.2	14.9	9.3	11.5
don't know	3.4	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.9	0.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	175	65	168	54	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 13,269, df=3; p= 0,04;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 3,387, df=3; p= 0,336;

Wilanów: chi square = 4,461, df=3; p= 0,216.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Only a thin minority of respondents claim to feel threatened by other people in their neighbourhoods. The Szczęśliwice residents feel the least threatened, and there are observable differences between migrants and natives in the two ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’. In particular, the migrant population feels slightly more threatened than natives, who proportionally more often disagree with the statement (in Szczęśliwice differences are statistically significant). In Wilanów the tendency is the opposite: natives claim to be slightly more threatened than the migrants.

Table 3.13. ‘I feel threatened because of the behaviour of people in this place’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	3.4	5.6	3.1	3.0	1.8	8.4
neutral	18.6	11.2	1.6	4.8	18.2	15.1
disagree	74.6	82.7	85.9	91.7	78.2	75.9
don't know	3.4	0.6	9.4	0.6	1.8	0.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	179	64	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 5,509, df=3; p=0,138;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =13,235, df=3; p=0,04;

Wilanów: chi square =3,621, df=3; p=0,305.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A small proportion of residents would be willing to move out from their neighbourhood. Interestingly enough, natives would be slightly more willing to move out than migrants – the difference is especially big (and statistically significant) in Żelazna Brama, in which as many as 18.9% natives state that they would move away from their current neighbourhood with pleasure vs. only 8.5% of migrants. In this area, people are generally most willing to leave their neighbourhood, compared to the two remaining neighbourhoods.

Table 3.14. ‘I would move out from here with pleasure’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	8.5	18.9	7.9	9.6	12.7	13.3
neutral	27.1	17.2	17.5	16.8	16.4	17.0
disagree	59.3	62.8	68.3	70.1	65.5	69.1
don't know	5.1	1.1	6.3	3.6	5.5	0.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	180	63	167	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 8,606, df=3; p=0,035;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =0,969, df=3; p=0,809;

Wilanów: chi square =5,434, df=3; p=0,143.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Interestingly enough, in two out of three neighbourhoods – Szczęśliwice and Wilanów – migrants more often than natives report a strong neighbourhood identity (differences significant in Wilanów). In Żelazna Brama the distributions of Poles' and migrants' answers are very similar, although migrants more frequently than natives have not expressed any opinion, which, among others, results in statistical differences between natives and migrants in this respect. Identification with the neighbourhood seems to be the strongest among Wilanów residents and the weakest among Żelazna Brama residents.

Table 3.15. ‘To what extent do you feel a resident of the neighbourhood?’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	Migrant	native	migrant	native
strongly	41.4	43.1	60.9	43.3	64.8	48.5
neutral	31.0	32.0	28.1	31.1	25.9	31.3
weakly	19.0	19.9	9.4	21.3	7.4	17.2
not at all	3.4	5.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	3.1
don't know	5.2	0.0	1.6	1.2	1.9	0.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	181	64	164	54	163

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 9,647, df= 4; p=0,047;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 8,763, df= 4; p=0,067;

Wilanów: chi square = 9,754, df=4; p=0,045.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

3.3. Reputation of the neighbourhood

In general, the respondents tend to perceive their area as having a good reputation. The least convinced about this are the Żelazna Brama residents, where only less than a half of people find their area attractive. In this area migrants assess the reputation of their neighbourhood more positively than Poles (difference statistically significant). Szczęśliwice and Wilanów are perceived by both Poles and migrants as having a relatively good reputation, with no statistical significance between the two groups.

As regards the perception of changes of the reputation of the neighbourhood during the last years, a very big proportion of respondents, especially among migrants, gave no answer to this question, which makes the interpretation of the obtained results rather difficult (see Table 3.17). What can be noticed is that the Szczęśliwice residents are most commonly convinced that the reputation of their neighbourhood remained the same, and that the Żelazna Brama native residents are more frequently than in other studied areas convinced that changes in their neighbourhood were changes for worse (although this share is still low, amounting to 12.1%).

Table 3.16 ‘People who live outside the neighbourhood think that it is...’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
an attractive place to live	47.5	37.1	73.0	75.6	71.2	80.5
an unattractive place to live	3.4	25.8	0.0	2.4	3.8	2.4
they don't have any opinion	20.3	7.9	11.1	10.7	5.8	5.5
don't know	28.8	29.2	15.9	11.3	19.2	11.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	178	63	168	52	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 18,521, df= 3; p=0,000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 2,307, df= 3; p=0,511;

Wilanów: chi square = 2,446, df= 3; p=0,485.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.17. ‘In your perception, has the reputation of the neighbourhood changed over the last years?’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
no, remained the same way	20.7	46.0	40.0	41.0	28.8	44.8
yes, in a positive way	22.4	10.3	24.6	28.3	25.0	23.9
yes, in a negative way	3.4	12.1	3.1	7.8	3.8	8.6
don't know	53.4	31.6	32.3	22.9	42.3	22.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	174	65	166	52	163

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 20,614, df= 3; p=0,000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 3,492, df= 3; p=0,322;

Wilanów: chi square = 9,181, df= 3; p=0,027.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

3.4. Assessment of infrastructure

As regards the assessment of infrastructure and safety in the neighbourhood, Szczęśliwice appear as having the best image among its residents. In Żelazna Brama and Wilanów, migrants more positively assess the safety of the area, while in Szczęśliwice the tendency is the opposite: safety is more positively evaluated by the Polish residents (in this neighbourhood differences are statistically significant). Szczęśliwice appear to be the safest area in the opinion of its residents, and Żelazna Brama – as the least safe, while Wilanów takes the middle position in this respect.

Table 3.18 ‘This is a safe area with low crime rates’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	74.6	60.7	78.5	87.3	74.5	69.5
neutral	18.6	20.8	16.9	6.1	16.4	14.0
disagree	3.4	15.8	1.5	6.7	7.3	13.4
don't know	3.4	2.7	3.1	0.0	1.8	3.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	165	55	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 6,920, df= 3; p = 0,074;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 13,880, df= 3; p = 0,03;

Wilanów: chi square = 1,838, df= 3; p = 0,607.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

The same order of the neighbourhoods can be built on the basis of assessment of playing facilities for children. Again, Szczęśliwice has taken the first position, Wilanów the second, and Żelazna Brama the last one. And again, migrants in Żelazna Brama and Wilanów more positively assess the neighbourhood than natives living there, while in Szczęśliwice, assessment of natives is more positive than that of migrants (again difference is statistically significant in this neighbourhood).

Table 3.19. ‘There are good playing facilities for children in this area’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	57.6	50.5	72.3	87.3	58.2	52.1
neutral	18.6	11.0	10.8	5.4	20.0	15.8
disagree	16.9	27.5	12.3	5.4	14.5	26.7
don't know	6.8	11.0	4.6	1.8	7.3	5.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	182	65	166	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 5,231, df = 3; p = 0,156

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 7,628, df = 3; p = 0,054;

Wilanów: chi square = 3,519, df = 3; p = 0,318.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In all three neighbourhoods, residents find schools in their areas to be good: usually only less than 10% of respondents agree that schools are poor. Polish residents in Żelazna Brama and Wilanów give more positive answers, while in Szczęśliwice the opposite is true. However, no statistical differences are observable within neighbourhoods. Again, Szczęśliwice has been most positively evaluated by its residents.

Table 3.20. ‘The schools in the neighbourhood are poor’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	8.5	7.8	10.8	4.2	10.9	4.2
neutral	15.3	16.7	13.8	19.2	21.8	19.4
disagree	40.7	45.0	63.1	57.5	49.1	59.4
don't know	35.6	30.6	12.3	19.2	18.2	17.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	180	65	167	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 0,625, df = 3; p = 0,891;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 5,625, df = 3; p = 0,131;

Wilanów: chi square = 4,030, df = 3; p = 0,258.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

As regards opinions on discrimination by organizations and service providers, only around 5% of respondents agree that such discrimination takes place in their neighbourhoods. Interestingly enough, in Szczęśliwice and Wilanów, native residents more often than migrants perceive organizations and service providers as discriminatory, while in Żelazna Brama migrants evaluate their area more negatively in this respect (here differences between migrants and natives are statistically significant).

Table 3.21. ‘Organizations and service providers in the neighbourhood discriminate’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	5.2	1.1	4.6	6.6	0.0	4.8
neutral	22.4	8.8	15.4	10.2	23.6	18.2
disagree	62.1	64.6	67.7	73.7	61.8	63.0
don't know	10.3	25.4	12.3	9.6	14.5	13.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	181	65	167	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 14,774, df = 3; p = 0,002;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 1,958, df = 3; p = 0,581;

Wilanów: chi square = 3,315, df = 3; p = 0,346.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

3.5. Trust in the neighbourhood and society

Findings demonstrate that within the studied population, different forms of trust are interrelated, however, correlations between them are rather weak. Levels of trust have been measured by the Lickert scale from 1 to 5 (1 – agree strongly, 5 – disagree strongly).

First of all, there exists a (weak) correlation between trust at the neighbourhood level and at a general level:

- correlation between answers to statements: ‘People in the neighbourhood try to take advantage of me’ and ‘Most people would try to take advantage of me’: Kendall tau-b = 0,181, p = 0,000, N = 637.

- correlation between statements: ‘People in the neighbourhood try to be helpful’ and ‘Most people try to be helpful’: kendall tau-b = 0,174, p = 0,000, N = 637.

Furthermore, among migrants, there is a significant correlation between trust towards own ethnic group in the neighbourhood and general trust, measured by answers to statements: ‘People from my own immigrant group in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me’ and ‘Most people would try to take advantage of me’: Kendall tau-b = 0,281, p = 0,000, N = 175. This means that the attitude towards the own migrant group and towards the area tend to go hand in hand.

Within the whole sample, there is a strong correlation between trust towards other immigrant groups in the neighbourhood and general trust, measured by statements: ‘People form other immigrant groups in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me’ and ‘Most people would try to take advantage of me’: Kendall tau-b = 0,202, p = 0,000, N = 572.

There is also a statistically significant correlation between trust towards Poles in the neighbourhood and general trust, measured by statements: ‘Poles in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me’ and ‘Most people would try to take advantage of me’: Kendall tau-b = 0,202, p = 0,000, N= 571.

Among the three neighbourhoods, Szczęśliwice appears to have the most trusting residents: 88.0% natives and 82.8% migrants disagree with the statement that people in their neighbourhood try to take advantage of them (see Table 3.22). This area is followed by Wilanów, while the least trusting are the Żelazna Brama residents. In general, in all three studied areas natives are more trusting than migrants. Differences are, however, statistically significant only in Żelazna Brama.

Table 3.22. ‘People in the neighbourhood try to take advantage of me’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	5.2	3.9	3.1	4.8	3.6	3.0
neutral	32.8	15.0	9.4	6.0	16.4	10.9
disagree	62.1	68.3	82.8	88.0	76.4	84.2
don't know	0.0	12.8	4.7	1.2	3.6	1.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	157	64	167	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 14,998, df = 3; p = 0,002;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 3,811, df = 3; p = 0,283;

Wilanów: chi square = 1,959, df = 3; p = 0,581.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.23. ‘People in the neighbourhood try to be helpful’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	48.3	47.2	73.4	49.1	63.6	43.6
neutral	37.9	26.7	9.4	31.7	20.0	37.0
disagree	10.3	19.4	15.6	15.0	12.7	17.6
don’t know	3.4	6.7	1.6	4.2	3.6	1.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total	58	180	64	167	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 4,784, df = 3; p = 0,188;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 14,902, df = 3; p = 0,02;

Wilanów: chi square = 8,215, df = 3; p = 0,042.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

When it comes to trust towards the neighbourhood measured by helpfulness of neighbours, people tend to be less positive (see Table 3.23). Less than a half of native residents in all three neighbourhoods agree with the statement that people in the area try to be helpful, whereas among migrants in Szczęśliwice and Wilanów the share of trustful persons is much higher. In these two areas statistically significant differences between migrants and natives can be observed – that is, migrants more often than natives believe that their neighbours try to be helpful. Again, Szczęśliwice appears as the most trustful area, and Żelazna Brama as the least, while Wilanów takes the middle position.

As regards the level of trust among migrants towards own immigrant group, other migrant groups and Poles, the Szczęśliwice residents again are the most trustful (see Table 3.24). Wilanów takes the middle position, and Żelazna Brama residents are the least trustful. Interestingly enough, migrants tend to trust both other migrant groups and Poles more than they trust their own migrant group.

Among the Polish residents the level of trust towards (other) immigrant groups is higher than among migrants (statistically significant difference in Żelazna Brama). When it comes to trust towards Poles, native residents are more trusting than migrants only in Żelazna Brama, while in Szczęśliwice and Wilanów the level of trust is similar in both groups.

Table 3.24. ‘People from my own immigrant group in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me’ for migrants, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama	Szczęśliwice	Wilanów
	migrant	migrant	migrant
agree	5.3	6.3	2.0
neutral	36.8	9.4	6.1
disagree	52.6	78.1	75.5
don’t know	5.3	6.3	16.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	64	49

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.25. ‘People from other immigrant groups in this neighbourhood try to take advantage me’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
agree	19.0	2.8	7.7	2.5	5.5	6.1
neutral	19.0	9.4	6.2	6.3	14.5	9.1
disagree	62.1	85.8	86.2	89.4	76.4	79.9
don't know	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.9	3.6	4.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	106	65	160	55	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 17,925, df = 3; p = 0,000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 4,389, df = 3; p = 0,222;

Wilanów: chi square = 1,375, df = 3; p = 0,711.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.26. ‘Poles in this neighbourhood try to take advantage of me’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
agree	10.3	7.5	4.6	8.1	5.5	4.3
neutral	22.4	14.2	10.8	6.8	12.7	13.4
disagree	56.9	75.5	84.6	82.0	80.0	81.1
don't know	10.3	2.8	0.0	3.1	1.8	1.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	106	65	161	55	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 7,578, df = 3; p = 0,056;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 3,741, df = 3; p = 0,291;

Wilanów: chi square = 0,256, df = 3; p = 0,968.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

As regards the level of general trust, migrants overall tend to be more trustful than natives. Results of the t-test employed for independent samples show that there is a significant difference between migrants and natives in answering the statement ‘Most people try to be helpful’, that is migrants are on the average more trustful than natives (see Tables 3.27 and 3.28).

Table 3.27. T-test descriptives for general trust, migrants vs. natives

Question	Background	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?	migrant	174	6,53	2,449	0,186
	native	490	6,40	2,096	0,095
Most people try to be helpful or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?	migrant	173	6,05	2,448	0,186
	native	494	4,84	2,427	0,109

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.28. T-test results for general trust measured by two statements, differences between migrants and natives

		Levene's Test		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower
Most people would try to take advantage....?	Equal variances assumed	9,596	0,002	0,655	662	0,513	0,127	0,194	-0,253	0,507
	Equal variances not assumed	N.A	N.A	0,608	268,281	0,544	0,127	0,208	-0,284	0,537
Most people try to be helpful....?	Equal variances assumed	0,296	0,587	5,631	665	0,000	1,210	0,215	0,788	1,632
	Equal variances not assumed	N.A	N.A	5,608	298,470	0,000	1,210	0,216	0,785	1,635

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In all three neighbourhoods, the highest score (10) was recorded more often for migrants than for natives, in both statements (see Table 3.29). In the case of the second statement: 'Most people try to be helpful' differences between natives and migrants are statistically significant in all three researched areas (see Table 3.30).

Table 3.29 'Most people would try to be fair', by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
Most people try to take advantage of me (0)	1.7	0.0	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.2
1-3	22.0	9.9	6.3	4.8	1.8	4.8
4-6	39.0	39.0	28.1	35.9	47.3	47.0
7-9	27.1	37.4	37.5	43.7	30.9	34.3
Most people try to be fair (10)	6.8	6.0	25.0	9.6	16.4	10.8
don't know	3.4	7.7	1.6	4.8	1.8	1.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	182	63	167	54	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10,816, df = 5; p = 0,055;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 10,675, df = 5; p = 0,058;

Wilanów: chi square = 2,204, df = 5; p = 0,820.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.30 ‘Most people try to be helpful’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
Most people look out for themselves (0)	1.7	3.3	1.6	3.6	1.9	3.0
1-3	10.2	30.2	15.9	25.7	9.3	19.9
4-6	49.2	38.5	36.5	37.1	53.7	56.0
7-9	28.8	20.9	22.2	22.8	20.4	15.7
Most people try to be helpful (10)	5.1	1.6	23.8	6.0	14.8	3.6
don't know	5.1	5.5	0.00	4.8	0.0	1.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	182	63	167	54	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 12,066, df = 5; p = 0,034;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 18,935, df = 5; p = 0,002;

Wilanów: chi square = 12,446, df = 5; p = 0,029.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

3.6. Attitudes towards the ‘other’ and xenophobia

When it comes to analysing opinions on the openness of Poles for immigrants to settle in Poland, the views were strongly divided (see Table 3.31). Interestingly enough, in both ‘Vietnamese areas’ migrants have a more positive image of Poles in this respect than natives do about themselves (differences are statistically significant in both neighbourhoods). Especially in Szczęśliwice the observed differences are very big: 81.3% migrants vs. 42.5% natives believe that the Poles are open for immigrants to settle in Poland. Thus it seems that Poles overrate the level of xenophobia among the Polish residents, but this result could also be explained by the fact that the Vietnamese migrants, the main migrant group in Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice, are less prone to make outright criticism of others than people representing Western cultures. This would be consistent with the result that in Wilanów, it is natives who express slightly more positive opinions than migrants.

Table 3.31 ‘Native residents of Poland are open for immigrants that settle here’, by migration background, per neighbourhood

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	54.2	37.7	81.3	42.5	43.6	52.1
neutral	35.6	26.8	14.1	21.0	29.1	22.4
disagree	10.2	28.4	4.7	33.5	16.4	20.0
don't know	0.0	7.1	0.0	3.0	10.9	5.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	64	167	55	167

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 14,509, df = 3; p = 0,002;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 31,182, df = 3; p = 0,000;

Wilanów: chi square = 3,441, df = 3; p = 0,329.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

As regards the views on how immigrants are treated by native Polish residents, the same pattern as for the opinions on openness can be observed: migrants (see Table 3.32) in Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice are more

convinced that the Poles treat immigrants fairly (in both areas differences are statistically significant), while in Wilanów it is the other way round. Again Szczęśliwice is the neighbourhood in which migrants gave the most positive answers.

