

Reputation, neighbourhoods and behaviour

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Reputation, neighbourhoods and behaviour

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Preface

When I moved to Utrecht, my mental map of the city and its neighbourhoods was mostly blank. I definitely had a general ideal about some neighbourhoods, such as those along the infamous bus line 12 (especially Sterrenwijk) and those that were visited during fieldtrips (such as Lombok and Kanaleneiland). After living in Utrecht for several years and spending four years on the topic of the reputation of Utrecht's neighbourhoods, this mental map is not so blank anymore.

I'm very grateful that my promoter and co-promoters provided me with the opportunity for this research project. Gideon and Maarten have been excellent advisors. Especially in the first year, Maarten's insights and conceptual thinking were very helpful to me. After Maarten's departure for St. Andrews, Gideon became increasingly involved due to his geographic proximity, and he had to deal with my many questions. Thankfully, I always felt welcome to discuss ideas, and many discussions ended with a fruitful exchange of thoughts. That these thoughts were mostly about non-work related topics did not really matter. Of course Ronald needs to be thanked for his many contributions, which were especially important in the final phase of this study.

Without my many great fellow PhD students and colleagues, this endeavor would have been quite a bore. As stated by others (see for example Van Melik, 2008; Van Marissing, 2008), room 616 has been the most cheery room of all. Thank you Erik, Annet, Barbara, and Ronald for all the fun times we had, and for tolerating my non-stop classical music in the office. Thanks to Rianne, Ellen, Karien, Anne, Taede, Brian, Claver, Christa, Sjef, and all other colleagues for accompanying me on this journey. Though our conference trips were always great fun, I especially cherish all the drinks and dinners we had together here in Utrecht. Special thanks to those who joined me on the frequent visits to the neighbouring basketball court, where many illustrious games took place. I am indebted to the participants of the Utrecht-Amsterdam 'leerzitje' for their help and for sharing their great knowledge with me.

Outside of work, a special thanks to my friends Christoph, Koen, Bianca, Mascha, Jasper and all the (Saturday) b-ballers. I am also very grateful to my parents, Ad and Lydia, who have always been very interested in my work and have always encouraged me to study. Thanks also to my siblings for the great times we have, to Ed and Mary for their interest in my work, and all other supporters who shared the ups and downs of this trajectory. The last word can only be dedicated to you, Christy. I am very glad you supported me in taking this position even though it meant we would not be together for three years. Your decision to leave the US to join me in the Netherlands means so much to me. I'm looking forward to spending the rest of our lives together. Whether or not that will be in our infamous 'probleemwijk' of Overvecht, doesn't matter. What does matter is that we are together...finally....for good.

Matthieu Permentier
Utrecht, February 2008

1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

“A bad reputation haunts a neighbourhood”;
“Neighbourhoods visibly improved, but do potential residents see that?”
“Reputation still bothers problem neighbourhoods”
(AD, October 4, 2007; Trouw, July 30, 2007)

These are just a few newspaper headlines that point to the problematic reputation of certain neighbourhoods in Dutch cities. Residents of a particular neighbourhood in Utrecht, the Netherlands are often confronted with this poor reputation, not only through the media, but also in their daily interaction with others: “Once I tell people I live in Kanaleneiland they question me: ‘Why do you live *there*? You must be insane!’” Another resident says: “I’ve just stopped telling people where I live. Other people may assume I’m one of *those* people”. “Two of my friends won’t visit me in this neighbourhood anymore. They’ve heard all these media stories about my neighbourhood and so they don’t feel safe there any longer” says a 90-year old lady (Permentier & Bolt, 2004).

The newspaper articles referred to above not only point out the poor reputation of urban neighbourhoods, but also stress the concentration of a plethora of (interrelated) problems in these areas, such as high levels of crime, nuisance, the integration problems of immigrant groups, and poverty. These liveability issues have been the centre of attention of professionals – such as policymakers and civil servants – and academics alike for quite some time. Of more recent date is the interest in neighbourhood reputations.

The recent attention paid to neighbourhood reputations by professionals has several grounds. First, housing associations have developed into market-oriented organisations with commercial interests (Van Kempen & Priemus, 2002). These associations therefore have a real interest in the protection of the value of their property. A neighbourhood’s negative reputation might have a significant impact on the value of their property there. To prevent such loss of invested capital, associations seek to protect and improve the quality and reputation of their neighbourhoods. Second, certain neighbourhoods are thought to be in low demand owing to, among other factors, their bad name. Many professionals consider this to be a problem, because these unpopular neighbourhoods receive a disproportionate inflow of deprived residents, which is believed to exacerbate the number and intensity of the neighbourhood’s problems. Third, there is apprehension among professionals that regeneration efforts are influenced by a negative label. The target groups of regeneration – middle- and high-income groups – may be reluctant to buy dwellings in a disreputable neighbourhood, so that one of the goals of the regeneration (creating a social mix) fails. Finally, there is the fear that living in a deprived and notorious neighbourhood has negative consequences for the residents. Policymakers also want to know in

which neighbourhoods these negative effects may appear and are therefore interested to know what features of a neighbourhood are related to (poor) reputations.

Academic interest in the concept of neighbourhood reputation centres on both the relationship between reputation and neighbourhood characteristics, and on the consequences of neighbourhood reputation on people's lives. Suttles' (1972) work 'The social construction of communities' can be seen as the pioneering work on community identities and reputations. In his view, a neighbourhood's reputation is the result of the attitudes and actions of outsiders.¹ Reputation functions in his work as an additional factor of social and spatial differentiation in cities alongside such established factors as ethnic and socio-economic composition. Thus one's neighbourhood functions as a symbol of one's position in society and one's preferences (Hortulanus, 1995).

In the 1960s and 1970s, a number of social scientists, including geographers, investigated the status hierarchies of neighbourhoods in different cities (Congalton, 1969; Warner, 1960). This type of research was followed in the early 1990s by academics who studied the effects of a neighbourhood's negative reputation on the residents. Wacquant's 1993 comparative ethnographic fieldwork in France and the US was one of the first studies that explicitly investigated the impact of a neighbourhood's stigma on the material and social life of the residents. Wilson's 'When work disappears' (1996) followed up his earlier 1987 book by emphasising the role of neighbourhood reputations on the social outcomes of residents. Wilson presented evidence that residents in disreputable neighbourhoods have a lower chance of gaining employment, because employers deny jobs to individuals on the basis of their address. Several subsequent publications have presented further evidence of the impact of reputations, mostly on the material and psychological life of residents (Aalbers, 2005; Bauder, 2001; Dean & Hastings, 2000; Palmer et al., 2004; Taylor, 1998).

Although professional and academic interest has spurred publications on neighbourhood reputations, several gaps in our knowledge remain. First, the available studies on the relationship between the characteristics of neighbourhoods and their reputations often feature descriptive accounts and are limited to one (or only a few) neighbourhood(s). Few studies systematically investigate the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and reputation in a large number of neighbourhoods. Our understanding of which – and to what extent – neighbourhood characteristics are related to reputation is therefore limited.

Second, the interest among policymakers and academics in the relationship between reputation and neighbourhood characteristics is partly the result of the belief that reputations have effects on people's lives. However, there appear to be few studies identifying these effects. Granted, some studies have indeed shown some material and psychological effects of reputation, but there is relatively little knowledge of the effects on the behaviour² of neighbourhood residents. This knowledge is important for academics, because it could provide better understanding of the processes of socio-spatial differentiation, neighbourhood stability, and neighbourhood change. In this study we focus on two behavioural responses: moving intentions and residents' participation in their neighbourhood. Both have received considerable separate attention in neighbourhood studies, but not in relation to neighbourhood reputations. The main aim of this research is to gain insight into the relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and neighbourhood reputations and to acquire a better understanding of the influence of reputations on the behaviour of residents. To accomplish this aim, this study addresses the following main question:

To what extent are neighbourhood reputations related to neighbourhood characteristics and to what extent do neighbourhood reputations affect (intended) moving behaviour and residents' participation in the neighbourhood?

1.2 Defining internal and external neighbourhood reputation

Walter Firey reported in 1945 that, besides functional, social, and economic dimensions, neighbourhoods also have a symbolic and sentimental dimension. Firey's example of Beacon Hill (Boston) shows that many neighbourhoods have a certain reputation among its residents and other city residents and that the neighbourhood stands as a symbol for certain values. The concept of neighbourhood reputation consists of several elements.

First, in line with other authors, we argue that the collective shared view is an important feature of the concept of reputation: the individual views of only one or a few people does not, in our opinion, constitute a reputation. A reputation is an image shared by a significant number of individuals. Consequently, the same neighbourhood may have multiple reputations: certain groups (with different socio-demographic characteristics) may see it as a highly-impooverished no-go area, whereas others would assess it as a place full of potential (Suttles, 1968).

Second, reputations are thought to differ between residents and non-residents (Arthurson, 2001; Hastings & Dean, 2003; Murie et al., 2003). The internal reputation – the reputation held among the neighbourhood residents – is often thought to be rated higher than the external reputation, the reputation among other city residents. The former type consists generally of a more detailed view based on the physical and social attributes of the neighbourhood. Residents often employ a micro hierarchy of areas in the neighbourhood of good and bad parts (Wakefield & McMullan, 2005). The external reputation is based on less information and less personal experience than the internal reputation. The external reputation consists of simplified images shaped by exaggerated differences between neighbourhoods (Suttles, 1972).

Third, the reputation of a neighbourhood contains a stratification element: the reputation reflects the individual status of the residents. In other words: the neighbourhood can be used as an indicator and a symbol of residents' socio-cultural and/or socio-economic position in society and their preferences (Bourdieu, 1984; Warner, 1960). "So pervasive is this effect that residential location has frequently been used as one of the measures of an individual's position in the local prestige hierarchy" (Congalton, 1969). The urban population assesses neighbourhoods and their residential groups in a contrastive way in which each neighbourhood is seen as a counterpart to some of the others. This positioning leads to a hierarchy in which different neighbourhoods are positioned in relation to one another (Suttles, 1972).

In this study, we use the definition of reputation proposed by Hortulanus (1995, p. 42), because it incorporates most of the previously-discussed elements. Reputation "refers to the meaning and esteem that residents and other involved parties attribute to a neighbourhood. Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighbourhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy" [author's translation from Dutch] (Hortulanus, 1995). In contrast with the concept of stigma, reputation is more neutral. Stigma indicates an anomaly, something that society considers unacceptable (Harvey, 2001). Reputation, on the other hand, can have either a negative or a positive connotation.

1.3 Relationship between neighbourhood reputations and neighbourhood characteristics

Over the last couple of years, neighbourhood reputations and the relationship with neighbourhood characteristics have received considerable attention from both policymakers and academics (Corpovenista, 2005; Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1999; Ouwehand, 2007). From a policymaker's point of view, it is important to know what type of neighbourhood is most likely to be (come) stigmatised, because it is believed that living in a stigmatised area impacts on people's lives. Knowledge of the factors that are related to reputations can then be used to design better urban policies. The interest of academics lies in a theoretical understanding of what reputations are for, and to understand how and why they differ between groups of residents (see for example the publications in a special issue on stigmatised neighbourhoods of the *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 2004).

Various academic studies have suggested that non-residents' ideas about neighbourhoods differ from those of the residents: they are more positive in their assessment than other city residents are (Arthurson, 2001; Hastings & Dean, 2003). These differences have promoted the use among several academics of the conceptual distinction of an internal part and an external part of the reputation concept. Most of these studies are highly descriptive and use predominantly anecdotal accounts to illustrate different assessments of neighbourhoods made by local and other city residents. The lack of systematic analysis leaves it unclear to what extent this distinction is empirically valid, and to what extent differences exist within the group of other city residents regarding different individual background characteristics.

Academic interest is also directed to the relationship between neighbourhood reputations and neighbourhood characteristics (Costa Pinto, 2000; Power, 1997; Wassenberg, 2004). Broadly speaking, three categories of these neighbourhood attributes can be discerned: functional, physical, and social. There appears to be ambiguity over which factors may actually be associated with neighbourhood reputations. For example, some researchers assert that physical characteristics are most important, since these are the first and possibly the most obvious cues for people to use in their assessment of a neighbourhood. Most researchers argue, however, that, as in the stratification process of society as a whole, the social characteristics are the most important, and of these economic status and ethnic background are seen as key determinants (Bauder, 2001; Suttles, 1972; Wacquant, 1993). Many studies that identify the neighbourhood characteristics that are related to reputation are only focused on one (or at best a few) neighbourhoods that have – without exception – a negative reputation. One can question to what extent generalisations can be derived from such studies. Furthermore, since only disreputable neighbourhoods are selected, there is no variation between the neighbourhoods with regard to reputation. Consequently, it is impossible to unravel which neighbourhood characteristics are related to reputation.

In this study, we use a relatively large number of neighbourhoods that vary widely in terms of their characteristics. We include both reputable and disreputable neighbourhoods. We are therefore able to use a more quantitative and systematic approach that gives us results from which we can make generalisations. The large number of respondents in this study also enables us to investigate the difference in ratings between groups of residents that goes beyond the immediate resident/non-resident dichotomy. With this research, we not only examine empirically the theoretical division of internal and external reputation and how the external reputation varies

among different groups, but also enhance our understanding of the differentiation of urban neighbourhoods.

1.4 Responses to neighbourhood reputations

There is ample evidence available in the literature of the impact of reputations on the behaviour of other city residents. Avoidance not only of moving into, but also of visiting disreputable neighbourhoods has been documented (Clark, 1991; Clark, 1992). There is evidence that neighbourhood reputations have consequences not only for residents (Bauder, 2001; Crump, 2002; Wacquant, 1993; Wilson, 1996) but also for non-residents. Most research has concentrated on either the material consequences, such as being denied work on the basis of the neighbourhood (Wilson, 1996), or the psychological consequences, for example the impact of living in stigmatised areas on self-esteem and feelings of happiness (Bush et al., 2001; Taylor, 1998). Airey (2003) reports that long-term residents believe their personal identities are stigmatised through a negative reputation. People feel ashamed and the neighbourhood stigma can lead to psychosocial stress (see also Dean & Hastings, 2000; Wacquant, 1993; Wakefield & McMullan, 2005). Compared with the attention paid to psychological and material consequences, we know very little about the impact of reputation on the behaviour of residents, although there are indications that such an impact occurs (see for example Skifter Andersen, 2008; Wacquant, 1993). We have used the 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework proposed by Hirschman (1970) to study two types of behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations: residential mobility (intentions) and residents' participation in their neighbourhood.

Those living in a neighbourhood with a poor (perceived) reputation can develop plans to move away in an attempt to dissociate themselves from the associated stigma. When people believe their status suffers from a certain group membership, one way for them to react is to distance themselves from that group. This might be the case even when the people concerned are perfectly well satisfied with their neighbourhood. The literature on moving behaviour and moving intentions concentrates mostly on the influence of the (changing) position of the household. The neighbourhood (and, more specifically, the neighbourhood's reputation) as a factor influencing residential mobility has received considerably less attention (for exceptions see Clark et al., 2006; Kearns & Parkes, 2003; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). More knowledge of the impact of neighbourhood reputations on the moving intentions of residents provides more insight into the mechanisms of individual sorting processes that on aggregate lead to spatial differentiation into different neighbourhoods.

In residential mobility studies, moving out of the neighbourhood is the only observed behavioural response to neighbourhood problems. There are, however, other possibilities. One is for residents to improve and maintain the quality of the neighbourhood. Residents' participation through attending city-initiated neighbourhood meetings is one way of addressing local problems. In the literature, there is evidence that a poor neighbourhood reputation may have either a demobilising effect or an energising effect on residents' participation. People who show strong loyalty to the neighbourhood are more likely to choose the behavioural option (Van Vugt et al., 2003). This research adds insights on how a reputation can either trigger or prevent residents' participation in the neighbourhood.

1.5 Questions to be answered

In sections 1.3 and 1.4, we identify several gaps in the literature on neighbourhood reputation and the reputation-behaviour relationship. In the next five chapters these gaps are addressed by answering five questions derived from the main question. Figure 1.1 gives an outline of the order of the questions. Each chapter is written as an individual research paper; some have already been published in international journals. Each chapter therefore includes its own literature review, methodology, empirical analyses, and conclusions.

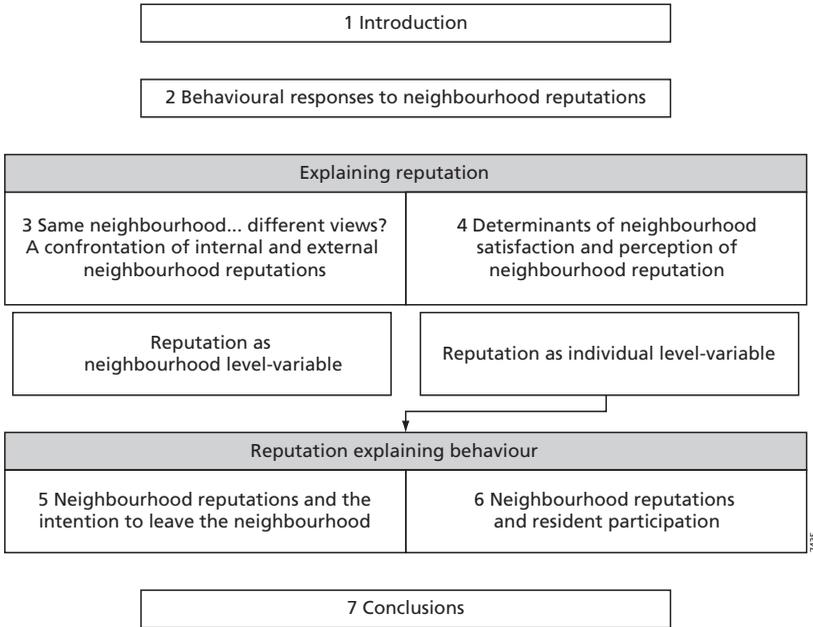


Figure 1.1 Organisation of this study in seven chapters

In chapter two, we present a literature review of the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and behaviour and address the following question: *What behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations among neighbourhood residents can be identified?* Most research on the effect of neighbourhood reputations focuses on the influence on attitudes and behaviour of non-residents. Knowledge of how residents' behaviour is affected has been studied much less, although knowledge of this could enhance our understanding of the impact of the neighbourhood on residents. In this review the 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework (Hirschman, 1970) is used as a starting point to identify two (interrelated) behavioural responses: leaving the neighbourhood or intention to do so (see chapter five), and attempting to improve the neighbourhood through participation in city-initiated meetings (see chapter six).

In chapter three we address the question: *To what extent do residents and non-residents differ in their assessment of neighbourhood reputations and how are these reputations related to neighbourhood characteristics?* This chapter gives more insight into the concept of reputation by studying the theoretical distinction drawn in the literature between internal and external reputation. We

consider whether neighbourhoods have multiple reputations among non-residents and to what extent these reputation ratings vary with city residents' background characteristics (ethnicity, socio-economic status, level of education). Our final goal is to reveal whether neighbourhood reputations – measured as an aggregate of individual reputation assessments – are related to neighbourhood characteristics.

In chapter four we consider the determinants of the neighbourhood reputation as perceived by neighbourhood residents. In this article we draw a comparison between perceived neighbourhood reputation and the concept of neighbourhood satisfaction. The question addressed is: *To what extent can a perceived neighbourhood reputation be explained by individual- and neighbourhood-level variables and to what extent do these determinants differ from variables explaining neighbourhood satisfaction?* This chapter provides a better understanding of the perceived-reputation concept, how it differs conceptually from neighbourhood satisfaction, and how this difference can be explained.

In chapters five and six, the focus shifts from the determinants of perceived neighbourhood reputation to the impact of reputation perception on two types of behaviour. In chapter five, perceived reputation is used as a determinant of behaviour. In this chapter, we illuminate the effect of reputation on moving intentions. The research question is: *To what extent does the residents' perceived reputation of a neighbourhood predict their intention to leave it?* We report our analysis of residential-mobility intentions; we expected perceived neighbourhood reputation to have an effect above and beyond more established predictors such as socio-demographic variables and neighbourhood satisfaction. This knowledge could improve our understanding of moving intentions and therefore how and why individual households sort themselves into urban neighbourhoods.

In chapter six, we have again used perceived reputation as a determinant, this time to study its impact on participation in the neighbourhood aiming at improving its level of quality. The research question in this chapter is: *To what extent does the residents' perceived reputation of their neighbourhood predict their participation in it?* In this chapter we reveal the impact of reputation on participation and whether this impact is negative or positive. In the last chapter, the main research question is answered with the help of the results reported in the previous chapters. We discuss the findings and suggest some further research themes.

1.6 Collection of the data

To answer the above questions, we gathered a large dataset in a variety of neighbourhoods in the city of Utrecht, The Netherlands. Utrecht was selected because the city contains relatively clearly demarcated neighbourhoods, originating from different building periods and building styles (spatial variety). Furthermore, the size of this city ensured the recognition of different neighbourhoods by the city residents. Smaller-sized cities would offer too few recognisable neighbourhoods, while in larger cities too many neighbourhoods would not be recognised by all the respondents.

We chose to use the survey method rather than such means as discourse analysis (through research of historic documents, such as newspapers, policy plans), because the survey method facilitated the collection of a large amount of data in a variety of neighbourhoods. Moreover, this method enabled us to study the effect of reputation on the behaviour of residents and make

generalisations from the results found. Discourse analysis would not have allowed us to study the effects of reputation on the behaviour of residents. An additional argument for not using discourse analysis is that this method often uses historic sources. These, especially newspapers and policy documents, are often aimed at the most stigmatised areas; consequently, there is little variation between neighbourhoods in such documents. With a survey, we come closer to a representative sample. The choice of the survey method does mean we miss out on information on historical aspects of neighbourhoods. We acknowledge that these aspects can be important in explaining the reputation of neighbourhoods (Hastings & Dean, 2003; Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2008; Massey, 1995). However, we felt that the advantages of the survey method outweighed this disadvantage.

This study required data on neighbourhood reputations; these were not readily available, because they had not been measured in previous large-scale surveys in the Netherlands. Before carrying out this large-scale survey, we first carried out a small telephone survey to find out which (administrative) neighbourhoods had wide recognition among the residents of Utrecht. On the basis of this telephone survey, we selected 24 neighbourhoods, representing 69 per cent of the Utrecht population in all. The selected neighbourhoods vary on such aspects as housing density, green spaces, housing stock, socio-economic composition, and ethnic composition. The survey questionnaires, which were delivered and collected in person by over 40 student assistants, were distributed among randomly selected households in these 24 neighbourhoods.³ The head of the household (or his/her partner) was asked to complete the questionnaire, which the student assistants later collected. In total 1,389 paper questionnaires were collected in a three month period in the spring of 2006, with a response rate of 44.1 per cent.

Neighbourhood reputation is a collective concept. However, we have chosen to measure it by asking individual residents about it. Respondents were asked different questions regarding their individual perception of the reputation of the neighbourhood they lived in, but also about their perception of the other 23 research neighbourhoods. Half the sample was asked to rate one half of the 24 neighbourhoods; the other half was asked to rate the other twelve neighbourhoods. We made sure that, in every neighbourhood, half the residents rated one half of the 24, and that the other half rated the remaining neighbourhoods, to assure an equal distribution.

The following questions were asked:

- 1) *“Please indicate on a 5-point scale (very negative to very positive), how you would assess the reputation of your own neighbourhood.”*
- 2) *“Please indicate on a 5-point scale (very negative to very positive), how you would assess the reputation of the following neighbourhoods [NAMES OF NEIGHBOURHOODS].”*
- 3) *“Please indicate on a 5-point scale (very negative to very positive) how you think other city residents would assess the reputation of your neighbourhood?”*

Residents were well able to assess these other neighbourhoods; of all possible neighbourhood ratings (1,392*12=16,704), only sixteen per cent (N=2,617) were not rated because respondents – presumably – lacked the information to give a rating. Furthermore, a small number (approximately two percent) of the respondents were unable to assess the reputation of their own neighbourhood and the perception of other city residents. To proceed from individual assessment to the shared reputation of the neighbourhood, the respondents’ assessments were

averaged. This procedure resulted in an average reputation rating by both residents and non-residents for every single neighbourhood. The average rating could then be interpreted as the neighbourhood's reputation. This approach produces a ratio-level scale indicating how much higher/lower the reputation of neighbourhood X is relative to neighbourhood Y. In addition to reputation as a neighbourhood-level variable, we also distinguished a reputation-variable for their own neighbourhood on an individual level: the perceived neighbourhood reputation. This reflects the *individual view* a resident holds of how their own neighbourhood is viewed by outsiders who live elsewhere in the city. This type of reputation was distinguished, because we argue that the behaviour of residents is affected by what the residents themselves perceive the reputation to be. Less important in this respect is what the reputation actually is among outsiders, although a certain overlap is to be expected, because this perceived reputation is likely to be influenced by the external reputation.

Notes

- 1 This was at odds with the then dominant community approach, which attached little importance to the role of the neighbourhood as representation factor
- 2 Behaviour refers to purposeful actions taken by self-interested individuals to improve and/or maintain the quality of their lives
- 3 We oversampled the neighbourhood of Kanaleneiland for future research purposes

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2 Behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations

Permentier, M., Van Ham, M. & Bolt, G. (2007) Behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations, Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 2007, 22, pp. 199-213. Copyright © 2007 Springer

Abstract

Most research on the effect of neighbourhood reputations focuses on the influence on attitudes and behaviour of non-residents. Much less attention is paid to the possible effects of a poor neighbourhood reputation on behaviour of residents. In order to get a better understanding of the effect of neighbourhoods on its residents (the so-called neighbourhood effects) and the role of neighbourhoods in the urban housing market, it is necessary to fill this gap. The aim of this paper is to review the literature on the reputation of places and to give an overview of possible behavioural responses of residents to negative neighbourhood reputations. The paper develops a model of behavioural responses of residents based on Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework (1970). Three basic responses are central to the discussion of the literature: leaving the neighbourhood, attempting to improve the neighbourhood through neighbourhood participation, and (dis)investing in social contacts within the neighbourhood.

Keywords: Neighbourhoods, reputations, residents, behavioural responses, residential mobility, neighbourhood participation, social contacts

2.1 Introduction

There is renewed interest in urban neighbourhoods among policy-makers and the scientific community (Kearns & Parkes, 2003). Although it is widely acknowledged that the neighbourhood is no longer the centre of daily life for most residents, there is the strong belief that the neighbourhood context plays an important role in a wide variety of social outcomes for residents. These so-called neighbourhood effects are thought to occur in (mostly deprived) neighbourhoods where low-income groups and immigrants are concentrated (see for reviews on the neighbourhood effects discussion Dietz, 2002; Ellen & Turner, 1997; Friedrichs, 1998; Galster, 2005; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Sampson et al., 2002; Van Kempen, 1997). Research has shown that, for example, living in concentration neighbourhoods has an effect on individual labour market outcomes (Wilson, 1987), educational achievements (Overman, 2002), deviant behaviour (Friedrichs & Blasius, 2003), social exclusion (Buck, 2001) and social mobility (Musterd et al., 2003). Most neighbourhood effects have been found in (highly segregated)

American neighbourhoods, while European studies (for example in the Netherlands) show more modest, though still significant effects of the neighbourhood context on residents (Galster, 2005; Musterd et al., 2003).

The relevant literature on neighbourhood effects distinguishes three categories of effects: endogenous effects, exogenous effects and correlated effects (Buck, 2001; Manski, 1993). Endogenous effects arise when the behaviour of neighbourhood residents has a direct influence on other residents (Galster, 2005). The theories that are most widely adopted in the neighbourhood effects literature (like socialisation, epidemic and social network theories) are part of this category (Ellen & Turner, 1997; Wilson, 1987). Exogenous effects arise when behaviour and attitudes of one individual depend on the (exogenous) characteristics of neighbourhood residents. An example of this category is the recent immigrant who feels special comfort thanks to the proximity to others with the same national background (Galster, 2005). Finally, correlated effects arise when individuals in the same neighbourhood behave similarly because they face similar institutional environments or have similar individual characteristics. Stigmatisation of individuals by externals on the basis of the reputation of their neighbourhood is one particular correlated effect (Andersson & Musterd, 2005). Most research on this topic examines the material and psychological disadvantages of living in a neighbourhood with a poor reputation (see for example Bauder, 2002; Hastings & Dean, 2003). It is argued that the chances for social participation of people residing in neighbourhoods with a poor reputation, are limited due to the bad name their neighbourhood has (Bauder, 2001, 2002; Van Kempen, 1997; Wacquant, 1993). Jobs are not offered to them (Wilson, 1996); people do not receive mortgages from banks, or only under disadvantageous conditions (Aalbers, 2005) and people's self-esteem can be damaged by living in a notorious area (Dean & Hastings, 2000; Taylor, 1998; Wacquant, 1993).

Although the material and psychological disadvantages of living in a neighbourhood with a poor reputation have been widely studied, relatively little attention has been given to the effect that the reputation of these neighbourhoods has on the behaviour of neighbourhood residents. The term 'behaviour' in this article refers to purposeful actions taken by self-interested individuals to improve or maintain the quality of their lives. Thus, material and psychological consequences are about what happens to people (it is not the decision of a resident to be discriminated against or to lose self-esteem), while behavioural consequences refer to the actions that people take as a result of a bad (or declining) reputation.