A slight majority of respondents perceive the settlement of immigrants in Poland as good for the economy, and in all three areas, migrants are more convinced about this than natives (although differences were insignificant in all three neighbourhoods). The Szczęśliwice residents appeared to be the most confident about the positive role of immigrants in the Polish economy.

Fear that in the future migrants will become a threat to Polish society is relatively rare both among migrants and natives. Only around 20% of the natives in each neighbourhood believe that the proportion of immigrants can become a threat, while among migrants the respective share is around twice as low. Such a result again would mean that the Polish residents present a relatively low level of xenophobia, but on the other hand one should be careful in drawing a simple conclusion that the Poles are in fact very open to immigrants. One has to remember that the actual percentage of migrants in Poland is so low, that perceiving them as a potential threat to Polish society would be very difficult, even for those that are ill-disposed towards foreigners.

Table 3.32 ‘Native residents of Poland treat immigrants fairly’, by migration background, per neighbourhood

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	49.2	30.1	69.8	37.1	36.4	42.8
neutral	33.9	24.0	17.5	27.5	27.3	23.5
disagree	11.9	29.0	9.5	33.5	25.5	26.5
don't know	5.1	16.9	3.2	1.8	10.9	7.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	63	167	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 16,050, df = 3; p = 0,001;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 22,682, df = 3; p = 0,000;

Wilanów: chi square = 1,358, df = 3; p = 0,715.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.33 ‘It is good for the economy that people from other countries come to live here’, by migration background, per neighbourhood

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	55.9	53.3	71.4	57.2	60.0	52.1
neutral	32.2	24.2	14.3	21.1	30.9	25.2
disagree	6.8	17.6	9.5	18.1	5.5	17.8
don't know	5.1	4.9	4.8	3.6	3.6	4.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	182	63	166	55	163

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 4, 638, df = 3; p = 0,200;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 4, 881, df = 3; p = 0,181;

Wilanów: chi square = 5,389, df = 3; p = 0,145.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 3.34 ‘In the future, the proportion of immigrants will become a threat to society’, by migration background, per neighbourhood

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	8,5	29,7	12,7	21,0	10,9	21,7
neutral	33,9	14,8	12,7	18,0	32,7	28,9
disagree	45,8	46,2	65,1	55,7	50,9	44,6
don't know	11,9	9,3	9,5	5,4	5,5	4,8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	182	63	167	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 16,766, df = 3; p = 0,001;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 4,328, df = 3; p = 0,228;

Wilanów: chi square = 3,118, df = 3; p = 0,374.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

3.7. Final remarks

In order to briefly summarize the results presented in this chapter, a few general remarks need to be made. They regard both the specificity of the researched areas, as well as differences between migrants and natives in their perception of the neighbourhood.

First of all, certain important characteristics of the studied areas clearly emerge. In particular, it appears that Szczęśliwice singles out as the ‘most positive’ area in many aspects: the image of neighbour relations tends to be the most positive, residents appear as the most satisfied with their daily interactions with neighbours, and most confident about the high level of infrastructure and safety in the neighbourhood. Moreover, despite the young age of the neighbourhood, residents of this area appear as most place-attached; they are also the most trusting.

Meanwhile, Żelazna Brama is portrayed as the least cohesive area. The residents hold the least positive image of the neighbour relations, and are the least convinced about the good reputation of the neighbourhood. The area is perceived as having the biggest level of anonymity comparing to the other two neighbourhoods. It also appears as the least safe area in the opinion of the residents. However, it is important to note that the lowest position of the area emerged in contrast to the other two areas – the negative views of the respondents were in fact not so frequent. It would be a big exaggeration to say that the area is problematic – rather, it appears as slightly less cohesive than the other two areas. This is understandable when we take the types of housing present in this area into account. Big blocks of flats, prevailing in Żelazna Brama, tend to generate higher anonymity and feelings of insecurity than buildings of smaller size, in which residents are more prone to have a sense of ownership and responsibility for the neighbour community (Newman 1996).

Wilanów takes the middle position in most of the studied aspects, although it also singles out as the one in which residents perceive the people in the neighbourhood as knowing each other the most. This again can be related to the physical setting of the neighbourhood, in which small family houses enabling daily interactions prevail, and to the relatively older age of the neighbourhood when compared to Żelazna Brama and – especially – Szczęśliwice.

As regards the role of the respondents' background, it should be said that in general migrants have a more positive perception of the neighbourhood coexistence and neighbour relations than Poles do. Residents with a migrant background express a more positive opinion on the quality of relations in the neighbourhood, the openness of the people in the area to newcomers, and see fewer tensions in the neighbourhood than Poles. Furthermore, natives more often than migrants claim to be annoyed by their neighbours, and would be slightly more willing to move out from their area than migrants. It seems that a possible explanation for this situation is the finding that migrants tend to create stronger ties within the neighbourhood (see further sections), which generates an overall feeling of safety and a positive picture of the neighbourhood. It may also be that migrants are more satisfied with their area because in general they live in Warsaw for a shorter time and thus have lower expectations, or simply compare their present neighbourhood to other standards than native residents.

4. Dimensions of interethnic coexistence

4.1. Contacts with and knowledge of people in the neighbourhood

4.1.1. Familiarity with neighbours

In general, a high level of anonymity can be observed in the investigated areas: only around one third of the native residents in each of the neighbourhoods claim that they know most of their neighbours by name and they know where they live. A relative share among migrants is even lower (significant differences in Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice), (see Table 4.1). The reason why migrants tend to have fewer everyday contacts than the Polish residents may lay in the shorter length of residence in the neighbourhood among migrants – they are still at the stage of forming contacts in the neighbourhood, while the natives have established them some time ago. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that in the case of the Vietnamese, prevailing among migrants in Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice, the language barrier can be an important constraint for migrants to enter everyday interactions with Poles in the neighbourhood. The area where migrants are most familiar with the people in their neighbourhood, is Szczęśliwice – as many as 26.2% migrants residents claim to know most of their neighbours by name, while in the other two areas the relative share is 16.4% (Wilanów) and 12.1% (Żelazna Brama).

Table 4.1. ‘I know most of them by name and I know where they live’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	12.1	30.1	26.2	32.7	16.4	34.6
neutral	24.1	13.1	26.2	10.1	34.6	29.7
disagree	63.8	55.7	47.7	57.1	45.5	33.9
don't know	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	3.6	1.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	183	65	168	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10,061, df = 3; p = 0,018;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 9,683, df = 3; p = 0,008;

Wilanów: chi square = 6,945, df = 3; p = 0,074.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

About a half of the respondents – independent of the neighbourhood – says that they have no clue who their neighbours are (see Table 4.2). Differences between migrants and natives are not significant in any of the neighbourhoods. The Żelazna Brama residents slightly more often agree with the statement ‘Mostly I have no clue who they are’ than the residents from the other two researched areas, which can be explained by the physical setting of the neighbourhood, constituted mainly by big blocks of flats, while in the two other neighbourhoods small types of housing prevail.

Table 4.2. ‘Mostly I have no clue who they are’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	57.6	52.5	52.3	50.6	41.8	47.9
neutral	23.7	18.0	23.1	13.7	29.1	19.4
disagree	18.6	24.6	24.6	35.7	29.1	32.7
don't know	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 4,550, df = 3; p = 0,208;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 4,329, df = 3; p = 0,115;

Wilanów: chi square = 2,276, df = 3; p = 0,320.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.3. ‘I don't personally know them, but I know what kind of people they are’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
agree	40.68	43.33	63.08	38.92	50.91	43.64
neutral	35.59	24.44	26.15	29.34	38.18	28.48
disagree	18.64	27.78	7.69	29.94	7.27	24.24
don't know	5.08	4.44	3.08	1.80	3.64	3.64
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	180	65	167	55	165

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 3,596, df = 3; p = 0,308;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 16,267, df = 3; p = 0,001;

Wilanów: chi square = 7,674, df = 3; p = 0,053.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.1.2. Everyday contacts

As regards everyday contacts in the neighbourhood, in all three investigated areas about a half of the respondents has exchanged a small talk with only 1 to 5 people during the last three months (see Table 4.4). A very small share – varying from 1.7% (among migrants in Żelazna Brama) to 10.1% (among natives in Szczęśliwice) claim to have exchanged a small talk with 21 people or more. At the same time, quite a big share, varying from 18.6% (among natives in Żelazna Brama) to 37.3% (migrants in Żelazna Brama) have had no such interactions. In general, natives report more contacts of this type than migrants (differences are statistically significant in Żelazna Brama and Wilanów).

Table 4.4. ‘During the last three months, I exchanged small talks with...’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of people	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
21 or more	1.7	3.3	3.2	10.1	0.0	9.0
6-20	8.5	30.6	17.5	20.2	20.0	26.5
3-5	20.3	25.7	25.4	30.4	14.5	27.7
1-2	32.2	21.9	31.7	19.0	29.1	19.3
none	37.3	18.6	22.2	20.2	36.4	17.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	63	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 18,28, df = 4; p = 0,001;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 6,625, df = 4; p = 0,157;

Wilanów: chi square = 17,086, df = 4; p = 0,001.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

When it comes to more intimate contacts – inviting or visiting neighbours – such interactions are even less frequent (see Table 4.5). In Żelazna Brama about a half of the residents – both of migrant and native origin – reported to have had no such contacts, while in Szczęśliwice and Wilanów the respective share varies from as much as 33.8% (among migrants in Szczęśliwice) to 51.8% (natives in Szczęśliwice). Wilanów appears slightly more sociable in this respect than the other two areas. No significant differences between migrants and natives can be observed in any of the three neighbourhoods.

Table 4.5. ‘During the last three months, I visited / welcomed at home...’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of people	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
21 or more	0.0	0.0	3.1	2.4	0.0	1.2
6-20	3.4	11.6	12.3	6.0	12.7	10.8
3-5	13.6	13.3	23.1	17.9	20.0	24.7
1-2	28.8	25.4	27.7	22.0	23.6	28.3
none	54.2	49.7	33.8	51.8	43.6	34.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	181	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 3,509, df = 3; p = 0,320;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 7,062, df = 4; p = 0,132;

Wilanów: chi square = 2,354, df = 4; p = 0,670.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.6. ‘During the last three months I got into an argument at least once with...’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of people	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
21 or more	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.6	0.0	0.0
6-20	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.6	0.0	0.0
3-5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.8	1.9
1-2	3.4	5.5	6.2	12.6	9.1	10.1
none	96.6	94.0	90.8	86.2	89.1	88.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	182	65	167	55	158

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 0,718, df = 2; p = 0,698;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 2,859, df = 3; p = 0,413;

Wilanów: chi square = 0,052, df = 2; p = 0,975.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.1.3. Interethnic contacts

In general, our findings demonstrate that Poles hardly have any inter-ethnic contacts in the neighbourhood (see Table 4.7a). Even when it comes to superficial daily interactions such as small talks, the interethnic contacts are very poor – the highest percentage of natives that have exchanged small talks with migrants reached 12.2% in Szczęśliwice. When it comes to more intimate contacts (exchanging visits with migrants), the percentages are close to zero in all three areas.

Obviously, since the proportion of migrants in the researched neighbourhoods is much smaller than that of natives, the tendency is not symmetric: migrants report to have quite frequent contacts with Poles (see Table 4.7b). As regards small talks, migrants claim to have engaged in such interactions in about the same proportion as in the case of contacts with co-ethnics, while with respect to exchanging visits with other people, the reported contacts with co-ethnics are more frequent than those with Poles. Both in the case of small talks and inviting people of native origin by migrants, the highest percentage of such contacts has been reported in Wilanów, which can be explained by the fact that it is mostly the second-generation migrants that live in this area, and thus are more integrated with the host society than migrants in the remaining two neighbourhoods.

Contacts between migrants of different origin tend to be the rarest type of contact in all three neighbourhoods – therefore, it seems that everyday contacts that do occur in the neighbourhood are either between residents of the same origin or with persons of native origin. Respondents from all three researched areas hardly ever admit having been involved in an argument with someone from the neighbourhood. The most frequent conflicts take place between natives, while inter-ethnic tensions tend to be negligible. Interestingly enough, it is in Żelazna Brama where getting into an argument is the least probable from all three areas, both among natives and migrants.

Table 4.7a. Three statements by different origin and mean number of contacts for NATIVES, per neighbourhood (%)

	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	with natives	with migrants	with natives	with migrants	with natives	with migrants
<i>During the last three months, I exchanged small talks with ...</i>						
yes	73.6	7.0	78.7	12.2	81.3	7.8
no	26.4	93.0	21.3	87.8	18.7	92.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	129	128	164	164	166	166
<i>During the last three months, I visited at home/ I welcomed in my home...</i>						
yes	38.5	0.0	46.7	2.4	64.8	3.0
no	61.5	100.0	53.3	97.6	35.2	97.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	148	148	165	164	165	165
<i>During the last three months, I got in an argument at least once with ...</i>						
yes	2.8	0.0	11.5	0.0	11.2	0.6
no	97.2	100.0	88.5	100.0	88.8	99.4
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	178	178	165	165	160	160

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.7b. Three statements by different origin and mean number of contacts for IMMIGRANTS, per neighbourhood (%)

	Żelazna Brama			Szczęśliwice			Wilanów		
	With people of...			With people of...			With people of...		
	same origin	other origin	native origin	same origin...	other origin	native origin	same origin	other origin	native origin
<i>During the last three months, I exchanged small talks with ...</i>									
yes	46.2	11.5	41.5	58.3	16.7	52.5	21.2	7.7	55.8
no	53.8	88.5	58.5	41.7	83.3	47.5	78.8	92.3	44.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	52	52	53	60	60	61	52	52	52
<i>During the last three months, I visited at home/ I welcomed in my home...</i>									
yes	30.8	3.8	20.8	55.7	9.8	34.4	22.6	9.4	52.8
no	69.2	96.2	79.2	44.3	90.2	65.6	77.4	90.6	47.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	53	52	52	61	61	61	52	53	53
<i>During the last three months, I got in an argument at least once with ...</i>									
yes	1.8	0.0	1.8	3.3	0.0	4.8	5.7	1.9	9.4
no	98.2	100.0	98.2	96.7	100.0	95.2	94.3	98.1	90.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	56	56	56	61	61	62	53	53	53

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.1.4. Evolution of contacts – contact and quality

As regards the evolution of contacts in the neighbourhood, in all three areas migrants more often than natives report that their contacts with the people in the neighbourhood have both increased in number (see Table 4.8) and improved in terms of quality (see Table 4.9) over the last years (differences between migrants and natives are statistically significant in all three neighbourhoods).

This may be explained by the fact that, in general, the interviewed Poles have lived in the neighbourhood for a longer period of time than migrants and thus their networks tend to be rather stable. Nevertheless, it seems that for the migrants, the neighbourhood is an important setting to establish social networks.

Table 4.8. Evolution of contacts I: ‘Have contacts with the people in the neighbourhood increased or decreased over the last years, or have it remained the same?’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
more contacts now than previously	22.0	17.6	41.5	23.2	21.8	21.1
less contacts now than previously	1.7	19.2	4.6	9.5	7.3	16.9
more or less the same	59.3	53.3	33.8	54.8	36.4	48.8
don't know	16.9	9.9	20.0	12.5	34.5	13.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	182	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 11,851, df = 3; p = 0,008;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 12,937, df = 3; p = 0,005;

Wilanów: chi square = 14,130, df = 3; p = 0,003.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.9. Evolution of contacts II: ‘Has the quality of contacts with the people in the neighbourhood improved or worsened over the last years, or has the quality of your contacts remained the same?’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
better contacts now than previously	16.9	10.4	29.2	17.3	20.0	13.9
less good contacts now than previously	0.0	10.4	1.5	7.7	5.5	10.2
more or less the same	67.8	67.6	49.2	61.3	40.0	66.3
don't know	15.3	11.5	20.0	13.7	34.5	9.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	182	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 8,223, df = 3; p = 0,004;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 8,645, df = 3; p = 0,034;

Wilanów: chi square = 23,014, df = 3; p = 0,000.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.2. Contacts in the workplace

As far as interethnic contacts at the workplace are concerned, migrants tend to work in more ethnically diverse settings, however inter-ethnic contacts do not prevail in any of the three neighbourhoods (see Table 4.10). In the ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’, about one third of the migrants report to have colleagues of other ethnic

origin at their workplace, while in Wilanów the respective share is almost one half. Among the native residents, the percentage of people working with colleagues of other origin does not exceed 12.9% (in Wilanów). The low level of interethnic contacts at the workplace can be seen when we look at the mean shares of colleagues of other origin – the shares have values from 0.5 (among natives in Szczęśliwice and Wilanów) to 0.27 (among migrants in Wilanów).

Table 4.10. Contacts in the workplace I ‘Colleagues of other origin at present work’, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Answer	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
yes	30.8	12.5	35.8	9.6	48.7	12.9
No	69.2	87.5	64.2	90.4	51.3	87.1
total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.11. Contacts in the workplace II - Mean share of colleagues of other origin at present work, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
Mean	0,15	0,06	0,21	0,05	0,27	0,05
Std. Deviation	0,28	0,21	0,33	0,17	0,35	0,15
N	52	78	52	113	39	93

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.3. Social networks – overall dimension and ethnic composition

4.3.1. Dimension/size of ‘global social networks’

The method of measurement of social networks of respondents focused on ‘important persons’ to be counted in four dimensions of social life: ‘**spending free time**’, ‘**giving/getting advices**’, ‘**help** (in everyday matters)’ and a general category of ‘**other**’ types of contacts. Therefore, it should be stressed, only a part of social networks of respondents has in fact been measured. In this report, we name these networks ‘global social networks’ since respondents were free to include in this category as many persons as they wanted in contrast to other measures of social networks discussed further in this report.

On the one hand, migrants tend to have smaller ‘global networks’, but differences between migrants and natives are small. Moreover, variations between numbers of persons mentioned in the four different spheres of social life can be considered negligible. On the other hand, some important differences between the investigated neighbourhoods have been identified. Interestingly enough, migrants in Szczęśliwice – mainly the Vietnamese – reported more persons, especially in the sphere of companionship and emotional support (giving/getting advice) than natives. This can be related to the fact that Szczęśliwice is a relatively new neighbourhood. Moreover, as our observations and talks in the neighbourhood revealed, natives settling in Szczęśliwice are frequently people who came to Warsaw – to study or work – not a long time ago.

Consequently, both ‘migrants’ and ‘natives’ are immigrants in Warsaw being in the process of building their social networks in the city and neighbourhood.

If we look at the distribution of the number of persons mentioned, further differences between migrants and natives can be observed (see Table 4.12a-4.12d). Variations between the three investigated neighbourhoods are added to this picture. Interestingly enough, in the two neighbourhoods where the Vietnamese are the dominant migrant group – Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice – respondents, be it migrants or natives, tend to have 3-5 or 6-10 close persons in their global networks. In Wilanów, where more highly-skilled western migrants can be met – the group of people reporting 6-10 persons in their global networks is smaller. Instead, in this neighbourhood, persons having more than 10 persons in their networks are more frequent (compare Tables 4.3.1 - 4.3.4). It should be added that in the two ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’ having 3 to 10 persons is more likely among migrants than among natives. It appears that for labour migrants who have to organise their life in Poland on their own, like the Vietnamese, having several, but not too many persons on whom one can rely in a new country is a perfect solution in terms of the social networks development. In counting their close persons, inhabitants of Wilanów – the Western migrants’ neighbourhood – differ from people living in the Vietnamese neighbourhoods.

In the domain of socialising, having more than a few acquaintances is particularly likely. It applies first of all to Poles – almost 20% of them admitted to have more than 10 persons with whom they spend their free time in Poland (see Table 4.11a). Migrants appear to rely on less people in enjoying their social life in Poland.

Table 4.12a. Number of people in global networks – SPENDING FREE TIME – by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	2.0	0.0
1-2	15.5	28.0	10.5	14.0	8.0	14.0
3-5	58.6	33.1	49.1	43.9	52.0	40.2
6-10	22.4	23.6	35.1	24.2	16.0	22.0
more than 10	3.4	14.6	5.3	17.2	22.0	23.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	157	57	157	50	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 14.537, df=4; p=0,006;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =7.075, df =4; p=0,132;

Wilanów: chi square =6.326, df=4; p=0,176.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In the domain of closer contacts involving giving/getting advice or giving/getting help in everyday matters, social contacts of both migrants and Poles are more carefully chosen being thus less numerous (compare Table 4.12b and 4.12c). This has been observed in all the researched neighbourhoods. In the ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’ differences between migrants and natives are particularly visible and statistically significant. Migrants have more people on whom they can rely or be relied upon in sharing advices and help. Again, the

need of migrants to rely on social networks in setting up their lives in Poland appears to be portrayed in the described data on global networks of respondents.

Table 4.12b. Number of people in global networks – GIVING AND TAKING ADVICE – by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	1.7	0.8	1.8	0.6	0.0	0.0
1-2	25.9	40.0	17.5	39.4	12.0	18.3
3-5	50.0	40.8	56.1	38.1	58.0	48.8
6-10	20.7	10.8	19.3	16.1	16.0	20.7
more than 10	1.7	7.5	5.3	5.8	14.0	12.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	120	57	155	50	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 8.261, df=4; p=0,082;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =9.904, df=4; p=0,042;

Wilanów: chi square =2.077, df=4; p=0,556.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.12c. Number of people in global networks – HELP - by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	0.0	6.7	1.8	0.6	2.0	1.2
1-2	20.7	34.5	12.5	36.8	12.0	21.3
3-5	51.7	44.5	57.1	43.9	58.0	40.9
6-10	27.6	9.2	23.2	17.4	8.0	21.3
more than 10	0.0	5.0	5.4	1.3	20.0	15.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	119	56	155	50	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 18.321, df=4; p=0,001;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =13.685, df=4; p=0,008;

Wilanów: chi square =8.695, df=4; p=0,069.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

The last category of social networks is the least transparent one, as it encompasses all other people that do not suit to the three other categories of social contacts (see Table 4.12d). Interestingly enough, shares of respondents reporting ‘no’ contacts or ‘more than 10’ contacts are relatively high when compared to other predefined domains of social contacts.

Table 4.12d. Number of people in global networks – OTHER – by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	3.6	7.5	11.8	10.0	4.0	8.8
1-2	19.6	27.1	0.0	17.3	8.0	13.8
3-5	48.2	32.7	47.1	37.3	48.0	26.4
6-10	26.8	24.3	35.3	24.7	18.0	25.8
more than 10	1.8	8.4	5.9	10.7	22.0	25.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	56	107	51	150	50	159

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 6.791, df=4; p=0,147;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =12.350, df=4; p=0,015;

Wilanów: chi square =8.920, df=4; p=0,063.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.3.2. Ethnic composition of ‘global social networks’

In all three investigated neighbourhoods interethnic relations, as measured by the importance of persons of the same ethnic origin in respondents’ global networks, are indeed limited. This is particularly visible in the case of natives. Usually over 95% of them, notwithstanding the sphere of social contacts, admitted that ‘all or almost all’ persons in their global networks are of the same origin, i.e. Poles. For migrants, the respective shares are lower but remain very high amounting to 80% of persons having ‘all or almost all’ co-ethnics in their global networks (compare Tables 4.13a-4.13b).

In Żelazna Brama, migrants are relatively more open to giving/receiving help from Poles when compared to spheres such as giving/receiving advice or companionship. As many as 7% of migrants mentioned the option [only] ‘just a few or none’ when referring to persons of the same origin in this domain. This can be related to the fact that while living in big blocks of flats and having numerous neighbours even on the same floor, they are particularly likely to get in contact with Polish direct neighbours and engage in neighbour exchange of small services.

Table 4.13a. Importance of people of the same origin in MIGRANTS’ ‘global networks’ – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are the same origin of respondent.....	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	78.9	17.5	3.5	100.00	57
give/receive advice	80.4	16.1	3.6	100.00	56
give/receive help	80.7	12.3	7.0	100.00	57
other relationship	81.1	17.0	1.9	100.00	53

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.13b. Importance of people of the same origin in NATIVES' 'global networks' – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are the same origin of respondent.....	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	95.7	4.3	0.0	100.00	139
give/receive advice	97.3	2.7	0.0	100.00	113
give/receive help	94.1	4.9	1.0	100.00	102
other relationship	97.8	1.1	1.1	100.00	89

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

From the three investigated neighbourhoods, migrants living in Szcześliwice appear to be the most open to interethnic contacts, usually involving contacts with Poles. While in receiving/giving advice and help they rely more heavily on their co-ethnics, in socialising and other types of relationships over 25% of them is open to contacts with Poles (compare Table 4.14a and 4.14b).

Table 4.14a. Importance of people of the same origin in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – SZCZEŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are the same origin of respondent.....	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	74.1	17.2	8.6	100.00	58
give/receive advice	80.4	16.1	3.6	100.00	56
give/receive help	80.4	14.3	5.4	100.00	56
other relationship	73.3	13.3	13.3	100.00	45

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.14b. Importance of people of the same origin in NATIVES' 'global networks' – SZCZEŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are the same origin of respondent.....	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	96.2	3.2	0.6	100.00	158
give/receive advice	94.2	5.2	0.6	100.00	155
give/receive help	98.1	1.9	0.0	100.00	155
other relationship	97.1	2.9	0.0	100.00	136

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

The results for Wilanów differ from those for the two other areas in a number of aspects. However, in terms of interethnic contacts, data for Wilanów demonstrate the same picture as observed in other neighbourhoods: a lack of interethnic contacts in the respondents' networks.

Table 4.15a. Importance of people of the same origin in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are the same origin of respondent.....	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	82.0	12.0	6.0	100.00	50
give/receive advice	84.0	14.0	2.0	100.00	50
give/receive help	82.4	11.8	5.9	100.00	51
other relationship	86.0	8.0	6.0	100.00	50

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 4.15b. Importance of people of the same origin in NATIVES' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are the same origin of respondent.....	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	92.6	6.7	0.6	100.00	163
give/receive advice	92.6	7.4	0.0	100.00	163
give/receive help	90.7	8.0	1.2	100.00	162
other relationship	91.0	8.3	0.7	100.00	145

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.4. Social networks of the most important persons

4.4.1. Dimension

This section is devoted to the special part of respondents' social networks, namely the most important persons (hereafter called IPs) in the four domains of social contacts: companionship, advice, help and other types of relationships. Inhabitants of the investigated neighbourhoods were asked to name maximum two persons in each sphere. Thus, respondent could name from zero up to eight persons.

Interestingly enough, in contrast to the 'global networks', migrants tend to have more persons that are very important to them (hereafter called IPs) in their networks than natives. They amount to 3.20 persons for migrants and 2.65 persons for natives in Żelazna Brama; 3.38 persons and 3.10 persons, respectively, in Szczęśliwice; 3.55 persons and 3.33 persons, respectively, in Wilanów. Thus, the differences between migrants and natives are small, but, with exception of Wilanów, statistically significant (see Table 4.16).

Table 4.16. Number of the most important persons in social networks of respondents by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	3.4	4.4	9.2	3.0	7.3	1.2
1-2	28.8	50.8	21.5	38.1	25.5	33.7
3-4	50.8	29.5	40.0	39.9	36.4	44.0
5-6	15.3	12.6	27.7	16.1	25.5	16.3
7-8	1.7	2.7	1.5	3.0	5.5	4.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 11.147, df=4; p=0.025;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =11.375, df=4; p=0.023;

Wilanów: chi square =8.980, df=4; p=0.062.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.4.2. Ethnic composition

The limited propensity of Varsovians – be it migrants or natives – to establish interethnic relations is again portrayed in the ethnic composition of the respondents' IPs. Shares of Poles that do not limit their close contacts to other Poles are very small in all neighbourhoods and do not exceed 3%. Immigrants, given their small representation in Poland and Warsaw, are in fact forced to establish contacts with the native population. Consequently migrants limiting their close contacts only to other foreigners account for less than three fourths. From among migrant respondents, migrants living in Szczęśliwice have the smallest representation of persons maintaining close contacts only with Poles (8.5%). In contrast, an exceptionally high share of Wilanów migrants who among their close persons have only Poles, also deserves attention. This is accompanied by a relatively small proportion (11.8%) of migrants from this neighbourhood whose close relations encompass only foreigners. They account for as many as 66.7% of all Wilanów migrants. It is clear that this stems from the fact that the representation of 'migrants' having one Polish parent and one foreign parent is particularly high in Wilanów. It can be argued that many such 'migrants' are anchored in the Polish society at a degree comparable to natives. Finally, it is worth adding that shares of migrants open to close contacts with both natives and foreigners are relatively low in all investigated neighbourhoods, not exceeding one fourth and having the lowest share of 12.3% in Żelazna Brama.

Table 4.17. Number of the most important persons in social networks of respondents by country of their origin, migration background and neighbourhood (%)

Characteristics of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
only foreigners	68.4	0.6	71.2	0.0	11.8	0.0
only Poles	19.3	97.1	8.5	98.8	66.7	98.8
mix of Poles and foreigners	12.3	2.3	20.3	1.9	21.6	1.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	174	59	162	51	160

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 58.758, df=2; p=0000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =183.965, df=4; p=0000

Wilanów: chi square =49.112, df=4; p=0000.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.5. Interethnic couples

A majority of respondents from the three investigated areas has a partner. The shares of persons having a partner are the highest among natives in Wilanów (76.5%) and the lowest among natives in Żelazna Brama (52.2%). A relatively low share of couples in Żelazna Brama is understandable given the age structure of the neighbourhood with the high proportion of both old and young people. In Szczęśliwice, where the population is younger than in Żelazna Brama, shares of respondents having partners are visibly higher – 67.7% among migrants and 64.3% among natives. Interestingly enough, in both ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’ shares of persons without partners are higher for natives than for migrants. In Wilanów the opposite pattern has been observed: natives are the ones more likely to have a partner. Moreover, the proportion of couples is indeed high when compared to the remaining two researched neighbourhoods.

In terms of ethnic characteristics of couples, a low tendency towards interethnic relations both between Poles and migrants, especially the Vietnamese, has been observed. Poles rarely have a partner of a different ethnic origin. In the researched sample, not more than 3% of Poles had a foreign partner at the moment of the research. Among migrants living in the ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’, proportions of Polish-foreign couples are 25.2% and 13.7% in Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice, respectively. These shares are not very low, but it should be stressed that in both neighbourhoods, around a half of those mixed couples are couples of Poles and second-generation migrants, i.e. persons born in Poland and having only one or two parents born abroad. A completely different situation has been observed among Wilanów migrants who tend to intermarry with Poles: the share of migrants staying in Polish-foreign relationships amounts to 73.5%. However, a closer look at this group of couples reveals that over three fourths of it are relationships between Poles and second-generation migrants. It can be thus argued that interethnic couples are a rarity in the investigated neighbourhoods. It is probable that a similar conclusion can be derived for Warsaw as a whole. However, some more intensive ethnic mixing has been observed in the case of second-generation migrants born in Poland.

Table 4.18. Ethnic composition of couples by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Type of couple	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	Migrant	native	migrant	native
Foreign-foreign	75.8	0.0	86.4	0.0	26.5	0.0
Polish-foreign	24.2	2.2	13.6	2.8	73.5	3.1
Polish-Polish	0.0	97.8	0.0	97.2	0.0	96.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	33	92	44	108	34	127

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

4.6 Final remarks

In an attempt to summarize our findings regarding neighbourhood relations and interethnic coexistence, first of all it should be said that a high level of anonymity can be observed in all the investigated areas. Only about one third of the native residents in each of the neighbourhoods claim that they know most of their neighbours by name and they know where they live. The respective share among migrants is even lower. Interestingly enough, the area in which migrants are most familiar with the people in their neighbourhood is Szczęśliwice. This is not reflected in the views of the residents about the level of neighbour familiarity – over a half of the researched Szczęśliwice residents believed that people in the neighbourhood hardly know each other.

Consequently, everyday contacts within the neighbourhood are not very frequent: about one fifth of the respondents admits having exchanged no small talk during the last three months, and more than one third reports having exchanged no visits in the last three months. Natives engage in more everyday contacts than migrants, which seems to be consistent with the result that migrants are in general less familiar with their neighbours – having spent on the average less time in the area, they know a smaller number of people there.

A next important finding is that Poles hardly have any inter-ethnic contacts in the neighbourhood, while a relatively big proportion of migrants do engage in such interactions. When it comes to ‘important persons’ in respondents’ social networks, interethnic relations become even more seldom. Among persons important for Poles, representatives of different ethnic origins are virtually inexistent, both within global networks and close networks. Moreover, shares of mixed couples among natives in all three studied areas approach zero. We would argue that this can be explained by the small number of migrants in Warsaw and the specificity of the main researched migrant group, i.e. the Vietnamese, rather than by xenophobic attitudes among the Poles.

For migrants, interethnic relations are more visible though not numerous. This can be related to the fact that the Vietnamese group, though open to some extent to contacts with Poles, is a group where ties between co-ethnics are very dense and strong. Moreover, cultural and language barriers make it relatively difficult for the Vietnamese to enter relations with Poles. As regards having a partner of different ethnic origin, migrants do not avoid entering relationships with Poles. However, this applies first of all to second-generation migrants in the researched neighbourhoods.

5. The development of interethnic relations?

5.1. Characteristics of social networks

5.1.1. Global social networks

Apart from giving information on the size of the global network, respondents were also asked to assess² the importance of different categories of persons in this network. These categories included: relatives, people of the same origin (compare section 4.3), of the same sex, living in the same neighbourhood, living outside the neighbourhood but in Warsaw, and living outside Warsaw. In the following section results of this assessment are demonstrated. It should be borne in mind that it is in fact a subjective opinion of respondents referring to perceived importance of given categories in their social networks.

5.1.1.1. Relatives

As it was defined in the research, collected information on social networks of respondents does not include members of their household. However, information on family members from outside the household has been collected and revealing interesting patterns. In terms of the importance of relatives in social networks of inhabitants in the investigated neighbourhoods, both differences between locations as well as between migrants and natives have been revealed. In the two 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods', first of all, differences between locations come into play, whereas differences between migrants and natives living in these neighbourhoods are less apparent and not statistically significant. Though, in both neighbourhoods, migrants have fewer relatives in their networks than natives. In contrast, in the case of the 'highly-skilled migrants' neighbourhood – Wilanów – differences between migrants and natives are first to be noticed being also statistically significant.

In terms of spheres of contacts – companionship, advice, help and other – the importance of relatives differs across neighbourhoods and migrant vs. native groups, but differences are not very strong. It seems that natives are more likely to classify relatives as the source/receivers of advice and help than in other domains of social contacts. This has not been observed among migrants, who have family members important in all the four domains of social contracts on more or less equal levels. These differences between migrants and natives are less apparent in the case of Wilanów, where migrants are more anchored in the Polish social life, with a high representation of second-generation migrants. In this neighbourhood, migrants are closer to natives than in other locations in the tendency to consider their relatives as a source/receiver of advice and help more rather than as persons to spend their free time with.

The role of family in social networks is particularly visible in Żelazna Brama for both migrants and natives (see Table 5.1a and 5.1b). Proportions of respondents declaring that 'all or almost all' members of their social networks are relatives are about one fourth for migrants and approaching 40% for natives. It appears that

inhabitants from big blocks of flats – prevailing in Żelazna Brama – to a greater extent rely in their contacts on relatives than in the two other neighbourhoods, which have a lower degree of anonymity among their inhabitants.

Table 5.1a. Importance of relatives in MIGRANTS’ ‘global networks’ – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are relatives....	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	26.3	24.6	49.1	100.00	57
give/receive advice	23.2	25.0	51.8	100.00	56
give/receive help	21.1	24.6	54.4	100.00	57
other relationship	22.6	28.3	49.1	100.00	53

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.1b. Importance of relatives in NATIVES’ ‘global networks’ – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are relatives....	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	29.2	30.7	40.1	100.00	137
give/receive advice	38.1	20.4	41.6	100.00	113
give/receive help	36.2	23.8	40.0	100.00	105
other relationship	32.2	13.3	54.4	100.00	90

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Interestingly enough, the role of the family is much less important in Szczęśliwice (see Table 5.2a and 5.2b) – the other ‘Vietnamese neighbourhood’ – which is a relatively new area where in some places still some new houses and apartments are being built and neighbour relations are thus still being formed. From the three neighbourhoods, Szczęśliwice has the lowest rates of people reporting that ‘all or almost all’ of members of their social networks are relatives. For migrants, this rate hardly exceeds 10%, whereas for natives the highest proportion for the domain of giving/receiving help reaches only 20%. This can be related to the fact that, as revealed in the qualitative research, Poles living in Szczęśliwice have often moved to Warsaw from other locations. Thus, their families, as families of migrants, are frequently far away and play a secondary role in their social networks.