Several behavioural responses to a neighbourhood's poor reputation can be expected. Leaving the neighbourhood is probably among the most important ones (Clark et al., 2006; Kearns & Parkes, 2003; Rossi, 1955). Other literature suggests that a poor neighbourhood reputation can have an effect on participation and social contacts. Two directions can be discerned. Some argue that a negative neighbourhood reputation can have a harmful effect upon social contacts and participation (see for example Wacquant, 1993), while others (Mazanti & Pløger, 2003) suggest a positive effect on the mutual relations between residents and their organisational capacities. More knowledge about the effect that the reputation of neighbourhoods has on residents' behaviour can help us understand the role of the neighbourhood in residential mobility behaviour more clearly. It can also add to the understanding of one particular mechanism behind neighbourhood effects.

Unfortunately, there is no ready-to-use theory that would help us understand the relation between reputation and behavioural responses. An important starting point for such a theory is the 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework (EVL), which was developed by Hirschman (1970) and

expanded by others (Farell, 1983; Rusbult et al., 1982). The framework was originally developed to study the responses of consumers to products that show a decline in quality, but it can also be used to expound the possible behavioural responses to a poor neighbourhood reputation.

The main aim of this article is to offer, on the basis of an overview of the literature, more insight into the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and behaviour of residents. Further, by applying the EVL framework we aim to provide more insight in the interrelatedness of the several behavioural responses. This may help bridge the gap between the bodies of literature that focus on only part of the response options: the residential choice literature (exit) and the literature on civic participation and social capital (voice and loyalty).

2.2 The concept of reputation

2.2.1 A definition of reputation

People constantly form opinions without always being aware of it. Reputations can be attached to multiple objects, varying from companies to celebrities. An important characteristic of the term reputation is that it refers to “The beliefs or opinions that are generally held about someone or something” or “A widespread belief that someone or something has a particular characteristic” (Oxford Dictionary, 2004).

Places are no exception to the labelling process: people attach a reputation to most countries, states, cities or neighbourhoods. One of the first authors in the field of sociology and geography to deal with the concept of neighbourhood reputations was Walter Firey. His 1945 article on Bostonian neighbourhoods uses a subjective understanding of the city in which symbolism and sentiments received a central role. He recognised that a spatial area can act as “a symbol for certain cultural values that have become associated with it” (Firey, 1945, p. 140). Firey’s example of Beacon Hill, a residential area near the centre of Boston, illustrates that neighbourhoods can retain their position in the urban hierarchy by operating as a symbol for certain (as in the case of Beacon Hill, historic and aesthetic) values: in other words, the area has a certain reputation (cf. Hunter, 1974).

Although the concept of reputation has been applied to neighbourhoods, very few social scientists give an explicit definition of the reputation concept. Hortulanus (1995, p. 42) is an exception. He argues that the neighbourhood is a mirror and symbol of the position a household occupies in society, its preferences and life style. The neighbourhood is thus a representation factor. Reputation “refers to the meaning and esteem that residents and other involved parties attribute to a neighbourhood. Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighbourhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy” [author’s translation from Dutch](Hortulanus, 1995, p. 42). Hortulanus (1995) argues that the concept of ‘reputation’ has a more neutral sound than ‘stigma’. In the time since the term stigma was defined by Goffman (1963) as a spoiled social identity, it has taken on a negative association and has come to represent an anomaly, deviating from individual characteristics and behaviour assessed ordinary and acceptable by society (Harvey, 2001). So while a stigma is always negative, reputations can also be good.

In the literature, the concept of reputation is related to the concept of status. According to Marshall (1998) status arises from “the subjective evaluations of positions in a system of social stratification.” Although status can also refer to the neighbourhood level, it is more often used

at the individual level. A person's individual status can be derived from the (reputation of the) neighbourhood he or she lives in. This way, the neighbourhood can be used as an indicator of a person's individual status (Congalton, 1969; Warner, 1960). A residential address can then be "considered the quickest index to family social status" (Coleman & Neugarten, 1972; Lee et al., 1994). The neighbourhood can therefore be seen as a reflection and symbol of one's position in society and preferences (Firey, 1945; Hortulanus, 1995; Van der Horst et al., 2001; Van Kempen, 1997). Congalton (1969) sees the address as the locator of a household in social space: "So pervasive is this effect that residential location has frequently been used as one of the measures of an individual's position in the local prestige hierarchy" (see also Warner, 1960). The urban population assesses neighbourhoods and residential groups in a contrastive way (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Semyonov & Kraus, 1982; Suttles, 1972). "Residential identities [...] are embedded in a contrastive structure in which each neighborhood is known primarily as a counterpart to some of the others" (Suttles, 1972, p. 51). Not the absolute, but the relative differences are thought to be relevant in the comparisons between neighbourhoods (Galster, 2001; Hortulanus, 1995; Suttles, 1972). The identification with a specific place automatically means identification *against* another place (Rose, 1995, p. 92). The positioning of neighbourhoods in contrast to each other leads to a hierarchy in which the different neighbourhoods are positioned in relation to one another (Hortulanus, 1995, p. 42; Suttles, 1972). The reputation of a neighbourhood can be deduced from its position in this hierarchy.

2.2.2 Internal and external reputation

Neighbourhood reputations are a product of both non-residents' and residents' perceptions. The reputation that residents hold of their neighbourhood may be denoted as 'internal reputation' and the neighbourhood's reputation among non-residents as 'external reputation' (Hortulanus, 1995). The external and internal reputation can not be taken separately. They are likely to influence each other because of an ongoing social interaction between residents and non-residents. However, this does not imply that the internal and external reputation are congruent with each other.

The reputation among non-residents (outsiders), the external reputation, consists of simplified images of neighbourhoods expressed as sharp boundaries and exaggerated differences noted by outsiders (Suttles, 1972). These boundaries are used to make the city comprehensible for daily activities (where is it safe to go?) and status considerations (what type of people live where?). The category of outsiders may have a shared view of a neighbourhood's reputation, as is found in a study that Logan & Culver (1983) carried out in New York. They found that residents of a working-class area and residents of a more affluent area gave similar ratings to 84 communities on Long Island (New York). However, there may be differences between groups of outsiders and even within one group of outsiders, as Suttles' findings in Chicago illustrate (1968, p. 25). Suttles shows that white non-residents assess West Side neighbourhoods differently than black non-residents. The first group thinks of it as another impoverished 'negro' area, while the latter contrasts it with another Afro-American area (such as the more affluent South Side). This shows that background references used in the assessed neighbourhoods might differ and can lead to a different understanding of the area.

The internal and external reputation may partially coincide, since residents and non-residents are likely to judge certain neighbourhood attributes in the same way. Curtis & Jackson (1977, p. 91) found a strong correlation between the internal reputation (rating of the neighbourhood

compared to other neighbourhoods by residents) and the external reputation (the rating by interviewers of the residential areas). However, there are usually some differences between the external and the internal reputation. Firstly, residents tend to rate their neighbourhood higher than non-residents. This is partly the result of selection: people who have some choice on the housing market have selected a neighbourhood that meets their aspirations. It is therefore no wonder that they have a more positive view of their neighbourhood than non-residents (Bell et al., 1996; Clark & Cadwallader, 1973). Secondly, residents without any prospect of improvement in their residential situation undergo a psychological adaptation to their situation and rate their neighbourhood higher because it is the best they can get (see Festinger, 1957).

Apart from the fact that residents give their neighbourhood a higher rating, they also differ from non-residents in their ability to apply a micro-differentiation: a more refined classification of the neighbourhood at the block-face, street or even building level (Hastings & Dean, 2003; Purdy, 2003; Wacquant, 1993). This ability to apply micro-differentiation is not only a result of superior knowledge among the residents about their neighbourhood (Evans, 1980). It is also because the residents have an interest in micro-differentiations as a possible means to detach themselves from unwanted elements in their neighbourhood. Residents can associate with or disassociate from other parts of the neighbourhood. Residents of higher status areas within larger but lower-status communities will use micro-differentiations to emphasise the prestige of their residential environment. Residents of less prestigious areas use the same mechanism the other way around. Being identified with the more prestigious neighbourhoods is useful to them (Hunter, 1974; Lee & Campbell, 1997). In infamous neighbourhoods, people might apply a strategy of differentiation to detach themselves from the 'real bad parts' of the neighbourhood (Wakefield & McMullan, 2005).

2.3 Exploring behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations

2.3.1 Non-residents' responses and neighbourhood reputations

In the above, it has been argued that neighbourhood reputations are constructed as a result of the continuous interaction between the way residents and non-residents perceive a neighbourhood. Figure 2.1 illustrates that the behaviour of residents in a neighbourhood X (box 5) is influenced by the internal assessment of the reputation of that neighbourhood (box 6), as well by the assessment of the reputation by outsiders (those who do not live in neighbourhood X and professionals, box 1). As stated in the previous section, the internal and external reputations mutually influence each other to some degree. There is abundant research on the effects of the internal assessment on residents' behaviour. For instance, subjective evaluations of the neighbourhood are usually included in models on residential mobility (e.g. Kearns & Parkes, 2003; Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998), while attention to the effects of external reputation is scarce (Tsfati & Cohen, 2003).

The influence of the outsiders' assessments on behaviour of residents in neighbourhood X is mediated through three elements (box 2, box 3 and box 4), as shown in Figure 2.1. The 'internals' perception of (outsiders' assessment of) reputation' (the first element, box 4) is also called self-reflective reputation by Rijpers & Smeets (1998). If residents of a neighbourhood think that externals perceive their neighbourhood as negative, this could result in a situation in which the residents disassociate themselves from their neighbourhood or adjust their behaviour towards

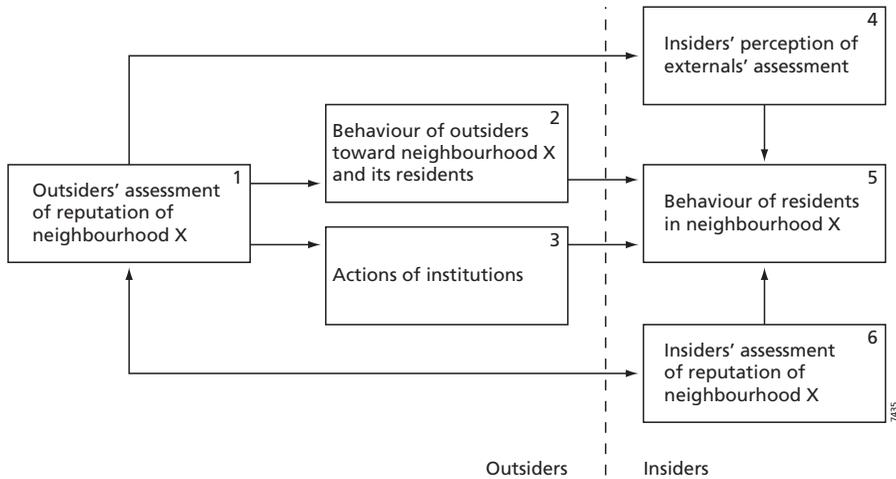


Figure 2.1 Relationship between (internal and external) reputation of neighbourhood X and behaviour of residents of neighbourhood X

fellow residents. Whether or not the externals actually perceive the neighbourhood as the neighbourhood residents think they do does not matter. What matters is that the residents might change their behaviour because of the perceived reputation of externals (Tsftati & Cohen, 2003).

The ‘actions of institutions that affect neighbourhood X and its residents’ (box 3) and ‘behaviour of outsiders toward neighbourhood X and its residents’ (box 2) are respectively the second and the third element in the model. The idea is that the external assessment has an influence on the behaviour of externals (residents of other neighbourhoods as well as institutions), which in turn has an effect on the behaviour of residents.

Based on the reputation of (bad) neighbourhoods, institutions may develop strategies to deal with such neighbourhoods and their residents. A prime example is ‘blocking strategies’ by which actors try to prevent certain groups from stigmatised neighbourhoods entering (highly regarded up-market) urban neighbourhoods, thus avoiding changes in the neighbourhood features (Wyly, 2002). Much discussion surrounds realtors who serve as gatekeepers, seeking to ‘preserve’ white neighbourhoods from an influx of people from stigmatised (Afro-American) areas by steering individuals from these areas to certain other parts of the city (Galster & Godfrey, 2005). As a result, these blocking strategies can influence the behaviour of the residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods.

An example of ‘behaviour of outsiders’ is white avoidance: the decision not to move and relocate into certain areas (predominantly non-white) urban neighbourhoods with a notorious reputation among non-residents. The phenomenon of white avoidance has been extensively studied in the American context. It has been found to exert a significant influence on the racial composition of urban neighbourhoods (Clark, 1991). Several studies by Clark (1991, 1992) have shown the preference of white Americans for predominantly white neighbourhood and the impact of this preference on racial composition of neighbourhoods. Another form of the ‘behaviour of outsiders’ is the disinclination to visit certain neighbourhoods. Crump (2002) mentions in this respect the attitudes and behaviour of non-residents toward inner-city

districts in the United States. Due to the extremely negative reputations of these inner cities, non-residents shun these districts because they are fearful of the local (predominantly Afro-American) community.

2.3.2 Residents' behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations

Negative neighbourhood reputations can have different consequences for neighbourhood residents and possibly lead to different responses from them. Hirschman's (1970) 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework may be useful to categorise these responses. It was originally developed to explain possible reactions of unsatisfied customers to products, companies or organisations.

Hirschman discerns two types of customer responses: exit and voice. The exit option is exercised when consumers stop buying a product or quit a certain organisation and possibly switch to a competing brand or organisation. Voice is the expression of dissatisfaction directed to the appropriate level of management or organisation or to anyone who cares to listen, either individually or collectively (Hirschman, 1970, p. 4). Voice can be discerned in a horizontal and vertical form: horizontal voice is when a critic complains to peers, while the vertical form refers to the expression of discontent to persons who are affiliated with the specific organisation and who occupy a managerial position within that organisation (O'Donnell, 1986). To illuminate why people choose either an exit or a voice response, Hirschman introduced the concept of loyalty. Loyalty can be understood as an attachment to a product or organisation. As a rule, "loyalty holds exit at bay and activates voice" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 79). Whereas in the work of Hirschman, loyalty is construed as a psychological state that influences the exit and voice option, other researchers (for example Lyons & Lowery, 1986) later added loyalty as a third response option in the context of residential communities. That is justifiable, as loyalty to a residential community is more multifaceted than loyalty to a product. The latter (brand loyalty) merely reflects a psychological state, while the former reveals itself not only as a state of mind (psychological sense of community) but also in diverse kinds of behaviour. For instance, speaking well of the neighbourhood, strengthening social contacts within the neighbourhood and voting are examples of actions that reflect loyalty.

Besides loyalty, neglect is regularly added as a fourth response option (see for example Farrell, 1983; Lyons & Lowery, 1986; Rusbult et al., 1982). In the context of residential communities, limiting social contacts in the neighbourhood or talking negatively about the neighbourhood are examples of neglect. However, neglect should not be seen as an additional concept that extends the EVL framework, as loyalty and neglect can be considered opposite aspects of the same construct. It is not possible to choose both the loyalty and the neglect option at the same time (Dowding et al., 2000). Loyalty has a negative effect on the propensity to choose an exit option (in the future) and increases the likelihood of voice (Figure 2.2). By definition, neglect increases the likelihood of exit and decreases the likelihood of voice.

Within the neighbourhood context, Van Vugt et al. (2003) have used Hirschman's framework to discover which factors influence the problem-solving strategies of residents who are confronted with neighbourhood problems. Exit and voice strategies were found to be influenced by dissatisfaction with community services – the more dissatisfied community members there are, the more likely they are to take action, either by exiting or voicing their concerns, than the satisfied members (see also Lyons & Lowery, 1986) – and people's dependency on the community and its services. The authors argue that exit opportunities are more limited for older people, households with children, homeowners and lower-income households, as they are

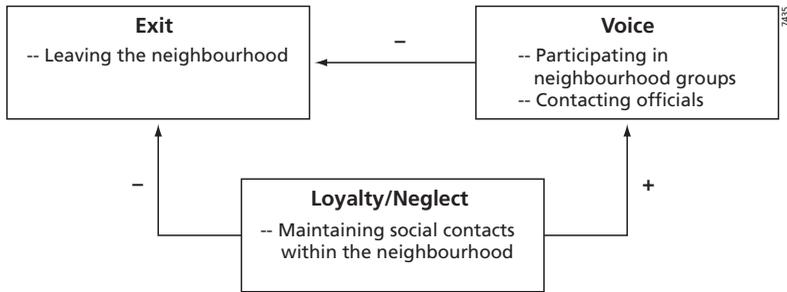


Figure 2.2. Responses to dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood's reputation

more dependent on the neighbourhood (Orbell & Uno, 1972). Thus, people who are dissatisfied and less dependent are more likely to take the exit option, while dissatisfied people with higher dependency on their area of residence are more likely to choose the voice option.

Lyons & Lowery (1986) argue that prior satisfaction with community services influences the chosen strategies. Persons who were used to high-quality services in their present or former neighbourhood are more likely to be dissatisfied compared to persons who are used to the (poor) level of service offered in their current neighbourhood. Persons who were previously more satisfied with community services are more apt to use the voice option when service levels decline, while persons who were dissatisfied all the time are more likely to use the exit option. Another important aspect is the level to which individuals invest in their neighbourhood. Persons who are owner-occupants are more likely to use the voice option, while renters are more likely to choose the exit option (see Cox, 1983; Van Vugt et al., 2003). The voice option is also more likely to be used by persons who feel more attached to their neighbourhood.

2.3.3 Neighbourhood reputation and exit

The exit option is probably the most clear-cut behavioural response to negative neighbourhood reputations, since it is a dichotomous response: either one leaves or one stays (Dowding et al., 2000). People who live in a neighbourhood with a bad reputation and feel that the neighbourhood reputation is detrimental to their well-being can opt for the exit option. The residents who attach most importance to the neighbourhood's reputation can be expected to be among the first to opt for the exit option when this reputation becomes negative. This means a potential loss of active persons (Dowding et al., 2000; Hirschman, 1970, p. 51; Orbell & Uno, 1972). The decision to leave the neighbourhood (the exit option) is not always simple: the burden of moving can be rather high, as relocation involves high (transaction and/or emotional) costs (Dowding et al., 2000, p. 471).

Although neighbourhood reputations are likely to have a substantial impact on residential mobility (Semyonov & Kraus, 1982), the literature on residential mobility seldom includes the neighbourhood's reputation as an explanatory variable. This is remarkable, as it was already acknowledged in the 1970s that subjective evaluation of neighbourhoods may be better in explaining spatial behaviour than supposedly objective neighbourhood data like socioeconomic status and ethnic composition (Clark & Cadwallader, 1973). Although some researchers on residential mobility incorporate the subjective evaluation of neighbourhoods in their models (e.g.

Kearns & Parkes, 2003; Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998), little attention has been devoted specifically to the role that a neighbourhood's reputation plays in residential mobility. The study by Tsfati & Cohen (2003) is one of the few exceptions. They found that the way residents perceive the image of their town (among externals) has an independent effect on thinking about residential mobility over and above the effect of satisfaction with the living conditions. The reasoning behind this is that the self-image of people is strongly affected by the way they believe others see them and the groups they belong to. When people believe their status suffers from membership in a certain group, they will try to disassociate themselves from that group. Of course, that is not possible when someone is stigmatised on the basis of an ascribed characteristic (like gender and race). But when someone feels stigmatised on the basis of residence, there is the possibility to disassociate from fellow residents by moving out of the neighbourhood.

2.3.4 Neighbourhood reputation and voice

The voice option indicates a person's expression of dissatisfaction with the reputation of the neighbourhood. Unlike the exit option, voice is open to various levels (Dowding et al., 2000). Dissatisfaction can be communicated by individuals, but residents can also organise themselves in neighbourhood committees. Possibly, the reputation of the neighbourhood influences the neighbourhood participation of individuals. The literature on neighbourhood participation has so far only paid limited attention to the influence of the area's reputation on participation. From the (limited) literature dealing with reputation and neighbourhood participation, there is some evidence that residents of an infamous residential area are likely to choose the voice option. Mazanti & Pløger (2003) argue on the basis of their research in Avedøre Stationsby (a stigmatised area on the outskirts of Copenhagen, Denmark) that the negative reputation worked as an impulse for participation. It brought a group of residents together in "collective stance against the outside world's understanding and negative stigmatisation of their neighbourhood" (Mazanti & Pløger, 2003, p. 320). To fight (what in their eyes was) undeserved stigma, the residents came closer together and organised themselves.

The findings of the aforementioned study differ from a study by Wacquant (1993). According to the latter study, residents of infamous neighbourhoods do not want to organise themselves in a neighbourhood coalition, due to the neighbourhood reputation. The possibility to mobilise residents was found to be absent. Wacquant (1998) coined the term 'organizational desertification' to describe a situation in which the residents' disorganisation renders them unable to force the local government to improve neighbourhood conditions. Marcuse (1993) argues that, as a result of this organisational desertification, stigmatised areas end up with facilities unwanted by the rest of society – like half-way houses, AIDS clinics and shelters which are refused in other areas and thus reinforce the stigma. Wacquant (2004) interprets this process as an example of the asymmetric relation of the ghetto with the rest of society.

2.3.5 Neighbourhood reputation and loyalty/neglect

Residents who choose the loyalty option put trust in the neighbourhood and its residents. They hold positive associations about the area in which they live; residents do not mind associating themselves with their neighbourhood. Social contacts with residents are in this case not influenced by the reputation of the area.

When people choose the loyalty-option, it is not unlikely that they will choose the voice option in the future (or even simultaneously). Just like buying a house, maintaining social

contacts with other residents and putting trust in them can be seen as an investment in the neighbourhood and thus as influencing whether they will choose to exit or to use their voice when problems (such as a negative neighbourhood reputation) arise. Residents who have invested extensively in the community have more to lose and are more likely to choose the voice option if the quality and/or reputation of their neighbourhood should deteriorate in the future than those with less loyalty, even if they share the same satisfaction levels (Dowding et al., 2000).

As stated in section 2.3.2, we do not consider neglect as a distinct response, on top of the responses that Hirschman distinguished. Rather, we see neglect as merely the opposite of loyalty. Thus, neglect refers to behavioural responses such as avoiding social contacts within the neighbourhood, or saying bad things about the neighbourhood.

Several studies have examined the effect of an area's negative reputation on loyalty. They all point in the direction of a negative effect on loyalty and consequently a positive effect on neglect. According to Suttles (1972, p. 236), Wacquant (1993) and Brodsky (1996), disassociating oneself from the neighbourhoods' and the neighbours' bad reputation can be a motivation to undermine social relations within the neighbourhood. The costs of identification with the neighbourhood are perceived to be too high; therefore people retreat from their neighbourhood (Costa Pinto, 2000). Residents emphasise that they are not part of a neighbourhood network in which mutual relations and services are maintained (see also Taylor, 1998). Suttles (1968, pp. 25-26) suggests that in stigmatised areas, residents can use another strategy besides total isolation. By building intimate and deep relations with a very limited number of residents, a safe world with mutual understanding is constructed. These types of relations are likely to have a negative effect on the neighbourhood participation of residents. By employing this strategy, residents protect themselves from the negative reputation of their area of residence. This approach has some side-effects, such as undermining trust in fellow-residents and decreasing local social solidarity. According to Wacquant (1993), strategies of distancing reinforce the negative view of the outsiders, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy in which the public disgrace produces exactly what people think they observe: social and communal disorganisation and cultural anomaly (Wacquant, 1993, p. 375). Another strategy to prevent association with the neighbourhood and its residents is making use of internal social differentiation, which leads to a categorisation of residents into those who are morally inferior and those who are not (see Costa Pinto, 2000; Hastings, 2004; Wacquant, 1993). Some individuals and families are labelled as vile people lacking values, whereby they take on the role of scapegoat. At the same time, residents emphasise their own morality and may explain their presence in this area as an accident, caused by external influences (unemployment, divorce etc). This social differentiation is not only used for individuals but can also be deployed at the sub-neighbourhood, block, or flat level (so-called micro-hierarchies). In this case the stigma attached by outsiders is then reproduced on a lower scale within the home area. Some areas are said to be 'good' parts, while others are feared, possibly leading to avoidance of these areas at certain times or at all times.

2.4 Conclusions

Studies of behavioural responses to negative neighbourhood reputation can make a significant contribution to the literature on neighbourhood effects. As stated in the introduction to this paper, research on neighbourhood effects focuses on socialisation theories (or, more generally,

on endogenous effects) and tends to miss the influence of the neighbourhood's reputation on the lives of people residing in notorious neighbourhoods. Some research has been done on the material and psychological consequences that a negative neighbourhood reputation can produce. However, the behavioural responses of neighbourhood residents to a negative reputation of their neighbourhood have received relatively little attention.

In the literature, we have discerned various behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations. As a means to integrate the literature on different types of responses to negative neighbourhood reputations, we applied Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework. Voice and loyalty/neglect are the focus of research in community studies. In this field, aspects of loyalty (for example maintaining social contacts) are defined as social capital, while voice, i.e. participation in the neighbourhood, is seen as one of the positive effects of social capital (Putnam, 2000). The exit option is the subject matter of the residential mobility literature.

Apart from a few exceptions (Cox, 1983; Orbell & Uno, 1972; Van Vugt et al., 2003), voice and exit are studied separately. That is striking, as both options are interrelated. A deteriorating quality and/or reputation of the neighbourhood may increase the likelihood of relocation as well as the likelihood of active participation in the neighbourhood. Those who opt for the voice variant may be less likely to move out in the future, as it would make their 'investments' of no avail. The combination of insights from both community studies and residential mobility literature may especially benefit the residential mobility literature. The focus in this literature is on changes in the life cycle and labour market careers that trigger moves. When neighbourhood problems are incorporated as a reason for residential stress, actively trying to improve the neighbourhood is seldom seen as an alternative to moving (Clark et al., 2006). To move or not to move, that seems to be the only question. In this respect, the contrast to dissatisfaction with the dwelling is notable, as it is usually acknowledged that adjusting a dwelling, for instance through enlargement, is an alternative to moving (e.g. Brown & Moore, 1970).

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3 Same neighbourhood... different views? A confrontation of internal and external neighbourhood reputations

Permentier, M., Van Ham, M. & Bolt, G. (2008) Same neighbourhood...different views? A confrontation of internal and external neighbourhood reputations, Housing Studies, 2008, 23, pp. 833-855. Copyright © 2008 Taylor & Francis

Abstract

Residents and non-residents are likely to think differently about a neighbourhood's reputation. Relatively little is known about the similarities and differences between these internal and external types of neighbourhood reputation or the relationship between reputations and 'real' or 'objective' neighbourhood characteristics. This paper addresses two points: first, the extent to which neighbourhood reputations differ between and within groups; second, the extent to which these neighbourhood reputations are associated with measured neighbourhood characteristics. Data from a specially designed survey carried out in 24 neighbourhoods in Utrecht, the fourth largest city in the Netherlands, are used. Analysis of the data showed that neighbourhood reputations are rated higher by residents and estate agents than by other city residents. Within the group of other city residents, differences were found in how neighbourhood reputations are rated by socio-economic status, ethnicity and educational background. Further, it was found that neighbourhood reputations are correlated with measured social characteristics of the neighbourhood, while physical and functional neighbourhood characteristics are of less importance.

Keywords: Neighbourhood reputations, residents, non-residents, neighbourhood characteristics, the Netherlands

3.1 Introduction

The literature on neighbourhood effects suggests that a neighbourhood's bad reputation can have a negative effect on residents' social opportunities (Galster, 2007; Musterd & Andersson, 2005). Living in a stigmatised neighbourhood has been found to have a negative influence on the residents' job opportunities (Bauder, 2002; Wilson, 1996) and self-esteem (Taylor, 1998). It has also been suggested that neighbourhood reputations can have an effect on the behaviour of residents, who may adjust their social actions (within and outside their neighbourhood) in

accordance with the area's ill repute among outsiders (see for example Permentier et al., 2007). People take neighbourhood reputations into account when making their choices of where to live, to work or to locate a business (Wacquant, 1993).

Neighbourhood reputations do not naturally exist, but are socially constructed based on, for example, (personal) experiences, information from the media and easily observable functional and physical attributes of neighbourhoods. The concept of reputation is often used by policy makers and academics, but it is hardly ever defined in a clear way. An important attribute of the neighbourhood reputation concept is that residents and non-residents, including other city residents (OCR) and, for example, estate agents, may think differently about the reputation of the same neighbourhood (see for example Hastings & Dean, 2003; Skifter Andersen, 2001). Only a limited number of authors back up the theoretical division of internal and external reputation with empirical data (see for example Hastings & Dean, 2003), while little is known about the degree of the differences between internal and external neighbourhood reputations.

Both residents and non-residents may construct neighbourhood reputations based on information that is not necessarily accurate. For example, the media might paint a misleading image of a neighbourhood by constantly highlighting one specific negative aspect. Neighbourhood reputations might also reflect a negative aspect of a neighbourhood that has greatly improved over time without the reputation improving. Little is known about the extent to which neighbourhood reputations relate to objective neighbourhood characteristics. Different factors can be of importance: physical factors (the cleanliness of an area, building type, maintenance); functional factors (location and accessibility, presence of services); and social factors (ethnic composition, income levels). It may be argued that functional and physical factors are the most important, since these are the most obvious cues for residents and non-residents alike. On the other hand, social characteristics might be of greater importance, because these are often covered in the media.

The rating of a neighbourhood's reputation is likely to be influenced by people's own characteristics in relation to the social characteristics of the neighbourhood. Residents and non-residents may give neighbourhoods higher ratings when the social composition of the neighbourhood matches their own characteristics. According to Schelling (1969, 1971), people do not want to be part of a minority population in their neighbourhood (see also Clark, 1991; Van Ham & Clark, forthcoming; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). Thus a person whose characteristics differ from the characteristics of the majority of the residents in a neighbourhood is likely to give a lower rating to the neighbourhood than would people whose characteristics match those of the neighbourhood population.