² In this assessment respondents were using a 7-point scale: 1. all of them; 2. almost all of them; 3. between almost all and half of them; 4. about half of them; 5. between half of them and just a few; 6. just a few; 7. none of them. In our analyses we compressed the scale obtaining only three categories: 1 (1-2) all or almost all of them; 2 (3-5) quite a lot; 3 (6-7) just a few or none.

Table 5.2a. Importance of relatives in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – SZCZEŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are relatives....	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	10.5	22.8	66.7	100.00	57
give/receive advice	9.4	18.9	71.7	100.00	53
give/receive help	11.1	18.5	70.4	100.00	54
other relationship	2.2	17.8	80.0	100.00	45

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.2b. Importance of relatives in NATIVES' 'global networks' – SZCZEŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are relatives....	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	10.7	20.8	68.6	100.00	159
give/receive advice	17.9	20.5	61.5	100.00	156
give/receive help	20.5	21.2	58.3	100.00	156
other relationship	13.3	18.5	68.1	100.00	135

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In Wilanów, differences between migrants and natives, in terms of the role of family in their social networks, are the most visible and statistically significant. An explanation of this fact is not obvious taking into account that many migrants living in this neighbourhood are second-generation migrants and deserves further investigation.

Table 5.3a. Importance of relatives in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are relatives....	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	10.0	6.0	80.0	100.00	50
give/receive advice	19.6	7.8	72.5	100.00	51
give/receive help	19.6	5.9	74.5	100.00	51
other relationship	18.0	6.0	76.0	100.00	50

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.3b. Importance of relatives in NATIVES' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are relatives....	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	22.1	21.5	56.4	100.00	163
give/receive advice	25.8	24.5	49.7	100.00	163
give/receive help	27.8	24.1	48.1	100.00	162
other relationship	20.7	22.8	56.6	100.00	145

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.1.2. Neighbours

In terms of the importance of neighbours in the social networks of the researched areas' inhabitants, differences between migrants and natives are particularly visible and statistically significant in the 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods'. In their social contacts migrants more than natives rely on neighbours. This can be related to the fact that in these two locations the concentration of one ethnic group – the Vietnamese – is relatively high. Thus, neighbour relations can frequently be relations between co-ethnics. What deserves attention is the potentially revealed importance of neighbour relations for some migrant group formation in the Warsaw context. Meanwhile, in Wilanów the picture is different. In this area neighbours are almost equally important in the networks of both migrants and natives, being a little bit more important in the social networks of the second group.

A visible, although not very high, predominance of contacts with neighbours in the sphere of help has been observed in all three neighbourhoods among both migrants and natives. This is understandable taking into account small favours such as taking care of the apartment, borrowing things and so on, that neighbours usually provide to each other in everyday contacts.

Interestingly, in the big blocks of flats neighbourhood – Żelazna Brama – neighbours constitute a relatively important part of the social networks of its inhabitants. Shares of respondents declaring that 'all or almost all' members of their social networks are neighbours oscillate around 40% for Żelazna Brama migrants and around 30% for natives living in this neighbourhood (see Table 5.4a and 5.4b). It seems therefore that the negative picture of neighbour relations existing in Warsaw areas with blocks of flats has not quite been supported by the survey data relating to the role of neighbours among close friends. This finding at first seems to contradict the results presented in the previous sections, concerning the generally lower social cohesion in Żelazna Brama. It could be, however, that in this area the level of anonymity is slightly higher and the image of neighbour relations is relatively worse than in the other two neighbourhoods, but at the same time the residents may maintain a few close relationships within the neighbourhood. The frequency of contacts in the long corridors of blocks of flats may somehow facilitate establishing a few friendly relations between the neighbours, but at the same time the overall familiarity with the people in the area is not very high.

Table 5.4a. Importance of neighbours in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are living in the same neighbourhood...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	38.6	38.6	22.8	100.00	57
give/receive advice	46.4	33.9	19.6	100.00	56
give/receive help	36.8	43.9	19.3	100.00	57
other relationship	37.7	43.4	18.9	100.00	53

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.4b. Importance of neighbours in NATIVES' 'global networks' – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are living in the same neighbourhood...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	27.8	22.6	49.6	100.00	133
give/receive advice	29.7	24.3	45.9	100.00	111
give/receive help	33.0	22.0	45.0	100.00	100
other relationship	31.8	22.7	45.5	100.00	88

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

It seems that neighbour relations are still being formed in Szczęśliwice. This is suggested first of all by the relatively small role that neighbours play in social networks of Poles living in this neighbourhood. Shares of natives declaring that 'just a few or no' members of their social networks are their neighbours reaches almost 70% (see Table 5.5b). The respective share is much smaller for migrants living in this neighbourhood, oscillating around 40% (see Table 5.5a). This can be related to the fact that migrants living in Szczęśliwice, mainly the Vietnamese, tend to cluster in some locations of this neighbourhood. Thus, as it has been earlier argued also for Żelazna Brama, in the case of migrants in Szczęśliwice neighbour relations can be at the same time relations with co-ethnics.

Table 5.5a. Importance of neighbours in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – SZCZĘŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are living in the same neighbourhood...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	25.0	35.7	39.3	100.00	56
give/receive advice	20.8	37.7	41.5	100.00	53
give/receive help	22.6	35.8	41.5	100.00	53
other relationship	17.8	40.0	42.2	100.00	45

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.5b. Importance of neighbours in NATIVES' 'global networks' – SZCZĘŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are living in the same neighbourhood...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	14.6	18.4	67.1	100.00	158
give/receive advice	16.8	13.5	69.7	100.00	155
give/receive help	14.3	20.8	64.9	100.00	154
other relationship	14.9	14.9	70.1	100.00	134

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In Wilanów the picture relating to the importance of neighbours in the respondents' social networks is different than in the 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods', which is not that striking taking into account the different characteristics of migrants in Wilanów. In this neighbourhood, natives declare to have more neighbours in their networks than migrants do (see Table 5.6a and 5.6b). Among other things, this can be related to the fact that at

least some part of migrants in this neighbourhood are people working in Warsaw on the basis of fixed-term contracts, thus being less prone to develop more in-depth contacts with their neighbours. It can also be related to the fact that, as it has been argued in the literature, local ties play a less important role in higher-status groups (Campbell and Lee 1990, Kaltenberg-Kwiatkowska 2002; Lewicka 2004, 2005) to which highly-skilled western migrants in Poland belong.

Table 5.6a. Importance of neighbours in migrants' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are living in the same neighbourhood...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	22.0	24.0	54.0	100.00	50
give/receive advice	19.6	27.5	52.9	100.00	51
give/receive help	21.6	25.5	52.9	100.00	51
other relationship	18.0	30.0	52.0	100.00	50

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.6b. Importance of neighbours in natives' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are living in the same neighbourhood...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	27.8	34.0	38.3	100.00	162
give/receive advice	29.6	30.2	40.1	100.00	162
give/receive help	28.6	34.2	37.3	100.00	161
other relationship	29.7	31.0	39.3	100.00	145

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.1.3. Relations outside the neighbourhood but in the city

Information about the role of persons living in Warsaw but not in the neighbourhood (referred to as Varsovians in the following paragraphs) is complementary to the results relating to the role of neighbours in social networks of our respondents. In the 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods', Varsovians are more important in the social networks of natives. In our view, again it suggests an importance of the neighbourhood in the integration of migrants – especially Vietnamese – in Warsaw. In the case of Wilanów, Varsovians are equally important in the social networks of natives and migrants, playing in these networks a relatively important role. In terms of the domain of social contacts in which Varsovians play the leading role, the picture is rather complex. However, it can be argued that inhabitants of the studied neighbourhoods more often tend to mention Varsovians in the sphere of companionship than in other spheres.

In Żelazna Brama, Varsovians are less important than neighbours in the social networks of migrants but more important in the social networks of natives. However, differences relating to importance of neighbours and Varsovians are not overwhelming (see Tables 5.7a and 5.7b). The respective differences are much more appealing in the case of Szczęśliwice, though the tendency is the same. For migrants in Szczęśliwice,

Varsovians are almost as important as neighbours in their social networks, whereas natives from this neighbourhood rely in their social relations much more on Varsovians than on neighbours. This can be related to their short length of residence in the area but also to the fact that, taking into account the relatively high standard and thus also the prices of apartments in Szcześliwice, for Poles this location is likely to be a subsequent place of living in Warsaw. Therefore, they are likely to have contacts with people living in different parts of Warsaw.

Table 5.7a. Importance of people living outside the neighbourhood but in the city in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – ŹELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are living outside neighbourhood but in the same city...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	21.4	30.4	48.2	100.00	56
give/receive advice	16.1	32.1	51.8	100.00	56
give/receive help	17.5	35.1	47.4	100.00	57
other relationship	15.1	34.0	50.9	100.00	53

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.7b. Importance of people living outside the neighbourhood but in the city in NATIVES' 'global networks' – ŹELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are living outside neighbourhood but in the same city...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	37.0	31.9	31.1	100.00	135
give/receive advice	42.0	23.2	34.8	100.00	112
give/receive help	35.6	26.7	37.6	100.00	101
other relationship	37.8	26.7	35.6	100.00	90

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.8a. Importance of people living outside the neighbourhood but in the city in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – SZCZEŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are living outside neighbourhood but in the same city...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	28.6	26.8	44.6	100.00	56
give/receive advice	27.8	29.6	42.6	100.00	54
give/receive help	28.3	34.0	37.7	100.00	53
other relationship	17.8	35.6	46.7	100.00	45

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.8b. Importance of people living outside the neighbourhood but in the city in NATIVES' 'global networks' – SZCZĘŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are living outside neighbourhood but in the same city...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	44.9	24.7	30.4	100.00	158
give/receive advice	43.8	26.1	30.1	100.00	153
give/receive help	39.6	27.3	33.1	100.00	154
other relationship	40.7	22.2	37.0	100.00	135

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Inhabitants of Wilanów are open to contacts outside their neighbourhood. About one third of both migrants and natives declare to have 'all or almost all' members of their social networks living in Warsaw but outside the neighbourhood.

Table 5.9a. Importance of people living outside the neighbourhood but in the city in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are living outside neighbourhood but in the same city...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	36.0	24.0	40.0	100.00	50
give/receive advice	27.5	25.5	47.1	100.00	51
give/receive help	27.5	25.5	47.1	100.00	51
other relationship	30.0	30.0	40.0	100.00	50

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.9b. Importance of people living outside the neighbourhood but in the city in NATIVES' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are living outside neighbourhood but in the same city...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	31.9	34.4	33.7	100.00	163
give/receive advice	29.6	29.0	41.4	100.00	162
give/receive help	28.0	32.3	39.8	100.00	161
other relationship	29.5	32.9	37.7	100.00	146

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.1.4. Relations with persons from outside the city

In general, the social networks of the investigated neighbourhoods' inhabitants are Warsaw-centred. In all locations – be it migrants or natives – shares of respondents declaring that 'just a few or none' members of their social networks live outside Warsaw amount to around 80% (see Table 5.10a-5.12b). What deserves attention is a lack of differences between migrants and natives in this realm. It appears that in the migrants'

eyes people living outside Warsaw, thus also people in their home countries, play a secondary role in their present networks. This is an interesting outcome that deserves further analyses, as it suggests that the transnational networks among the researched migrants tend to be rather weak.

Table 5.10a. Importance of people living outside the city in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are living outside city...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	3.6	10.7	85.7	100.00	56
give/receive advice	1.8	8.9	89.3	100.00	56
give/receive help	0.0	10.7	89.3	100.00	56
other relationship	2.0	7.8	90.2	100.00	51

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.10b. Importance of people living outside the city in NATIVES' 'global networks' – ŻELAZNA BRAMA (%)

Contacts are living outside city...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	6.0	14.2	79.9	100.00	134
give/receive advice	6.2	8.0	85.8	100.00	113
give/receive help	7.1	8.1	84.8	100.00	99
other relationship	4.5	9.1	86.4	100.00	88

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.11a. Importance of people living outside the city in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – SZCZEŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are living outside city...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	11.1	5.6	83.3	100.00	54
give/receive advice	5.8	5.8	88.5	100.00	52
give/receive help	7.7	5.8	86.5	100.00	52
other relationship	6.8	9.1	84.1	100.00	44

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.11b. Importance of people living outside the city in NATIVES' 'global networks' – SZCZĘŚLIWICE (%)

Contacts are living outside city...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	5.7	10.1	84.2	100.00	158
give/receive advice	5.2	9.7	85.1	100.00	154
give/receive help	3.9	13.0	83.1	100.00	154
other relationship	3.7	11.8	84.6	100.00	136

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.12a. Importance of people living outside the city in MIGRANTS' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are living outside city...	Respondent = immigrant				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	12.0	8.0	80.0	100.00	50
give/receive advice	5.2	9.7	85.1	100.00	154
give/receive help	13.7	7.8	78.4	100.00	51
other relationship	14.0	8.0	78.0	100.00	50

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.12b. Importance of people living outside the city in NATIVES' 'global networks' – WILANÓW (%)

Contacts are living outside city...	Respondent = native				
	All or almost all	Quite a lot	Just a few or none	Total (%)	N
spend free time	0.6	9.3	90.1	100.00	161
give/receive advice	1.9	8.8	89.3	100.00	159
give/receive help	1.3	8.9	89.9	100.00	158
other relationship	1.4	11.1	87.5	100.00	144

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.2. The most important persons

5.1.2.1. Number of persons and spheres of contacts

With regard to the IPs networks, visible and statistically significant differences between migrants and natives have been observed in all investigated neighbourhoods and in all spheres of social contacts³. Most of respondents, be it natives or migrants, tended to mention two persons in each of the four spheres (see Tables 5.13a-5.13d). In Szczęśliwice and Wilanów, at least 70% of respondents indicated maximal number of two persons in each sphere. Żelazna Brama, for natives, with the respective share of around 50% constitutes an

³ In the case of Wilanów, for the 'help sphere' these differences are not statistically significant at the 0.05 significance level but at the 0.1 significance level.

exception. It appears that in an area of big blocks of flats Poles tend to have small circles of close persons. This can also be related to the big proportion of elderly residents in this area. What also deserves attention is a smaller propensity of respondents to mention important persons in the 'other' sphere of social contacts than it has been observed for 'global networks'. It appears that while talking about the most important and close persons, respondents are easily able to point out the sphere of contacts in which a given person plays the main role. Another specificity can be observed in the Wilanów neighbourhood, where both migrants and natives have a relatively high number of important persons: over 80% of the inhabitants named two important persons in each of the domains.

Table 5.13a. Number of the most important persons in social networks of respondents in the sphere FREE TIME, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
0	3.4	12.6	10.8	3.6	9.1	1.2
1	23.7	30.6	9.2	22.6	5.5	12.0
2	72.9	56.8	80.0	73.8	85.5	86.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 6.259, df=2; p=0.044;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =9.038, df=2; p=0.011;

Wilanów: chi square =9.845, df=2; p=0,007.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.13b. Number of the most important persons in social networks of respondents in the sphere ADVICE, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	Migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	5.1	17.5	12.3	4.2	7.3	1.2
1	22.0	32.8	15.4	25.6	9.1	11.4
2	72.9	49.7	72.3	70.2	83.6	87.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10.775, df=2; p=0.005;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =7.001, df=2; p=0.030;

Wilanów: chi square =5.880, df=2; p=0,053.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.13c. Number of the most important persons in social networks of respondents in the sphere HELP, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	3.4	14.2	13.8	5.4	9.1	3.0
1	27.1	39.3	12.3	30.4	7.3	15.1
2	69.5	46.4	73.8	64.3	83.6	81.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10.897, df=2; p=0.004;

Szczęśliwice: chi square = 11.041, df=2; p=0.004;

Wilanów: chi square = 5.298, df=2; p=0,071.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.13d. Number of the most important persons in social networks of respondents in the sphere OTHER, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	8.5	27.9	30.8	17.9	14.5	12.7
1	39.0	29.0	9.2	33.3	3.6	18.1
2	52.2	43.2	60.0	48.8	81.8	69.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 9.541, df=2; p=0.008;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =15.003, df=2; p=0.001;

Wilanów: chi square =6.956, df=2; p=0,031.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.2.2. Beginning of the relationship – relatives, neighbours and colleagues

The character of the relationship at its beginning is an important aspect in the analysis of social networks. Among other things, it sheds some light on the circumstances of initiating respondents' close relationships. In the researched Warsaw neighbourhoods three types of initial relationships seem to play a role – being relatives, neighbours and colleagues⁴. Shares of respondents mentioning other types of relationships usually do not exceed 5%. Therefore, in this section, we focus on those three types of relationships at the start of the described close relations of respondents.

Relatives (persons met as relatives) are not that important in close relations of inhabitants of the researched neighbourhoods. Basing on shares of relatives among the indicated most important persons, it has been observed that they are less important in the close networks of migrants (however, differences are statistically significant only in the Szczęśliwice neighbourhood). This is likely to be related to the fact that some parts of the migrants' families remained in the country of origin, thus becoming less crucial members of their present networks in Poland.

The least family-centred are the networks of Żelazna Brama inhabitants: 70% of migrants and 60% of natives have no relatives among most important persons named in the research (see Table 5.14a). For migrants, such an outcome can be related to the fact that, as revealed in qualitative observations, Vietnamese living in Żelazna Brama are more likely, than for example in Szczęśliwice, to stay in Poland without their close family members. As for natives, it can be related to the fact that inhabitants of Żelazna Brama are on the average older than in other neighbourhoods and the representation of one-person households is especially high in this neighbourhood. This line of argumentation requires, however, further exploration of data collected in the survey relating to the composition of the respondents' households. In Szczęśliwice and Wilanów relatives are more present in the closest networks of respondents. However, in contrast to Szczęśliwice, in Wilanów differences between migrants and natives can be considered negligible as far as shares of relatives in the networks of most important persons are concerned.

Table 5.14a. Share of most important persons – RELATIVES when relationship started - by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	70.2	60.0	62.7	57.1	64.7	59.1
0.1-25.0	5.3	3.4	15.3	8.0	5.9	7.3
25.1-50.0	17.5	14.9	20.3	19.6	21.6	21.3
50.1-75.0	5.3	8.0	0.0	6.1	0.0	7.3
75.1-99.9	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.2
100.0	1.8	12.0	1.7	9.2	5.9	3.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 7.462, df=5; p=0.189;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =9.571, df=4; p=0.048

Wilanów: chi square =4.659, df=5; p=0.459.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

The importance of neighbourhoods in social relations of migrants in Poland is tentatively supported by the information on the closest members of their social networks. It refers to persons being neighbours of respondents at the moment when the relationship was established. In this realm, results for Szczęśliwice clearly demonstrate that the situation in which neighbours enter the circle of the respondents' closest persons is particularly likely in case of migrants living in this neighbourhood. Only 40% of migrants have no such persons in the group of the closest persons whereas for natives in this neighbourhood the respective share amounts to almost 70% (see Table 5.14b). This may be a sign that in Szczęśliwice some neighbour community involving migrants can be in the process of formation. In combination with the fact that ethnic homogeneity is a prevailing feature of social relations in the researched neighbourhoods, we may be witnessing the formation of a migrant group on the level of the Szczęśliwice neighbourhood. This cannot be easily said about Żelazna

⁴ According to the survey classification, the term 'colleagues' refers to 'colleagues, fellow students, house mates'. Thus the category is rather broad.

Brama – the other ‘Vietnamese neighbourhood’ – where shares of both migrants and natives not having persons met as neighbours in their closest networks are particularly high, accounting for around 70% for both migrants and natives. It seems that the Żelazna Brama surroundings do not facilitate group integration among migrants. For all three neighbourhoods, a common observation can be derived. Shares of respondents mentioning only persons met as neighbours, be it migrants or natives, oscillate around 10%, with the highest proportion of such persons among natives living in Szczęśliwice.

Table 5.14b. Share of most important persons – NEIGHBOURS when relationship started – by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	Migrant	native	migrant	native
0	70.2	68.6	40.7	69.9	58.8	65.9
0.1-25.0	0.0	6.9	6.8	4.3	5.9	7.3
25.1-50.0	12.3	10.9	30.5	8.0	21.6	12.8
50.1-75.0	10.5	2.3	11.9	4.3	5.9	4.9
75.1-99.9	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
100.0	7.0	11.4	8.5	13.5	7.8	9.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 11.585, df=4; p=0.021;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =29.855, df=5; p=0.000

Wilanów: chi square =2.573, df=4; p=0.632.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

It is clear that persons met as ‘colleagues, fellow students, house mates’ (hereafter named colleagues) constitute an important part of the closest networks of respondents. It is more frequent for migrants in the three neighbourhoods, but differences between migrants and natives are statistically significant only in the Wilanów neighbourhood. Shares of both migrants and natives having all persons met as colleagues in their closest networks amount to around 30% in Żelazna Brama and around 25% in Wilanów (see Table 5.14c). In Szczęśliwice the picture is more complex. Though, it is less likely for migrants to have any persons met as colleagues in their close networks (32.2%) than for natives (43.6%), at the same time the share of persons having only colleagues in their closest networks is relatively low – 15.3%. It accords, however, with the previous observation that in Szczęśliwice neighbour relations among migrants are particularly dynamic, relegating possible relations developed in other places: work, studies and so on. In general, the importance of contacts with work colleagues in the networks of migrants is not surprising, taking into account that many migrants come to Poland to work hard, devoting themselves first of all to income generating activities.

Table 5.14c. Share of most important persons – COLLEAGUES when relationship started - by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	Migrant	Native	migrant	native
0	22.8	36.0	32.2	43.6	19.6	37.2
0.1-25.0	12.3	5.7	15.3	6.7	3.9	6.7
25.1-50.0	21.1	23.4	27.1	19.6	29.4	23.2
50.1-75.0	7.0	6.9	10.2	8.0	13.7	9.1
75.1-99.9	7.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0
100.0	29.8	26.9	15.3	22.1	27.5	23.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	57	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10.797, df=5; p=0.056;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =7.221, df=4; p=0.125

Wilanów: chi square =15.415, df=5; p=0.009.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.2.3. Place where important persons were met

Information about the place where the relationship began is another important characteristic in the analysis of the modes of social relations in the investigated neighbourhoods. Two place dimensions have been distinguished in the survey: geographical place (neighbourhood, Warsaw, Poland and another country) and character of the place (school, work, place of worship, friends' home, etc.).

Geographical place – neighbourhood, Warsaw and country of origin

Three most important geographical locations where close relations of inhabitants of the studied neighbourhoods start include: the neighbourhood, the remaining part of Warsaw and the country of origin. Results relating to persons met in the neighbourhood supplement the analyses conducted for importance of persons met as neighbours. Interestingly enough, for all three areas, shares of persons met in the neighbourhood in their closest networks are higher than shares of persons met as neighbours. It seems that inhabitants of the researched neighbourhoods do not consider all people living in their neighbourhoods as their neighbours. It is likely that for respondents in Poland the term 'neighbour' applies to persons living in the same building or nearby. This appears to apply first of all to Poles, among whom shares of persons declaring that all their closest persons were met in the neighbourhood are two times higher (amounting to around 20%) than shares of persons admitting that all of their closest persons were met as neighbours.

At the level of particular neighbourhoods, again, a portrait of Szczęśliwice as a neighbourhood with dynamically evolving neighbour relations can be derived from this part of analysis, whereas in Żelazna Brama the role of the neighbourhood in the process of social networks forming is much less important. Wilanów appears to be a place where neighbourhood facilitates, first of all, the establishment of social relations among Poles (taking into account the ethnic homogeneity of these relations).

Table 5.15a. Share of most important persons met in NEIGHBOURHOOD by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	Migrant	native	migrant	native
0	64.9	52.0	44.1	49.7	51.0	53.0
0.1-50.0	22.8	18.9	39.0	21.5	31.4	14.6
50.1-99.9	5.3	8.0	10.2	4.9	11.8	12.2
100.0	7.0	21.1	6.8	23.9	5.9	20.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 6.931, df=3; p=0.074;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =13.846, df=3; p=0.003

Wilanów: chi square =10.607, df=3; p=0.014.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

While looking at the shares of persons met in Warsaw but not in the neighbourhood (hereafter ‘broader Warsaw’), crucial differences between the investigated neighbourhoods can be observed. Moreover, in all three neighbourhoods, differences between migrants and natives are also visible and statistically significant (see Table 5.15b). In Żelazna Brama, natives more frequently than migrants establish their relationships in broader Warsaw. As many as 30.9% of the natives admit that all their close persons were met in broader Warsaw, whereas for migrants the respective share is only 10.5%, and 50.9% of them do not have a single person met in broader Warsaw in their closest networks. In Szczęśliwice, a similar tendency can be observed: natives more often met their closest friends in broader Warsaw, but also among migrants the respective share was quite high: only 27.1% of them reported no such person in their closest networks. In Wilanów the picture is a little bit more complex. On the one hand, the proportion of migrants not having in their closer network any persons met in broader Warsaw at all is relatively small – 17.6% - when compared to the respective share for natives – 26.8%. On the other hand, migrants fully relying on closest contacts established in broader Warsaw account for 25.5%, while in the group of natives such persons constitute as many as 39.0%.

Table 5.15b. Share of most important persons met in WARSAW by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	50.9	35.4	27.1	37.4	17.6	26.8
0.1-50.0	28.1	22.9	42.4	21.5	39.2	22.6
50.1-99.9	10.5	10.9	16.9	12.3	17.6	11.6
100.0	10.5	30.9	13.6	28.8	25.5	39.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 9.976, df=3; p=0.019;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =13.110, df=3; p=0.004

Wilanów: chi square =8.488, df=3; p=0.037.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Finally, some word should be said about important persons met in the country of migrants' origin. Not surprisingly, such persons are virtually absent from closest networks of Wilanów migrants where a relatively high representation of second-generation migrants has been found. However, in the 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods' shares of migrants not having such persons in their networks at all account for not more than 50% (see Table 5.15c). At the same time, it is clear that migrants from Żelazna Brama – mainly the Vietnamese – are strongly oriented towards their country of origin in terms of persons whom they consider as being close: as many as 31.6% declared to have all closest persons met in the country of origin.

Table 5.15c. Share of most important persons reported by MIGRANTS met in THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN by neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama	Szczęśliwice	Wilanów
0	43.9	47.5	78.4
0.1-50.0	15.8	33.9	11.8
50.1-99.9	8.8	13.6	5.9
100.0	31.6	5.1	3.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	59	51

Chi square = 36.075, df=6; p=0.000;

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Place character – friends' home, work, university, public space

Close relationships of respondents start, first of all at school/university and/or place of work/study. Other important types of places are homes of friends and homes of respondents. Finally, public space as a location where the first meeting took place is also relatively frequently mentioned. In the following section we focus on four types of places, excluding from our analysis homes of respondents as meeting places. Among other things, we decided to take into account 'friends' homes', instead of respondents' homes' as an indicator of a private house as a meeting place.

In relation to the character of place where close relationships of respondents were established, several observations can be made. First of all, relationships set up in friends' homes are relatively infrequent among both migrants and natives, though Poles more often meet their future friends in homes of other friends. Differences between neighbourhoods can be considered negligible (see Table 5.16a).

Table 5.16a. Share of most important persons met at FRIENDS' HOME by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	91.2	78.3	86.4	73.0	86.3	70.1
0.1-50.0	5.3	11.4	8.5	19.0	11.8	19.5
50.1-99.9	1.8	5.1	3.4	4.3	2.0	5.5
100.0	1.8	5.1	1.7	3.7	0.0	4.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	119	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 4.823, df=3; p=0.185;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =4.620, df=3; p=0.202

Wilanów: chi square =6.222, df=3; p=0.101.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

The workplace and university constitute more important locations where close relationships are being established (see Table 5.16b and 5.16c). However, migrants more often engage in close relationships at work, whereas for natives the time of studies appears to be more important for developing long-standing close relationships. Migrants in 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods' are particularly likely to have met their close persons at work. Differences between them and the natives are statically significant in this respect, which is again most likely related to the importance of work in the lives of labour migrants, mainly the Vietnamese.

Table 5.16b. Share of most important persons met at WORK by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	57.9	70.3	49.2	64.4	54.9	64.0
0.1-50.0	22.8	17.7	44.1	24.5	37.3	23.8
50.1-99.9	10.5	2.9	3.4	4.3	5.9	4.3
100.0	8.8	9.1	3.4	6.7	2.0	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 6.910, df=3; p=0.075;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =8.151, df=3; p=0.043

Wilanów: chi square =5.486, df=3; p=0.139.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.16c. Share of most important persons met at UNIVERSITY by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	77.2	68.0	74.6	65.6	43.1	72.0
0.1-50.0	15.8	18.3	15.3	21.5	41.2	17.1
50.1-99.9	3.5	2.3	1.7	4.3	7.8	3.0
100.0	3.5	11.4	8.5	8.6	7.8	7.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 3.761, df=3; p=0.288;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =2.166, df=3; p=0.539

Wilanów: chi square =17.013, df=3; p=0.001.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Finally, close relationships established in public spaces are more frequent, though still not very common, among migrants than among natives. For natives, in all three neighbourhoods, shares of respondents having no persons in their close networks met in public spaces reach over 80%. For migrants, proportions of such persons are also high, but migrants tend to have some friends met in public spaces: percentages of migrants, for whom at most a half of close persons was met in public spaces oscillate around 20% in all three neighbourhoods.

Table 5.16d. Share of most important persons met at PUBLIC SPACE by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	Migrant	native
0	75.4	82.3	66.1	83.4	82.4	84.1
0.1-50.0	21.1	10.3	30.5	9.2	17.6	11.0
50.1-99.9	1.8	1.1	3.4	1.8	0.0	0.6
100.0	1.8	6.3	0.0	5.5	0.0	4.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 5.936, df=3; p=0.115;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =18.600, df=3; p=0.000

Wilanów: chi square =3.882, df=3; p=0.275.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.2.4. Geographical place where important persons live at the moment

While describing the current place of stay of close persons mentioned by respondents, as for analysis of places where respondents and their close contacts have met, again we focus on three geographical locations: the neighbourhood, the remaining part of Warsaw and the country of origin. The importance of neighbours in close social network of migrants is particularly visible when we check where these most important persons named by migrants live. In all investigated locations shares of close persons of migrants living in the given neighbourhood are higher than for natives (see Table 5.17a). In this realm, differences between migrants and

natives are statistically significant. The case of migrants in Żelazna Brama deserves attention. As many as 42.1% of them have all close persons living in the same neighbourhood. At the same time, it should be noted that these important persons are likely to have been met in the migrants' countries of origin (compare Table 5.15c). Thus it seems that close persons of migrants in Żelazna Brama living in the neighbourhood are people met in the country of origin, with whom they probably come to Poland or live in the same apartment or at least the same area. Therefore, these contacts are not developed in Poland. The latter is in contrast to what has been observed among migrants in the other 'Vietnamese neighbourhood' – Szczęśliwice, in the case of which the share of respondents having in their circles of the closest persons only people living in the same neighbourhood is smaller (below 20%), but the importance of neighbours in their close contacts is unquestionable and a considerable part of these contacts has been apparently developed in the neighbourhood in Warsaw.

Table 5.17a. Share of most important persons living in NEIGHBOURHOOD by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	26.3	50.3	23.7	55.8	41.2	44.5
0.1-50.0	22.8	25.1	54.2	27.0	37.3	18.9
50.1-99.9	8.8	6.9	3.4	3.7	7.8	13.4
100.0	42.1	17.7	18.6	13.5	13.7	23.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 16.665, df=3; p=0.001;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =19.611, df=3; p=0.000

Wilanów: chi square =8.390, df=3; p=0.039.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

As for close persons living in Warsaw but outside the neighbourhood, we observed an opposite picture in relation to the nature of variations between migrants and natives. Natives are more likely than migrants to have close friends among Varsovians living outside their neighbourhoods. Differences between migrants and natives are statistically significant in the two 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods'. In particular, migrants from Żelazna Brama are not eager to maintain close relationships with Varsovians from outside their neighbourhood.

Table 5.17b. Share of most important persons living in WARSAW by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	47.4	27.4	28.8	23.3	25.5	25.6
0.1-50.0	29.8	24.6	39.0	17.8	29.4	26.2
50.1-99.9	10.5	13.7	15.3	21.5	21.6	13.4
100.0	12.3	34.3	16.9	37.4	23.5	34.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 13.294, df=3; p=0.004;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =15.358, df=3; p=0.002

Wilanów: chi square =3.360, df=3; p=0.339.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

It is clear that migrants maintain links with their countries of origin by means of close persons living there. However, such persons do not constitute the main part of their close networks. Interestingly, migrants from Szczęśliwice are the most likely to maintain some contacts with their countries of origin, whereas in the case of the Żelazna Brama migrants it is less frequent – 82.5% have no single person in their close networks living in the country of origin. It complements the picture of the Żelazna Brama migrants. They tend to rely on relationships established in the country of origin but these relationships have been transferred to Poland and apparently many of them are at the moment maintained in the Żelazna Brama neighbourhood.

Table 5.17c. Share of most important persons reported by MIGRANTS living in THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN by neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama	Szczęśliwice	Wilanów
0	82.5	66.1	80.4
0.1-50.0	14.0	30.5	9.8
50.1-99.9	3.5	3.4	5.9
100.0	0.0	0.0	3.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	59	51

Chi square = 13.525, df=6; p=0.035;

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.2.5. Education of important persons

Taking into account the level of education as one of the indicators of social homogeneity of the respondents' close networks, we observe that close networks of migrants are visibly more homogenous than the networks of natives (see Table 5.18). Differences between migrants and natives are statistically significant in Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice. In Żelazna Brama, migrants having in their close circles all persons with the same level of education account for as many as 50.9%. In Szczęśliwice the respective share is much lower – 35.6% - but at the same time only 8.5% of migrants from this neighbourhood have no person of the same education in

their close networks. The respective share for natives living in Szczęśliwice is 23.3%. In Wilanów, where second-generation migrants and highly-skilled immigrant workers prevail, the picture is similar but differences between migrants and natives are smaller.

Table 5.18. Share of most important persons having the same level of education as respondent at the moment of meeting by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	7.0	32.0	8.5	23.3	5.9	11.6
0.1-50.0	19.3	22.3	30.5	27.0	23.5	22.6
50.1-99.9	22.8	14.3	25.4	13.5	21.6	22.0
100.0	50.9	31.4	35.6	36.2	49.0	43.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 19.952, df=3; p=0.001;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =8.818, df=3; p=0.032

Wilanów: chi square =1.481, df=3; p=0.687.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.1.2.6. How contacts are maintained – modes of contacts and place of contacts

A final aspect of close relationships to be interrogated is the modes of contacts maintained with most important persons. In general, both migrants and natives tend to maintain face to face contacts with persons important for them. Shares of those who maintain such contacts with all important persons in their networks usually exceed 60% (see Table 5.19). In general, natives more often meet with close members of their networks in person. However, differences between migrants and natives are not great and are statistically significant only in Wilanów.

Table 5.19. Share of most important persons being met FACE TO FACE by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	Migrant	native	migrant	native
0	7.0	8.6	3.4	6.1	7.8	3.7
0.1-50.0	14.0	9.7	18.6	13.5	17.6	9.8
50.1-99.9	12.3	5.1	23.7	11.7	17.6	8.5
100.0	66.7	76.6	54.2	68.7	56.9	78.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 4.617, df=3; p=0.202

Szczęśliwice: chi square =7.022, df=3; p=0.071

Wilanów: chi square =8.957, df=3; p=0.030.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Meetings with important persons relatively often take place in the neighbourhood. Shares of those who meet none of the persons close to them in the neighbourhood oscillate around 20% and only for natives living in

Szczęśliwice the respective share is visibly higher – amounting to 36.6% (see Table 5.20a). As a tendency, it is usually more often in the case of migrants, but differences between migrants and natives are statistically significant in Szczyliwice and Wilanów. The importance of the neighbourhood as a meeting place with close persons becomes more visible when we have a look at the distribution of shares of persons being met in other places of Warsaw (see Table 5.20b). Apart from migrants in Wilanów, the proportion of respondents meeting any of their close persons in other places in Warsaw approaches 50% or is much higher, reaching almost 68% in the case of natives in Żelazna Brama. Differences between natives and migrants are statistically significant in all three neighbourhoods. However, in Żelazna Brama, migrants are more likely to meet their close friends outside the neighbourhood, whereas for the remaining neighbourhoods the opposite is true.