This paper contributes to the existing literature on neighbourhoods and neighbourhood reputations by reporting an empirical investigation of the theoretical division of internal and external neighbourhood reputations. First, the extent to which neighbourhood reputations differ between residents and non-residents and within the group of other city residents is explored. Second, the paper describes the extent to which neighbourhood reputations are associated with objective neighbourhood characteristics. The results here have the potential to contribute to a more sophisticated understanding of the neighbourhood reputation concept so increasingly popular with policy makers and academics. The empirical part of the paper draws on data collected in the spring of 2006 in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands. Information on 1,102 residents in 24 different neighbourhoods and 38 real estate agents was collected.

3.2 Internal and external reputation

Reputations can be attached to multiple objects, varying from companies to celebrities. Places are no exception to the labelling process: countries, regions, cities and neighbourhoods all have reputations associated with them. According to Hortulanus (1995, p. 42) reputation “refers to the meaning and esteem that residents and other involved parties attribute to a neighbourhood. Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighbourhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy” [author’s translation from Dutch]. In the neighbourhood literature, the terms ‘stigma’ and ‘image’ are often used as an alternative for the term ‘reputation’. According to Hortulanus (1995), the concept of reputation has a more neutral resonance than stigma or image. The definition of reputation implies that the image of a neighbourhood needs to be widespread in order to constitute a reputation. However, different and relatively small groups can hold different ideas about the reputation of a place.

Neighbourhood reputations are likely to be based on the perceptions of both outsiders (non-residents) and residents. Curtis & Jackson (1977) argue that these groups hold similar views of neighbourhoods and found a strong correlation between residents’ and non-residents’ ratings of neighbourhoods. Residents may internalise the reputation created by outsiders and so give similar ratings. Blokland (2008) showed that residents in a housing project in New Haven (Connecticut) share the outsider’s view that living in subsidised housing is ‘for failures’ (cf. Wacquant, 1993). However, this does not imply that stigmatisation is imposed from outside and that residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods do not have a role to play. Blokland (2008) argues that the stigmatisation comes about relationally: “The marked and the markers both matter, or more precisely their relations do” (p. 34). Her ethnographic analysis of a community meeting in a ghetto in New Haven, Connecticut, showed how discussions between officials and residents reinforced the stigma of the ghetto as a place of passive, dependent and disengaged residents.

A strong correlation between residents’ and non-residents’ evaluations of a neighbourhood does not necessarily mean that these groups rate neighbourhoods in the same way. Several authors argue that residents hold a different idea of the (reputation of their) neighbourhood than non-residents do (Arthurson, 2001; Hastings & Dean, 2003; Hortulanus, 1995; Murie et al., 2003; Skifter Andersen, 2001; Wassenberg, 2004), but there is little empirical support for this idea. The literature generally distinguishes two types of reputation: an internal reputation – the reputation the residents hold of their neighbourhood; and an external reputation – the neighbourhood’s reputation among non-residents.

The first reputation type, the internal reputation, is thought to consist of a detailed view based on a neighbourhood’s physical and social attributes (Hortulanus, 1995).¹ Residents are familiar with their own environment, so they are thought to be capable of distinguishing a micro hierarchy of areas within a neighbourhood; for example ‘good’ and ‘bad’ streets and area sub-sections (Evans, 1980). Residents can be expected to rate their neighbourhood higher than non-residents because of selection effects; people choose to live in an area they find attractive or at least acceptable (Bell et al., 1996; Clark & Cadwallader, 1973). A second explanation could be that residents with no choice regarding their neighbourhood, and with little prospect of any improvement, may show a psychological adaptation to their situation and rate their neighbourhood relatively high, because it is the best they can get (see Festinger, 1957 on cognitive dissonance reduction).

The reputation among non-residents, the external reputation, is the second type of reputation. The category of non-residents or outsiders is very diverse: it consists not only of other city residents, but also of council workers, estate agents, police officers, teachers, etc. These groups assess neighbourhoods based on less information and less personal experience with the area than neighbourhood residents do. The views of the non-residents consist of simplified images of neighbourhoods, which are shaped by drawing sharp boundaries and exaggerated differences between neighbourhoods (Suttles, 1972). These boundaries are used to make the city comprehensible for daily activities: 'is it safe to go here'; and status considerations: 'what sort of people live here?' In addition, these boundaries enable residents of areas to establish and (re) confirm the status of their own area toward other city residents (Palmer et al., 2004, p. 420).

3.3 Neighbourhood reputations and neighbourhood characteristics

3.3.1 Introduction

Neighbourhood reputations are based on the information people have on neighbourhoods. This information can be gained by experience, through the media or rumours, but reputations can be expected, at least in part, to be related to measurable 'real' or 'objective' neighbourhood characteristics. This section explores the relationship between objective neighbourhood characteristics and neighbourhood reputations as found in the literature. A distinction is drawn between functional, physical, and social neighbourhood factors.

Before turning to these factors, it is important to stress the relevance of a neighbourhood's history. Some authors (Hortulanus, 1995; Logan & Collver, 1983) argue that reputations are affected less by recent neighbourhood conditions than those from a previous age. Every place has a history (Massey, 1995) that may well play a part in the area's current reputation. The history of a neighbourhood might result in a more negative or positive reputation than the current characteristics would seem to predict (Power, 1997). For example, the North Tyneside neighbourhood of Meadow Well in Northeast England has a notorious name among city residents due to its original status of a slum clearance area, in which only people of ill repute were thought to live (Hastings & Dean, 2003). Even though a neighbourhood may have improved significantly, its past can have a negative influence on the reputation of an area for a long time.

3.3.2 Functional factors

Functional characteristics of a neighbourhood consist of the location and accessibility of an area and the presence of such facilities as shopping centres, medical facilities and green spaces. The location of a neighbourhood can be an important factor relating to its reputation (Hastings & Dean, 2003; Logan & Collver, 1983; Power, 1997). Costa Pinto (2000) found that the residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods in Portugal thought that the location and the poor accessibility of their neighbourhood were partly responsible for its negative reputation. An eccentric position can function as an enclave for prosperous households who express their social standing by living in isolation (Burgess, 1967). On the other hand, an isolated location can be perceived as the spatial isolation of groups, emphasising their separateness. The residents of isolated neighbourhoods are literally outsiders: people with different norms and values who do not blend in with the rest of the city (Hastings & Dean, 2003; Power, 1997, p. 272; Semyonov & Kraus, 1982).

According to Hortulanus (2000), relative to other factors, the presence of facilities is not important for neighbourhood reputations. Others have suggested that facilities may play a part, but only when they are extreme in nature. Less prestigious facilities such as a rehabilitation centre may have a negative effect on a neighbourhood's reputation (May, 2004, p. 2177). The presence of a notorious school can be detrimental (Skifter Andersen, 2008). Conversely, prestigious facilities can radiate prestige: an upmarket shopping centre may symbolise the residents' exclusive lifestyle (Suttles, 1972, p. 253).

3.3.3 Physical factors

A range of physical neighbourhood characteristics such as general aesthetics, building density, the maintenance of buildings and public space, and the spatial arrangement of infrastructure, green spaces and dwellings can be expected to affect a neighbourhood's reputation (Gärling, 1976). Van der Meer (1996) pointed out that the mix of dwelling types, size and quality and housing tenure in a neighbourhood all influence the image people have of a neighbourhood (see also Brattbakk & Hansen, 2004; De Decker & Pannecoucke, 2004; Hortulanus, 2000). The quality of the housing stock is often related to the construction period of the neighbourhood (Burgess, 1967; Power, 1997; Semyonov & Kraus, 1982). Dutch neighbourhoods constructed between the 1950s and 1970s are more likely to have a poor reputation than pre-war neighbourhoods. In addition to the construction quality, also the dominating architectural style of a neighbourhood also influences the image people have of a neighbourhood (Brattbakk & Hansen, 2004; Costa Pinto, 2000; Murie et al., 2003; Skifter Andersen, 2002; Wassenberg, 2004). Many city residents consider large housing estates to be massive, monotonous, and alien, and therefore as a deviation from other residential areas (Costello, 2005). The quality of high-density neighbourhoods is often rated as lower than the quality of neighbourhoods with extensive open spaces (Garcia-Mira et al., 1997).

Broken windows or other minor forms of public disorder such as graffiti or scattered garbage are also thought to be factors that influence neighbourhood reputations (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). These physical consequences of vandalism, crime and neglect can be perceived as a cue to residents and non-residents that 'no one in this neighbourhood cares' (see also Harris, 2001). According to Teijmant (1979), the importance of physical attributes lays not so much in their intrinsic appearance as in their socio-cultural interpretation: the built environment as a symbol of lifestyle. Residents, but especially outsiders, see and judge the built environment in relation to its inhabitants: physical attributes can give outsiders a general picture of the inhabitants' status and way of life (Arthurson, 2001; Suttles, 1972). In this way the physical characteristics of an area can be used as an indicator of its social characteristics.

3.3.4 Social factors

The socio-cultural and socio-economic composition of neighbourhoods are thought to be the most important factors influencing their reputation (Bauder, 2001; Garcia-Mira et al., 1997; Gärling, 1976; Hortulanus, 1995; Hourihan, 1979; Keller, 1968; Van Kempen, 1994; Wacquant, 1993). Suttles (1972) suggests that these characteristics mirror those in the stratification process of society as a whole: socio-economic status (income and employment status), ethnicity/race, and level of education. Most people will rank high-income areas above low-income areas because of the perceived negative effects associated with living in poor areas (Harris, 2001). Research in 29 post-war housing estates in sixteen different European cities indeed reveals that residents

who perceive their estate as homogeneous (poor) think more negatively about the reputation of their neighbourhood than residents who perceive their estates as socially mixed (Musterd, 2008). In addition, Logan & Collver (1983) found that the most important factor in community reputation is socio-economic status (see also Hwang & Murdock, 1998), while racial composition and population age are of less importance.

Neighbourhood reputations and the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods are strongly linked. Peillon (cited by Power, 1997, p. 150) noticed that the problematic reputation of the banlieues in France was strongly related to the over-representation of ethnic minorities. Conclusions for neighbourhoods in Portugal (Costa Pinto, 2000) and Denmark (Skifter Andersen, 1999, as quoted by Skifter Andersen, 2008) are similar: negative reputations are linked to the presence of ethnic minorities. The reasons why the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods has an effect on the reputation of a neighbourhood are diverse. One argument is the so called 'pure race hypothesis', which asserts that whites have a strong prejudice against blacks and ethnic minorities, and therefore also against black and ethnic neighbourhoods (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996). An alternative explanation is the 'racial proxy theory' (Harris, 2001), which asserts that undesirability of black and ethnic neighbourhoods is caused by poverty in these neighbourhoods and low-quality schools rather than the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood.

There is much debate whether the socio-economic and ethnic composition of neighbourhoods have the same effect on neighbourhood reputation as seen by different groups. Some argue that there is no difference as all groups use the same factors in assessing neighbourhood reputations (Curtis & Jackson, 1977; Lauman et al., 1970, Semyonov & Kraus, 1982). Others suggest that the effect of these characteristics on reputations can be different for different groups of outsiders (Suttles, 1968). One reason why groups differ in the assessment of neighbourhoods may be that people tend to have a preference for neighbourhoods where the socio-economic and ethnic characteristics of the majority of the population are similar to their own (Schelling, 1969, 1971). People generally give higher ratings to neighbourhoods with a population similar to their own characteristics than to neighbourhoods with different population characteristics (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Clark, 1991, 1992). Clark (1992) found in Los Angeles that whites have a preference for white neighbourhoods with a maximum of 25 per cent blacks, while no whites wanted to live in neighbourhoods that were more than 60 per cent black residents. On the other hand, blacks preferred neighbourhoods consisting of approximately 50 per cent black residents (for comparable findings see Emerson et al., 2001; Ilhanfeldt & Scafidi 2004). Research in the Netherlands has shown that Dutch people living in neighbourhoods where ethnic minorities are overrepresented are more likely to express a wish to move and actually move than residents belonging to a non-Western ethnic minority group (Bolt et al., 2008; Van Ham & Clark, forthcoming; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). From the above, the conclusion has to be drawn that the effect of the ethnic composition on the assessment of the neighbourhood varies per ethnic group.

Harris (2001), found evidence that is not in line with the findings of the above group of authors. His findings suggest that highly rated neighbourhoods are rated similarly by both blacks and whites. This finding is corroborated by the fact that the racial composition of neighbourhoods has the same effect for blacks and whites as a predictor of perceived disorder in the neighbourhood (Sampson & Raudenbusch, 2004). However, at the same time, whites have been found to be more sensitive to disorder than blacks and are consequently more likely

to move out when disorder arises. This bias in perception of disorder may be an important factor explaining residential segregation in the United States (Charles, 2003).

There is also evidence that the assessment of neighbourhoods is not only linked to the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood but is also linked to the residents' socio-economic status. Van Ham & Feijten (2008) found that the percentage of low-income households in a neighbourhood had a positive effect on the wish to leave the neighbourhood for high-income households and a negative effect for low-income households. That finding is in line with Michelson's assertion (cited by Hortulanus, 1995, p. 42), that "people prefer to associate with others of their own class and values and they develop close associations with places with which they are familiar and consider conducive to their own style of living". In other words, Schelling's hypothesis that a person's residential preferences can be influenced by their own characteristics in combination with the characteristics of the neighbourhood population is relevant with respect not only to ethnicity, but also to socio-economic characteristics.

Hypotheses

The above literature review led to the following hypotheses:

1. Neighbourhood residents assess the reputation of their neighbourhood significantly more positively than other city residents or estate agents.
2. Social neighbourhood factors are more strongly related to neighbourhood reputation than physical and functional factors.
- 3a. Native Dutch people assess the reputation of immigrant neighbourhoods more negatively than non-Western immigrants.
- 3b. Individuals with a low socio-economic status (income and education) assess the reputation of neighbourhoods with a low socio-economic status more positively than individuals with a high socio-economic status.

3.4 Research area and data

3.4.1 Research area

Secondary data on how different groups rate the reputation of neighbourhoods was not readily available. Therefore, an extensive survey was carried out that concentrated specifically on neighbourhood reputations. The primary data collection for this study was carried out in 2006 in the city of Utrecht, which is centrally located in the Netherlands and the fourth largest city of the country (see Figure 3.1). Utrecht is a compact city with 281,011 residents (GBA City of Utrecht, 2006) and a diverse range of neighbourhoods in terms of population composition.

Compared with the two largest cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam), the proportion of medium and highly-educated residents in Utrecht is high (Utrecht 69.4 per cent, Rotterdam 47 per cent, Amsterdam 56.4 per cent, The Hague: unknown, data for 2004). Utrecht has a large university and Utrecht graduates find the city centre and surrounding neighbourhoods attractive residential environments. Partly as a result of the university connection, the city has a high percentage of residents under the age of 25. Compared with the other three cities, Utrecht has a low percentage of non-Western immigrants: Utrecht 23.8 per cent; Amsterdam 34.3 per cent; Rotterdam 35.4 per cent; The Hague 32.2 per cent (GBA City of Utrecht 2006; O+S



Figure 3.1. Location of Utrecht in the Netherlands

Amsterdam, 2006). The segregation index of non-Western immigrants in Utrecht (37.4) is similar to that of the three other cities: Amsterdam, 36.3; Rotterdam, 38.5; The Hague, 46.1 (Bolt et al., 2006). Non-Western immigrants in Utrecht are predominantly concentrated in post-war housing estates, often located at the fringe of the city (the neighbourhoods Kanaleneiland, Overvecht and Hoograven), and in early 20th century residential areas in the vicinity of former industrial sites (Lombok, Zuilen and Pijlsweerd).

Measuring neighbourhood reputations required the selection of (administrative) neighbourhoods that had a wide recognition among respondents. On the basis of a small telephone survey, aimed at understanding which neighbourhoods were known among the urban population, 24 out of 38 neighbourhoods were selected (representing 69 per cent of the Utrecht population), and randomly selected addresses within them. A total of 1,389 paper questionnaires were collected in the spring of 2006 (response rate 44.1 per cent). Questionnaires were distributed and collected in person. Since one neighbourhood was over-sampled (Kanaleneiland), a proportionate sample of this neighbourhood was used for the analyses. This resulted in a total sample of 1,102 respondents. Respondents were asked to answer the following question regarding the reputation of their own neighbourhood: "Please indicate on a 5-point scale (very negative to very positive), how you would assess the reputation of your own neighbourhood" The reputation of other city-neighbourhoods was asked by the following question: "Please indicate on a 5-point scale (very negative to very positive), how you would assess the reputation of the following neighbourhoods [NAMES OF NEIGHBOURHOODS]".²

The two largest minority groups in Utrecht – Turks and Moroccans – were under-represented in the survey, especially in the largest ethnic neighbourhoods. With regard to age, there is an under-representation of people aged between 18 and 44 and an over-representation of the group aged 45–64. With regard to household composition, the sample contains slightly fewer singles than the official statistics indicate, although these statistics can be expected to over-estimate one-person households as there is no reliable registration of cohabiting couples. These characteristics of the sample should be taken into account in the interpretation of the results.

To obtain the reputations of the 24 neighbourhoods according to estate agents, a mailing was sent to all the estate agents in Utrecht (N=56), which resulted in 38 collected questionnaires.

The authors are aware that the administrative neighbourhoods used do not necessarily coincide with the perceived neighbourhoods of the residents (Galster, 2001; Kearns & Parkinson, 2001; Lee & Campbell, 1997). All respondents were asked to name their neighbourhood and the majority (81.5 per cent) gave the same name as the administrative name of the area. Only 4.7 per cent gave a very different name and fourteen per cent gave a name similar to the administrative name. Neighbourhood-level characteristics were collected from the City of Utrecht.

3.4.2 Measuring reputation

Two different methods were identified to measure neighbourhood reputations in the literature. According to the first method, respondents are asked to ‘rank neighbourhoods’ ranging from the most preferred to the least preferred neighbourhood in which they would like to live, and then the average scores of all respondents is taken. In this way, neighbourhoods are seen in relation to each other. Semyonov & Kraus’ (1982) investigation of the reputation of 62 communities and 28 neighbourhoods in Israel found the categorisation of neighbourhoods, based on prestige, to be hierarchical. Places were perceived as being organised in a system of stratification easily recognised by the population, an outcome supported by others (Curtis & Jackson, 1977; Hortulanus, 1995; Laumann et al., 1970; Logan & Cullver, 1984). A problem with the ranking method is that people seem able to indicate the best and the worst areas, but find it hard to distinguish between neighbourhoods in the middle (Clark & Cadwallader, 1973, Thill & Sui, 1993). It has also been observed that respondents have difficulties ranking large numbers of neighbourhoods or items (Adams, 1969; Congalton, 1969).

A second method to measure reputation as suggested by Thill & Sui (1993) is to use the average of the ‘individual assessments of reputations’. Instead of ranking neighbourhoods, respondents are asked to assign a rating to each individual neighbourhood. This study used the second method. To calculate a reputation score for a neighbourhood, the average score of all individual assessments was taken. To investigate the extent to which different neighbourhood-level variables, functional, physical and social factors were related to neighbourhood reputations, a linear multiple regression model was used.

3.5 Analyses

3.5.1 Residents and non-residents ratings of neighbourhood reputations

The study began by investigating whether neighbourhood residents assess the reputation of their neighbourhood significantly higher than other city residents and estate agents (hypothesis 1). Figure 3.2 shows the reputation ratings assigned by neighbourhood residents, other city residents

(OCR) and estate agents. Figure 3.3 gives a graphical representation of the average reputation rating of 24 neighbourhoods given by other city residents. Neighbourhoods on the east side of Utrecht are given the highest reputation ratings, while neighbourhoods in the north and southwest are given the lowest ratings. The three neighbourhoods at the bottom of the hierarchy have certain characteristics in common. They are all post-war neighbourhoods, located on the fringe of the city, built in the period 1954-75, consisting predominantly of apartment blocks with four to ten storeys. Another characteristic they share is that these neighbourhoods consist of predominantly social-rented housing, which partly explains the high percentage of non-Western immigrants living in these areas. The neighbourhood of Kanaleneiland receives by far the lowest reputation rating from other city residents. In the view of the authors this is not so much the result of the nature of the neighbourhood because it shares many characteristics as well as problems with other low-ranked neighbourhoods. In contrast to these neighbourhoods, Kanaleneiland is more pervasively slandered in both the local and national media (Permentier, 2003).

Interestingly, the neighbourhoods next to the bottom three, from Ondiep to Wijk C, are predominantly white blue-collar areas from the early 20th century, with a large share of single-family housing. The top of the hierarchy is made up of neighbourhoods that were mostly built between the early 1900s and the 1930s. These neighbourhoods have a historic atmosphere, with relatively large and owner-occupied single-family houses that are generally considered visually attractive. Most of the residents are native Dutch with high incomes. Some of these neighbourhoods, such as Wittevrouwen and Vogelenbuurt, have experienced gentrification over the last few decades, changing from unpopular areas to high-demand areas. Their rising popularity is the result of a combination of the rising demand for authentic houses in combination with their close proximity to the city centre. Neighbourhoods in the middle of the reputation hierarchy, such as Lombok, show similar, but more recent, trends of gentrification. Looking at the size of the gap in ratings between residents and other city residents, it becomes clear that differences in ratings are smallest for the neighbourhoods at the top of the hierarchy, while differences for the neighbourhoods at the bottom and the middle of the hierarchy are higher. Apparently there is more agreement between residents and other city residents about the status of top-ranked neighbourhoods than there is regarding low- and middle ranked neighbourhoods. This can probably be explained by the fact that it is not in the interest of residents of the low- and middle ranked neighbourhoods to be too negative about their own neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2007).

Interestingly, Figure 3.2 shows that estate agents rate neighbourhoods with a good reputation higher than neighbourhood residents do, while at the same time they give lower ratings to neighbourhoods with a poor reputation than the residents do. Thus, the differences between the extremes on the urban hierarchy according to the estate agents are greater than the differences between the neighbourhoods on the residents' and other city residents' neighbourhood hierarchy. A possible explanation is that estate agents link the variation in reputations to the large price differences of property between neighbourhoods. The statistical associations between the average ratings of the three groups are high. The correlation coefficients are 0.952 for residents and OCR; 0.937 for residents and estate agents; and 0.957 for OCR and estate agents. There is strong agreement among the three groups with regard to the positions of the neighbourhoods in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy.

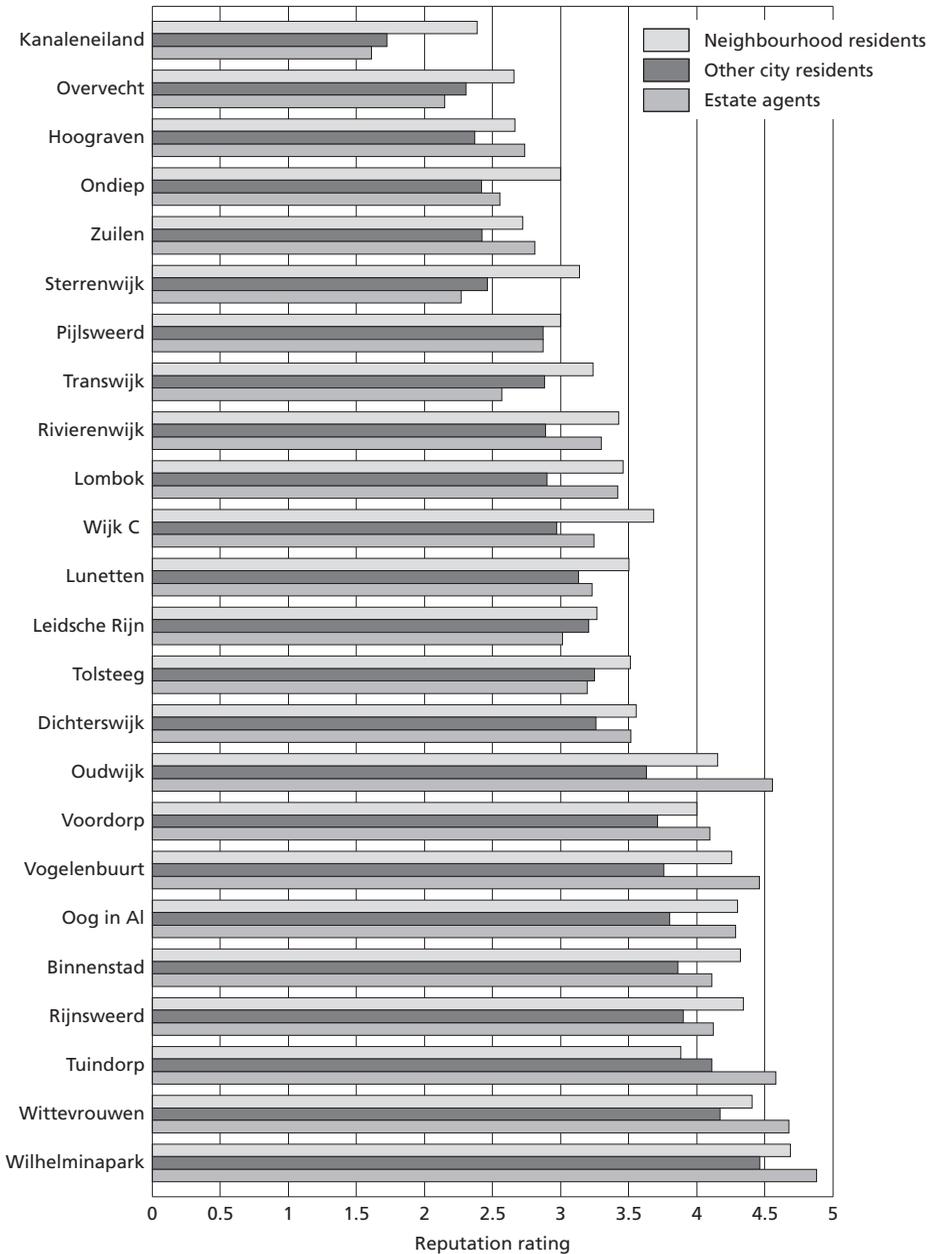


Figure 3.2 Reputation ratings on a 5-point scale among neighbourhood residents, other city residents (OCR) and estate agents in Utrecht, 2006

Table 3.1 Mean and standard deviation scores of the total 24 neighbourhoods by the three groups

	Mean	Standard deviation
Neighbourhood residents	3.564	0.713
Other city residents	3.185	0.781
Estate agents	3.426	0.593

Table 3.2 Number of neighbourhoods with significant differences in the reputation assessments between the three groups

	Other city residents	Estate agents
Neighbourhood residents	21 (in 20 cases more positively assessed by neighbourhood residents)	11 (in 7 cases more positively assessed by neighbourhood residents)
Other city residents	-	12 (in 11 cases more positively assessed by estate agents)

empirical findings support the theoretical division between internal and external reputations for residents and other city residents. However, the number of significant differences in ratings between neighbourhood residents and estate agents is distinctly smaller (average difference in rating of 0.138). Estate agents differ in twelve cases from other city residents in their rating of a neighbourhood (average difference in rating of 0.241). These figures lead to the conclusion that the outsider group should not be seen as one homogenous group that hold similar ratings, but rather as a heterogeneous group consisting of diverse subgroups. Given the results, hypothesis 1 can be confirmed for the greater part as for the majority of neighbourhoods, neighbourhood residents rate their neighbourhood reputation higher than other city residents do. Interestingly, neighbourhood residents rate their neighbourhoods on average only slightly higher than estate agents; only in less than one-third of the neighbourhoods is there a significant difference.

3.5.2 Neighbourhood reputations and neighbourhood characteristics

To test the hypothesis that social neighbourhood factors are more strongly related to neighbourhood reputations than are physical or functional factors (hypothesis 2), one reputation rating for each neighbourhood (N=24) was calculated by aggregating individual's neighbourhood reputation assessments. This aggregate is the dependent variable, while different (objective) social, physical and functional factors, measured on the neighbourhood level, are introduced as independent variables. This procedure was followed for neighbourhood residents, other city residents and estate agents.

Since the number of cases was limited in relation to the number of independent variables, a principal components analysis (PCA) was carried out. The goal was to reduce the original set of twenty neighbourhood characteristics to a set of unrelated components (to prevent multicollinearity) which between them contain as many neighbourhood characteristics as possible. Table 3.3 presents the neighbourhood characteristics and the loadings on the four components. Together, these components account for 80.1 per cent of the total variation. The first component can be interpreted as the 'socio-economic/ethnic component'. Neighbourhoods with high scores on this component are characterised by a high proportion of non-Western

Table 3.3 Principal Components Analysis^a of neighbourhood characteristics

Neighbourhood characteristics	Component			
	Socio-economic/ ethnicity	Urbanity	Household comp./shops	Age
Percentage of multifamily dwellings 2004	0.497	-0.142	0.768	0.182
Address density (km ²) 2004	0.073	0.833	0.450	-0.210
Population density (km ²) 2005	0.222	0.835	0.145	0.228
Average age of houses 2004	-0.177	0.828	0.069	0.180
Green space (m ² per 1000 residents) 2005	-0.299	-0.797	0.057	-0.037
Number of government institutions (education, city, health) per 1000 residents 2005	-0.619	0.019	0.486	-0.228
Number of shops per 1000 residents 2005	0.003	0.148	0.707	-0.208
Distance to downtown in kilometres	0.187	-0.663	-0.604	0.167
Percentage of non-Western immigrants 2006	0.822	-0.213	0.043	0.428
Percentage of single-person households 2006	-0.052	0.363	0.858	-0.053
Percentage of youth (24 and under) in relation to total population 2006	0.121	0.054	-0.499	0.770
Percentage of elderly (65 years and older) in relation to total pop. 2006	0.350	-0.323	-0.017	-0.577
Number of reported incidents of vandalism, annoyance, house burglary, car burglary, violence per 1000 residents and employment places 2005	0.698	0.332	0.015	-0.035
Percentage of owner-occupation 2006	-0.880	0.004	-0.152	0.325
Percentage of unemployed (in relation to potential labour force) 2005	0.949	-0.013	0.018	0.069
Percentage of poorly educated 2003	0.882	-0.058	-0.259	-0.175
Income per household 2002	-0.814	-0.304	-0.306	0.122
Percentage of residents on welfare including individuals 65 years and older 2004	0.908	0.108	0.004	0.009
Initial Eigen Value	6.167	4.702	2.452	1.111

Note: Bold text indicates which variables load high on what component

^a Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation. Rotation converged in 8 iterations

immigrants and low socio-economic status. Because the association between the ethnic and socio-economic composition of the neighbourhood is so strong, it is impossible to separate the effects of the two neighbourhood characteristics. The second component, named the ‘urbanity component’, shows strong correlations with a number of physical aspects such as building density and age of the housing stock. The third component is named ‘household composition/shops’; it is associated with physical (multi-family dwellings), functional (number of shops), and social (single person households) neighbourhood characteristics. Neighbourhoods with high scores on this component are not attractive to family households. The fourth component ‘age’ is associated with socio-demographic characteristics, such as a high proportion of young people and a low proportion of elderly people.