Table 5.20a. Share of most important persons being met in NEIGHBOURHOOD by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczyliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	20.0	19.5	17.9	36.6	14.9	25.9
0.1-50.0	18.0	11.9	12.5	20.3	29.8	9.5
50.1-99.9	6.0	4.4	10.7	9.2	21.3	12.0
100.0	56.0	64.2	58.9	34.0	34.0	52.5
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	50	159	56	153	47	158

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 1.653, df=3; p=0.647;

Szczyliwice: chi square =12.295, df=3; p=0.006

Wilanów: chi square =17.192, df=3; p=0.001.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.20b. Share of most important persons being met in WARSAW by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczyliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	54.7	67.7	60.7	42.8	36.2	53.2
0.1-50.0	17.0	12.7	14.3	19.1	36.2	17.3
50.1-99.9	7.5	4.4	5.4	9.9	10.6	3.8
100.0	20.8	15.2	19.6	28.3	17.0	25.6
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	53	158	56	152	47	156

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 16.665, df=3; p=0.001;

Szczyliwice: chi square =19.611, df=3; p=0.000

Wilanów: chi square =8.390, df=3; p=0.039.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

On the one hand, in terms of the character of places where meeting with close persons takes place, inviting people home appears to be a frequently chosen option. In the propensity to do that migrants do not differ considerably from natives, though differences between them are statistically significant in Wilanów (see Table 5.21a). On the other hand, respondents tend to meet their close persons in friends' homes rather infrequently. It

is less probable for migrants but differences between migrants and natives are not great and statistically significant only in Szcześliwice. For migrants shares of those that meet no close persons in friends' homes amount to around 90%, whereas for natives – to around 75%. It should be stressed, however, that this can be an outcome of the way the question was asked. Respondents were to chose one option between own and friends' home, and tended to select the first option. Thus, a more in-depth analysis of this outcome is required.

Table 5.21a. Share of most important persons being met at RESPONDENT'S home by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szcześliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	37.7	39.6	43.9	45.1	40.0	40.5
0.1-50.0	18.9	12.6	15.8	19.0	15.6	17.1
50.1-99.9	5.7	3.1	8.8	6.5	24.4	8.2
100.0	31.7	44.7	31.6	29.4	20.0	34.2
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	53	159	57	153	45	158

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 2.257, df=3; p=0.521

Szcześliwice: chi square =0.600, df=3; p=0.896

Wilanów: chi square =10.110, df=3; p=0.018.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 5.21b. Share of most important persons being met at RESPONDENT'S FRIENDS' home by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szcześliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	88.7	79.9	92.9	71.2	89.1	73.4
0.1-50.0	1.9	8.2	1.8	15.0	6.5	15.2
50.1-99.9	0.0	2.5	0.0	6.5	2.2	5.1
100.0	9.4	9.4	5.4	7.2	2.2	6.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	53	159	56	153	46	158

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 4.090, df=3; p=0.252

Szcześliwice: chi square =12.617, df=3; p=0.006

Wilanów: chi square =4.980, df=3; p=0.173.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Workplace as a meeting place with the most important members of respondents' networks is not that important as private houses, but plays some role especially for migrants. In this realm, differences between migrants and natives are visible and statistically significant in all researched neighbourhoods (see Table 5.21c). In Szcześliwice and Wilanów, all important persons are being met at work in the case of around 10% of respondents from these neighbourhoods. As for Żelazna Brama, the respective share is even higher, amounting to 19.2%. In fact, as many as around two thirds of migrants in the three neighbourhoods never meet with their close persons at work, but in the case of natives the proportion of such persons is visibly higher, amounting to 90.0% for Poles living in Żelazna Brama, and to 81.7% in Szcześliwice.

Table 5.21c. Share of most important persons being met at WORK by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	61.5	90.0	64.9	81.7	70.2	86.6
0.1-50.0	15.4	5.6	21.1	5.9	19.1	9.6
50.1-99.9	3.8	1.3	3.5	3.9	2.1	1.9
100.0	19.2	3.1	10.5	8.5	8.5	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	52	160	57	153	47	157

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 24.281, df=3; p=0.000

Szczęśliwice: chi square =11.282, df=3; p=0.010

Wilanów: chi square =8.607, df=3; p=0.035.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.2. The evolution of interethnic contacts

5.2.1. Dimension and overlapping of past and present networks – the most important persons

This section addresses the issue of the development of social networks with an emphasis on their ethnic composition. It is based on information collected on the IPS networks for the moment when the given person had settled in the neighbourhood (which was defined as six months after entering to the neighbourhood). In general, it can be argued that the development of social networks is limited, but slightly more dynamic for migrants. Numbers of the most important persons named by respondents for the past and present moments are similar. Average numbers of close contacts named by migrants for the past and present situation are 2.28 persons and 3.37 persons, respectively. Natives name, on the average, 2.39 persons for the past and 2.83 persons for the present (see Table 5.22).

Table 5.22. Mean numbers and selected descriptive statistics for past and present contacts by migration background (%)

Type of contacts	Background	Number	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard error
Past contacts	migrants	153	2.28	1.78	0.14
	natives	415	2.39	1.75	0.09
Present contacts	migrants	153	3.37	1.84	0.15
	natives	415	2.83	1.67	0.08

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A comparison between numbers of important persons given by respondents for the past and present situation reveals some development of social networks, visible particularly for migrants. Regarding past networks, the majority of respondents (around 70% for both migrants and natives) reported up to four persons. Among migrants, shares of those mentioning zero persons are relatively high: over 20% in the two ‘Vietnamese

neighbourhoods' and almost 20% in Wilanów (see Table 5.23). As for natives, situations when no important person was mentioned are the most frequent in Żelazna Brama with a 15.5% share of such situations and with shares not exceeding 10% in the two remaining neighbourhoods.

In contrast, it is rather unlikely that respondents mention no close persons while referring to the present situations. It is more likely for migrants, in particular those in Szczęśliwice with a 9.2% share of such persons. The smallest share of persons declaring zero the closest persons (1.2%) belongs to natives in Wilanów. Concerning present networks, around 90% of respondents declared one up to six important persons, which is an increase in the number of persons in comparison to the past situation.

Table 5.23. Number of the most important persons in PAST and PRESENT social networks of respondents by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
PAST NETWORKS						
0	30.4	15.5	21.9	9.8	18.2	9.6
1-2	26.8	58.1	28.1	47.7	39.4	41.5
3-4	37.5	11.5	43.8	24.2	27.3	36.8
5-6	5.4	12.9	3.2	16.3	12.1	8.9
7-8	0.0	2.1	3.1	2.0	3.0	1.4
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	56	148	64	153	33	114
PRESENT NETWORKS						
0	3.4	4.4	9.2	3.0	7.3	1.2
1-2	28.8	50.8	21.5	38.1	25.5	33.7
3-4	50.8	29.5	40.0	39.9	36.4	44.0
5-6	15.3	12.6	27.7	16.1	25.5	16.3
7-8	1.7	2.7	1.5	3.0	5.5	4.8
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

PAST NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 27.809 , df=4; p=0.000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =17.088, df=4; p=0.002;

Wilanów: chi square =4.969, df=4; p=0,290.

PRESENT NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 11.147 , df=4; p=0025;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =11.375, df=4; p=0.023;

Wilanów: chi square =8.980, df=4; p=0,062.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A closer look at the spheres of social contacts in which important persons in the past networks are mentioned provides for some noticeable observations. In general, it is less frequent for the past networks than for the present networks that respondents mention the maximum numbers of important persons, i.e. 2 persons per sphere (see Tables A26-A30 in Appendix). Shares of such persons are around 50% for migrants and usually

between 30% up to 40% for natives. Among other things, this can be related to the fact that the moment in time to which migrants were to refer has been usually closer to the moment of the research than for natives.

At the same time, numbers of important persons for the past are higher for spheres of 'advice' and 'help' than for 'spending free time'. This can be related to the simple mechanism that in the sphere of companionship the rotation rate of friends is usually higher than for the remaining two spheres of social contacts. What also deserves attention is a relatively high proportion of persons mentioning no persons in all the domains of social contacts. This can be related to the problem of peoples' memory and difficulties that respondents might have had in reconstructing social networks from the past, though they were asked about most important persons, who usually tend to stay in mind for a long time.

An important aspect in tracing the development of social networks is the question to what extent the composition of persons important for respondents changes over time. Namely, how often repeating the same persons while referring to past and present networks has been observed. It is clear that the rate of changes is directly related to the length of residence in the neighbourhood, since 'past' is defined as the moment of settlement in the neighbourhoods, i.e. six months after entry to the neighbourhood. Thus, the shorter the stay in the neighbourhood, the less distant is the past the respondent is referring to. Consequently, it is not surprising that the share of respondents that in the present networks have no single persons important in the past networks is relatively low for inhabitants of Szczęśliwice – a relatively new neighbourhood – taking a value of 33.3% for natives and 56.3% for migrants (see Table 5.24). Similar ratios have been also observed for Wilanów: 34.2% and 51.5%, respectively. In Żelazna Brama, the share of natives who do not mention any person from the past in their present networks is particularly high – 66.2%. Among other things, this can be explained by the natives' relatively long length of residence in this location.

What deserves attention is that the share of migrants whose networks totally changed – no persons from the past are mentioned in the present networks – is visibly higher than for natives. It is seemingly against our argumentation regarding the influence of the length of residence, since the migrants' duration of residence in the investigated neighbourhoods is usually shorter than among natives. However, in their case another factor is likely to come into play. The role of social networks changes alongside the advancement of the migration process. At the outset, relatives, friends and acquaintances who can help in finding the first job and apartment and also provide some advice for the start are the most important (compare for example: Piekut 2010). Moreover, at the initial stage of migration, social networks in the country of origin usually still play a role. As the integration process advances, migrants' needs change: they look for a stable job and apartment, they build up a circle of friends that would not only be the source of instrumental support but also companionship. Furthermore, migrants are often joined by their families, which involves new needs and priorities. All in all, social networks of migrants are likely to change, especially in the period between the beginning of the migration process and its later stages. It can be the case of migrants in the investigated neighbourhoods and it is clear that this issue deserves further investigation.

Table 5.24. Number of the most important persons mentioned both in PRESENT and PAST social networks of respondents by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
0	41.1	66.2	56.3	33.3	51.5	34.2
1-2	28.6	19.6	21.8	35.9	24.3	39.5
3-4	26.8	10.2	20.3	21.6	12.1	23.7
5-6	3.6	4.1	1.6	7.9	12.1	1.8
7-8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.9
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	56	148	64	153	33	114

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 11.147, df=4; p=0025;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =11.375, df=4; p=0.023;

Wilanów: chi square =8.980, df=4; p=0,062.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

An investigation of shares of persons in the present networks that have been also named for the past networks provides similar conclusions as the analysis of absolute numbers of such persons demonstrated in the preceding paragraphs (see Table 5.25). However, some additional observations can be derived from the examination of relatives' numbers. Two results deserve attention here. Two studied groups are particularly stable in their close relationships: migrants living in Żelazna Brama and natives from Szczęśliwice. In both cases shares of persons whose networks have not changed at all between the moment of settlement in the neighbourhood and the moment of research amount to around 40%.

As for the Żelazna Brama migrants, this can be explained in relation to the previously presented results. It appears that this group tends to rely on their contacts from the countries of origin living at the same time with them in the Warsaw neighbourhood. The stability of their networks is thus not that surprising. For natives from Szczęśliwice the short duration of stay in the neighbourhood can have the strongest explanatory power. While referring to past networks this group of respondents has not gone back to distant past in contrast to Poles living in the remaining two areas.

Table 5.25. Share of the most important persons in PRESENT networks mentioned also in PAST networks of respondents by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Share of persons (%)	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	Native
0	42.1	71.4	52.5	37.4	68.6	54.3
0.1-50.0	8.8	9.1	16.9	13.5	11.8	11.0
50.1-99.9	10.5	4.6	16.9	8.6	13.7	12.8
100.0	38.6	14.9	13.6	40.5	5.9	22.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	175	59	163	51	164

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 20.001, df=3; p=0.000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =14.974, df=3; p=0.002

Wilanów: chi square =6.975, df=3; p=0.073.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

5.2.2. Ethnic composition of social networks – past and present

In terms of ethnic composition of social networks changes between the past and the present are limited. First of all what deserves attention is what can be called closedness of Poles for admitting foreigners into circles of persons important for them. Shares of natives having in their close social networks only Poles approach 100% in all three areas, both for the past and present networks (see Table 5.26). On the one hand, this can be an alarming outcome given the fact that they live in neighbourhoods where the representation of foreigners is high for the Warsaw context. On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that the numbers of foreigners present in the investigated neighbourhoods are indeed very small, probably not exceeding 10% (according to the official census data they are even smaller: less than 3%; compare Górny 2009).

In case of migrants the situation is not so different, as their contacts with Poles are also limited. However, some gradual opening for contacts with Poles among migrants can be observed when we compare past and present networks (see Table 5.26). For migrants in the ‘Vietnamese neighbourhoods’, shares of persons having in their close networks only foreigners have decreased in present networks when compared to the past: from 82.9% up to 68.4% in Żelazna Brama and from 79.2% up to 71.2% in Szczęśliwice. In Wilanów the situation is totally different, which should be explained by the high representation of second-generation migrants in this neighbourhood. This is particularly visible in shares of migrants having only Poles in their close networks: 52% for past networks and 66.7% for present networks. Moreover, among the Wilanów migrants, shares of persons having both Poles and foreigners in their networks are relatively high: 20.0% and 21.6% for past and present networks, respectively.

Table 5.26. Number of the most important persons in social networks of respondents – PAST NETWORKS - by country of their birth of important persons, migration background of respondents and neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	Native	migrant	native
PAST NETWORKS						
only foreigners	82.9	0.0	79.2	0.9	28.0	0.0
only Poles	11.4	97.4	8.3	97.4	52.0	97.9
mix of Poles and foreigners	5.7	2.6	12.5	1.7	20.0	2.1
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	35	114	48	116	25	97
PRESENT NETWORKS						
only foreigners	68.4	0.6	71.2	0.0	11.8	0.0
only Poles	19.3	97.1	8.5	98.8	66.7	98.8
mix of Poles and foreigners	12.3	2.3	20.3	1.9	21.6	1.3
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	57	174	59	162	51	160

PAST NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 120.841, df=2; p=0000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =133.386, df=4; p=0000

Wilanów: chi square =43.046, df=4; p=0000.

PRESENT NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 58.758, df=2; p=0000;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =183.965, df=4; p=0000

Wilanów: chi square =49.112, df=4; p=0000.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Taking into account the relatively small number of migrants in Warsaw in general and the migrants' answers to questions on past networks, some closer look at frequencies instead of percentages is required. Below we propose a table demonstrating some flows between different groups (defined in relation to ethnic composition of social networks of respondents) on the basis of information of past and present networks (see Table 5.27). In this simple analysis we differentiate only between migrants and natives, neglecting the division into three neighbourhoods.

Table 5.27. Share of the most important persons mentioned in PAST social networks in having the same level of education as respondent at the moment of meeting by migration background and neighbourhood

Type of ethnic composition of networks		PAST NETWORKS					
		migrants			natives		
		only foreigners	only Poles	mix of Poles and foreigners	only foreigners	only Poles	mix of Poles and foreigners
PRESENT NETWORKS	only foreigners	87.7% (64)	9.5% (2)	7.7% (1)	0.0% (0)	0.3% (1)	0.0% (0)
	only Poles	0.0% (0)	90.5% (19)	0.0% (0)	100.0% (1)	98.7% (306)	33.3% (2)
	mix of Poles and foreigners	12.3% (9)	0.0% (0)	92.3% (12)	0.0% (0)	1.0% (3)	66.7% (4)
% (N)		100.0% (73)	100.0% (21)	100.0% (13)	100.0% (1)	100.0% (310)	100.0% (6)

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

In our view Table 5.27 is self-speaking. Development of interethnic relations in the domain of close social networks is actually inexistent in the case of natives and very limited in the case of migrants. Patterns of interethnic contacts can be named stable. As many as 90.5% of migrants who had only Poles in their close networks have not developed any additional contacts with foreigners. Migrants able to have both Poles and foreigners in their close contacts also stick to this pattern. Only in the group of migrants who in the past had only foreigners in their close contacts some tentatively visible changes have been observed. A share of 12.3% of this group managed to develop some contacts with Poles in the course of their stay in Poland, joining the category of migrants having Poles and foreigners among their close persons. However, it should be borne in mind that in fact this applies only to nine persons.

All in all, we would argue that the development of interethnic contacts among the studied migrants that can be derived from the simple comparison between the ethnic composition of migrants' past and present close social networks should not be exaggerated. Table 5.27 demonstrating limits of flows between groups different in terms of ethnic composition of close social networks suggests that in case of all three investigated neighbourhoods we should rather speak of a limited process of interethnic contacts' development.

5.3. Final remarks

The overview of both social networks operationalised with the concept of 'important persons' reveals considerable differences between the investigated neighbourhoods as well as between migrants and natives. The diversity of groups of migrants makes this picture even more complicated, especially in relation to differences between Vietnamese migrants – prevailing in Żelazna Brama and Szczęśliwice – and the English

speaking migrants in Wilanów with a high representation of second-generation migrants. Nevertheless, some general observations can be put forward.

First of all, migrants tend to have more persons in their networks of important persons than natives do. Among other things, this can be related to the fact that in migration and integration processes, social capital constitutes an important resource enabling migrants to set up their life in the environment of the destination country.

Networks of both Poles and migrants can be named homogenous. For Poles, this can be related to the fact that the presence of migrants in their places of living is very low, while for migrants – to the character of groups analysed in the research. Especially the Vietnamese group is known for very strong inside-group ties, which apparently restrain the development of interethnic contacts, at least in the sphere of important people.

At the same time, it is evident from the analysed data that the neighbourhood level, i.e. having neighbours in social networks, play a more important role in the lives of migrants than in the lives of natives. This can be explained by the tendency of groups with lower levels of resources and limited access to broader networks – such as migrants in the destination country, especially at the beginning of the settlement process – to rely on local ties, such as neighbourhood ties or workplace ties (compare for example: Logan & Spitze 1994, Meegan i Mitchell 2001).

The evolution of networks, investigated by comparing past and present networks, is limited in the studied neighbourhoods though it can be observed. However, it can be argued, that it is not accompanied by the development of interethnic relations in the neighbourhoods. Both natives and migrants have a low propensity to include both Poles and migrants in their networks, and people staying in mono-ethnic networks of close people seem to prevail.

6. Modes of neighbourhood coexistence

6.1. Results of the factor analysis

In order to identify modes of neighbourhood embeddedness, a factor analysis was employed with the usage of 19 variables that concern neighbourhood relations and the attitude towards the neighbourhood. The variables' set with a short description of the statements they include is presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. List of variables included in factor analysis

N	Variables Statements	Values
1	Mostly I have no clue who they are	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
2	I know most of them by name and I know where they live	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
3	During the last three months I exchanged small talk with...	1=21 or more, 5=none
4	During the last three months I visited/I welcomed at home...	1=21 or more, 5=none
5	People in this area pull together to improve it	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
6	People in this area do not get along very well	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
7	People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
8	I enjoy the daily exchanges with the people in my neighbourhood	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
9	I would miss the people in my neighbourhood when I moved	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
10	I care about my neighbourhood	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
11	The people in my neighbourhood make me feel safe here	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
12	I am proud about my neighbourhood	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
13	I feel threatened because of the behaviour of people in NoR*	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
14	People in the neighbourhood try to take advantage of me	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
15	People in the neighbourhood try to be helpful	1=agree strongly, 5=disagree strongly
16	Global current network: spending free time living in NoR	1=all, 7=none
17	Global current network: confidentiality and advice living in NoR	1=all, 7=none
18	Global current network: helping out living in NoR	1=all, 7=none
19	Neighbourhood identity	1=very strong, 6=not at all

*NoR= Neighbourhood of Residence

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

As the result of the factor analysis, five factors have been identified, with the usage of the Principal Components Analysis. The factors cumulatively explain 62.06% of the total variance. The factor analysis has produced factors scores for 428 cases.

The table displaying the total variance in our data explained by the formed factors is presented below (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Total Variance Explained

Comp.	Initial Eigen values			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	4,563	24,017	24,017	4,563	24,017	24,017	3,369	17,732	17,732
2	3,059	16,100	40,118	3,059	16,100	40,118	2,824	14,864	32,596
3	1,976	10,398	50,516	1,976	10,398	50,516	2,046	10,767	43,362
4	1,192	6,276	56,792	1,192	6,276	56,792	1,911	10,058	53,421
5	1,003	5,278	62,069	1,003	5,278	62,069	1,643	8,649	62,069
6	0,884	4,652	66,721						
7	0,816	4,293	71,014						
8	0,796	4,187	75,201						
9	0,698	3,675	78,876						
10	0,660	3,475	82,351						
11	0,614	3,231	85,582						
12	0,528	2,782	88,364						
13	0,472	2,483	90,846						
14	0,419	2,204	93,050						
15	0,407	2,144	95,194						
16	0,367	1,929	97,123						
17	0,332	1,748	98,871						
18	0,130	0,684	99,555						
19	0,085	0,445	100,000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

The results of the factors analysis presented in the rotated component matrix (see Table 6.3), followed by a short description of the identified factors, can be seen below:

Table 6.3. Rotated Component Matrix

Answer	Factor				
	1	2	3	4	5
I would miss the people in my neighbourhood if I moved	0,723	0,123	-0,085	,241	,118
I am proud about my neighbourhood	0,693	-0,003	-0,261	0,090	0,084
I enjoy the daily exchanges with the people in my neighbourhood	0,652	0,064	-0,167	0,172	0,149
People in the neighbourhood try to be helpful	0,646	-0,065	0,026	0,057	0,020
Neighbourhood identity	0,625	0,085	0,000	0,191	-0,109
I care about my neighbourhood	0,605	-0,070	-0,361	-0,033	0,215
The people in my neighbourhood make me feel safe here	0,512	-0,050	-0,512	0,047	0,129
People in this area pull together to improve it	0,436	0,014	-0,236	-0,241	0,280
Confidentiality and advice, part of global social network that are living in NoR	0,030	0,964	0,069	0,048	-0,040
Spending free time, part of global social network are living in NoR	0,026	0,955	0,067	0,048	-0,043
Helping out, part of global social network that are living in NoR	0,028	0,947	0,069	0,084	-0,006
People in the neighbourhood try to take advantage of me	0,003	0,082	0,782	-0,082	0,057
I feel threatened because of the behaviour of people in NoR	-0,179	0,090	0,716	0,133	-0,147
People in this area do not get along very well	-0,364	0,000	0,555	0,000	0,149
Mostly I have no clue who my neighbours are	-0,080	-0,007	-0,049	-0,801	-0,139
I know most of them by name and I know where they live	0,143	0,066	0,093	0,796	0,218
People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other	-0,306	-0,126	0,164	-0,583	0,011
During the last three months I exchanged small talk with...	0,108	-0,103	-0,072	0,121	0,840
During the last three months I visited/ welcomed at home...	0,123	0,021	0,061	0,220	0,790

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization (a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations).

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Factor 1 involves statements that concern the attachment to the neighbourhood and positive feelings derived from living in it. Therefore, we term this factor **‘General attachment to NoR’**.

Factor 2 indicates the spatial concentration of networks in the neighbourhood (whether or not friends are located in the neighbourhood), thus we call the factor **‘Having networks in NoR’**.

Factor 3 represents feelings of security and the perception of social cohesion in the neighbourhood, therefore the factor is termed '**Evaluation of safety and cohesion in NoR**'.

Factor 4 involves statements related to the level of public familiarity between the residents of the neighbourhood. We term the factor '**Familiarity with neighbours**'.

Factor 5 indicates the level of everyday social interactions with the people in the neighbourhood, therefore we call the factor '**Everyday interactions with people in NoR**'.

In order to learn more about the respondents' scores in the identified 5 factors, we employed a t-test comparing the mean factor scores for migrants and natives. The results of this analysis (presented in Table 6.3 and Table 6.4) show that:

- There is a significant difference between migrants and natives regarding the **general attachment** to the neighbourhood (factor 1). (In this factor higher scores indicate a lower level of attachment.) Specifically, migrants are more attached to the neighbourhood than natives, $t(426) = -5.588$, $p = 0.000$. This finding is consistent with the results presented in the section 3.2, demonstrating that migrants more often than natives consider themselves as residents of the neighbourhood, are proud of it and feel safe because of the presence of the people in the neighbourhood.
- Moreover, a significant difference can be observed as regards the **evaluation of safety and cohesion in the neighbourhood** (factor 3), such that the migrants feel less secure in their neighbourhood and assess the social cohesion in a less positive way, $t(426) = -1.973$, $p=0.049$. (In this factor, higher scores indicate a more positive assessment of safety and cohesion in NoR). This is to some extent consistent with the earlier results, indicating that migrants have a slightly lower level of trust and that they slightly more often feel threatened by the people in the neighbourhood (although they tended to evaluate the neighbour relations more positively than natives).
- There is also a statistically significant difference in terms of **familiarity with neighbours** (factor 4). In case of this factor, higher scores indicate a lower level of familiarity. The t-test demonstrates that migrants are less familiar with their neighbours than natives, $t(426) = 2,701$, $p=.007$. This confirms our earlier findings from section 4.1, according to which migrants were less familiar with their neighbours than the natives.
- The last observed difference between the two groups regards **everyday interactions with people in the neighbourhood** (factor 5). In this factor again, higher scores mean a lower range of interactions. The t-test analysis demonstrates that migrants have had less everyday interactions with their neighbours than the natives $t(247,579) = 3,981$, $p=0.000$. Again, this confirms our results from section 4.1., which stated that migrants engage in daily interactions in the neighbourhood less often than the migrants.
- Regarding Factor 2 (**having networks in the neighbourhood**), there were no statistically significant differences in factor scores.

Table 6.4 Groups statistics for migrants and natives

Factor name	Background	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
General attachment to NoR	immigrant	117	-0,4255751	1,02311070	0,09458662
	native	311	0,1601038	0,94427660	0,05354501
Having networks in NoR	immigrant	117	-0,1420155	0,96594758	0,08930189
	native	311	0,0534271	1,00886109	0,05720726
Evaluation of safety and cohesion in	immigrant	117	-0,1549958	1,09642132	0,10136419
	native	311	0,0583103	0,95661296	0,05424454
Familiarity with neighbours	immigrant	117	0,2113176	0,93408368	0,08635607
	native	311	-0,0794989	1,01377350	0,05748582
Everyday interactions with people in NoR	immigrant	117	0,2853270	0,86022096	0,07952746
	native	311	-0,1073417	1,02870690	0,05833262

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table 6.5. T-test results for factor scores between natives and immigrants

		Levene's Test		t-test for Equality of Means					95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
General attachment to NoR	Equal variances assumed	0,964	0,327	-5,588	426	0,000	-0,58567889	0,10480860	-0,79168526	-0,37967252
	Equal variances not assumed			-5,388	194,775	0,000	-0,58567889	0,10869083	-0,80004093	-0,37131685
Having networks in NoR	Equal variances assumed	2,136	0,145	-1,807	426	0,071	-0,19544254	0,10816833	-0,40805262	0,01716753
	Equal variances not assumed			-1,843	217,064	0,067	-0,19544254	0,10605422	-0,40447043	0,01358535
Evaluation of safety and cohesion in	Equal variances assumed	3,741	0,054	-1,973	426	0,049	-0,21330611	0,10808907	-0,42576040	-0,00085182
	Equal variances not assumed			-1,855	186,238	0,065	-0,21330611	0,11496595	-0,44010904	0,01349682
Familiarity with neighbours	Equal variances assumed	1,818	0,178	2,701	426	0,007	0,29081647	0,10766394	0,07919781	0,50243514
	Equal variances not assumed			2,803	225,049	0,005	0,29081647	0,10374001	0,08639045	0,49524250
Everyday interactions with people in NoR	Equal variances assumed	8,099	0,005	3,673	426	0,000	0,39266871	0,10690233	0,18254701	0,60279040
	Equal variances not assumed			3,981	247,579	0,000	0,39266871	0,09862713	0,19841350	0,58692392

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

6.2. Final remarks

This chapter has focused on the conditions that shape the level to which residents are embedded in the neighbourhood. Those conditions were specified by selecting variables related to the neighbourhood – regarding the perceptions of the neighbourhood, spatial concentration of friends, as well as daily practices and familiarity with neighbours. Factor analysis allowed us to identify five dimensions: general attachment to the neighbourhood, having networks in the neighbourhood, evaluation of safety and cohesion in the neighbourhood, familiarity with neighbours and everyday interactions with people in the neighbourhood. It can

be said therefore, that in case of the residents of the three Warsaw neighbourhoods, those five factors shape the neighbourhood coexistence and embeddedness.

A comparison of migrants and natives to a very large extent confirms our findings presented throughout the report, concerning the neighbourhood level. It demonstrates that migrants are less familiar with their neighbours and less often engage in daily interactions with neighbours than natives do. At the same time, a bigger proportion of migrants than of natives feels attached to the neighbourhood. Although those results combined together may have seemed striking at first, throughout the report we have tried to show that despite the fact that migrants are less familiar with people in their area and have fewer 'weak ties', they more often tend to create strong ties within the neighbourhood, which seems to foster a higher level of attachment to the area.

7. Conclusions

7.1 Reflection on the research questions

Before summarising the results of the survey in the Warsaw neighbourhoods, several context-related remarks are necessary. It should be borne in mind that the information collected in the described survey touches upon topics that have never been investigated in Poland in such detail and with the use of a quantitative approach. Thus, many observations addressed in the preliminary analyses demonstrated in this report require more in-depth study. The uniqueness of the data stems from the fact that research on integration of migrants is still limited in Poland. This is, among other things, related to the fact that immigration to Poland, though initiated by the political changes in Central and Eastern Europe already in the early 1980s, is still limited in number. Moreover, it can be argued that settlement of migrants is marginal, while the dominant type of inflow to the present Poland is circular migration. Some analysts of international migration argue that Poland is still in the process of transformation into a country of immigration (compare Okólski 2010).

Two main characteristics of the present inflow of migrants to Poland – small number and temporariness – contribute to the fact that problems of migrant groups' integration and interethnic relations are only evolving in Poland. Taking into account the small volume of settled migration, Warsaw constitutes an unquestionable exception in the group of the European cities studied in the GEITONIES project. On the one hand, in our view, the small representation of migrants in the examined neighbourhoods is by itself an explanatory factor for the nature of interethnic relations in those areas. On the other hand, we are convinced that studying the problem of interethnic relations at the very initial stage of their development in Warsaw allows tracing the process at its origins.

Another important consequence of innovativeness of the demonstrated research on the Polish ground is the difficulty in assessing generality and specificity of the obtained results. In particular, taking into account the fact that in our research group we have included an untypical for the Polish context community of the Vietnamese migrants, who in many respects differ from other migrant groups. First of all, patterns of Vietnamese migration are close to patterns of traditional settlement migration with a transitory period in which one member of the household migrates to be later on joined by other household members. Such a pattern is exceptional in Poland, taking into account the prevailing temporariness of the inflow of foreigners to this country. Secondly, the Vietnamese community is specific for its close ties between co-ethnics, serving as important social capital in the process of settlement in Poland. Thirdly, cultural differences between Poles and Vietnamese, including a significant language barrier, make contacts of migrants from this group with Poles relatively difficult: incomparably more difficult than contacts between former-USSR migrants and Poles. Fourthly, a high tendency for spatial concentration is unique for Vietnamese migrants when compared to settlement patterns of former USSR migrants who are dispersed across Poland and Warsaw.

Finally, the specificity of the Wilanów neighbourhood has to be highlighted. This area is known as a location where western experts eagerly settle. With a number of embassies and international schools located there it has

been an attractive place for English-speaking foreigners for some time now. However, as it has been revealed in our research, foreign-born persons are not that easily accessible in this neighbourhood. At the same time, children of foreign-born migrants and mixed couples have formed an important part of our research group. It should be thus stressed that the outcomes of the survey in Wilanów are to a great degree results of a study on second-generation migrants.

After demonstrating the limits of our analysis, we would like to stress that the obtained results reveal some crucial aspects of migration and integration patterns in Warsaw. We believe that they remarkably contribute to the development of research on immigration, which is becoming more and more present in the scientific and political Polish agenda. Moreover, conclusions reached for the Vietnamese group itself are of great value, given the fact that it is one of the most active migrant groups in Poland, eagerly initiating contacts with Polish administration and other institutions dealing with immigrants in Poland.

One lesson to be learnt from the study in Warsaw is that migrants tend to assess their neighbourhoods more positively than natives. Generally speaking, it applies to the evaluation of the neighbourhood itself as a place of residence and of neighbour relations with Poles and other migrants. This outcome can be interpreted twofold. On the one hand, more negative opinions on the studied areas expressed by natives can be related to the fact that these neighbourhoods are inhabited by migrants. However, we would argue that we are not dealing here with negative stigmatisation of Warsaw locations where migrants live. Poor areas overpopulated by migrant groups are still absent from our research and from the map of Warsaw. Moreover, two out of the three researched neighbourhoods – *Szczęśliwice* and *Wilanów* - are relatively rich areas attracting migrants that can afford living there⁵. On the other hand, in the conversation with a Polish interviewer migrants can have a tendency to assess their place of residence in Warsaw more positively than they would in different circumstances or in conversations with their co-ethnics.

The same argumentation, relating to the interviewer effect, should be taken into account while discussing the evaluation of attitudes of Poles towards migrants in the assessment of neighbour relations in the studies areas. Interestingly enough, migrants perceive Poles as more open towards an inflow of migrants than it has been observed in the opinions of native respondents. These differences in the views of migrants and natives are particularly visible in the 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods'. Then, in general, when we look at various indicators of potential xenophobia, the results of the survey would suggest that xenophobic attitudes are rather seldom in the researched areas. In particular, the fear that migrants will become a threat to the Polish society in the future has been expressed by a minority of respondents. However, this can be related to the limited number of migrants present in Poland nowadays, which makes this issue a problem of an undefined future. Thus, apparently, the picture relating to the level of xenophobia in the Polish society is very positive, but in our view the context of the limited migrant inflow has to be taken into account. We would thus argue that the neighbourhood stigmatisation as a factor hampering tolerance towards newcomers and encouraging xenophobia is currently of minor importance in the Polish context, mainly due to the low number of migrants in any Warsaw neighbourhood.

As regards opinions about the studied areas, apart from the general tendency of migrants to speak of them in a more positive way, considerable differences between neighbourhoods can be observed relating to the character of the neighbourhood and the history of settlement in the given areas. In general, *Szczęśliwice* is the most positively perceived neighbourhood, as regards the infrastructure of the neighbourhood, level of trust, level of attachment to the area, feeling of safety, etc. Moreover, inhabitants of *Szczęśliwice* demonstrate the strongest neighbourhood identity. Being a relatively new neighbourhood, *Szczęśliwice* is not only a rather rich area, but also relatively homogenous in terms of socio-demographic characteristics of its Polish population. The type of architecture – prevalence of small and medium-size buildings – is also more conducive for development of neighbour relations (compare Newman 1996). Finally, being a relatively new residential area, *Szczęśliwice* is close to the rich cultural and educational infrastructure of the old *Ochota* district, which can also positively contribute to positive opinions about this neighbourhood.

Żelazna Brama is, according to the results of our survey, the worst perceived neighbourhood, whereas the picture developed for the perception of *Wilanów* is rather complex. However, *Wilanów* seems to take the middle position with regards to attitudes towards it. Taking into account the architecture of *Żelazna Brama* - a concentration of big blocks of flats – results suggesting a negative perception of this neighbourhood are not surprising. Such places on the map of Warsaw are known for higher level of inhabitants' anonymity and lower levels of safety and social cohesion.