To test the hypotheses three separate multiple linear regression models were used (see Table 3.4).³ All three measures of reputation are well accounted for by the predictors: the models have

an R Square higher than 0.90, indicating that at least 90 per cent of the reputation is explained by the four components. The ‘internal reputation’ model has the highest explained variance. The ‘socio-economic/ethnic component’ is the strongest predictor of internal reputation: a higher score on this component (suggesting a high percentage of deprived people, poorly-educated people and non-Western immigrants) has a strong negative effect on the internal reputation. The second component, the ‘urbanity component’, has a positive effect on internal reputation, while the third component has a small positive effect.

The other city residents (OCR) reputation model shows fewer significant predictors than the internal reputation model: only the ‘socio-economic/ethnic component’ is highly significant and in the same direction. The estate agents’ reputation model has two significant predictors, the most important of which is again the ‘socio-economic/ethnic component’, although the ‘urbanity component’ is also significant.

Although there are no substantial differences between the explained variance of the three models there are clear differences with regard to the number of significant predictors. The fact that, for the other city residents model, only a limited number of characteristics are important in the assessment of a neighbourhood’s reputation is in line with Suttles’ (1972) assertion, that other city residents only use a limited number of neighbourhood characteristics to assess neighbourhoods. While the socio-economic/ethnic component is the only relevant factor for the other city residents, for estate agents the urbanity component is also a significant predictor.

Interestingly, the urbanity component has a larger *beta* for the estate agents than for the residents (0.236 versus 0.186). In other words, physical characteristics play a relatively large role in the way in which estate agents perceive a neighbourhood, which is in line with the research findings of Hastings & Dean (2003). The number of significant predictors is highest amongst the neighbourhood residents. This is the only group for which the third component (‘household

Table 3.4 Multiple regression on three types of reputation

	Internal Reputation			External Reputation					
	Neighbourhood residents			Other city residents			Estate agents		
	B	Sign	Beta	B	Sign	Beta	B	Sign	Beta
Constant	3.564	**		3.185	**		3.426	**	
Socio-economic/ ethnicity	-0.598	**	-0.926	-0.659	**	-0.941	-0.819	**	-0.908
Urbanity	0.126	**	0.195	0.081		0.116	0.244	**	0.270
Household comp./ shops	0.109	*	0.168	0.055		0.079	0.056		0.062
Age	-0.004		-0.006	0.012		0.017	0.089		0.099
Chi-Square	57.974			44.978			48.295		
Df	4			4			4		
Sign. Chi	0.000			0.000			0.000		
R ²	0.924			0.904			0.910		

* = p < 0.05; ** = p < 0.01. Method: Enter

composition/shops') has a significant effect, which reflects their detailed knowledge of their neighbourhood.

All three models have in common that the socio-economic/ethnic component is by far the most important predictor of neighbourhood reputation. In all three models the predictor has a negative effect and the parameter has a relatively high value. Therefore, hypothesis 2 has to be confirmed. Although the components from the principal components analysis do not coincide neatly with the theoretical division of social, physical, and functional factors, the hypothesis is supported that social factors such as crime, poverty and ethnic composition, are most strongly related to neighbourhood reputations: in all three models the component that includes these three variables is the strongest predictor of neighbourhood reputation.

3.5.3 Neighbourhood reputation assessment and individual characteristics

Figure 3.4 tests the hypothesis that native Dutch people assess the reputation of neighbourhoods with an over-representation of non-Western immigrants more negatively than non-Western immigrants themselves do (hypothesis 3a). The Figure shows that neighbourhoods with a high percentage of non-Western immigrants generally receive low reputation ratings. The relationship between the percentage of non-Western immigrants and reputation rating is strong and significant for both non-Western immigrants ($r=-0.818$; $p<0.000$) and native Dutch ($r=-0.807$; $p<0.000$) It is no surprise that the presence of a large group of non-Western immigrants in neighbourhoods is associated with a lower reputation rating since the same neighbourhoods are often known for their socio-economic problems. Both the native Dutch and the non-Western immigrants give low reputation ratings to ethnic concentration-areas and high ratings to white neighbourhoods.

A more detailed analysis of the reputation ratings shows that non-Western immigrants give a higher rating to ethnically mixed and ethnic concentration areas than the native Dutch do (average of 0.2 point higher than native Dutch for neighbourhoods with a high percentage of non-Western immigrants and 0.2 for mixed neighbourhoods), while native Dutch rate white neighbourhoods higher (average of 0.2 higher).⁴ Testing the significance of the differences between the means shows that in the case of nine neighbourhoods, native Dutch and non-Western immigrants give significantly different reputation ratings. Neighbourhoods with a low percentage of non-Western immigrants (below twelve per cent) are rated higher by the native Dutch, and neighbourhoods with a higher percentage of non-Western immigrants are rated lower by native Dutch. The three neighbourhoods where the percentage of non-Western immigrants exceeds the 30 per cent, do not even receive an average score above the 2.5 from the native Dutch. In the case of the neighbourhood Overvecht, second to the bottom of the hierarchy, it is striking that non-Western immigrants are much more positive than native Dutch people. A possible explanation might be that the quality of housing in this relatively recent concentration neighbourhood is higher than in the 'traditional' immigrant neighbourhoods. Many non-Western immigrants have moved from the traditional concentration areas to Overvecht and consider this as a major step forward in their housing career (Bolt, 2001). However, to the native Dutch the large in-migration of non-Western immigrants is perceived as a negative development. Taken together, these findings confirm hypothesis 3a.

Figure 3.5 shows neighbourhood reputation ratings given by respondents from three different income groups (below €1600; €1600-2599; and above €2600 per month). The reputations of

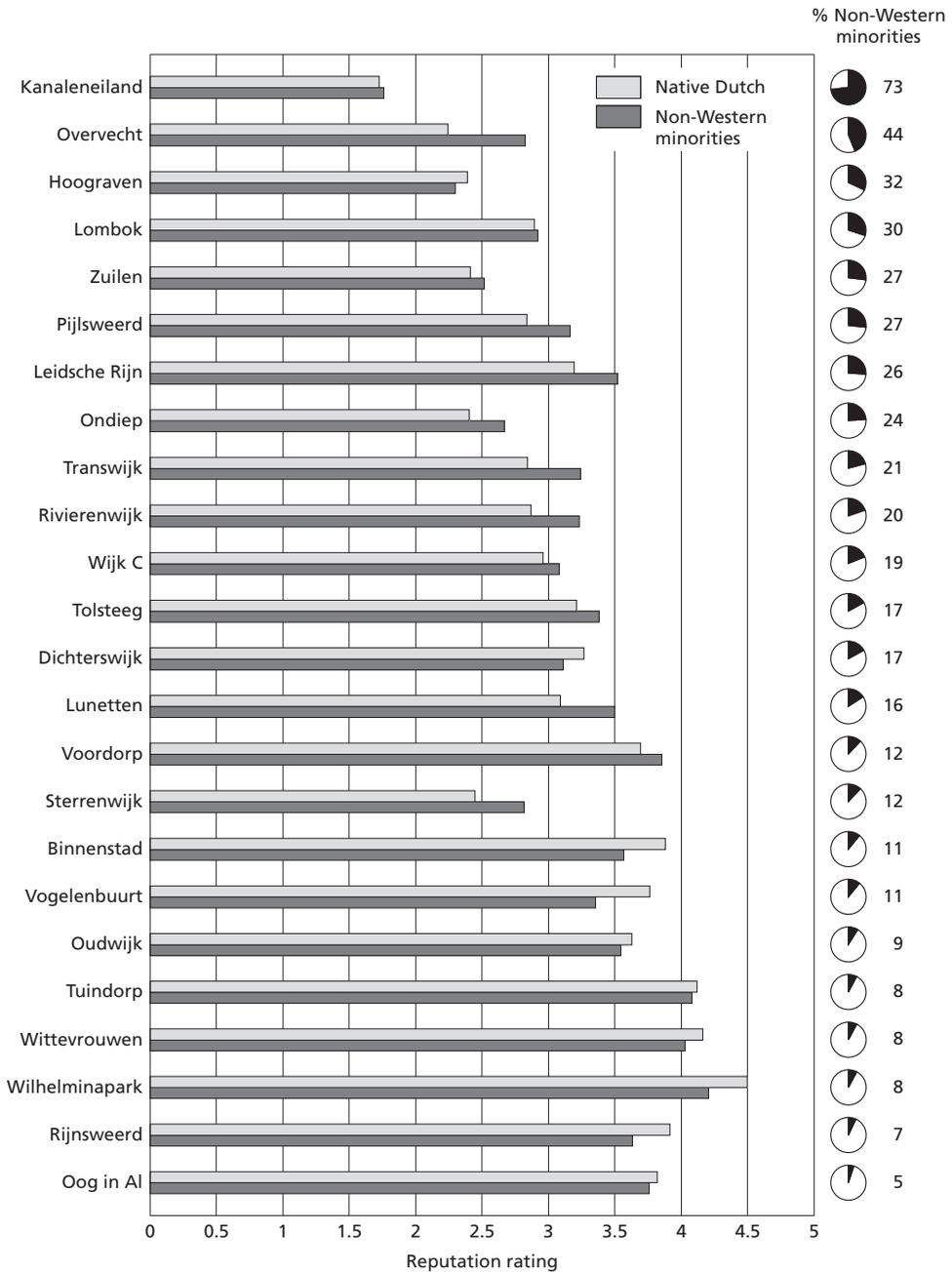


Figure 3.4 Reputation ratings on a 5-point scale among native Dutch and non-Western immigrants in Utrecht, 2006 (sorted from neighbourhood with highest percentage of non-Western immigrants to lowest percentage of non-Western immigrants)

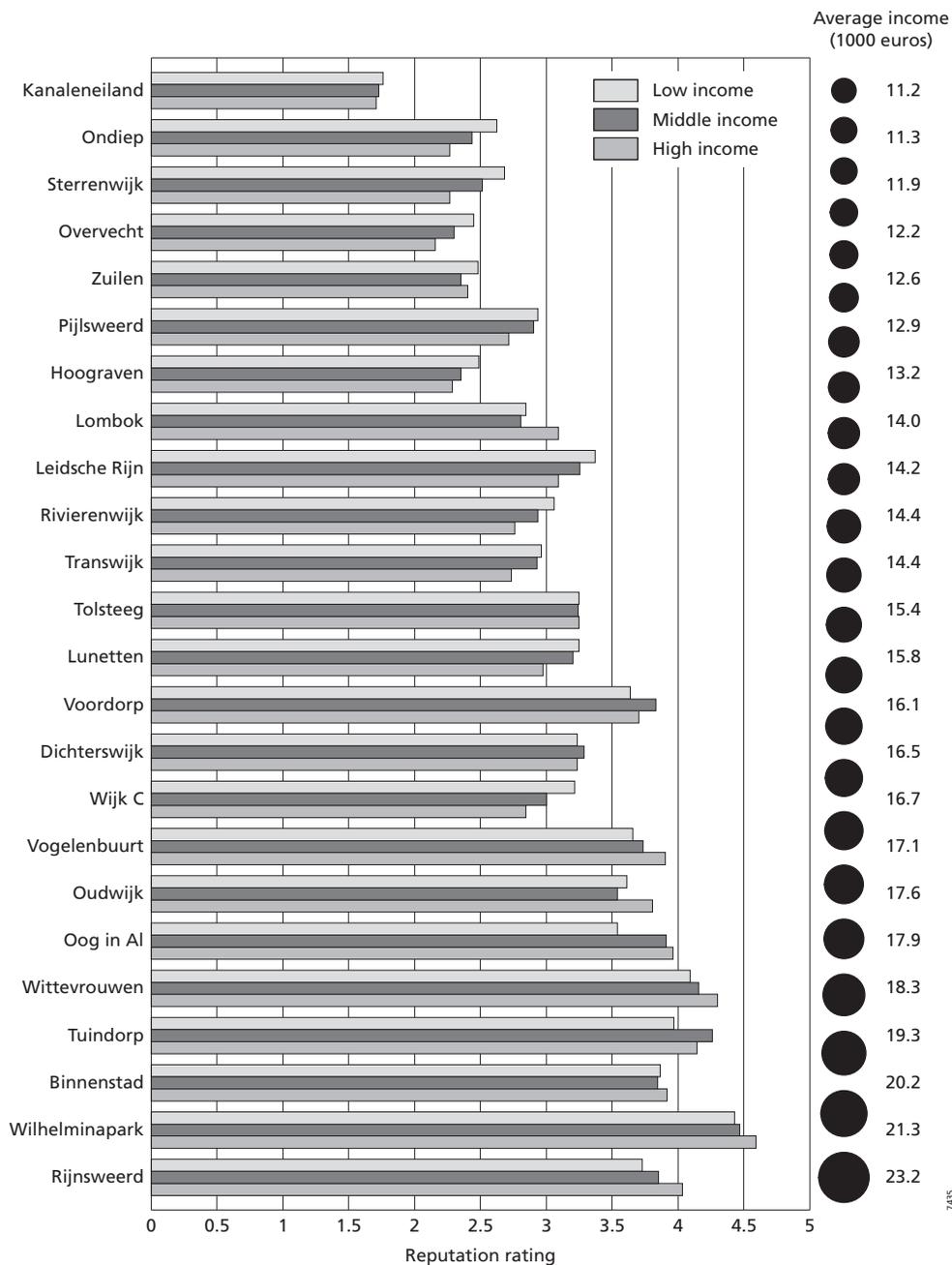


Figure 3.5 Reputation ratings on a 5-point scale among three different income groups in Utrecht, 2006 (sorted from neighbourhood with lowest average income to highest average income)

neighbourhoods accommodating mainly households with high incomes are higher rated than neighbourhoods consisting of mainly low-income households. For all three groups of respondents, the higher the average income in the neighbourhood, the higher the reputation of the neighbourhood is rated (correlation coefficients varying from 0.880 for lowest income households to 0.905 for the highest income households, $p < 0.000$). Low-income households rate low-income neighbourhoods and middle-income neighbourhoods higher than the two other groups do. Middle and high-income groups rate high-income neighbourhoods higher than the low-income groups. For thirteen of the 24 neighbourhoods the reputation ratings of low and high income respondents differ significantly. Again, low-income neighbourhoods are rated higher by low-income respondents, while high-income neighbourhoods are rated higher by high-income respondents. The only exception to this rule is Lombok, which is rated higher by high-income groups, while it is still predominantly a low-income neighbourhood. Given the fact that Lombok is in the process of gentrification, this result is not surprising; Lombok is on its way to becoming a high-income neighbourhood in the future. All three groups give the poorest neighbourhood a similar low reputation rating. The reputation of this neighbourhood is possibly influenced by the local media, continuously emphasising the negative aspects of this neighbourhood.

Figure 3.6 shows reputation ratings by level of education of the respondents. A higher percentage of poorly educated people in the neighbourhood is associated with a lower neighbourhood rating for all three educational groups (0.822 for those with a low level of education to 0.841 for those with a high level of education, $p < 0.000$). All three groups rate neighbourhoods with a high share of middle- and highly-educated residents the highest, while neighbourhoods with a high share of low-educated residents are rated the lowest. Low-educated respondents rate areas with a high share of low-educated residents higher than the two other groups, while the latter rate neighbourhoods with a high share of middle- and highly-educated residents higher, although this is only true for areas where the proportion of low-educated residents is below sixteen per cent. Tests on the differences between the mean ratings of the three groups show that, in thirteen cases, the differences between low and highly-educated people are significant. Here again, neighbourhoods with a high proportion of poorly-educated people are more highly rated by low-educated households, while neighbourhoods with a large share of highly-educated residents are rated higher by highly educated households. Again, the gentrifying neighbourhood of Lombok is the only exception to this rule. The results indicate that low-educated residents rate neighbourhoods with a high average level of education higher than neighbourhoods with a low average level of education. At the same time, these low-educated residents are more positive about neighbourhoods with a low average level of education than other people are.

The analyses of the differences in neighbourhood ratings between income and educational groups both confirm hypothesis 3b. Although all socio-economic groups discern the same neighbourhood hierarchy, low-socio-economic status groups are more positive about neighbourhoods with a low-socio-economic status than groups with a higher socio-economic status, while high-socio-economic status groups are more positive about neighbourhoods with a high-socio-economic status than groups with a lower-socio-economic status.

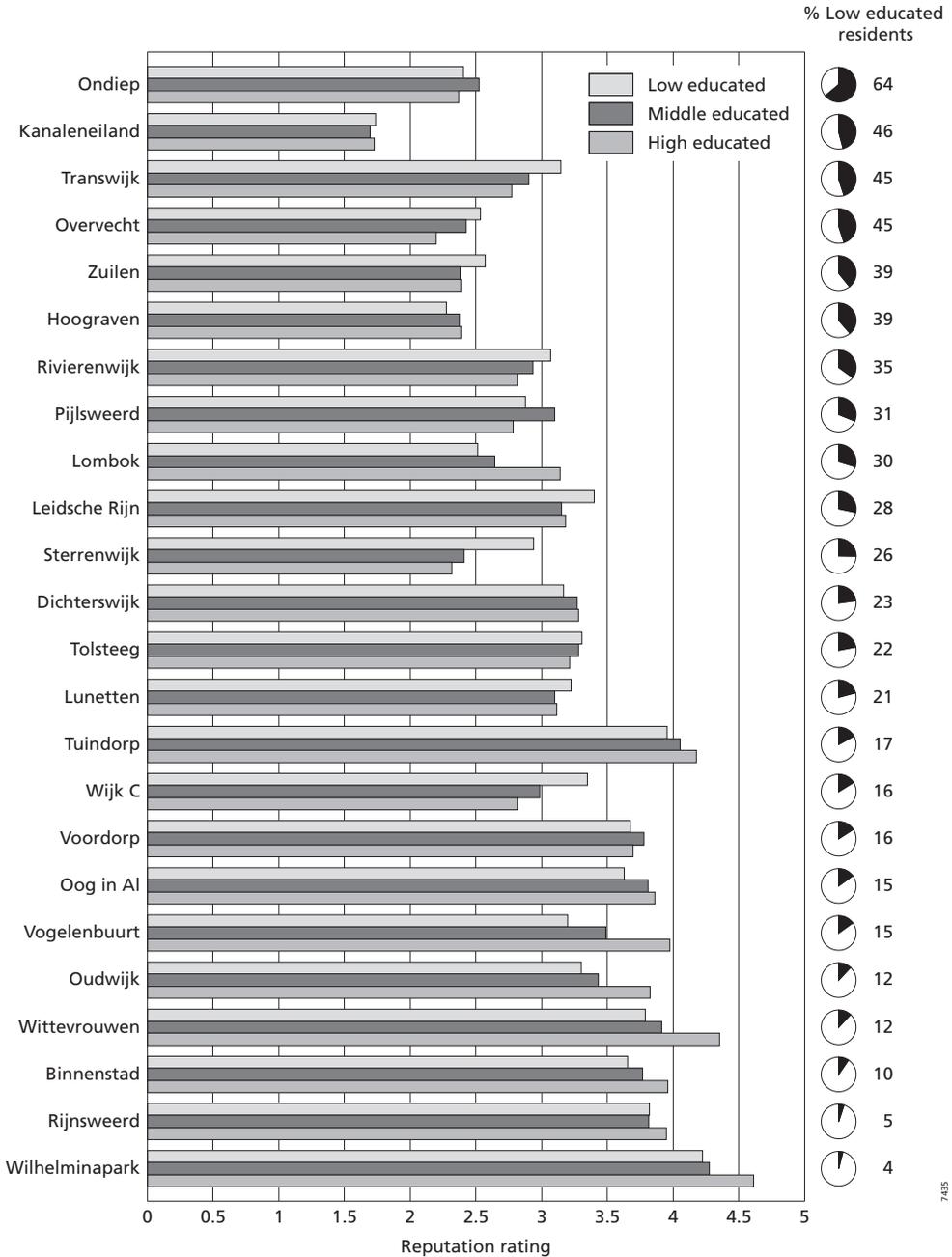


Figure 3.6 Reputation ratings on a 5-point scale among three different educated groups in Utrecht, 2006 (sorted from neighbourhood with highest percentage lowest educated to lowest percentage of low educated)

3.6 Conclusions and discussion

The results of this study showed that residents do assess the reputation of their own neighbourhood higher than non-residents, which is likely to be related to the fact that most residents will be positively biased towards the neighbourhood they have chosen to live in. Although neighbourhood reputations were found to be widespread among the urban population (in terms of the hierarchy of neighbourhoods), various groups of non-residents were found to assess the reputation of particular neighbourhoods differently. Neighbourhood reputations were assessed more positively when the social composition of the neighbourhood matched the residents' ethnic and socio-economic characteristics. Furthermore it was found that, although the reputation of a neighbourhood cannot be detached from its history and although reputation is based on subjective assessments, objective, contemporary neighbourhood characteristics are very good predictors of neighbourhood reputations. Social factors are especially good predictors in this respect.

The study points to several recommendations for future research on neighbourhood reputations. The role of the history of a particular neighbourhood in shaping its reputation is a factor that has not received much attention in this paper. The authors agree with Massey (1995) that every place has a history and that this history can be an important factor in determining the reputation of a neighbourhood. Several authors have studied the role of different actors in how images of neighbourhoods have come into existence over time (Blokland 2008; Damer, 1989; McLaren et al., 2005). The authors here believe that discourse analysis, in combination with an ethnographic approach, can be a fruitful addition to quantitative methods as they can shed more light on the dynamics of reputations and the shifting of power of actors in the construction of reputations.

Another gap in the authors' knowledge is the effect of (negative) neighbourhood reputations on the behaviour of residents: how do residents react to a negative neighbourhood reputation? Does their willingness to participate in resident organisation decrease? Does their propensity to move increase? Research in Australia (Palmer et al., 2004) suggests that a negative reputation can have a positive impact on participation in different social and civic activities whereas Wacquant (1993) argues that in the French and American context participation is negatively influenced by a negative reputation (cf. Blokland, 2008). It is known that neighbourhood characteristics can play a role in understanding residential mobility (see Van Ham & Clark, forthcoming; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). However, with one notable exception (Skifter Andersen, 2008), the reputation of the neighbourhood has not been used as a predictor of mobility behaviour.

Neighbourhood regeneration policies in Western Europe generally aim to improve the life chances of current residents and aim to attract more affluent households from other areas. The success of attracting the 'right type' of new residents can be expected to partially depend on measures to improve the reputation of a neighbourhood. The most important determinants of neighbourhood reputations found in this study are the ethnic mix and the socio-economic status of neighbourhoods. However, it would be far-fetched to expect that regeneration policies aimed at, for example, a change of the social composition of neighbourhoods are suitable to improve the reputation of neighbourhoods (Musterd, 2008). First, policies aimed at creating a social mix are often controversial (social engineering) because they appear to be at odds with ideas of social equity and individual choice (Crump, 2002). Displacement of residents can also result in the break down of important social structures in neighbourhoods because many of the

existing residents are not able to return to their neighbourhood (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004). The resulting 'forced' new mix of residents can result in tension between old and new residents and to a (further) decline of social cohesion (Joseph et al., 2007; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003;).

Second, other studies have made clear that reputations are connected to the history of the neighbourhoods. Hastings & Dean (2003) showed in their study of a neighbourhood in Northeast England that the current reputation was mainly related to the social class of its original (slum-clearance) residents of many years ago. It appears to be very difficult to change the history of a neighbourhood, and therefore changing the reputation of an area, may be a great challenge.

Third, there is evidence that artificially created socially mixed neighbourhoods will not be very sustainable because of selective mobility in and out of neighbourhoods. Van Ham & Feijten (2008) and Van Ham & Clark (forthcoming) have shown that residents have the desire to move away from neighbourhoods where the neighbourhood socio-economic mix does not match their own characteristics. It is very ironic that creating sustainable mixed neighbourhoods might require substantial policy intervention to keep neighbourhoods mixed.

So what are the alternative policy measures to improve neighbourhood reputations without explicitly changing the social mix of neighbourhoods? Based on the above it is argued that the expected results of policy will be rather limited. One possibility is to try to weaken the link made by the general urban population between neighbourhood reputations and socio-economic neighbourhood characteristics. A possible strategy to achieve this is by implementation of reputation management as an integral part of neighbourhood renewal policy (Hastings & Dean, 2003). Stakeholders, such as residents, welfare organisations, councils and prospective residents, together should create a vision of the desired image of the neighbourhood. Public relations are a significant part of this strategy: neighbourhood transformations (physical, functional and social) should be widely publicised in local media and on signs along main-arteries in the neighbourhood. Further, to attract non-residents to the neighbourhood, positive pull factors should be used such as shopping and entertainment facilities, and street festivals concentrating on the positive aspects of the concerning neighbourhoods. Finally, the building of landmarks on passageways may provide positive attention to the neighbourhood by outsiders.

Notes

- 1 In addition to the internal and external reputation, it is also possible to discern the perceived neighbourhood reputation. This is the view that individuals hold as to how the reputation of their own neighbourhood is viewed by other city residents (see Skifter Andersen, 2008)
- 2 In the survey respondents were also asked how they thought that outsiders rated the reputation of respondent's neighbourhood (perceived reputation). Because internal reputation and perceived reputation are strongly correlated ($r=0.74$), the latter variable has not been used in the analyses
- 3 The models fulfil the normality requirements
- 4 Neighbourhoods with a percentage of non-Western immigrants lower than 12 per cent are considered 'white' neighbourhoods; neighbourhoods with between 12-24 per cent are considered mixed and neighbourhoods with above 24 per cent are considered 'ethnically concentrated' neighbourhoods

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4 Determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation

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Abstract

It has been suggested that residential mobility behaviour and general well-being of residents of urban neighbourhoods are not only influenced by how residents themselves assess their neighbourhood, but also by how they think other city residents see their neighbourhood: the perceived neighbourhood reputation. There is a large body of literature on residents' satisfaction with their neighbourhood, but much less is known about how residents perceive the reputation of their own neighbourhood. Such knowledge might give important clues on how to improve the well-being of residents in deprived neighbourhoods by not only directly improving the factors that affect their own level of satisfaction, but also by improving the factors that residents think have a negative effect on the reputation of their neighbourhood. This paper examines whether there are differences in the determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction and the perceived neighbourhood reputation. Using data from a purpose designed survey to study neighbourhood reputations in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands, we found that subjective assessment of the dwelling and neighbourhood attributes are more important in explaining neighbourhood satisfaction than in explaining perceived neighbourhood reputation. Objective neighbourhood variables are more important in explaining perceived neighbourhood reputation than in explaining neighbourhood satisfaction.

Keywords: Neighbourhood satisfaction; neighbourhood reputation; neighbourhood characteristics, the Netherlands

4.1 Introduction

Increasing attention for urban neighbourhoods by policy makers caused a renewed interest in neighbourhood (dis)satisfaction (Parkes et al., 2002). The question of which neighbourhood attributes are most important in predicting satisfaction is of great interest to policy makers and potentially contributes to a better understanding of the success factors of neighbourhood regeneration. Neighbourhood satisfaction is known to be important in understanding residential

mobility patterns and neighbourhood stability (Brown & Moore, 1970; Speare, 1974; Speare et al., 1975; Wolpert, 1966). On the level of individual residents, those who are satisfied with their neighbourhood are thought not only to be less likely to move, but also to have a higher general quality of life (Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Sirgy & Cornwell, 2002).

Several authors have suggested that residential mobility behaviour and general well-being of residents are not only influenced by how residents themselves assess their neighbourhood, but also by how residents think others see their neighbourhood: the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood (Lee et al., 1994; Taylor, 1998; Wacquant, 1993). The (perceived) reputation of the neighbourhood affects people's well-being because the neighbourhood can be a source of social status that may provide a valuable psycho-social benefit to neighbourhood residents (Kearns et al., 2000; Wacquant, 1993). White (1987, p. 267) argues that the reputation of neighbourhoods is of increasing importance to residents: "Neighbourhood can be an important way of maintaining status in a mobile society. (...) Increasingly community itself, along with the neighbourhood, is something consciously purchased through a market, a bundle of goods that comes with residence".

There is a large body of literature on neighbourhood satisfaction. The literature distinguishes three main groups of determinants: personal/household characteristics; subjective evaluations of neighbourhood attributes and subjective evaluation of the dwelling; and objective neighbourhood characteristics. It has been found that subjective evaluations of neighbourhood attributes are much more important in explaining neighbourhood satisfaction than personal/household characteristics (Lu, 1999; Parkes et al., 2002) and objective neighbourhood characteristics (Campbell et al., 1976; Carp et al., 1976; Galster, 1987).

Much less is known about how residents perceive the reputation of their own neighbourhood, or with other words, how they think other city residents see their neighbourhood (see also Permentier et al., 2008). Reputation "refers to the meaning and esteem that residents and other involved parties attribute to a neighbourhood. Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighbourhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy" [author's translation from Dutch](Hortulanus, 1995, p. 42). On one hand it can be expected that neighbourhood satisfaction and the perceived neighbourhood reputation have overlapping determinants. On the other hand we know that even in neighbourhoods with a poor reputation residents can be satisfied with their neighbourhood (Amérigo & Aragonés, 1990; Lu, 1999; St. John & Clark, 1984). This upward bias in satisfaction can be partly attributed to selective mobility into and out of neighbourhoods and to the tendency of residents to think more positively about their residential environment when they lack the opportunity to move somewhere else (Brown & Moore, 1970). These two mechanisms are less likely to have a large effect on peoples' perception of the reputation of their neighbourhood. A neighbourhood's reputation is a collective concept; a wide shared belief about the state of a neighbourhood. To some extent, residents internalise the collective view, as can be concluded from the strong correlation between residents' and non-residents' assessment of neighbourhood reputation (Curtis & Jackson, 1977; Permentier et al., 2008). Non-residents have no interest in downplaying the negative aspects of an area. Furthermore, they are less likely to have detailed knowledge of a neighbourhood and will tend to base their opinion on a limited set of objective neighbourhood characteristics rather than personal evaluations.

In this paper we will examine to what extent there are differences in the determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction and the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood. The aim is to

come to a better understanding of the factors that are important in how people see their own neighbourhood and how they think others see their neighbourhood. Such understanding might give important clues on how to improve the well-being of residents in deprived neighbourhoods by not only directly improving their own level of satisfaction, but also by improving the factors that residents think have a negative effect on the reputation of their neighbourhood. We use data from a survey that was specifically designed to study neighbourhood reputations. The survey, including 1,102 residents in 24 different neighbourhoods, was carried out in the spring of 2006 in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands.

4.2 Determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation

4.2.1 Introduction

Neighbourhood satisfaction and the perceived neighbourhood reputation are related concepts. The former indicates how a resident assesses his or her neighbourhood, while the latter indicates how the resident thinks that other city residents assess their neighbourhood. Although the concepts of satisfaction and perceived reputation are related, we expect differences in the type of determinants that are significant and also in the size of the effects of these determinants. In the following section we discuss the determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction. Then, we will focus on the perceived reputation and its determinants.

4.2.2 Determinants of neighbourhood satisfaction

Satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes and the dwelling

Satisfaction with specific neighbourhood attributes is strongly correlated with overall neighbourhood satisfaction. Satisfaction with public services (Basolo & Strong, 2002); satisfaction with schools (Parkes et al., 2002); satisfaction with the general appearance of neighbourhoods (Parkes et al., 2002); perceived safety (Basolo & Strong, 2002; Harris, 2001; Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002); satisfaction with fellow-residents (Galster & Hesser, 1981; Mohan & Twigg, 2007) and nuisance of noise (Mohan & Twigg, 2007) have all been found to be important predictors of satisfaction with the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood satisfaction is found to be strongly influenced by a *bother-index* – an index that can either take a 1 (=residents stating that something in their neighbourhood is bothersome, e.g. noise, crime, traffic, and litter) or 0 (nothing bothersome)(Lu, 1999). Furthermore, several studies have shown that satisfaction with the dwelling also has a strong positive effect on satisfaction with the neighbourhood (Lu, 1999; Mohan & Twigg, 2007).

Studies on neighbourhood satisfaction attach considerable importance to the *perception* of housing and neighbourhood conditions (Lu, 1999). The general idea is that perception carries more weight in the explanation of neighbourhood satisfaction than objective neighbourhood characteristics (Galster & Hesser, 1981; Parkes et al., 2002). Inclusion of perceived neighbourhood attributes in regression models reveals not only that perceptions are better predictors of satisfaction than objective characteristics, but also that some neighbourhood characteristics are not significant after controlling for residents' perceptions (Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002; St. John & Clark, 1984). This implies that some objective characteristics only have an

indirect effect on neighbourhood satisfaction, with perceptions of neighbourhood attributes as intermediary variables.

Objective neighbourhood characteristics

Although the effect of objective neighbourhood characteristics on neighbourhood satisfaction is partly mediated through perceptions of neighbourhood attributes, there is ample evidence of direct effects of objective neighbourhood conditions on neighbourhood satisfaction. It is found that those living in predominantly black or immigrant neighbourhoods are likely to be dissatisfied with their neighbourhood (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Clark, 1992). Whether this is a result of racism or ethnic preferences (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996), or whether this is the result of the association of black/ethnic neighbourhoods with crime, poverty and low-quality facilities is unclear (see Harris, 2001, on the racial proxy hypothesis). Living in neighbourhoods with a high socio-economic status is found to lead to a higher neighbourhood satisfaction than living in poverty areas (Harris, 2001; Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002; Stipak & Hensler, 1983).

Studies have further found environmental cleanliness and quality of the housing stock in a neighbourhood to have a positive effect on neighbourhood satisfaction while high neighbourhood density has a negative effect on satisfaction (Basolo & Strong, 2002; Jagun et al., 1990; Lee & Guest, 1983; St. John & Bates, 1990). The location of neighbourhoods relative facilities is not often included in neighbourhood satisfaction studies, though proximity to shopping facilities can be generally expected to have a positive effect on neighbourhood satisfaction (Basolo & Strong, 2002, p. 88).

Personal and household characteristics

Personal and household characteristics are thought to influence satisfaction mainly through selection effects. Younger people have been found to be less satisfied with their neighbourhood than elderly people (Chapman & Lombard, 2006; Lu, 1999; Parkes et al., 2002) possibly because they had less time to select themselves into a pleasant environment. Also household composition is known to impact neighbourhood satisfaction. Galster & Hesser (1981) found single women to be more dissatisfied with their neighbourhood than others. Parkes and colleagues (2002) found that the presence of children has a positive effect on neighbourhood satisfaction (see also Lu, 1999). It can be expected that households with children put more value on living in safe and spacious neighbourhoods and therefore select themselves into these particular types of neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the presence of children has a positive impact on social interaction in the neighbourhood (Dekker & Bolt, 2005), while social interaction on its turn leads to a higher neighbourhood satisfaction (Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Parkes et al., 2002; Speare et al., 1974).

Socio-economic status variables, like family income and educational level have been found to have a positive effect on satisfaction: a higher income and/or higher level of education lead to higher neighbourhood satisfaction (Harris, 2001; Lu, 1999; St. John & Clark, 1984). Those with a high socio-economic status have more choice on the housing market and are therefore more likely to be able to select a dwelling in a neighbourhood of their preference. Homeowners are more satisfied with their neighbourhood than renters because they have in general more choice on the housing market (Harris, 2001; Lu, 1999; Parkes et al., 2002).

Evidence on the effect of ethnicity on neighbourhood satisfaction is mixed. Some studies show that ethnicity is a significant predictor of neighbourhood satisfaction (for example

Campbell et al., 1976; Lu, 1999): whites are reported to be more satisfied with the neighbourhood than blacks. Other studies find however no ethnicity effect (Bolt, 2001; Harris, 2001; Parkes et al., 2002; St. John & Clark, 1984).

4.2.3 Determinants of perceived neighbourhood reputation

Satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes and the dwelling

Evidence regarding the impact of satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes on perceived neighbourhood reputation is absent. We do believe however that the impact is likely to be smaller on perceived neighbourhood reputation than on neighbourhood satisfaction because the reputation of a neighbourhood is to a large extent created by other city residents, as is formulated by Suttles (1972, p. 13) “It is in their ‘foreign’ relations that communities come into existence and have to settle on an identity and a set of boundaries which oversimplify their reality.” It has indeed been found that the residents’ perception of the neighbourhood reputation is to a large extent affected by the view of other city residents (Curtis & Jackson, 1977). These other city residents are not likely to assess the reputation of a neighbourhood on the basis of detailed information of neighbourhood attributes, but will tend to base their view on a limited number of physical and – mainly – social characteristics of the neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2008; Suttles, 1972). The above leads to the first hypothesis: Assessment of neighbourhood attributes is more important in explaining *neighbourhood satisfaction* than *perceived neighbourhood reputation*.

Objective neighbourhood characteristics

In their overview of neighbourhood characteristics that impact neighbourhood reputations, Permentier and colleagues (2008) state that objective social neighbourhood characteristics like ethnic composition and socio-economic composition, are most important (see also Garcia-Mira, 1997; Hortulanus, 1995; Logan & Collver, 1983; Wacquant, 1993), as these characteristics mirror those in the stratification process of society as a whole. It has also been shown that high crime rates have a negative effect on reputations, although this effect is smaller than the effect of social composition (Sampson & Raudenbusch, 2004). Furthermore, location of the neighbourhood (distance to city centre) is also thought to be important. Hastings & Dean (2003) argue that neighbourhoods located at the fringe of the city are less well-known by non-residents than neighbourhoods closer to the city centre, which may have a negative impact on the reputation of neighbourhoods.

It can be argued that objective neighbourhood characteristics are more important for the explanation of perceived neighbourhood reputation than for the explanation of neighbourhood satisfaction. First, regarding neighbourhood satisfaction, the effect of objective neighbourhood characteristics may be weakened due to selection effects (Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). People select themselves into different types of neighbourhoods on the basis of their preferences. People who prefer to live in high density inner city neighbourhoods are likely to be satisfied with their residential environment, but at the same time, they might be well aware that such neighbourhoods might have a poorer reputation than, for example, low density garden city neighbourhoods. Of course, peoples’ perceived neighbourhood reputation may also be affected by selection effects as residents will tend to select themselves into a neighbourhood that meets their status aspirations. However, while some residents may derive status from where they live, others can be rather indifferent about it (De Wijs-Mulken, 1999; Kearns et al., 2000). In contrast,

being satisfied with the residential environment and increasing the level of satisfaction through residential mobility seem to be universal aims (Brown & Moore, 1970; Wolpert, 1966).

Second, cognitive dissonance reduction (Festinger, 1957) may explain why objective neighbourhood characteristics are more important in understanding reputations than neighbourhood satisfaction. Residents may upwardly adjust their assessment of their neighbourhood in case this neighbourhood does not fulfil the resident's needs and residents have no options to go to alternative neighbourhoods (Brown & Moore, 1970). This partly explains why even in deprived neighbourhoods, the larger part of the residents tend to be satisfied. (Amérigo & Aragonés, 1990; Lu, 1999; Mohan & Twigg, 2007; Parkes et al., 2002; St. John & Clark, 1984). It is likely that the process of cognitive dissonance reduction is less relevant for the explanation of perceived neighbourhood reputation. The perceived reputation is to a large extent influenced by how other city residents assess the reputation of the neighbourhood and these non-residents do not have the need to upwardly adjust their ideas, simply because they themselves do not live in the neighbourhood. The above leads to the formulation of the second hypothesis: Objective neighbourhood characteristics are more important in explaining *perceived neighbourhood reputation* than *neighbourhood satisfaction*.

Personal and household characteristics

Kearns and colleagues (2000) found that men are more concerned to derive status from their home than women and age, income, job status and owner occupation were found to have a positive effect on the status that residents attribute to their home. It may be expected that these variables also relate to the importance attached to the reputation of the neighbourhood. Income is among the most important determinants of neighbourhood choice (Clark et al., 2006). The neighbourhood functions more as status symbol for higher income groups, as household with a lower income are more concerned with finding a neighbourhood which suits their basic needs (Anderiesen & Reijndorp, 1989). The difference in aspirations can be explained by the level of choice people have on the housing market. If people's choices are restricted due to a lack of resources, it is not very likely that the reputation of the neighbourhood is the first priority when choosing a neighbourhood. They will put more value on, for example, the safety of the neighbourhood (Driessen & Beerenboom, 1983). On the other hand, people with a lot of choice (highly educated, high income, homeowner) can be expected to select a neighbourhood because of a good reputation and are therefore more positive regarding perceived reputation (De Wijs-Mulkens, 1999).

An interesting question is whether the relative weight of the individual socio-economic characteristics will be the same in a model explaining perceived neighbourhood reputation as compared to a model of neighbourhood satisfaction. The finding that people adjust their (neighbourhood) aspirations to their prospect of improvement (Festinger, 1957; Lu, 1999; Parkes et al., 2002) implies that socio-economic status has a smaller effect on satisfaction than on perceived neighbourhood reputation. As we argued before, cognitive dissonance reduction can be expected to play a smaller role when perception of reputation is concerned. This expectation is further underpinned by that fact that low-income and high-income groups tend to share the same perception with regard to the reputation hierarchy of urban neighbourhoods (Logan & Collver, 1983; Permentier et al., 2008). Since low-income groups are overrepresented in neighbourhoods with a bad reputation, they will have on average a more negative perception

of the neighbourhood's reputation than high-income groups (when objective neighbourhood characteristics are not controlled for).

Regarding ethnicity it can be argued that ethnic minorities may be more dissatisfied with the neighbourhood because they tend to live in, on average, neighbourhoods of lower quality than the native majority. At the same time, it may be expected that the perception of their neighbourhood's reputation is more positive, once objective neighbourhood conditions are controlled for, as the point of reference may be different for them compared to native Dutch (Dekker & Bolt, 2005; Permentier & Bolt, 2006). This is because the networks of members of ethnic groups are to a large extent restricted to the own ethnic group (Dagevos, 2005), which implies that many of their friends and family members live in (similar) low-quality neighbourhoods. That means that a member of a minority ethnic group who lives in an 'average' neighbourhood in terms of prosperity, may derive more status from that within his own community than a native Dutch resident living in the same neighbourhood. The above leads to the formulation of the third hypothesis: Socio-economic status and ethnicity are more important in explaining *perceived neighbourhood reputation* than *neighbourhood satisfaction*.

4.3 Research area and data

To understand the relationship between neighbourhood satisfaction/perceived reputation and individual and neighbourhood characteristics, we used individual-level data from our own survey, which was specifically designed to elucidate this relationship. The survey was carried out in the spring of 2006 in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands. Utrecht, with 281,011 residents (GBA City of Utrecht, 2006) the fourth largest city in the Netherlands is centrally located in the Netherlands.

Compared with the two largest cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam and Rotterdam), the relatively large proportion of medium and highly-educated residents in Utrecht is striking (in 2004: 69.4 per cent, Rotterdam: 47 per cent; and Amsterdam, 56.4 per cent). Utrecht has a large university and Utrecht graduates find the city centre and surrounding neighbourhoods to be attractive residential environments. Partly as a result of the university connection, the city has a high percentage of residents under the age of 25. Compared with the other three cities, Utrecht has a low percentage of non-Western immigrants; 23.8 per cent in 2006 compared with 34.3 per cent in Amsterdam, 35.4 per cent in Rotterdam, and 32.2 per cent in The Hague (GBA City of Utrecht 2006; O+S Amsterdam, 2006). The segregation index of non-Western immigrants is similar to that of the three other cities; Utrecht, 37.4; Amsterdam, 36.3; Rotterdam, 38.5; The Hague, 46.1 (Bolt et al., 2006).

Measuring neighbourhood reputations required the identification of (administrative) neighbourhoods that had a wide recognition among respondents. On the basis of a small telephone survey, we selected 24 neighbourhoods and randomly selected addresses of respondents within them (see Figure 4.1). We oversampled one neighbourhood and used a random selection of this oversample population in this paper. This resulted in a total of 1,102 cases. Comparison of our sample with the population of Utrecht shows that in our sample Turks and Moroccans, persons between 18-44 years old and single people are slightly underrepresented, while owner-occupants are overrepresented.



Figure 4.1 Research neighbourhoods in the City of Utrecht

4.4 Method of data analysis

In this paper the two dependent variables are residents’ satisfaction with their neighbourhood and their perception of the neighbourhood reputation. The following two questions were asked: “Please indicate on a 10-point scale (very dissatisfied to very satisfied) what grade you would give to your neighbourhood”; and “Please indicate on 5-point scale (very negative to very positive), how you think that other city residents assess the reputation of your neighbourhood”. Since the dependent variables neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation can be considered ratio variables, we used linear regression models. A summary overview of all variables can be found in Table 4.1. Two variables indicate the perceived level of choice people had on the housing market: choice of dwelling and choice of neighbourhood. Subjective assessments of neighbourhood attributes is measured by taking the average score on a five-point scale of eight different neighbourhood attributes (satisfaction with location, appearance, accessibility, green space, shopping facilities, safety, contact with fellow-residents, population composition).¹

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics for the variables used in the analyses (N=1,102)

	N (%)	Mean (S.d.)	Min./Max.
Individual-level variables			
Neighbourhood satisfaction (dependent)		7.32 (1.41)	1 – 10
Perceived neighbourhood reputation (dependent)		3.46 (1.00)	1 – 5
Gender			
Female	604 (54.8)		
Male	498 (45.2)		
Age		44.40 (15.00)	19 – 94
Children in household			
Yes	379 (34.4)		
No	723 (65.6)		
Ethnicity ^a			
Belonging to ethnic minority	104 (9.4)		
Not belonging to ethnic minority	998 (91.6)		
Level of education ^b			
Low	209 (19.0)		
Middle	272 (24.7)		
High	621 (56.3)		
Employment status ^c			
Employed	762 (69.1)		
Unemployed	340 (30.9)		
Monthly household income (*€100)		21.38 (9.95)	6.8 – 38
Tenure status			
Owner-occupant	674 (61.2)		
Rent	428 (38.8)		
Dwelling satisfaction		7.68 (1.47)	1 – 10
Current dwelling first choice	832 (75.5)		
Current neighbourhood first choice	342 (31.0)		
Satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes		3.69 (0.52)	1.75 – 5.00
Family lives in neighbourhood	220 (20.0)		
Most friends live in neighbourhood	88 (8.0)		
Contact with neighbours	872 (79.1)		
Neighbourhood-level variables			
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities ^d		21.30 (15.99)	5.35 – 73.43
NBH Distance to city centre (kilometres)		2.13 (1.05)	0.00 – 4.50
NBH Crime rates (per 1000 residents and jobs)		104.14 (34.63)	13.68 – 174.89
NBH Average yearly income of households (x €1000)		30.30 (6.57)	23.30 – 45.00
NBH Number of government institutions		8.71 (4.30)	4.33 – 17.57
NBH Density (number of households per km ²)		8,640 (4,144)	1,303 – 18,262

^a ethnic minorities are defined as people who categorise themselves as member of an ethnic group from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Turkey, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles

^b defined as the respondent's highest completed level of education (low = primary education + lower vocational training; middle = secondary education/high school, middle vocational training; high = higher vocational training + university)

^c individuals whose main activity is working part-time or full-time are categorised 'employed'. Others, including students are categorised 'unemployed'

^d defined as share of people in the neighbourhood born in, or with at least one parent born in: Africa, Asia, Latin America Turkey, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles

To take into account that in our data individuals are clustered in neighbourhoods, we use multilevel models. A basic two-level model consists of a single outcome variable at the lowest level, while having explanatory variables at the individual level (level 1) and the neighbourhood level (level 2). We use a random intercept model in which the regression intercept varies across neighbourhoods, but the regression slopes are fixed. Thus the intercept varies randomly across individuals and neighbourhoods, but the relationship between the dependent and the independent variables is assumed to be the same for all individuals within a neighbourhood (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Model estimation was carried out using the software package MLwiN. The model's fit can be assessed by looking at the *deviance*, which is calculated by the estimation method of RIGLS². Goldstein (1999) recommends RIGLS over IGLS³, since the first is always as good, and sometimes even better than the latter. To test the fit of a model, a chi-square test of the difference in deviance between two models is calculated (Hox, 2002). This difference has a chi-square distribution, where the degree of freedom is equal to the number of explanatory variables used in the model.

4.5 Results

The correlation between neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation is relatively modest at 0.584 (a common variance of only 34 per cent), which illustrates that the concepts are related, but also measure different things. Table 4.2 and 4.3 show the results of a series of linear regression models of neighbourhood satisfaction (model 1-5) and perceived reputation (model I-V). Model 1 and model I are intercept-only models which contain no explanatory variables. In model 2 and II personal and household variables are added. In model 3 and III the degree of dwelling- and neighbourhood choice are included. This allows to control for the impact of individual and household variables for selection effects. Model 4 and IV add a composite index of satisfaction with different neighbourhood attributes, dwelling satisfaction and contacts in the neighbourhood. Inclusion of these variables allows us to study the effect of satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes on both dependent variables. In model 5 and V objectively measured neighbourhood variables are introduced. For every model the deviance and the variation on individual- and neighbourhood level are given.

The intercept-only models (model 1 and I) function as a benchmark for the other models and allow us to decompose the total variance into an individual level-component (level 1) and a neighbourhood level-component (level 2) (Snijders & Bosker, 1999; Hox, 2002). The intra-class correlation coefficient (ICC) can be summarised as the proportion of variance accounted for on the neighbourhood level and indicates to what extent variation of the dependent variable is caused by the grouping structure in the sample (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). The ICC of model 1 is calculated by dividing the unexplained variance on level 2 (0.563) by the total unexplained variance (1.373+0.563). The ICC for model 1 shows thus that 29.1 per cent of the variation in neighbourhood satisfaction between respondents can be attributed to the grouping structure in the sample. The ICC for model I shows that 48.7 per cent of the variation in perceived neighbourhood reputation can be attributed to the grouping structure in the sample. Thus in both models, neighbourhood variables can potentially play an important role in explaining the outcome variable.

But the potential of neighbourhood variables is likely to be greater in explaining variation in perceived neighbourhood reputation, and variables on the individual level are likely to be more important in explaining variation in satisfaction scores. This seems to be a preliminary confirmation of the hypothesis that objective neighbourhood variables are relatively more important in the explanation of perceived neighbourhood reputation (hypothesis 2), while assessment of neighbourhood attributes (on the individual level) are more important for the explanation of neighbourhood satisfaction (hypothesis 1).

In model 2 and II a block of personal and household variables are added. Both models have a significantly better model-fit than the previous models (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). Table 4.4 gives a summary of the explained variance on each level for all subsequent models. Differences between neighbourhoods regarding satisfaction are for 9.7 per cent explained by the population composition, while in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model population composition does not explain any differences between neighbourhoods (0.0 per cent). On the individual level, the block of personal and household variables explain 5.0 per cent of the variation of the satisfaction model and 0.9 per cent of variation in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model.

In both models, gender has a positive effect, though it is only significant in the satisfaction model. The results indicate that women are generally more satisfied with their neighbourhood. The effect of age is positive and significant in both models, having a higher significance level for neighbourhood satisfaction than for perceived neighbourhood reputation. Older residents are more satisfied with the neighbourhood and also perceive the neighbourhood's reputation more positive than younger residents. Presence of children is a significant predictor of neighbourhood satisfaction, but not for perceived reputation. Regarding the socio-economic variables, only tenure is a significant predictor of neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation: homeowners are more satisfied with their neighbourhood and perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood better than renters. The effects of income, level of education and employment status are all insignificant in the two models. This is likely to be caused by the fact that tenure captures the effect of these socio-economic variables. Ethnicity has no effect on neighbourhood satisfaction but is a significant predictor of perceived neighbourhood reputation: ethnic minorities perceive the reputation of the own neighbourhood significantly higher than native Dutch and Western-immigrants.

In model 3 and III indicators of the degree of choice with regard to the selection of the dwelling and the neighbourhood are included in the model. The fit of the two models is again significantly better than that of model 2. The explained variance of model 3 is 20.9 per cent and 5.8 per cent (compared to the intercept-only model) on the neighbourhood level in the satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation model respectively. Regarding the individual level, this model explains 11.7 per cent on individual level in the satisfaction model and 5.3 per cent in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model. These figures indicate that the variables explain more of the variance of the satisfaction model than the perceived neighbourhood reputation model.

People who experienced freedom in the choice of either their dwelling or their neighbourhood are much more likely to be satisfied with their neighbourhood, and they perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood to be higher than people who did not experience this freedom. The results of model 3 and model III indicate that the effect of personal and household variables can to a certain extent be explained by selection effects. Inclusion of choice variables causes age and presence of children to be no longer significant in the models. Older people

Table 4.2 Multilevel linear regression on neighbourhood satisfaction (N=1,102)

	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4	MODEL 5								
Intercept	7.360	0.157	7.000	0.193	6.475	0.197	7.073	0.160	6.846	0.139			
Personal/household variables													
Female (ref=male)		0.148	0.072	**	0.167	0.070	**	0.080	0.059	0.085	0.058		
Age		0.005	0.003	*	0.003	0.003		0.000	0.002	0.000	0.002		
Children in household (ref= no children)		0.151	0.083	*	0.124	0.081		0.084	0.070	0.079	0.069		
Belonging to ethnic minority (ref=no)		0.067	0.132		0.124	0.130		0.065	0.110	0.118	0.109		
Level of education (ref=low)													
Education middle		0.054	0.115		0.151	0.113		0.100	0.096	0.099	0.095		
Education high		0.030	0.124		0.172	0.122		0.107	0.104	0.109	0.103		
Unemployed (ref=employed)		-0.027	0.094		-0.068	0.092		-0.037	0.077	-0.049	0.076		
Household income		0.003	0.005		0.000	0.005		-0.002	0.004	-0.003	0.004		
Owner-occupant (ref=renter)		0.320	0.090	***	0.284	0.088	***	0.048	0.076	0.049	0.075		
Perceived choice													
Current dwelling first choice (ref=other)					0.435	0.084	***	0.041	0.075	0.048	0.074		
Current neighbourhood first choice (ref=other)					0.391	0.082	***	0.096	0.070	0.083	0.070		
Satisfaction and social contacts													
Dwelling satisfaction								0.153	0.027	***	0.154	0.027	***
Satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes								1.306	0.067	***	1.286	0.066	***
Most friends live in neighbourhood (ref=no)								0.177	0.116		0.181	0.115	

Table 4.2 (continued)

	MODEL 1	MODEL 2	MODEL 3	MODEL 4	MODEL 5
Family lives in neighbourhood (ref=no)				-0.003	0.078
Contact with neighbours (ref=no)				-0.017	0.077
Neighbourhood variables					
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities					-0.014 0.003 ***
NBH Distance to city centre (kilometres)					-0.037 0.056
NBH Crime rates (per 1000 residents and jobs)					-0.002 0.001
NBH Average household income					0.024 0.009 ***
NBH Number of government Institutions					0.021 0.013 *
NBH Density (number of households per km ²)					0.000 0.000
uoj	0.563	0.171	0.506	0.155	0.441
Eoij	1.373	0.059	1.334	0.057	1.268
-2 LOG Likelihood	3,548.04		3,514.69		3,456.93
Model fit: Chi-Square test	-		33.35***		57.76***
				0.165	0.053
				0.886	0.038
				3,047.99	3,003.31
				408.94***	50.69***

*=p<0.10; **=p<0.05; ***=p<0.01

Table 4.3 Multilevel linear regression on perceived neighbourhood reputation (N=1,102)

	MODEL I	MODEL II	MODEL III	MODEL IV	MODEL V					
Intercept	3.488	0.143	3.352	0.162	3.126	0.163	3.289	0.156	2.984	0.105
Personal/household variables										
Female (ref=male)		0.013	0.044	0.019	0.043		-0.008	0.041	-0.004	0.041
Age		0.003	0.002	*	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.002
Children in household (ref=no children)		0.059	0.051	0.040	0.050	0.022	0.022	0.049	0.011	0.049
Belonging to ethnic minority (ref=no)		0.167	0.081	**	0.181	0.080	**	0.145	0.077	**
Level of education (ref=low)									*	0.159
Education middle		0.005	0.070	0.056	0.070	0.048	0.067	0.059	0.067	0.067
Education high		-0.015	0.076	0.057	0.076	0.057	0.073	0.071	0.073	0.073
Unemployed (ref=employed)		0.073	0.058	0.055	0.057	0.068	0.054	0.068	0.068	0.054
Household income		0.001	0.003	0.005	0.003	0.000	0.003	-0.004	0.003	0.003
Owner-occupant (ref=renter)		0.126	0.055	**	0.111	0.054	**	0.061	0.054	0.053
Perceived choice										
Current dwelling first choice				0.153	0.052	***	0.055	0.053	0.057	0.052
Current neighbourhood first choice				0.236	0.051	***	0.127	0.049	**	0.115
Satisfaction and social contacts										
Dwelling satisfaction						0.007	0.019	0.005	0.019	0.019
Satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes						0.482	0.047	***	0.488	0.047
Most friends live in neighbourhood (ref=no)						-0.001	0.082	-0.002	0.081	0.081

Table 4.3 (continued)

	MODEL I	MODEL II	MODEL III	MODEL IV	MODEL V
Family lives in neighbourhood (ref=no)				0.119	0.055 **
Contact with neighbours (ref=no)				-0.038	0.054
Neighbourhood variables					
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities				-0.016	0.003 ***
NBH Distance to city centre (kilometres)				-0.258	0.059 ***
NBH Crime rates (per 1000 residents and jobs)				-0.005	0.002 ***
NBH Average household income				0.036	0.009 ***
NBH Number of government Institutions				-0.008	0.013
NBH Density (number of households per km ²)				0.000	0.000
u0j	0.481	0.142	0.481	0.351	0.104
eoij	0.507	0.022	0.498	0.436	0.019
-2 LOG Likelihood	2,469.38	2,450.22	2,414.89	2,300.58	2,242.45
Model fit: Chi-Square test	-	19.16**	35.33***	114.31***	58.13***

*=p<0.10; **=p<0.05; ***=p<0.01

Table 4.4 Explained variance on level 1 and level 2 for the different models compared to the intercept-only model³

	Neighbourhood satisfaction		Perceived neighbourhood reputation	
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 1	Level 2
Personal/household variables	5.0%	9.7%	0.9%	0.0%
Perceived choice	11.7%	20.9%	5.3%	5.8%
Satisfaction and social contacts	45.7%	68.9%	20.3%	26.7%
Neighbourhood variables	–	95.1%	–	93.8%

³Model 1 is absent, since this model contains no explanatory variables

have selected themselves into nicer neighbourhoods because they generally had a large degree of choice. The same mechanism seems at work for households with children. However, gender in the satisfaction model is still significant, while tenure is significant in both models. Ethnicity continues to be a significant variable in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model.