It is clear that the quality of neighbour relations has an impact on the assessment of the neighbourhood. Warsaw, being a big city attracting both internal and international migrants arriving in search for a decent job, is generally perceived as a city with bad quality contacts between neighbours, in which people tend to close themselves in the walls of their apartment. In fact, such an image is partly supported by the results of our survey. Inhabitants of the researched neighbourhoods express a low level of familiarity with people in their area and limited engagement in everyday contacts with neighbours. As regards visiting or inviting neighbours – i.e. rather intimate contacts – such interactions on the neighbourhood level are indeed limited. Migrants seem less engaged in weak ties within the neighbourhood, especially in the 'Vietnamese neighbourhoods'. Among other things, this can be related to the communication problems the Vietnamese often encounter in Poland, but also to the shorter stay of migrants in the researched areas.

Furthermore, interethnic contacts at the neighbourhood level are also not that frequent, but they do exist. It should be stressed, however, that they encompass only interactions between migrants from the given national group and natives. Interethnic contacts between representatives of different ethnic groups are virtually inexistent in Poland. The intensity of interethnic contacts at the neighbourhood level differs between migrants and natives. While migrants tend to engage in contacts with Poles, Poles hardly have any interethnic contacts in the neighbourhood. Moreover, on a daily basis migrants prefer to interact with their co-ethnics rather than with Poles. Such a picture should be enriched with a comment that the limited interest of Poles to engage in interactions with migrants is clearly related to the low representation of migrants in the neighbourhoods.

⁵ However, for example in *Szczęśliwice*, examples of apartments overpopulated by migrants sleeping on mattresses with country fellows from outside their families can also be easily found.

Obviously, for migrants it is incomparably easier to come across a Pole in the neighbourhood than it is for a Pole to meet a foreigner.

The ethnic homogeneity of relations in the researched neighbourhoods is even more visible in the analysis of strong ties of migrants and Poles. While referring to important persons, both Poles and migrants tend to first of all mention their co-ethnics. Moreover, the evolution of interethnic relations, as measured by comparison between past and present networks, is indeed very limited. Only in the case of a small proportion of migrants, their social networks have transformed from fully foreigners-oriented towards mixed networks of important people, i.e. such that include Poles and foreigners.

It should be stressed, however, that social networks appear to be more important for migrants than for natives. In contrast to weak ties, which are less numerous among migrants, migrants tend to have bigger networks of important persons. This is probably related to the importance of social capital in the migration and integration process. Interestingly enough, neighbours play a more important role in the social networks of migrants when compared to networks of natives, as measured by various indicators: type of relation with an important person, place where the relationship started and place where the important person resides at the moment. It appears that the tendency of migrants to rely on local ties, observed also for other groups with lower levels of resources and limited access to broader networks (compare Logan and Spitze 1994, Meegan and Mitchell 2001), has been identified in the demonstrated research.

In addition, some important differences between the researched areas have been observed in the realm of neighbours' importance in the social networks of respondents. The neighbourhood level appears to play an exceptional role in the case of Szczęśliwice, especially for migrants. In this area shares of respondents whose important persons were both met and currently live in the neighbourhood are particularly high. Moreover, they are higher for migrants than for natives. This contrasts with the results for Żelazna Brama, where migrants' social networks tend to include persons living at the moment in the same area but met in the country of origin (for the majority of respondents in fact in Vietnam).

A general look on the modes of interethnic coexistence revealed five dimensions (factors) underlying the mechanisms governing the neighbourhood coexistence and embeddedness in the research areas in Warsaw. They include:

- general attachment to the neighbourhood
- having networks in the neighbourhood
- evaluation of safety and cohesion in the neighbourhood
- familiarity with neighbours
- everyday interactions with people in the neighbourhood.

Comparing the level of neighbourhood embeddedness between migrants and natives in the three studied areas, a general distinction can be observed, such that migrants are less familiar with people in their area and have less 'weak ties' in the neighbourhood, but at the same they tend to be more attached to the neighbourhood. Therefore it appears that the fact that migrants proportionally more often establish strong ties within the neighbourhood seems to create a higher level of attachment to the area.

In an attempt to provide some conclusions of the rich and diversified material presented in this report, we would like to stress not only differences between migrants and natives, but also differences observed between the researched Warsaw neighbourhoods. It is clear that local conditions in the neighbourhoods pertaining to the institutional and physical environment, to a high degree translate into perceptions of the given area, influence and sometimes even shape modes of neighbour coexistence, in general, and modes of interethnic coexistence, in particular.

7.2 Lessons learned: Local and national policy recommendations

The picture that has emerged from the analyses presented in the report is rather positive. Migrants express relatively positive attitudes towards the neighbourhoods they live in, the level of xenophobia in the Polish society appears to be low, especially in migrants' views. It should however be stressed that such a positive picture can be related to the specificity of the major migrant group examined in the research – the Vietnamese, who tend not to express negative attitudes in face to face contacts with Poles, despite the fact that leaders of the group openly criticise Polish immigration and the integration policy at the national level. Another message to be put forward in our report addresses the issue of limited or even lack of interethnic relations within the investigated neighbourhoods. Finally, what in our view is a crucial outcome of the research in the Polish context, the importance of the neighbourhood and neighbour relations in the functioning of the migrant groups – especially the Vietnamese – has been revealed. These observations lead us to formulate several preliminary policy recommendations for Poland in general and Warsaw in particular.

In our opinion, taking into account the limited volume of the inflow of foreigners to Poland, **activities at the local level, i.e. within the neighbourhood, that would stimulate migrant integration could be particularly effective.** This can include activities related to advisory services on the labour market, legalisations of the migrants' legal status in Poland and others. The role of cultural, sport and social initiatives undertaken in local centres like schools, cultural centres, libraries, etc., should also not be neglected. In this realm activities directed towards second-generation migrants – children – could be particularly beneficial for the integration of migrants. As suggested by other studies, social integration via contacts with parents of children school mates is a powerful way for anchoring migrants in the receiving society (compare Piekut 2010).

Apart from activities stimulating integration of migrants as such, **all activities aimed at stimulating interethnic relations could be beneficial in the Polish context.** As revealed in the research, Poles have a relatively small propensity towards engaging themselves in relations with migrants living nearby. In our view, this is partly caused by the lack of experience among Poles in interethnic relations given the great ethnic homogeneity of the Warsaw population and of the Polish society as a whole. Thus, **activities promoting different cultures are necessary and could be particularly effective while addressed at the local level,** as it stems from the study of the three Warsaw neighbourhoods.

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APPENDIX

ŻELAZNA BRAMA

Table A1. Background

Background	Frequency	Percent
immigrant background	59	24.4
native background	183	75.6
Total	242	100.0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A2. Country of birth of respondent (migrants)

Country	Frequency	Percent
Vietnam	43	72,9
Poland	7	11,9
Bulgaria	2	3,4
Ukraine	2	3,4
France	1	1,7
Japan	1	1,7
Portugal	1	1,7
Sri Lanka	1	1,7
Turkey	1	1,7
Total	59	100

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A3. Country of origin based on country of birth of parents (migrants)

Country	Frequency	Percent
Vietnam	43	72,9
Ukraine	5	8,5
Bulgaria	2	3,4
Germany	2	3,4
Croatia	1	1,7
France	1	1,7
Japan	1	1,7
Portugal	1	1,7
Russia/Ukraine	1	1,7
Sri Lanka	1	1,7
Turkey	1	1,7
Total	59	100

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

A4. Having ethnically mixed parents (migrants)

Characteristics of parents	Frequency	Percent
Parents - same foreign countries	51	86,4
Parents - different foreign countries	1	1,7
Parents - Polish and foreign	7	11,9
Total	59	100,0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A5. Age group (%)

Age	migrant	native
under 35	74,58	30,05
35-49	22,03	13,66
50-64	3,39	20,77
65 and more	0,00	35,52
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	59	183

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A6. Sex (%)

Gender	migrant	native
male	61,0	37,7
female	39,0	62,3
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	59	183

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A7. Education (ISCED) (%)

Education	migrant	native
no school, primary and first stage of basic	14.04	2.33
lower secondary, second stage	19.30	11.05
upper secondary	28.07	25.00
post secondary and tertiary	38.60	61.63
Total	100.0	100.0
total abs.	58	172

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A8. Length of residence in the neighbourhood (%)

Length of residence	migrant	native
moved in between 1 and 5 years ago	64,4	13,2
moved in between 6 and 10 years ago	20,3	8,8
moved in more than 10 years ago	10,2	59,3
has always lived there	5,1	18,7
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	59	182

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

SZCZEŚLIWICE

Table A9. Background

Background	Frequency	Percent
immigrant background	65	27.9
native background	168	72.1
Total	233	100.0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A10. Country of birth of respondent (migrants)

Country	Frequency	Percent
Vietnam	53	84.1
Belarus	2	3.2
USA	2	3.2
Austria	1	1.6
China	1	1.6
Denmark	1	1.6
Former USSR	1	1.6
France	1	1.6
Ukraine	1	1.6
Total	63	100.0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A11. Country of origin based on country of birth of parents (migrants)

Country	Frequency	Percent
Vietnam	52	80
Belarus	2	3,1
Germany	2	3,1
USA	2	3,1
Austria	1	1,5
China	1	1,5
Denmark	1	1,5
France	1	1,5
Russia	1	1,5
Ukraine	1	1,5
Vietnam/UK	1	1,5
Total	65	100

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A12. Country of birth of respondent (migrants)

Country	Frequency	Percent
Vietnam	53	81,5
Poland	3	4,6
Belarus	2	3,1
USA	2	3,1
Austria	1	1,5
China	1	1,5
Denmark	1	1,5
France	1	1,5
Ukraine	1	1,5
Total	65	100

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A13. Having ethnically mixed parents (migrants)

Characteristics of parents	Frequency	Percent
parents - same foreign countries	59	90,8
parents - different foreign countries	1	1,5
parents - Polish and foreign	5	7,7
Total	65	100,0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A14. Age group (%)

Age	migrant	native
under 35	46,15	35,71
35-49	43,08	31,55
50-64	10,77	20,24
65 and more	0,0	12,50
Total	100,0	100,0
Total abs.	65	168

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A15. Sex (%)

Gender	migrant	native
male	47,69	46,43
female	52,31	53,57
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	65	168

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A16. Length of residence in the neighbourhood (%)

Length of residence	migrant	native
moved in between 1 and 5 years ago	49,2	32,7
moved in between 6 and 10 years ago	23,1	23,2
moved in more than 10 years ago	26,2	35,1
has always lived there	1,5	8,9
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	65	168

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

WILANÓW

Table A17. Background

Background	Frequency	Percent
immigrant background	55	24.9
native background	166	75.1
Total	221	100.0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A18. Country of birth of respondent (migrants)

Country	Frequency	Percent
Poland	38	69,1
USA	4	7,3
France	2	3,6
Ukraine	2	3,6
Canada	1	1,8
China	1	1,8
India	1	1,8
Mexico	1	1,8
New Zealand	1	1,8
Portugal	1	1,8
Russia	1	1,8
Tanzania	1	1,8
Vietnam	1	1,8
total abs.	55	100

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A19. Country of origin based on country of birth of parents (migrants)

Country	Frequency	Percent
USA	33	60
Germany	4	7,3
Ukraine	3	5,5
Belarus	2	3,6
France	2	3,6
Australia	1	1,8
Canada	1	1,8
China	1	1,8
India	1	1,8
Italy	1	1,8
Mexico	1	1,8
New Zealand	1	1,8
Portugal	1	1,8
Russia	1	1,8
Sweden	1	1,8
Vietnam	1	1,8
total abs.	55	100,0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A20. Having ethnically mixed parents (migrants)

Characteristics of parents	Frequency	Percent
parents - same foreign countries	18	32,7
parents - Polish and foreign	37	67,3
total abs.	55	100,0

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A21. Age groups (%)

Age	migrant	native
under 35	63,64	22,29
35-49	21,82	18,67
50-64	9,09	37,35
65 and more	5,45	21,69
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	55	166

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A22. Sex (%)

Gender	migrant	native
male	49.1	47.6
female	50.9	52.4
Total	100.0	100.0
total abs.	55	166

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A23. Education (ISCED) (%)

Education	migrant	native
no school, primary and first stage of basic	1,89	3,25
lower secondary, second stage	3,77	7,79
upper secondary	22,64	27,27
post secondary and tertiary	71,70	61,69
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	53	154

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A24. Length of residence in the neighbourhood (%)

Length of residence	migrant	native
moved in between 1 and 5 years ago	36,4	15,7
moved in between 6 and 10 years ago	9,1	6,6
moved in more than 10 years ago	14,5	46,4
has always lived there	40,0	31,3
Total	100,0	100,0
total abs.	55	166

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A25. T-test descriptive statistics for statements concerning getting along with each other, migrants vs. natives

Question	Background	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
People in this area are welcoming to new people moving in	migrant	173	2.12	0.834	0.063
	native	465	2.52	0.989	0.046
People in this area pull together to improve it	migrant	172	2.09	0.936	0.071
	native	495	2.49	0.983	0.044
People in this area do not get along very well	migrant	167	3.86	1.081	0.084
	native	456	3.39	1.246	0.058
People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other	migrant	167	2.93	1.082	0.084
	native	486	2.70	1.113	0.050
There are often tensions between different categories of people	migrant	165	3.96	1.032	0.080
	native	443	3.76	1.107	0.053

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A26. T-test results for statements concerning getting along with each other, migrants vs. natives

		Levene's Test		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
People in this area are welcoming to new people moving in	Equal variances assumed	10.933	0.001	-4.735	636	0.000	-0.401	0.085	-0.567	-0.234
	Equal variances not assumed			-5.117	362.328	0.000	-0.401	0.078	-0.554	-0.247
People in this area pull together to improve it	Equal variances assumed	4.844	0.028	-4.649	665	0.000	-0.400	0.086	-0.568	-0.231
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.762	311.566	0.000	-0.400	0.084	-0.565	-0.235
People in this area do not get along very well	Equal variances assumed	2.286	0.131	4.333	621	0.000	0.472	0.109	0.258	0.686
	Equal variances not assumed			4.628	337.829	0.000	0.472	0.102	0.271	0.672
People in this neighbourhood hardly know each other	Equal variances assumed	3.310	0.069	2.407	651	0.016	0.239	0.099	0.044	0.433
	Equal variances not assumed			2.441	295.369	0.015	0.239	0.098	0.046	0.431
There are often tensions between different categories of people	Equal variances assumed	0.017	0.897	2.031	606	0.043	0.201	0.099	0.007	0.396
	Equal variances not assumed			2.097	313.310	0.037	0.201	0.096	0.012	0.390

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A27. Number of the most important persons in PAST and PRESENT social networks of respondents in the sphere FREE TIME, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
PAST NETWORKS						
0	33.9	42.6	24.6	19.0	50.9	39.2
1	20.3	25.1	10.8	25.0	10.9	13.9
2	45.8	32.2	64.6	56.0	38.2	47.0
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166
PRESENT NETWORKS						
0	3.4	12.6	10.8	3.6	9.1	1.2
1	23.7	30.6	9.2	22.6	5.5	12.0
2	72.9	56.8	80.0	73.8	85.5	86.7
total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

PAST NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 3.563 , df=2; p=0.168;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =5.821, df=2; p=0.054;

Wilanów: chi square =2.344, df=2; p=0,310.

PRESENT NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 11.147 , df=4; p=0025;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =11.375, df=4; p=0.023;

Wilanów: chi square =8.980, df=4; p=0,062.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A28. Number of the most important persons in PAST and PRESENT social networks of respondents in the sphere ADVICE, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
PAST NETWORKS						
0	33.9	42.1	23.1	18.5	50.9	38.0
1	13.6	26.8	10.8	28.6	9.1	13.9
2	52.5	31.1	66.2	53.0	40.0	48.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166
PRESENT NETWORKS						
0	5.1	17.5	12.3	4.2	7.3	1.2
1	22.0	32.8	15.4	25.6	9.1	11.4
2	72.9	49.7	72.3	70.2	83.6	87.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

PAST NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 9.669 , df=2; p=0.008;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =8.237, df=2; p=0.016;

Wilanów: chi square =3.025, df=2; p=0,220.

PRESENT NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10.775 , df=2; p=0.005;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =7.001, df=2; p=0.030;

Wilanów: chi square =5.880, df=2; p=0,053.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A29. Number of the most important persons in PAST and PRESENT social networks of respondents in the sphere HELP, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
PAST NETWORKS						
0	33.9	41.0	27.7	20.2	54.5	39.2
1	13.6	29.0	7.7	31.0	5.5	14.5
2	52.5	30.1	64.6	48.8	40.0	46.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166
PRESENT NETWORKS						
0	3.4	14.2	13.8	5.4	9.1	3.0
1	27.1	39.3	12.3	30.4	7.3	15.1
2	69.5	46.4	73.8	64.3	83.6	81.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

PAST NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 11.118 , df=2; p=0004;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =13.732, df=2; p=0.001;

Wilanów: chi square =5.393, df=2; p=0,067.

PRESENT NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 10.897 , df=2; p=0.004;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =11.041, df=2; p=0.004;

Wilanów: chi square =5.298, df=2; p=0,071.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010

Table A30. Number of the most important persons in PAST and PRESENT social networks of respondents in the sphere OTHER, by migration background, per neighbourhood (%)

Number of persons	Żelazna Brama		Szczęśliwice		Wilanów	
	migrant	native	migrant	native	migrant	native
PAST NETWORKS						
0	35.6	54.6	38.5	34.5	56.4	44.6
1	27.1	23.5	13.8	36.9	3.6	23.5
2	37.3	21.9	47.7	28.6	40.0	31.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166
PRESENT NETWORKS						
0	8.5	27.9	30.8	17.9	14.5	12.7
1	39.0	29.0	9.2	33.3	3.6	18.1
2	52.2	43.2	60.0	48.8	81.8	69.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
total abs.	59	183	65	168	55	166

PAST NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 7.625 , df=2; p=0.022;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =13.435, df=2; p=0.001;

Wilanów: chi square =10.782, df=2; p=0,005.

PRESENT NETWORKS:

Żelazna Brama: chi square = 9.541 , df=2; p=0.008;

Szczęśliwice: chi square =15.003, df=2; p=0.001;

Wilanów: chi square =6.956, df=2; p=0,031.

Source: GEITONIES, Warsaw survey, 2009/2010