Model 4 and IV introduce, besides social contacts within the neighbourhood, two satisfaction variables: satisfaction with the dwelling and a composite index of satisfaction with different neighbourhood attributes. The fit of the models is significantly better than model 3 and III. Neighbourhood level variance decreases in both models, although the decrease in variance is clearly larger for neighbourhood satisfaction than for perceived neighbourhood reputation. The percentage explained variance on the neighbourhood level (compared to the intercept-only model) is 68.9 per cent for satisfaction and only 26.7 per cent for perceived neighbourhood reputation, indicating that this model with dwelling satisfaction and assessment of different neighbourhood attributes have a much larger impact on neighbourhood satisfaction than on the perceived neighbourhood reputation. On the individual level, the variables lead to a total of 45.7 per cent explained variance in the satisfaction model and to 20.3 per cent explained variance in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model. These results support hypothesis 1: assessment of neighbourhood attributes is more important in explaining neighbourhood satisfaction than perceived neighbourhood reputation.

Dwelling satisfaction is a significant predictor of neighbourhood satisfaction: residents who are satisfied with their dwelling are much more likely to be satisfied with the neighbourhood than residents who are unhappy with their current dwelling (see also Lu, 1999; Mohan & Twigg, 2007). Positive assessment of different neighbourhood attributes has a positive effect on satisfaction with the neighbourhood, which is in line with previous research (Lu, 1999). Actual social contacts within the neighbourhoods are not significant in this model.

In the perceived neighbourhood reputation model assessment of different neighbourhood attributes is significant, but satisfaction with the dwelling does not have an effect on the perceived reputation. This is in line with what we expected, since it is unlikely that their personal happiness with the dwelling does influence their idea of how other city residents see their neighbourhood. The presence of family in the neighbourhood has a significant positive effect on perceived reputation. Controlling for dwelling satisfaction and evaluation of neighbourhood attributes and social contacts leads to the disappearance of the effect of gender, presence of children and perceived choice in the neighbourhood satisfaction model. Apparently these variables have only an indirect impact on satisfaction which is through the attribute satisfaction-index and dwelling

satisfaction. In contrast, in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model only the significance of tenure is channelled through the satisfaction index, while the effect of ethnicity and choice of neighbourhood are still significant (although the effects are smaller).

In model 5 and V different objective neighbourhood variables are introduced. Inclusion of these variables has a negligible effect on the regression parameters of the individual variables. Ethnicity still shows up as the only individual variable that has an impact on perceived neighbourhood reputation, while no individual or household variables have an effect on neighbourhood satisfaction. Therefore, it can be concluded that hypothesis 3, which stated that socio-economic status and ethnicity are more important in explaining perceived neighbourhood reputation than neighbourhood satisfaction is partly confirmed.

Both models 5 and V have a significantly better fit than previous models. Both models show a decrease of the explained variance at the level of the neighbourhood to almost zero. The models explain, compared to the intercept-only model, 95.1 per cent of the variance on the neighbourhood level in the satisfaction model and 93.8 per cent in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model.⁴ Thus, the addition of objective neighbourhood variables leads to a substantively higher explained variance than the previous model, but the increase in explained neighbourhood variance is much larger for the perceived neighbourhood reputation model than for the satisfaction model. Therefore hypothesis 2 which stated that objective neighbourhood variables are more important in explaining perceived neighbourhood reputation than neighbourhood satisfaction is confirmed.

In both models, a high average household income in the neighbourhood is associated with a high satisfaction and high perceived reputation. Crime rates and distance to the city centre have no significant effect in the satisfaction model, but both have a negative effect in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model. In earlier research, Sampson and Raudenbusch (2004) found the level of crime to be correlated with perceived levels of disorder which in its turn impacts the stigmatisation of neighbourhoods. The coefficients of percentage ethnic minorities reveal that for both neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation, a higher share of ethnic minorities leads to lower neighbourhood satisfaction and to lower perception of the neighbourhood's reputation respectively. Thus even after controlling for the socio-economic composition of the neighbourhood, ethnic composition of the population continued to be highly significant. The number of government facilities, such as schools and health care facilities, has a positive effect on neighbourhood satisfaction: residents living in neighbourhoods with a large number of such facilities are more satisfied with the neighbourhood. A similar effect on perceived neighbourhood reputation is however absent. The above results show that there are more objective neighbourhood variables significant in the perceived neighbourhood reputation model than in the satisfaction model. At the same time it becomes clear that for neighbourhood satisfaction assessments of neighbourhood attributes are more important than objective neighbourhood variables. For perceived neighbourhood reputation it is the opposite: objective variables are more important in explaining the perceived neighbourhood reputation than subjective variables.

4.6 Discussion

In this paper we have argued that it is not only important to understand how residents themselves assess their neighbourhood, but also how they think that other city residents assess their neighbourhood. We have suggested that neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived reputation are related concepts and that these may overlap to a certain extent, but that at the same time the (type of) determinants of these concepts might have a different nature. We found that subjective assessments of neighbourhood attributes are more important in explaining neighbourhood satisfaction than perceived reputation. At the same time, objective neighbourhood variables contribute more in explaining perceived reputation than neighbourhood satisfaction. As expected, the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods as well as the socio-economic composition are the strongest determinants of perceived reputation, which reflects the stratification process of society as a whole (Suttles, 1972).

Personal and household variables have no direct effect on either neighbourhood satisfaction or perceived reputation, with the exception of ethnicity in the perceived reputation model. Personal and household variables are channelled through selection mechanisms (degree of choice regarding dwelling and neighbourhood) and through satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes. Older residents are for example more satisfied with the neighbourhood and more positive about the reputation of the neighbourhood. But this effect disappears after controlling for the choice they had in selecting their residence or neighbourhood.

Housing choice turned out to have a positive effect on both neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation. This effect is only indirect in the case of neighbourhood satisfaction. People who experience freedom in the choice of their dwelling and neighbourhood are likely to be satisfied with the dwelling and neighbourhood attributes, which on their turn have a positive impact on neighbourhood satisfaction. In contrast, the perceived neighbourhood choice has an independent positive effect on perceived neighbourhood reputation. This confirms the argument made by Kearns & Parkinson (2001) that reputation problems especially arise when a neighbourhood is perceived to be a place where people become 'trapped'.

On the basis of these results we argue that it should be a standard procedure to include perceived choice in models of residential satisfaction and residential mobility. Very often, significant effects of individual variables (like income, tenure and age) are explained in terms of housing choice, but housing choice itself is seldom included as explanatory variable in regression models.

The results of our research potentially have implications for urban policy and especially policy aimed at the regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods. In the Dutch context one of the goals of urban renewal is to improve the relative position of the neighbourhood within cities (Priemus & Van Kempen, 1999). In improving neighbourhoods, policymakers have given much attention to measures that aim to improve the satisfaction levels of current neighbourhood residents. However, satisfaction levels may present a too rosy picture of the neighbourhood, due to processes of cognitive dissonance reduction: residents in deprived areas tend to upwardly adjust their level of satisfaction because of a lack of choice. Successful regeneration is not just about the current residents, but also about making neighbourhoods attractive for other city residents.

The results of this research show that our perceived reputation concept might be a valuable alternative measure of the relative attractiveness of neighbourhoods in a city. Perceived reputation is less subject to cognitive dissonance reduction and more linked to objective variables of the

neighbourhood than neighbourhood satisfaction. Policy makers concerned with urban renewal could learn from our research in terms of the expected outcomes of policy measures. Policy measures aimed to improve satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes and to create a more mixed social composition of the neighbourhood will promote both neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived reputation. However, improving the quality of dwellings is likely only to have an effect on neighbourhood satisfaction as dwelling satisfaction has a positive effect on satisfaction with the neighbourhood, but not on perceived reputation. In addition, perceived reputation is thought of as likely to influence behaviour of residents (Permentier et al., 2007). Policy measures to improve the perceived reputations of neighbourhoods might improve neighbourhoods through selective residential mobility and more participation of residents in their neighbourhood.

Notes

- 1 Cronbach's alpha = 0.696
- 2 Restricted Iterative Generalised Least Squares
- 3 Iterative Generalised Least Squares
- 4 Explained variance on individual level (level 1) is not given for model 5 and V, since level 2 variables cannot explain variance on the first level (see Hox, 2002)

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5 Neighbourhood reputation and the intention to leave the neighbourhood

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Abstract

Moving intentions are likely not only to be affected by whether or not residents are satisfied with their neighbourhood, but also by how they think that other city residents assess their neighbourhood: the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood. The place where one lives is a reflection of one's position in society and therefore people might want to leave neighbourhoods with a poor reputation even if they are satisfied with their residential environment. Using data from a specifically designed survey in 24 Dutch neighbourhoods, we tested the hypothesis that in addition to neighbourhood satisfaction, perceived neighbourhood reputations are an important predictor of the intention to leave the neighbourhood. The results show that the perceived neighbourhood reputation is indeed a significant predictor of moving intentions, even after controlling for neighbourhood satisfaction and neighbourhood attachment. This finding suggests that neighbourhood regeneration policy should not only focus on improving residents' neighbourhood satisfaction, but also on improving the perceived reputation of neighbourhoods.

Key words: Moving intentions, perceived neighbourhood reputation; neighbourhood characteristics; the Netherlands

5.1 Introduction

An increasing body of literature underlines the relevance of neighbourhood characteristics in understanding both moving intentions and actual moving behaviour (Clark et al., 2006; Feijten & Van Ham, forthcoming; Kearns & Parkes, 2003; Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998; Parkes & Kearns, 2003; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008; Van Ham & Clark, forthcoming). Recent attention for urban neighbourhoods, and especially neighbourhood (dis)satisfaction, is linked to policy makers search for factors contributing to the success of neighbourhood regeneration (Parkes et al., 2002). More insight in the role of neighbourhood characteristics in understanding factors triggering residential mobility behaviour can contribute to evidence based policy to improve the liveability of urban neighbourhoods and helps to create more stable neighbourhoods.

Moving intentions are likely not only to be affected by whether or not residents are satisfied with their neighbourhood, but also by how they think that other city residents assess

their neighbourhood: the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood. Reputation “refers to the meaning and esteem that residents and other involved parties attribute to a neighbourhood. Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighbourhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy” [author’s translation from Dutch] (Hortulanus, 1995, p. 42). The self-image of people is strongly affected by the way they believe others see and think of them and the groups they belong to (Goffman, 1963; Mead, 1934; Ridgeway, 2006). Repeatedly, studies have found an effect of negative neighbourhood reputations on the self-image of residents of infamous neighbourhoods (Bush et al., 2001; Hastings & Dean, 2003; Taylor, 1998; Wacquant, 1993). The impact of the neighbourhood’s reputation on the self has to be placed in a context in which neighbourhoods function increasingly as status symbols. The place where one lives is a reflection of one’s position in society and one’s preferences (Bourdieu, 1984; Forrest & Kearns, 2001). If people believe their status suffers from group membership – living in a certain neighbourhood – they will try to disassociate themselves from that group and the stigma associated with group membership. Those living in neighbourhoods with a poor (perceived) reputation can therefore be expected to be more likely to have the intention to leave their neighbourhood than people living in neighbourhoods with a good reputation. This might even be the case when people themselves are perfectly satisfied with their neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2007).

This paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of the role of (perceived) neighbourhood characteristics in individual residential mobility behaviour. We hypothesise that, in addition to neighbourhood satisfaction, the *perceived reputation of the neighbourhood* is an important predictor of the intention to leave the neighbourhood. We focus explicitly on *perceived reputations* because within the behavioural model we assume, perceived reputations are more appropriate than ‘objective’ measures of neighbourhood reputations. Characteristics of the residential context are important in mobility decision models insofar as they are *perceived, evaluated and experienced* by residents (Lee et al., 1994). More knowledge of the impact of neighbourhood reputations on residential mobility behaviour is important as individual mobility decisions are responsible for the sorting of households into different neighbourhoods. The underlying mechanisms of this sorting process might give us important cues for the success of urban renewal projects. If perceived reputation triggers moving intentions, improving the neighbourhood satisfaction of residents will most likely be insufficient to transform deprived neighbourhoods into attractive places to live. To be successful, neighbourhoods should also have a good – or at least not a bad – reputation.

This study uses data from a survey that was specifically designed to investigate neighbourhood reputations and their impact on the behaviour of residents. The survey, including 1,339 residents in 24 different neighbourhoods, was carried out in the spring of 2006 in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands.

5.2 Literature review

5.2.1 Introduction

The residential mobility literature offers various models to understand moving intentions or thoughts (Brown & Moore, 1970; Galster, 1987; Lee et al., 1994). In most of these models moving intentions are seen as a response to residential stress and moving intentions precede actual moving behaviour (Speare et al., 1975). Actual mobility behaviour only occurs when there are no restrictions or constraints preventing an intention from being realised. If we would look at actual moving behaviour, we would miss all those people who have the intention to leave their neighbourhood, but are unable to do so because of housing market constraints and the direct and indirect monetary and non-monetary costs involved in moving. Studying moving intentions provides a direct insight in how neighbourhood reputations affect mobility decisions (Van Ham & Feijten, 2008).

Theoretical models on moving intentions do generally include individual and household characteristics, and subjective neighbourhood evaluations such as neighbourhood satisfaction. Recent studies have shown that also more objective neighbourhood characteristics, such as the ethnic and socio-economic composition of the neighbourhood population, have an impact on mobility decisions (Clark et al., 2006; South et al., 2005; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). Research on neighbourhood reputations revealed that the same neighbourhood characteristics also impact on the external reputation of neighbourhoods (Permentier et al., 2008).¹ In this paper we study the impact of neighbourhood reputations as perceived by residents on the intention to leave their neighbourhood.

Below we first discuss the effects of neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived reputation on moving intentions. Next we discuss the effects of neighbourhood attachment and participation in the neighbourhood. Although this study aims to understand why people intend to leave their neighbourhood, we include a discussion of a set of control variables found in the literature which are known to have an effect on residential mobility behaviour in general. It is very likely that there is substantial overlap between the factors which influence people's intention to leave the neighbourhood and factors influencing moving behaviour.

5.2.2 Neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived reputation

Neighbourhood (dis)satisfaction is often mentioned as one of the key predictors of moving intentions (Clark & Ledwith, 2006; Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998). According to Speare's classical study (1974) residential satisfaction is a significant predictor of moving even when controlling for socio-demographic characteristics of the residents (age, household composition). Speare argued that these socio-demographic characteristics only have a very limited direct impact on moving intentions because socio-demographic characteristics are mediated through residential satisfaction. Parkes & Kearns (2003) found that people who are dissatisfied with the overall quality of their neighbourhood are more likely to have an intention to move than people who are satisfied (see also Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998). Though these more recent studies acknowledge that neighbourhood satisfaction is still a very important predictor, they find, in contrast to Speare, that socio-demographic variables have an independent effect on moving intentions (Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998).

As argued in the introduction, besides the assessment of the neighbourhood by residents themselves, the assessments of the neighbourhood by other city residents can also play a role in

shaping people's intention to leave their neighbourhood. Mead (1934) has argued that the self-image of people is influenced by the way they think that others think of them and the group they belong to (see also Festinger, 1954; Goffman, 1963; Ridgeway 2006). Living in a neighbourhood with a poor perceived reputation can have a negative effect on the self-image of individuals, even when they are generally satisfied with their neighbourhood. Ultimately, ideas about how outsiders see a neighbourhood may lead to people's intention to leave the neighbourhood. Only a limited number of studies have recognised the potential importance of an area's reputation (Tsfati & Cohen, 2003). This is surprising, since many academics stress the function that the residential address has as an indicator of the social status of an individual (Coleman & Neugarten, 1972; Firey, 1945; Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Suttles, 1972). The neighbourhood is more than just the location of the dwelling: it is a consumption good, symbolising an individual's prestige (Bourdieu, 1984). Moving to a neighbourhood with a better reputation can improve a person's individual status and self-image and consequently their general well-being. However not all residents will necessarily react in a similar fashion to neighbourhood reputations. For example, some residents of stigmatised areas may avoid or simply deny the stigma of the neighbourhood.

The concepts of neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation can be expected to overlap (Curtis & Jackson, 1977; Permentier et al., 2007) and share some determinants. However, research by Permentier and colleagues (2007) has shown that this overlap is limited: the concepts of satisfaction and perceived neighbourhood reputation are complementary rather than similar in meaning. Residents may be satisfied with their neighbourhood, but still perceive the reputation of this neighbourhood to be negative. Residents might be satisfied with a neighbourhood with a poor reputation because they selected themselves into this neighbourhood in the first place, but also because of the tendency of residents to think more positively about their residential environment when they lack the opportunity to move somewhere else. These mechanisms are less likely to have an impact on the perception of a neighbourhood's reputation. How residents perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood is strongly correlated with the reputation that outsiders hold of the neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2008). These outsiders have no interest in downplaying the negative aspects of an area and are likely to base their opinion on a limited set of objective neighbourhood characteristics rather than personal evaluations (Permentier et al., 2008).

To our knowledge there are no studies simultaneously studying the effect of neighbourhood satisfaction and perceived reputation on intentions to leave the neighbourhood. We found one paper by Tsfati & Cohen (2003) including both concepts in a study of plans to leave town. They found that residents who perceive the reputation of their town to be negative are more likely to have plans to leave town, even when controlling for satisfaction with different attributes of the town. A move out their town was thought to improve their status and subsequently their self-esteem. The study by Tsfati & Cohen (2003) does not deal with the fact that people are not randomly sorted into towns but select themselves into towns according their preferences and resources. People who find the reputation of their town important are less likely to decide to live in a town with a poor reputation. It can be expected that this mechanism of self-selection decreases the effect of perceived reputation on moving intentions.

Self-selection can affect moving intentions in two ways. First, the degree of choice people had in selecting their dwelling and neighbourhood is likely to have an impact on moving intentions. It can be argued that individuals who perceived a high degree of choice when they selected their neighbourhood, are less likely to want to leave the neighbourhood compared to

individuals who were limited in their choice of residency. It should be noted that people with little choice may be less likely to have an intention to move as a result of a poor neighbourhood reputation due to their poor prospects in the housing market (see Festinger, 1957 on cognitive dissonance reduction). Second, people who are very status-conscious are likely to have already selected themselves into a neighbourhood with a good reputation which positively reflects on their self-image (see De Jong & Fawcett, 1981). Those less affected by status considerations are also less likely to select a neighbourhood based on its reputation.

5.2.3 Neighbourhood characteristics

Objective neighbourhood characteristics have been found to impact residents' intention to leave their neighbourhood (Taub et al., 1984; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008; but see Kearns & Parkes, 2003 and Lee et al., 1994 for no effects). The literature distinguishes physical neighbourhood characteristics, and socio-economic and socio-demographic characteristics (Amérigo, 2002). Housing density can be seen as an important physical characteristic since it is an indicator of green spaces, environmental stress and housing stock. The majority of people prefer low-density environments, while only a small proportion of people prefer to live high-density urban environments. Mohan & Twigg (2007) found that population density has a negative impact on neighbourhood desirability. Van Ham & Feijten (2008) and Van Ham & Clark (forthcoming) found that residents of (strongly) urbanised areas are more likely to have a moving wish than residents of non-urbanised or weakly urbanised areas.

Several studies have found that people living in a neighbourhood with a low socio-economic status are more likely to have the wish to leave their neighbourhood than people living in neighbourhoods with a high socio-economic status (Van Ham & Clark, forthcoming; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). People generally avoid neighbourhoods with a low socio-economic status (Harris, 1999; Quillian, 2003) because of the (perceived) negative effects of living in such neighbourhoods (see Buck, 2001; Overman, 2002). Moreover, the reputation of a neighbourhood is positively influenced by the socio-economic status of its residents (Logan & Collver, 1983; Musterd, 2008).

A high percentage of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood is found to be positively linked to moving wishes, intentions and actual moving behaviour. Crowder (2000) found for the US that the percentage of ethnic minorities in a neighbourhood has a positive effect on leaving the neighbourhood among white respondents. Similar results were found for the Netherlands, even after controlling for the socio-economic status of neighbourhoods (Van Ham & Clark, forthcoming).

5.2.4 Neighbourhood attachment and neighbourhood participation

Residents who are strongly attached to their neighbourhood may be more reluctant to leave than residents who lack such attachment (Guest et al., 2006; Temkin & Rohe, 1998; Van Vugt et al., 2003). Neighbourhood attachment resembles the loyalty-component of Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework (1970). Originally this work studied the responses of consumers to a decline in the quality of consumer goods. Two types of responses were distinguished: exit and voice. Consumers who 'exit' stop buying a product or leave a certain organisation, while 'voice' is an expression of dissatisfaction directed to the management of a company or organisation. According to Hirschman the choice for one of these two responses is affected by loyalty, where

loyalty can be understood as being attached to a product or organisation. Loyalty holds exit at bay and activates voice (Hirschman, 1970).

In the context of residential mobility studies, neighbourhood attachment (loyalty) and neighbourhood participation (voice) are both factors that are likely to impact moving intentions (the intention to exit the neighbourhood). Both loyalty and voice require some level of investment in the neighbourhood. People who feel attached to their neighbourhood and who participate to improve the neighbourhood have made a psychological and social investment which can be expected to decrease the probability to leave (Lee et al., 1994; Taub et al., 1984; Van Vugt et al., 2003). Residents who have not invested in their neighbourhood are the most likely to have an intention to leave their neighbourhood.

In this study we make the concept of loyalty operational by equating loyalty to neighbourhood attachment. Two dimensions of neighbourhood attachment can be discerned: an emotional/attitudinal dimension and a functional/behavioural dimension (Bolan, 1997). Emotional attachment refers to the psychological ties residents have with their immediate living environment and its residents (Blokland, 2000; Dekker & Bolt, 2005). This way attachment can lead to a feeling of security, build self-esteem, give a bond to people, and maintain group identity (Dekker, 2007). A high degree of emotional attachment to the neighbourhood can be expected to lower the probability that people develop moving intentions (see Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979). Functional attachment refers to the number of contacts that residents have within their neighbourhood and the nature of these relationships (e.g. intensity of contact). Clark & Ledwith (2006) found that residents who perceived their neighbourhood to be close-knit were the least likely to express moving plans, even after controlling for general neighbourhood satisfaction. In other studies it was found that having contacts within a neighbourhood has a negative effect on moving intentions (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979; Boehm, 1981). Bolt & Torrance (2005) found a weak, but similar negative effect of the number of social contacts on the intention to leave the neighbourhood.

The voice concept is made operational through active participation in formal neighbourhood organisations. This is a specific type of participation because it has the neighbourhood as the focus of interest whereas other types of clubs/organisations might be based in the neighbourhood but do not have the neighbourhood as focus of interest. Residents who actively participate in formal neighbourhood organisations can be expected to be less likely to express moving intentions than residents who do not participate.² This is because the former group has invested in their neighbourhood. Another reason why participation is negatively related to moving intentions is that participation can generate functional attachment (which in its turn lowers the intention to move). A limited number of studies have studied the impact of participation on residential mobility and found that local participation does lower the intention to move (Sharp, 1984). Results of a study on the neighbourhood level by Guest and colleagues (2006) found that neighbourhood participation was positively associated with residential stability.

5.2.5 Control variables: individual, household and dwelling characteristics

In our models we control for several variables found to affect residential mobility decisions (see Clark & Dieleman, 1996): age, gender, household composition, ethnicity, level of education, employment status, income and tenure. Most literature reports clear age effects on moving intentions: as people get older, they are less likely to express an intention to move (Boehm, 1981; Lee et al., 1994, but see Kearns & Parkes, 2003 for no age-effect). Young people are the most

likely to have the intention to move as they experience many changes in their educational, labour and household career and therefore the need arises to adjust their housing situation. Lee and colleagues (1994) found that women are more likely to express an intention to move than men.

Singles are often found to have a high probability to express moving intentions as they are more likely not yet to have settled permanently. In contrast, couples with children are the least mobile because they are likely to have found a dwelling and neighbourhood that suit their aspirations (Clark & Dieleman, 1996; Kearns & Parkes, 2003). Ethnic minorities are often found to be living in poor quality housing and deprived neighbourhoods and thus are more likely to have a moving intention (Lee et al., 1994). Some studies (for example Clark & Ledwith, 2006) find no effect of ethnicity on moving intentions after controlling for housing and neighbourhood quality or even found a negative effect of ethnicity (Bolt & Van Kempen, 2002; South & Deane, 1993). The negative effect might be caused by the strong ties that ethnic minorities might have to their ethnic community (Bowes et al., 2002; Freeman, 2000), but also by the barriers that ethnic minorities face on the housing market. Discrimination by actors on the housing market, like mortgage lenders, real estate agents and (social) landlords, as well as fear of racial harassment outside the ethnic communities may reduce the (perceived) moving options among ethnic minorities (Galster, 1999; Krysan & Farley, 2002; Phillips, 1998; Yinger, 1999).

Income has been found to be positively related to moving intentions (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979; Mulder, 1993). According to Clark & Ledwith (2006) high income households face fewer constraints compared to low-income households. Furthermore, higher income occupations are associated with job related moves (Van Ham, 2002). Also being in employment and having a high level of education are found to be positively related to moving intentions. Owner-occupants are found to be less likely to have moving intentions than renters. Homeowners face high costs when they move in the Netherlands (mainly stamp duty) and are more likely than renters to be satisfied with their current dwelling and neighbourhood (Parkes & Kearns, 2003; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008).

Dwelling characteristics, such as type of dwelling, room stress and dwelling satisfaction are also known to impact moving intentions. Residents of apartments are generally less satisfied with their dwelling and are therefore more likely to have a moving intention compared to residents of single-family dwellings (Parkes & Kearns, 2003; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). Room-stress (ratio persons per room) is also known to impact moving intentions: households experiencing crowding are, besides being less satisfied with the dwelling, also more likely to have moving intentions than households with a low level of room-stress (Clark & Ledwith, 2006; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008). In many mobility studies dwelling satisfaction is found to have a major impact on moving intentions (Clark & Dieleman, 1996; Kirschenbaum, 1983; Lu, 1998). The more satisfied people are the less likely they are to express the intention to move. The time people have lived in their current house and neighbourhood is also found to be a predictor of moving intentions. Parkes & Kearns (2003; see also Lu, 1998) found that people residing longer than 5 years in their neighbourhood are more likely to leave the neighbourhood than people who have stayed in the area for 5 years or less.

Table 5.1 Variable summary statistics of the weighted data (N=1,339)

	N (%)	Mean (S.d.)	Min./Max.
Intention to leave neighbourhood (dependent)	299 (22.3)		
Female	709 (54.1)		
Age		44.35 (14.81)	19 – 94
Household type			
Single person household	364 (27.2)		
Single parent household	74 (5.5)		
Couple	436 (32.6)		
Couple with children	385 (28.7)		
Other ^a	80 (6.0)		
Ethnicity ^b			
Belonging to ethnic minority	166 (12.4)		
Not belonging to ethnic minority	1,173 (87.6)		
Level of education ^c			
Low	284 (21.2)		
Middle	374 (28.0)		
High	681 (50.8)		
Unemployed ^d	429 (32.1)		
Monthly household income (*€100)		22.33 (9.58)	1.8 – 38
Owner-occupant	783 (58.5)		
Dwelling satisfaction		7.55 (1.40)	1 – 10
Persons/per room-ratio		0.60 (0.30)	0.1 – 2
Flat/apartment	399 (28.8)		
Length of residency			
Living in neighbourhood 0-3 years	362 (27.0)		
Living in neighbourhood 4-7 years	322 (24.1)		
Living in neighbourhood 8-16 years	325 (24.3)		
Living in neighbourhood 17 years and over	330 (24.6)		
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities ^e		27.37 (17.67)	5.35 – 73.43
NBH Average household income (year)		28.47 (5.12)	23.3 – 45.0
NBH Crime rates		112.87 (30.55)	13.7 – 174.9
NBH Housing density		3,212.88 (1047.29)	928 – 5,546
Perceived neighbourhood reputation		3.2 (1.0)	1 – 5
Current dwelling first choice	974 (72.8)		
Current neighbourhood first choice	371 (27.8)		
Sensitivity to social neighbourhood status		0	-3.4 – 2.7
Sensitivity to general social status		0	-2.7 – 4.1
Neighbourhood satisfaction		6.99 (1.52)	1 – 10
Neighbourhood attachment (emotional)		0	-2.5 - 1.8
Most friends live in neighbourhood	102 (7.6)		
Family lives in neighbourhood	313 (23.4)		
Contact with neighbours	1,038 (77.6)		
Member of neighbourhood committee	127 (9.5)		

^afor example, households with cohabiting grandparents

^bethnic minorities are defined as people who categorise themselves as member of an ethnic group from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Turkey; Surinam or the Dutch Antilles

^cdefined as the respondent's highest completed level of education (low = primary education + lower vocational training; middle = secondary education/high school, middle vocational training; high = higher vocational training + university)

^dIndividuals whose main activity is working part-time or full-time are categorised 'employed'. Others, including students are categorised 'unemployed'

^edefined as share of people in the neighbourhood born in, or with at least one parent born in: Africa, Asia, Latin America, Turkey, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles

5.3 Data collection and methods

To test our hypotheses we used individual-level data from our own survey, which was specifically designed to understand the relationship between neighbourhood reputations and different forms of behavioural responses. The survey was carried out in the spring of 2006, in the city of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Utrecht is a compact city with 281,011 residents (GBA City of Utrecht, 2006), and it has a diverse range of neighbourhoods in terms of population composition. The survey data provides information on individual and household characteristics, including information on housing, the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood, general satisfaction with the area, and moving intentions. The survey was carried out using a random sample of addresses in 24 Utrecht neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods consist of 69 per cent of the total Utrecht population. The neighbourhoods were selected on the basis of a small telephone survey. In each sampled household, either the head of the household or his/her partner was asked to fill out a questionnaire. Both the distribution and collection of questionnaires took place in person. The neighbourhood Kanaleneiland – with the worst reputation in the city – was over-sampled because in future research we want to focus on this particular area. Because of the oversampling we weighted the data.

For the analysis we selected all respondents between 18 and 94 years old, excluding people living in institutions. We also excluded cases with missing information on key variables. This selection resulted in a sample of 1,339 respondents. Since residents are likely to define their neighbourhood-borders in different ways, we did not pre-define neighbourhoods in our questionnaire. Respondents decided what to consider as their neighbourhood. According to several authors (Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998) using pre-defined neighbourhoods would probably lead to a distortion of the empirical findings.

We constructed a binary dependent variable ‘intention to move out of the neighbourhood’ by combining two survey questions (a) “Do you plan to move within the next two years?” (b) “Are you planning to move within the neighbourhood?”. Respondents who answered the first question with ‘yes’ and the second question with ‘no’ were considered to have the intention to leave the neighbourhood (1) while all others were considered not to have the intention to leave (0). According to this definition, 299 respondents (22.3 per cent) had the intention to leave their neighbourhood. Since the dependent variable was binary we used logistic regression models. Because individual respondents are clustered in neighbourhoods we used cluster correction to correct for potential bias in the standard errors of some coefficients.

Summary statistics for the dependent and independent variables of the models are given in Table 5.1. For dummy variables, the absolute and relative number of respondents in the category of interest is given. The first variable in the table is the dependent variable, followed by a range of individual and household variables: gender; age (19-94); household type in five categories; ethnicity; level of education in three categories; employment status; monthly household income in Euros; and tenure (own or rent). The next set of variables consists of housing and neighbourhood related characteristics: satisfaction with the dwelling (scale 1 to 10); persons per room ratio; type of house (single-family dwelling or flat/apartment); length of residency in four categories. Furthermore, four variables representing different aspects of the neighbourhood are included: percentage ethnic minorities, average household income per year, crime rates and housing density.

Perceived reputation of the neighbourhood is measured by using the survey question: "Please indicate on a 5-point scale (very negative to very positive), how you think that other city residents assess the reputation of your neighbourhood". Two variables indicate the perceived level of choice people had on the housing market: choice of dwelling and choice of neighbourhood. The two variables indicating people's sensitivity for social status were based on ten statements (see Appendix 1, Table A1) and Principal Component Analysis (PCA). The first component refers to the importance of the neighbourhood as status symbol to the respondent. The second component refers to the weight an individual assigns to social status in general. A high score on either of the two components indicates strong sensitivity to social status. Interestingly, more respondents appear to be sensitive to the status of the neighbourhood than to general social status. Neighbourhood satisfaction was measured by the question: "Please indicate on a 10-point scale (very dissatisfied to very satisfied) what grade you would give to your neighbourhood." Two measures of neighbourhood attachment were used: an emotional component based on PCA and a set of variables measuring social contacts (functional component). The emotional component, a ratio variable, is based on four statements (see Appendix 1, Table A2), which refer to feeling attached to the neighbourhood and the identification with the neighbourhood. A high score on the component indicates positive emotional feelings to the neighbourhood. Three variables measure social contacts in the neighbourhood: most friends live in neighbourhood (1=yes); presence of family in the neighbourhood (1=yes) and chatting with neighbours (1=yes). Finally, formal participation in neighbourhood organisations is measured by participation in a neighbourhood committee and/or neighbourhood organisation (1=yes).

5.4 Results

As mentioned in the literature review, perceived reputation, neighbourhood satisfaction and emotional neighbourhood attachment are related concepts. Table 5.2 shows correlations between these three attitudinal concepts and correlations between the three concepts and a set of objective neighbourhood characteristics. The size of the correlations does not indicate a high risk of multicollinearity and confirms that the concept of perceived neighbourhood reputation truly differs from the concept of neighbourhood satisfaction.³ The highest correlation in the table is between neighbourhood satisfaction and neighbourhood attachment ($r=0.643$, with a common variance of only 41 per cent). The results in Table 5.2 show that perceived reputation is correlated with objective neighbourhood characteristics: neighbourhood crime level shows the lowest correlation ($r=-0.274$) and the percentage of ethnic minorities shows the highest correlation ($r=0.608$). Housing density and average household income are both moderately correlated with perceived neighbourhood reputation. A previous study by the authors (Permentier et al., 2007) found that both ethnic composition and socio-economic status of the neighbourhood were significant predictors of perceived neighbourhood reputation when controlling for several individual and other neighbourhood characteristics.

Table 5.3 shows the results of six logistic regression models estimating people's intention to leave their neighbourhood. The table shows the beta coefficients, standard errors, levels of significance and exponentiated coefficient (ExpB) for each variable. In every model a new block of variables is included: model 1 includes individual, household and dwelling variables; in model 2 neighbourhood variables are added; in model 3 perceived neighbourhood reputation is added;

Table 5.2 Zero-order correlations between different attitudinal variables and between different neighbourhood characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
(1) Perceived NBH reputation	–						
(2) Neighbourhood satisfaction	0.583	–					
(3) Neighbourhood attachment	0.563	0.643	–				
(4) NBH Housing density	0.325	0.215	0.292	–			
(5) NBH Percentage ethnic minorities	-0.608	-0.498	-0.424	-0.357	–		
(6) NBH Average household income	0.464	0.381	0.259	-0.242	-0.557	–	
(7) NBH Crime rates	-0.274	-0.199	-0.106	0.310	0.281	-0.607	–

model 4 includes status-sensitivity variables and dwelling and neighbourhood choice variables to control for selection effects; in model 5 satisfaction with the neighbourhood is added; and finally in model 6 neighbourhood attachment and neighbourhood participation are included.

Model 1 has a significantly better fit than a model with only a constant. As expected, the older people are, the less likely they are to have the intention to move out of their neighbourhood. We did not find evidence for a non-linear effect of age. Individuals who have lived between 4-7 years in their neighbourhood are more likely to have a moving intention, compared to individuals who have lived three years or less in their neighbourhood. Interestingly, those who have lived 8 years and more in their neighbourhood do not significantly differ from those who have lived three years or less in their neighbourhood. No significant effects were found for gender, ethnicity, level of education, employment status, room stress and dwelling type. Income was found to have a positive effect on moving intentions: those with a high income are more likely to express the intention to leave the neighbourhood than those with lower incomes. As expected, people who are satisfied with their dwelling are much less likely to express a moving intention than individuals who are dissatisfied with their current dwelling. Owner-occupancy has no significant effect on moving intentions, which is caused by the inclusion of the general dwelling satisfaction variable. In a model without the latter, the effect of owner-occupancy is negative and significant (result not shown), which reflects the fact that homeowners are generally more satisfied with their dwelling than renters (see also Parkes & Kearns, 2003; Van Ham & Feijten, 2008).

In model 2 several objective neighbourhood characteristics are added to the model, which leads to a significant improvement of the model compared to model 1. The addition of neighbourhood characteristics causes the Nagelkerke R Square to increase to 0.157. The results show that with an increasing proportion of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, people are more likely to have the intention to leave their neighbourhood. Neither the neighbourhood socio-economic status, nor the neighbourhood housing density or neighbourhood crime rates have a significant effect on people's intention to leave their neighbourhood. Additional analyses (not shown) showed that in a model without the percentage of ethnic minorities in the neighbourhood, neighbourhood socio-economic status and housing density have a significant negative effect on moving intentions. The inclusion of objective neighbourhood variables has an impact on the effects of several individual and household characteristics. After controlling for these variables, couples with children appear to be less likely to have the intention to move than others, while a high level of education and a high person per room ratio have a positive impact on the likelihood to have a moving intention.

Table 5.3 Logistic regression of the intention to leave the neighbourhood (N=1,339)

	MODEL 1			MODEL 2		
	B	S.E.	EXP(B)	B	S.E.	EXP(B)
Constant	0.729	0.586		0.595	1.022	
Female (ref=male)	-0.057	0.195	0.944	-0.049	0.201	0.952
Age	-0.027	0.007***	0.974	-0.024	0.007***	0.976
Household type (ref=single)						
Single parent household	0.348	0.346	1.416	0.237	0.312	1.268
Couple	0.094	0.363	1.099	-0.042	0.350	0.959
Couple with children	-0.754	0.526	0.471	-1.012	0.486**	0.363
Other	0.008	0.239	1.008	0.127	0.248	1.135
Belonging to ethnic minority (ref=no)	-0.189	0.306	0.827	-0.474	0.303	0.622
Level of education (ref=low)						
Middle education	-0.077	0.165	0.926	-0.052	0.174	0.950
High education	0.334	0.247	1.397	0.548	0.272**	1.729
Unemployed (ref=employed)	0.066	0.207	1.068	0.059	0.215	1.060
Household income	0.034	0.016**	1.035	0.041	0.017**	1.042
Owner-occupant (ref=renter)	-0.277	0.179	0.758	-0.228	0.187	0.796
Dwelling satisfaction	-0.273	0.061***	0.761	-0.245	0.061***	0.783
Person/room ratio	0.409	0.351	1.505	0.725	0.342**	2.065
Flat/apartment (ref=other)	0.184	0.256	1.202	-0.114	0.263	0.892
Length of residency (ref=<4)						
4-7 years	0.483	0.258*	1.621	0.417	0.260	1.518
8-16 years	0.408	0.262	1.504	0.464	0.261*	1.590
17 and more	0.210	0.450	1.234	0.210	0.482	1.234
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities				0.018	0.005***	1.018
NBH Average household income				-0.027	0.021	0.974
NBH Crime rates				0.001	0.003	1.001
NBH Housing density				0.000	0.000	1.000
Perceived neighbourhood reputation						
Current dwelling first choice (ref=other)						
Current neighbourhood first choice (ref=other)						
Sensitivity to social neighbourhood status						
Sensitivity to general social status						
Neighbourhood satisfaction						
Neighbourhood attachment (emotional)						
Most friends live in neighbourhood (ref=no)						
Family lives in neighbourhood (ref=no)						
Contact with neighbours (ref=no)						
Member of neighbourhood committee (ref=no)						
Log-likelihood	-653.43			-638.88		
Improvement (wald)	331.47	p=0.000		28.03	p=0.000	
Nagelkerke R-Square	0.127			0.157		
Initial	-711.33					

Table 5.3 (continued)

	MODEL 3			MODEL 4		
	B	S.E.	EXP(B)	B	S.E.	EXP(B)
Constant	0.888	1.022		0.555	1.100	
Female (ref=male)	-0.040	0.205	0.961	-0.012	0.244	0.988
Age	-0.023	0.007***	0.977	-0.020	0.006***	0.980
Household type (ref=single)						
Single parent household	0.260	0.373	1.300	0.262	0.386	1.299
Couple	-0.092	0.343	0.912	-0.072	0.357	0.931
Couple with children	-1.038	0.459**	0.354	-1.012	0.473**	0.363
Other	0.177	0.276	1.193	0.138	0.231	1.148
Belonging to ethnic minority (ref=no)	-0.334	0.305	0.716	-0.476	0.392	0.621
Level of education (ref=low)						
Middle education	-0.053	0.165	0.948	-0.170	0.167	0.844
High education	0.520	0.290*	1.682	0.457	0.298	1.579
Unemployed (ref=employed)	0.076	0.225	1.079	0.097	0.212	1.102
Household income	0.043	0.017**	1.044	0.041	0.018**	1.042
Owner-occupant (ref=renter)	-0.156	0.203	0.855	-0.127	0.210	0.881
Dwelling satisfaction	-0.225	0.065***	0.800	-0.166	0.066**	0.847
Person/room ratio	0.714	0.334**	2.041	0.716	0.348**	2.045
Flat/apartment (ref=other)	-0.034	0.280	0.966	-0.060	0.230	0.942
Length of residency (ref=<4)						
4-7 years	0.347	0.274	1.416	0.407	0.279	1.503
8-16 years	0.434	0.265	1.543	0.485	0.266*	1.625
17 and more	0.161	0.465	1.175	0.226	0.428	1.253
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities	0.009	0.006	1.009	0.008	0.006	1.008
NBH Average household income	0.005	0.018	1.005	0.007	0.019	1.007
NBH Crime rates	0.000	0.003	1.000	0.001	0.003	1.001
NBH Housing density	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Perceived neighbourhood reputation	-0.501	0.096***	0.606	-0.486	0.083***	0.615
Current dwelling first choice (ref=other)				-0.467	0.236**	0.627
Current neighbourhood first choice (ref=other)				-0.504	0.277*	0.604
Sensitivity to social neighbourhood status				0.158	0.056***	1.171
Sensitivity to general social status				0.173	0.178	1.188
Neighbourhood satisfaction						
Neighbourhood attachment (emotional)						
Most friends live in neighbourhood (ref=no)						
Family lives in neighbourhood (ref=no)						
Contact with neighbours (ref=no)						
Member of neighbourhood committee (ref=no)						
Log-likelihood	-624.75			-612.87		
Improvement (wald)	27.39	p=0.000		29.44	p=0.000	
Nagelkerke R-Square	0.185			0.209		
Initial						

Table 5.3 (continued)

	MODEL 5			MODEL 6		
	B	S.E.	EXP(B)	B	S.E.	EXP(B)
Constant	0.880	1.169		-1.074	1.671	
Female (ref=male)	-0.007	0.242	0.993	0.031	0.254	1.032
Age	-0.021	0.007***	0.979	-0.017	0.007***	0.984
Household type (ref=single)						
Single parent household	0.224	0.390	1.250	0.163	0.348	1.177
Couple	-0.095	0.354	0.909	-0.192	0.339	0.825
Couple with children	-0.998	0.486**	0.369	-0.895	0.457*	0.408
Other	0.158	0.240	1.171	0.043	0.273	1.044
Belonging to ethnic minority (ref=no)	-0.456	0.409	0.634	-0.293	0.392	0.746
Level of education (ref=low)						
Middle education	-0.146	0.174	0.864	-0.188	0.190	0.829
High education	0.503	0.307	1.653	0.554	0.373	1.741
Not employed (ref=employed)	0.081	0.208	1.084	0.074	0.190	1.076
Household income	0.042	0.018**	1.043	0.047	0.018**	1.048
Owner-occupant	-0.126	0.209	0.882	-0.073	0.198	0.929
Dwelling satisfaction	-0.097	0.090	0.908	-0.100	0.084	0.904
Person/room ratio	0.720	0.335**	2.055	0.857	0.389**	2.356
Flat/apartment (ref=other)	-0.043	0.216	0.958	-0.091	0.237	0.913
Length of residency (ref=<4)						
4-7 years	0.449	0.285	1.566	0.438	0.296	1.550
8-16 years	0.551	0.264**	1.736	0.646	0.286**	1.907
17 and more	0.270	0.428	1.309	0.437	0.394	1.547
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities	0.006	0.005	1.006	0.005	0.005	1.005
NBH Average household income	0.014	0.022	1.014	0.017	0.030	1.017
NBH Crime rates	0.001	0.003	1.001	0.002	0.003	1.002
NBH Housing density	0.000	0.000	1.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Perceived neighbourhood reputation	-0.375	0.108***	0.687	-0.298	0.110***	0.742
Current dwelling first choice	-0.452	0.249*	0.637	-0.158	0.268	0.853
Current neighbourhood first choice	-0.424	0.283	0.654	-0.307	0.253	0.736
Sensitivity to social neighbourhood status	0.143	0.056***	1.154	0.173	0.074**	1.188
Sensitivity to general social status	0.143	0.167	1.153	0.158	0.172	1.172
Neighbourhood satisfaction	-0.212	0.097**	0.809	-0.052	0.090	0.950
Neighbourhood attachment (emotional)				-0.521	0.130***	0.594
Most friends live in neighbourhood (ref=no)				-0.863	0.456*	0.422
Family lives in neighbourhood (ref=no)				0.201	0.325	1.223
Contact with neighbours (ref=no)				-0.497	0.193***	0.608
Member of neighbourhood committee (ref=no)				-0.141	0.277	0.869
Log-likelihood	-607.14			-586.51		
Improvement (wald)	4.79	p=0.029		32.01	p=0.000	
Nagelkerke R-Square	0.220			0.260		
Initial						

In model 3 the perceived neighbourhood reputation is introduced, the main variable of interest in this paper. Including this variable significantly improves the fit of the model compared with the previous model, and the Nagelkerke R Square increases to 0.185. As expected, those who hold a positive perception of the reputation of their neighbourhood are less likely to have a moving intention than people who perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood to be negative. After controlling for perceived neighbourhood reputation the effect of the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood is no longer significant. This indicates that neighbourhood characteristics only have an indirect effect on moving intentions through perceived neighbourhood reputation. Earlier findings by Permentier et al. (2007) already suggested that ethnic composition is a significant and strong predictor of perceived reputation.

In model 4 a set of variables that control for selection effects are introduced. This is a unique feature of our models as many previous studies of moving intentions omit these, mainly because of limitations of the data used. These variables measure the degree of perceived dwelling- and neighbourhood choice and sensitivity to neighbourhood status and status in general. By including these variables we control the effect of perceived reputation as found in model 3 for self-selection into neighbourhoods linked to neighbourhood reputation and status. Compared to the previous model, model 4 has a significantly better fit, and the Nagelkerke R Square increases to 0.209. People who moved into their dwelling and neighbourhood of choice are less likely to express the intention to move out of their neighbourhood than people who did not experience this level of choice. The results also show that people who are sensitive to the status of neighbourhoods are far more likely to have the intention to leave their neighbourhood than people who are not sensitive to neighbourhood status.⁴ Sensitivity to general social status on the other hand does not appear to be relevant as it has no significant impact on the intention to leave.

The presence of family appears not to be relevant in this respect. Residents who participate in the neighbourhood do not differ significantly regarding the intention to move, compared to those who do not participate.

After controlling for attachment and neighbourhood participation, the effects of age and couples with children is reduced while neighbourhood choice is no longer significant. This suggests that older respondents, couples with children and those who were free in their choice of neighbourhood are more attached to their neighbourhood, both emotionally and behaviourally, than young respondents, single-person households and respondents without freedom in their choice of neighbourhood. Most spectacularly, after including neighbourhood attachment, also the effect of neighbourhood satisfaction disappears. This indicates that satisfaction is likely to be channelled through the emotional neighbourhood attachment variable: residents who feel attached to the neighbourhood are also the ones most satisfied with their neighbourhood. Again, the effect of the perceived neighbourhood reputation on moving intention drops a little, but remains significant.

We have seen that with every block of variables added to the model, the effect of the perceived reputation decreases, but it does not disappear. This is a strong indication that the concept of (perceived) neighbourhood reputation adds to our understanding of moving intentions.

5.5 Discussion

In this study we have analysed the effect of residents' perceived reputation of their neighbourhood on their intention to leave the neighbourhood. Within the behavioural model of residential mobility underlying this study we assumed that the behaviour of residents is more likely to be affected by the neighbourhood reputation as perceived by residents than by the shared view of other city residents, the external reputation (see also Lee et al., 1994). Our study contributed both theoretically and empirically to the residential mobility literature. We extended the existing conceptual framework of residential mobility by introducing the concept of perceived neighbourhood reputation and hypothesised that reputation has an effect on moving intentions on top of more established factors such as neighbourhood satisfaction. The empirical innovation of this paper is that we were able to explicitly include a measure of neighbourhood reputation and control our models for several measures of self-selection into neighbourhoods.

We showed that perceived reputation of the neighbourhood is a significant predictor of residential mobility intentions, even after controlling for general satisfaction with the neighbourhood, neighbourhood attachment and measures of self-selection. The results show that even though a person might be satisfied, or even attached to his or her neighbourhood, a perceived poor neighbourhood reputation can still induce the intention to move out of the neighbourhood. Interestingly, we found that after controlling for perceived neighbourhood reputation the effect of the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood was no longer significant. This indicates that people perceive ethnic concentration neighbourhoods as having a negative reputation, which is in line with earlier findings (Permentier et al., 2007).

The results also show that moving intentions are strongly influenced by the degree of emotional attachment residents have to their neighbourhood. Residents who are attached to their neighbourhood are less likely to state an intention to leave their neighbourhood. Interestingly, after controlling for neighbourhood attachment (and participation) the effect of neighbourhood satisfaction is no longer significant. This implies that those who are satisfied with their neighbourhood are most likely also attached to their neighbourhood. Apparently, neighbourhood attachment is a more important predictor of the intention to leave the neighbourhood than neighbourhood satisfaction, a variable traditionally used in residential mobility studies.

The results of this study indicate that policies aimed at creating residentially stable neighbourhoods will be more successful if they can increase the level of neighbourhood attachment of the residents. Further, the results indicate the importance of improving the (perceived) reputation of deprived neighbourhoods. Residents who have a negative perception of the neighbourhood's reputation are more likely to express the intention to leave their neighbourhood. These intentions might translate into actual residential mobility, especially among those who have the most resources. Changing the underlying causes of the perceived reputation of a neighbourhood, in addition to improving neighbourhood attachment, could influence more affluent residents to stay, thus creating a more sustainable neighbourhood with socially upward mobile residents.

Permentier et al. (2007) have shown that especially the socio-economic status of neighbourhoods, the ethnic composition and crime rates are important in impacting perceived reputation. Of these three characteristics, reducing crime rates would be easiest to achieve. Changing the socio-economic status and ethnic composition of neighbourhoods would pose more difficulties (Musterd, 2008). First, policies aimed at creating socially mixed neighbourhoods

are controversial (social engineering) because they appear to be at odds with ideas of social equity and individual choice (Crump, 2002). Displacement of residents can result in the break down of important social structures in neighbourhoods because many of the existing residents are not able to return to their neighbourhood (Clampet-Lundquist, 2004). The resulting 'forced' new mix of residents can result in tension between old and new residents and to a (further) decline of social cohesion (Joseph et al., 2007; Van Beckhoven & Van Kempen, 2003). Second, there is evidence that artificially created socially mixed neighbourhoods will not be very sustainable because of selective mobility in and out of neighbourhoods. Van Ham & Feijten (2008) and Van Ham & Clark (forthcoming) have shown that residents (have the wish to) move away from neighbourhoods where the neighbourhood socioeconomic mix does not match their own characteristics. It is very ironic that creating sustainable mixed neighbourhoods might require substantial policy intervention to keep neighbourhoods mixed.

In the situation that the perceived reputation of neighbourhoods is undeserved (i.e. more negative than to be expected on grounds of objective neighbourhood characteristics) reputation management may be implemented (Hastings & Dean, 2003). Stakeholders, such as residents, welfare organisations, councils and prospective residents, should together create a vision of the desired image of the neighbourhood. Subsequently this vision and image can be the leading principle of both renewal plans and communication with non-residents. Public relations are a significant part of this strategy: neighbourhood transformations (both physical, functional and social) should be widely publicised in communication with neighbourhood residents and other city residents.

Notes

- 1 External reputation measured as the average reputation-rating of urban neighbourhoods by other city residents
- 2 We acknowledge that this type of formal participation is not necessarily due to dissatisfaction, but can also be simply a resultant of the wish to be involved in organising neighbourhood activities, such as a street barbecue
- 3 In our models we have studied the possible impact of multicollinearity on our results by means of Variance Inflation Factors (VIF). The highest VIF-score is 4.46 for percentage ethnic minorities, which is deemed acceptable (greater than 10 is generally seen as problematic), indicating no evidence of multicollinearity
- 4 As it may be expected that a poor perceived neighbourhood reputation mainly affects moving intentions for those who are sensitive to the social status of neighbourhoods, we also included the interaction term perceived neighbourhood reputation*sensitivity to neighbourhood social status (not shown). This interaction effect turned out to be not significant and was therefore removed from the model

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Appendix

Table A1. Principal Components Analysis^a of statements related to status-sensitivity

The statements	(Fully) agree %	Component ^b	
		1	2
The reputation of a neighbourhood is important to me	47	0.774	0.019
It is important to me to live in a neighbourhood that is known to be a good neighbourhood	44	0.813	0.052
I find it important to live in a neighbourhood that suits my status	26	0.714	0.317
To me it is important how my neighbourhood is experienced by friends and family	23	0.734	0.332
The opinion of my family and friends regarding my neighbourhood is important to me	21	0.580	0.267
I want others to know of my achievements	22	0.161	0.674
It is important to me what others think or say about me	29	0.207	0.636
I like to buy things that impress other people	4	0.087	0.762
To climb the social ladder is one of the more important goals in life	22	0.136	0.685
I am more concerned with my social status than most of the other people I know	9	0.182	0.680

^aExtraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalisation. Rotation converged in 3 iterations

^bCronbach's Alpha of this model is 0.917, indicating that the model represents the input variables

Table A2. Principal Components Analysis^a of statements related to neighbourhood attachment

The statements	(Fully) agree %	Component ^b
I feel at home in this neighbourhood	71	0.843
This neighbourhood suits my taste	53	0.896
I feel attached to this neighbourhood	50	0.865
The neighbourhood I live in reflects my personality	37	0.756

^aExtraction method: Principal Component Analysis. No rotation used (since only one component was extracted)

^bCronbach's Alpha of this model is 0.860, indicating that the model represents the input variables

6 Neighbourhood reputation and resident participation

Manuscript has been submitted for review.

Abstract

Perceived neighbourhood reputation is thought to explain part of the variation in neighbourhood participation among individual residents. According to some studies, people living in stigmatised areas are less inclined to maintain or improve the quality of their neighbourhood. Other studies suggest that a negative reputation may actually encourage them to do so. These divergent findings reflect the small-scale approach taken in most previous studies and their narrow focus on places with the worst reputation. The present study avoids both pitfalls. It investigates the role of perceived neighbourhood reputation on residents' participation in both deprived and non-deprived neighbourhoods. A survey was conducted in Utrecht, the Netherlands in 2006 in which a total of 1,327 respondents participated. Logistic regression models were used to estimate the probability that residents were active in neighbourhood-based forms of participation. The results show that the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood is a significant predictor of participation.

Keywords: Resident participation, neighbourhood reputation, neighbourhood characteristics, the Netherlands

6.1 Introduction

In Northwest Europe, urban policy of recent decades has emphasised the role of residents in maintaining neighbourhood quality (Dekker, 2007). Participation is widely believed to make urban neighbourhoods more stable. It is also believed that the residents can contribute to the livability of these neighbourhoods. Policymakers in several countries see the neighbourhood as *the* most suitable spatial level for participatory activities. Neighbourhood issues are considered more tangible and as having more direct impact on daily life in the neighbourhood than issues of a higher (spatial) order. Accordingly, residents are thought to have a greater stake in neighbourhood affairs than in issues at higher spatial levels (Hays & Kogl, 2007). The interest shown by policymakers has been picked up by academics. Some have investigated how residents can be activated to take part in neighbourhood events; some have examined the reasons why certain groups of residents do participate and others do not (see, for example, Verba & Nie, 1972;

Dekker, 2007; Perkins et al., 1990). In the present study, participation is defined as a voluntary act by individuals or groups of residents to maintain or improve the quality of the neighbourhood.

Participation is often seen as a response to a variety of neighbourhood problems. Indeed, problems experienced by the residents are thought to be among the driving forces of participation (Van Vugt et al., 2003; Perkins et al., 1990). This response may be investigated in light of Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework (1970). Various community studies have applied an adapted version of Hirschman's framework to study the impact of neighbourhood problems on residents' participation, whereby participation is equated with 'voice' (Cox, 1983; Oropesa, 1992).

One type of problem that has received little attention in this regard is the reputation of the neighbourhood. Reputation "refers to the meaning and esteem that residents and other involved parties attribute to a neighbourhood. Reputation also refers to the relatively stable image a neighbourhood has among city residents and to its place in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy" [author's translation from Dutch](Hortulanus, 1995). A bad reputation differs from more conventional problems because of the complex nature of any reputation. First, it is the result of the dominant view of outsiders (e.g., other city residents, the media, professionals). Thus, no one knows to whom complaints (voice response) should be directed because there is no single producer of the problem. This distinguishes reputation from problems such as trash on the street or traffic noise, which have a clear producer and a clear addressee. Second, unlike other kinds of problems, a negatively perceived reputation may reduce the voice option of the residents. As soon as a resident uses this option, he/she is associating him/herself with the neighbourhood. In contrast to other kinds of neighbourhood problems, the reputation by association may put a burden on the individual's own status.

Other neighbourhood problems are thought to have either no effect or a mobilising effect on participation. In our study, in contrast, we expect a negative neighbourhood reputation to have a negative effect on the chance that residents will participate in neighbourhood affairs.

Perceived reputation has been found to affect neighbourhood participation, though there is disagreement on whether a negative reputation mobilises or demobilises residents' participation. Wacquant (1993) argues that the residents' self-image is negatively impacted by a negative reputation and that they will therefore retreat from participation within the neighbourhood. When people believe that belonging to a certain group is detrimental to their status, they will try to disassociate themselves from that group (see Goffman, 1963; Mead, 1934). Non-participation allows them to mediate and escape the perceived negative reputation: residents distance themselves from an area with a disreputable name (Blokland, 2008; Eyels as quoted by Wakefield et al., 2001). On the other hand, some researchers argue that residents of infamous neighbourhoods will not necessarily react to the stigma in this way, observing instead an energising effect on participation (Mazanti & Pløger, 2003).

The question we address in this paper is as follows: To what extent does the residents' perceived reputation of their neighbourhood predict their participation in it? We think that the previous studies have come up with divergent findings because of the limited number of neighbourhoods they have investigated. Furthermore, previous studies on this topic have been (almost) exclusively focused on the most stigmatised neighbourhoods. To gain clarity about the effect of perceived reputation on residents' participation, a larger-scale study encompassing a wide range of neighbourhoods is required. Therefore, we collected data on neighbourhood

reputation from a variety of neighbourhoods. The survey, including 1,327 residents in 24 different neighbourhoods, was carried out in the spring of 2006 in the city of Utrecht, The Netherlands.

6.2 Literature review

6.2.1 Introduction

The field of community studies differentiates several modalities of participation. These fall into two categories: formal and informal. The residents (either individually or collectively) engage in both formal and informal types, both of which are aimed at improving the social and physical quality of the neighbourhood (Dekker, 2007; Hays & Kogl, 2007; Lelieveldt, 2004). These types of participation do differ, though. Formal participation refers to the active involvement of residents in an organised structure in which decision-making on improving the neighbourhood quality is the goal (Verba & Nie, 1972). Examples include taking part in city-initiated discussion panels or attending city-initiated neighbourhood meetings. The degree of resident involvement is dependent on the decision-making process of the (local) authority (Arnstein, 1969). Informal participation refers to the active involvement of residents, either alone or in organisations that do not comprise the political component of formal decision-making. For example, the residents may join a block committee organising barbecues, they may volunteer at the neighbourhood meeting center, or they may serve on a neighbourhood patrol.

The focus of this study is on activities performed by residents with the aim of maintaining or improving the quality of the neighbourhood. Specifically, we examine resident participation in city-initiated neighbourhood meetings. This type of participation consists of exchanging ideas and discussing problems arising in the neighbourhood, a consultation taking place between residents and professionals (e.g., civil servants and welfare officers).

To study the impact of perceived neighbourhood reputation on resident participation in city-initiated neighbourhood meetings, we use Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework. In Hirschman's view, two responses – which do not exclude each other – may be discerned: exit and voice. His framework assumes that voice lowers the chance to exit. In this paper, we concentrate on the voice response.¹ The framework also assumes that perceived problems lead residents to opt for the voice option. According to this framework, the voice option is also impacted by one's loyalty to his/her neighbourhood. Loyalty may consist of an emotional bond with the neighbourhood, but it can also relate to the presence of social networks.

6.2.2 Neighbourhood problems and perceived neighbourhood reputation

Several authors have argued that participation within the neighbourhood is a response by individuals who are discontented with the quality of particular neighbourhood attributes. For instance, the residents are said to be responding to feelings of being unsafe, to pollution, or to the social composition of the neighbourhood (Cox, 1983; Lelieveldt, 2004; Perkins et al., 1990; Van Vugt et al., 2003). In response to the perceived problems, residents may choose to voice their concerns about the neighbourhood's quality. However, other authors have argued that perceived neighbourhood problems have no (direct) effect on neighbourhood participation (Olsen et al., 1989; Perkins et al., 1990). According to Conway and Hachen (2005), the effect of perceived problems disappears when controlling for social networks and length of residence in the neighbourhood. That is because an extended social network and/or time spent in the

neighbourhood will increase one's awareness of neighbourhood problems (through respectively conversation with fellow residents and experience) and will subsequently increase the chance of participating.

While perceived neighbourhood *problems* have either an energising or no effect on participation, perceived neighbourhood *reputation* may actually diminish participation. According to Wacquant (1993), participation of residents in neighbourhoods in Chicago's inner city and in Parisian 'banlieues' is limited due to the stigma the neighbourhoods carry. The negative outsiders' perspective is accepted and internalised by (a portion of) the local residents. Wacquant found that residents were hesitant to be part of neighbourhood social networks and neighbourhood organisations (see also Blokland, 2008 for similar findings in New Haven, CT.) Other authors drew similar conclusions about neighbourhoods in various European countries (Costa Pinto, 2000; Eyles as quoted in Wakefield et al., 2001; Skifter Andersen, 2001). By employing a strategy of distancing, residents may hope to limit the impact of the stigma on their own personal identity. Wacquant's findings corroborate those of Mead (1934), who argued that people's self-image is influenced by the way they think others think of them and the group they belong to. Living in a neighbourhood with a negative reputation can have a negative effect on the self-image of an individual. This might induce residents to retreat from their community in order to disassociate themselves from the poor neighbourhood reputation. Ultimately, that response could thereby prevent an investment in neighbourhood-based forms of participation.

Yet there may be another reason not to participate in neighbourhood affairs; this too is related to reputation. Wakefield and colleagues (2001, p. 272) found that some residents in Hamilton, Canada thought their neighbourhood had a very negative reputation. As a result, they did not join in (collective) action against neighbourhood problems; they did not expect that others (i.e., the authorities) would take them seriously. The perception of the neighbourhood's reputation can thus impose a structural barrier, limiting civic action at the neighbourhood level.

In contrast to the above findings, some authors have found that a neighbourhood's notorious reputation may actually exert a positive influence on participation. As Mazanti & Pløger (2003) found in their fieldwork (in Avedøre Stationsby, Denmark), the bad name of the area had an energising effect on the organisation of the residents. The negative view that outsiders were believed to have of their neighbourhood resulted in an adversarial stance toward the outside world and to a stronger in-group loyalty towards fellow residents. It brought residents together in a "collective stance against the outside world's understanding and negative stigmatisation of their neighbourhood" (Mazanti & Pløger, 2003, p. 320). Palmer et al. (2005) found that groups of residents in a city in South Australia challenged the neighbourhood's stigma by participating fully in a range of social and civic activities (p. 420-421). Kearns & Parkinson (2001) pursued a similar line of reasoning. In their view, discrimination of place can lead to a situation in which "residents of deprived communities engage in a high degree of mutually supportive behaviour" (p. 2105) that might subsequently have a positive influence on participation rates in the neighbourhood.

6.2.3 Loyalty

In Hirschman's work (1970), loyalty refers to a psychological state of attachment to a product or an organisation. For instance, customers who have a strong psychological bond are more likely to bring their problems to the attention of the producer; this group wants to voice concerns about the product in order to maintain and/or improve its quality. Thus, loyalty activates voice

(Hirschman, 1970, p. 79). Whereas Hirschman defines loyalty in psychological terms – as a state of mind – community studies take a broader view of loyalty. This seems to be justified because, unlike a product, a neighbourhood is multifaceted. Loyalty to the residential area is more than a state of mind (a psychological sense of community); it is also manifest in diverse kinds of behavior such as social ties (Conway & Hachen, 2005). The presence of such ties – thus, the involvement people actually have in the neighbourhood – is also part of the loyalty concept. In line with the aforementioned study, we discern loyalty in both an emotional/attitudinal dimension (psychological attachment) and a functional/behavioral dimension (the presence of social networks).

Residents with a strong emotional attachment to the neighbourhood are more likely to participate in its affairs than residents who lack neighbourhood attachment (Brodsky et al., 1999; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990; Dekker, 2007; Van Vugt et al., 2003). Neighbourhood attachment is often seen as the psychological bond that residents have with their immediate living environment and its people (Blokland, 2000; Dekker & Bolt, 2005). Their emotional attachment can breed a sense of security, build self-esteem, forge a bond among people, and maintain group identity (Altman & Low, 1992; Chavis & Wandersman, 1990). People may very well be attached to their neighbourhood even though their social ties within the neighbourhood are limited or absent. Hays & Kogl (2007) argue that emotional neighbourhood attachment (or a sense of community) is essentially about one's connection to the neighbourhood. Residents who feel strongly attached have a stake in the neighbourhood and are more likely to participate in its affairs because they want to protect and take care of something that is important to them.

Social networks – that is, the (relative) number and type of social contacts based in the neighbourhood – also have a positive effect on neighbourhood participation (Dekker, 2007; Kang & Kwak, 2003; Lelieveldt, 2004; Marschall, 2001). Residents with many ties in the neighbourhood are thought to participate more because they have more chance of being asked to do so by other members of organisations and have more information on such opportunities than residents with few ties (Ahlbrandt & Cunningham, 1979; Lelieveldt, 2004). Having more social ties in the neighbourhood may also lead to more frequent discussions on community issues which, in turn, lead to more participation (Bolland & McMullan, 2002). Furthermore, social networks may facilitate participation by bundling individual needs and capacities (Kearns & Forrest, 2000). Not all types of social ties are equally relevant to participation. A recent study of two deprived areas in the Netherlands (Dekker, 2007) found that having friends nearby was a relevant factor in participation, but that the proximity of family and contact with neighbors did not matter. Lelieveldt (2004) found evidence that contact with neighbors was important for certain types of participation like informal governance, but not for voting or participation in other neighbourhood projects.

Participation depends not only on people having social ties with their fellow residents but also on the trust they have in them (Marschall, 2001). Trust, according to Lelieveldt (2004), refers to personal and social bonds; it is indicative of the residents' outlook on the anticipated actions of fellow residents. It is an important concept because it can be the basis on which people are mobilised for collective action (Putnam, 2000; WRR 2005). It gives people direction on whether to make an effort on behalf of the neighbourhood or whether to stay passive (Arrow, 2000). A lack of trust complicates the organisation of action in neighbourhoods because active residents are not assured that their fellow residents will contribute to the neighbourhood as well (Lelieveldt, 2004). Purdue (2001) discerns two important types of trust: trust in fellow residents and in local

authorities. People who trust their fellow residents are more likely to participate because they expect that these fellow residents will, when required, be active in addressing neighbourhood problems. Trust in local authorities is necessary to get residents involved in more formal forms of participation. Lacking trust, the residents will be less likely to participate since the conditions for participation are unfavorable.

Loyalty is not only thought to be important for participation; it is also thought to mediate the effect of reputation on participation. Wacquant (1993) has argued that a negative reputation affects participation through the aforementioned loyalty variables, particularly social networks and trust in fellow residents. Residents may cut back on social interaction with their fellow residents. Their trust may diminish as they seek to disassociate themselves from a stigmatised neighbourhood and its residents. Subsequently, the residents will be less inclined to participate in the neighbourhood. Wakefield et al. (2001) have argued that reputation has an indirect effect on participation and that this effect may be channeled through trust in the authorities (see previous section).

6.2.4 Individual and neighbourhood characteristics

From the literature we have gained extensive knowledge of the contribution that individual characteristics – demographic, socio-economic and residential – make to an explanation of residents' participation in the neighbourhood. Demographic characteristics such as age, gender and household composition have an effect on the chance to participate (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Conway & Hachen, 2005; Cox, 1983; Fischer, 1982; Guest & Wierzbicki, 1999; Reingold, 1995). Older residents, women and households with children are generally more likely to participate than younger residents, men and households without children. In addition, a high socio-economic status of individuals (based on indicators such as education and income level) has a positive effect on the chance to participate because a higher status generates skills and larger networks compared to people with a low socio-economic status (Conway & Hachen, 2005; Marschall, 2001; Olsen et al., 1989; Perkins et al., 1990; Putnam, 2000). The effect of an individual's ethnicity is not clear: some studies, mostly in a US context, have found that ethnic groups are more likely to participate (Verba & Nie, 1972; Marschall, 2001) whereas other studies have found no ethnicity effect on participation (Conway & Hachen, 2005; Dekker, 2007). Finally, residential status (in terms of length of residence and owner-occupancy) is known to increase the likelihood of participation because it enlarges the financial and/or social stake that residents have in their neighbourhood (DiPasquale & Glaeser, 1999; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Kang & Kwak, 2003).

Less is known about the contribution of neighbourhood-level characteristics than about that of individual-level characteristics (Perkins et al., 1990; Cho et al., 2006; Dekker & Van Kempen, 2008). Though scarce, research does suggest that active neighbourhoods – those with a high proportion of socially and politically active residents – produce and reproduce active citizens (Cho et al., 2006). New residents learn the values of their community by observing and interacting; they pick up the value of participation from their fellow residents. Furthermore, a strong commitment to preventing deterioration is more prevalent in residentially stable neighbourhoods (Van Vugt et al., 2003). There, people also have more time to build friendships and trust compared to neighbourhoods with a high rate of turnover (Kang & Kwak, 2003; Sampson, 1991). Ethnic composition may impact participation, though the direction is unclear. On the one hand, ethnic concentration and diversity may lead to lower participation rates

(Wilson, 1987; Putnam, 2008). On the other hand, ethnic concentration may have a positive impact on participation because outsiders' pressure increases cohesive feelings within the neighbourhood and can promote mutual help (Marschall, 2001; Peleman, 2002). There is little evidence on the contribution of the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood. Poverty may lead to neighbourhood disorganisation because of mutual distrust in an area full of economic problems (Wilson, 1987). Yet high unemployment rates have a positive impact on the chance of individuals to participate in local affairs (Dekker & Van Kempen, 2008). In neighbourhoods with high crime rates, participation is thought to be lower than in neighbourhoods with low crime rates (Saegert & Winkel, 2004). It is believed that high levels of crime increase social withdrawal and put a burden on cooperation among neighbourhood residents. High levels of crime may create distrust and force people into isolation.

The above literature review has emphasised the contribution of both individual and neighbourhood characteristics to an explanation of resident participation, with particular attention to the role of perceived neighbourhood reputation. The rest of this paper presents an empirical investigation of the relationship between these characteristics.

6.3 Data collection and methods

To understand the effect that perceived reputation has on participation in a wide range of neighbourhoods, we used individual-level data from our own survey, which was specifically designed to elucidate this relationship. The survey was carried out in the spring of 2006 in the city of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Utrecht is a compact city of 281,011 inhabitants (GBA City of Utrecht, 2006), and it has a diverse range of neighbourhoods in terms of population composition. The survey data provide information on individual and household characteristics, including housing, the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood, general satisfaction with the area, and moving intentions. The survey was carried out in 24 Utrecht neighbourhoods, where 69 per cent of the total Utrecht population reside, among a random sample of addresses. The neighbourhoods were selected on the basis of a small telephone survey. In each sampled household, either the head of the household or his/her partner was asked to fill out a questionnaire. Both the distribution and collection of the questionnaires took place in person. The neighbourhood called Kanaleneiland – with the worst reputation in the city – was over-sampled because in future research we want to focus on this particular area. When the data are weighted, the sample is representative of the 24 neighbourhoods.

A total of 1,389 households filled in the questionnaires, a response of 44.0 per cent. Compared to other survey response rates in the Netherlands, this is a reasonable result. Comparison of our sample with the overall population of Utrecht showed that in our sample Turks and Moroccans, persons between 18 and 44 years old, and single people are slightly under-represented, while owner-occupants are over-represented. For the analysis we selected all respondents aged 18 or older, with the exception of people living in institutions. We also excluded cases that had missing information on key variables. This selection left us with a total research sample of 1,327 respondents. The questionnaire did not set boundaries on the neighbourhood, since the residents are likely to delimit their neighbourhood differently. The respondents themselves decided what to consider as part of their neighbourhood. Using a predefined concept of neighbourhood would probably lead to a distortion of the empirical findings (Lee et al., 1994; Lu, 1998).

Table 6.1 Variable summary statistics (N=1,327)

	N (%)	Mean (S.d.)	Min./Max.
Individual-level variables			
Attending meetings (dependent)	293 (22.0)		
Female	702 (52.8)		
Age		44.3 (14.8)	19 – 94
Children in household	453 (34.1)		
Ethnicity ^a			
Belonging to ethnic minority	164 (12.3)		
Not belonging to ethnic minority	1163 (87.7)		
Middle/high education ^b	1,047 (78.8)		
Monthly household income (*€100)		22.3 (9.6)	1.8 – 38
Owner-occupant	776 (58.4)		
Living in neighbourhood 3 years or longer	989 (74.4)		
Perceived neighbourhood reputation		3.2 (1.0)	1 – 5
Neighbourhood assessment: Social milieu		0.0 (1.0)	-2.9 – 2.3
Neighbourhood assessment: Functional aspects		0.0 (1.0)	-5.0 – 1.9
Emotional neighbourhood attachment		0.0 (1.0)	-2.6 – 1.7
Most friends in neighbourhood	100 (7.5)		
Family in neighbourhood	311 (23.4)		
Chat with neighbors	1,029 (77.4)		
Trust in fellow residents		0.0 (1.0)	-3.7 – 2.5
Trust in government		0.0 (1.0)	-3.2 – 2.6
Neighbourhood-level variables			
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities ^c		27.3 (17.6)	5.4 – 73.4
NBH Average household income		28.5 (5.1)	23.3 – 45.0
NBH Crime rates		112.8 (30.6)	13.7 – 174.9
NBH Average duration of stay		7.8 (1.9)	2.6 – 14.3
NBH Percentage active residents		31.2 (4.1)	18.5 – 38.3

^a ethnic minorities are defined as people who categorise themselves as member of an ethnic group from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Turkey, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles

^b defined as the respondent's highest completed level of education (low = primary education + lower vocational training; middle = secondary education/high school, middle vocational training; high = higher vocational training + university)

^c defined as share of people in the neighbourhood born in, or with at least one parent born in: Africa, Asia, Latin America, Turkey, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles

In this paper the dependent variable is whether residents have attended a formal neighbourhood meeting initiated by the city to discuss neighbourhood problems. This type of (formal) participation has the explicit aim to maintain and/or positively influence the quality of the neighbourhood. Residents who attended a neighbourhood meeting form one category (i), while non-attending residents form the other category (o). Over the past year, 293 residents attended a neighbourhood meeting (22.0 per cent). Summary statistics for the dependent and independent variables of the models are given in Table 6.1. For dummy variables, the absolute and relative number of respondents in the category of interest are given. The first variable in the table is the dependent variable (attending neighbourhood meetings), followed by a range of demographic, socio-economic and housing-situation variables: gender; age (19-94); presence of children in the household; ethnicity; level of education (low or middle/high); household income (in Euros/100

Table 6.2 Principal Components Analysis^a of statements related to neighbourhood problems

The statements	Dissatisfied %	Component ^b	
		1	2
Location of the neighbourhood	4	.317	.531
Accessibility of the neighbourhood	4	.115	.729
Shopping facilities of the neighbourhood	13	-.070	.650
Norms and values of the residents of the NH	20	.838	.113
Social safety of the neighbourhood	22	.766	.124
Public transport of the neighbourhood	4	.083	.800
Cleanliness of the neighbourhood	27	.776	.068
Population composition of the neighbourhood	22	.742	.041

^a Extraction method: Principal Components Analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation Rotation converged in 3 iterations

^b Cronbach's Alpha of this model is 0.728, indicating that the model represents the input variables

per month); tenure (rent or own) and length of residency (0-3 years; 4 years and more). Perceived reputation of the neighbourhood is measured using the survey question, "Please indicate on a 5-point scale (very negative to very positive), how you think that other city residents assess the reputation of your neighbourhood." Two other variables are used that reflect other types of perceived neighbourhood problems.

These two variables are based on Principal Components Analysis (PCA), in which eight statements have been reduced to two components, explaining 56 per cent of the variance. The first component refers to the assessment of the social milieu of the neighbourhood (Table 6.2), while the second component represents the assessment of functional aspects of the neighbourhood. A high score on either of these two components reflects high satisfaction with the attributes, while a low score reflects low satisfaction.

Next, a measure of psychological neighbourhood attachment is used. Based on PCA, six statements have been reduced to a single component (Table 6.3). It refers to feeling attached to the neighbourhood and the identification with the neighbourhood. Respondents who score high on this component show strong feelings of attachment to the neighbourhood, whereas this feeling is weak among respondents who score low.

Three dichotomous variables are used to reflect the importance of social networks to the respondents. The first is the presence of a majority of one's friends in the neighbourhood (1=yes), which indicates whether people have a strong social focus on the neighbourhood. The second variable is the presence of family in the neighbourhood (1=yes). The third is chatting with the neighbors (1=yes). This variable reflects a broad interest in the surrounding neighbors, and it is also an indication of good neighboring behavior (Dekker & Bolt, 2005).

Feelings of trust are reflected in two ratio variables and were based on five statements (Table 6.4) and PCA. A factor analysis of the five statements resulted in a two-dimensional solution explaining 64 per cent of the variance. The first component refers to how much trust the respondents put in their fellow residents. The second component refers to the trust they put in the authorities. Respondents who score high on the first component have strong faith in their fellow residents. Likewise, a high score on the second component indicates strong trust in the authorities.

Table 6.3 Principal Components Analysis^a of statements related to neighbourhood attachment

The statements	(Fully) agree %	Component ^b
I feel at home in this neighbourhood	71	0.846
This neighbourhood suits my taste	53	0.897
I feel attached to this neighbourhood	50	0.860
The neighbourhood I live in reflects my taste	37	0.765

^a Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. No rotation used (since only one component was extracted)

^b Cronbach's Alpha of this model is 0.862, indicating that the model represents the input variables

Table 6.4 Principal Components Analysis^a of statements related to trust

The statements	(Fully) agree %	Component ^b	
		1	2
Most neighbourhood residents can be trusted	56	0.657	0.338
Civil servants are generally trustworthy	45	0.070	0.819
When I have problems, I can count on people in this NH	43	0.841	0.078
Reporting problems to the administration is useful	33	0.049	0.807
I always help my neighbors when they face problems	63	0.781	-0.104

^a Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation. Rotation converged in 3 iterations

^b Cronbach's Alpha of this model is 0.591, indicating that the model moderately represents the input variables

Five variables measuring different aspects of the neighbourhood are included: percentage ethnic minorities, average household income, crime rates, average duration of stay and percentage of active residents.²

The main interest of this study is the impact of perceived neighbourhood reputation on resident participation in urban neighbourhoods. Because our dependent variable is binary, we have used logistic regression modeling. Since individual respondents are clustered in neighbourhoods, we used cluster correction to correct for potential bias in the standard errors of the coefficients. The model is built up by introducing individual and neighbourhood variables in different blocks. The first block contains individual variables regarding socio-demographic background, socio-economic status, residential status and five neighbourhood-level variables. Perceived reputation – i.e., the main independent variable of interest – is introduced in the second block. Other perceived neighbourhood problems are introduced in the third block. Finally, block four introduces loyalty toward the neighbourhood, as measured by psychological attachment, social networks and trust.

6.4 Results

Bivariate correlations

Table 6.5 shows the correlations among four attitudinal concepts as well as the correlations between these concepts and a set of objective neighbourhood characteristics. The size of the

Table 6.5 Zero-order correlations between different attitudinal variables and between different neighbourhood characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1) Perceived neighbourhood reputation	–								
(2) Neighbourhood assessment: Social milieu	.616	–							
(3) Neighbourhood assessment: Functional aspects	.095	.063	–						
(4) Emotional neighbourhood attachment	.565	.610	.216	–					
(5) NBH Percentage ethnic minorities	-.608	-.526	.032	-.423	–				
(6) NBH Average household income	.465	.380	-.054	.258	-.558	–			
(7) NBH Crime rates	-.278	-.259	.115	-.106	.281	-.607	–		
(8) NBH Average duration of stay	.024	-.025	.095	.025	-.086	-.088	.329	–	
(9) NBH Percentage active residents	.055	.024	.051	-.024	.006	.229	.017	-.038	–

correlations does not indicate a high risk of multicollinearity. This confirms that the concept of perceived neighbourhood reputation truly differs from perceived neighbourhood problems.³ The highest correlation in the table is between assessment of social neighbourhood aspects and perceived neighbourhood reputation ($r=0.616$, which means a common variance of only 38 per cent). The results in Table 6.5 show that perceived reputation is correlated with objective neighbourhood characteristics. Neighbourhood crime shows the lowest correlation ($r=-0.278$), whereas the percentage of ethnic minorities shows the highest ($r=-0.608$). Average household income is moderately correlated with perceived neighbourhood reputation, while neighbourhood stability and the proportion of active residents show a very low correlation. A previous study Permentier and colleagues (2007) found that both ethnic composition and socio-economic status of the neighbourhood were significant predictors of perceived neighbourhood reputation when controlling for several individual-level and other neighbourhood-level characteristics.

In the remainder of this section, we discuss the results per block of variables. We start with the impact of individual background variables (socio-demographic, socio-economic and residential status) and neighbourhood variables. We then turn to the key variables of this research, namely perceived neighbourhood reputation and perceived neighbourhood problems. Finally, we discuss variables that together form the loyalty category (emotional neighbourhood attachment, social networks and trust).

Socio-demographic variables and neighbourhood variables

The probability that a person will participate in neighbourhood meetings increases with age, education and household income (Table 6.6). The older people are, the more likely they are to attend these meetings. Those with a middle/high level of education have a greater chance of participating than residents with a low level. Residents with a high income are more likely to attend a neighbourhood meeting than low-income residents. These findings generally confirm the results of previous studies on resident participation. The results in Table 6.6 also show that the population composition of the neighbourhood alone is not enough to explain the variation in participation rates: in this regard too, the context is important. Neighbourhood variables add to our understanding of the chance to participate in neighbourhood meetings. Both neighbourhood crime rates and residential stability are significant predictors. The former shows a positive

Table 6.6 Logistic regressions on attending neighbourhood meetings (N=1,327)

	MODEL 1			MODEL 2			MODEL 3			MODEL 4		
	B	S.E.	EXP(B)	B	S.E.	EXP(B)	B	S.E.	EXP(B)	B	S.E.	EXP(B)
Constant	-4.966	1.046		-5.678	1.018		-5.408	1.116		-6.062	1.059	
Female (ref=male)	-0.109	0.154	0.897	-0.115	0.154	0.892	-0.112	0.151	0.894	-0.149	0.163	0.862
Age	0.035	0.007***	1.036	0.034	0.007***	1.034	0.034	0.008***	1.034	0.029	0.008***	1.029
Children in household (ref=no children)	-0.029	0.206	0.971	-0.018	0.216	0.982	-0.007	0.220	0.994	-0.198	0.234	0.820
Belonging to ethnic minority (ref=not)	0.069	0.220	1.072	-0.026	0.228	0.974	0.015	0.232	1.015	0.204	0.268	1.226
Middle/high education (ref=low)	0.374	0.233	1.454	0.342	0.230	1.408	0.344	0.235	1.411	0.410	0.230*	1.508
Household income	0.042	0.014***	1.043	0.043	0.014***	1.044	0.042	0.014***	1.043	0.038	0.013***	1.039
Owner-occupant (ref=renter)	0.092	0.165	1.096	0.078	0.166	1.081	0.063	0.177	1.065	-0.005	0.172	0.995
<4 years in NH (ref=4 years and longer)	-0.408	0.183**	0.665	-0.453	0.188**	0.636	-0.430	0.192**	0.650	-0.344	0.220	0.709
Perceived neighbourhood reputation				0.262	0.095***	1.300				1.244	0.215	0.108**
Assessment social milieu							0.032	0.217	1.032	-0.213	0.229	0.808
Assessment functional neighbourhood aspects							0.138	0.078*	1.147	0.056	0.071	1.058
Neighbourhood attachment (emotional)										0.100	0.169	1.105
Most friends live in neighbourhood (ref=no)										0.450	0.351	1.569
Family lives in neighbourhood (ref=no)										0.098	0.353	1.103
Chat with neighbors (ref=no)										0.955	0.319***	2.599
Trust in fellow residents										0.305	0.135**	1.357
Trust in government										0.126	0.135	1.134
NBH Percentage ethnic minorities	0.003	0.007	1.003	0.011	0.007*	1.011	0.010	0.007	1.010	0.009	0.008	1.009
NBH Average household income	0.055	0.029*	1.056	0.048	0.032	1.049	0.049	0.032	1.050	0.049	0.035	1.050
NBH Crime rates	0.011	0.004	1.011	0.012	0.004**	1.012	0.011	0.004**	1.011	0.011	0.005**	1.011
NBH Average duration of stay	-0.106	0.053**	0.899	-0.111	0.056**	0.895	-0.115	0.057**	0.892	-0.116	0.059**	0.891
NBH Percentage active residents	-0.038	0.025	0.963	-0.041	0.025	0.960	-0.042	0.026	0.959	-0.037	0.029	0.964
Pseudo log-likelihood	-644.7			-640.5			-638.7			-616.0		
Wald Chi2 (significance level)		49.24 (p=0.000)			7.57 (p=0.006)			3.08 (p=0.214)			44.41 (p=0.000)	
Nagelkerke R-square	0.122			0.131			0.135			0.182		
Degrees of freedom	df=13			df=1			df=2			df=6		
Initial:	-699.7											

* = p < 0.10; ** = p < 0.05; *** = p < 0.01

effect, whereas the latter (in contrast to expectations derived from the literature in section 6.2) shows a negative effect. Residents in neighbourhoods with high crime rates are more likely to participate than residents in low-crime neighbourhoods. In the former areas, there is likely to be more need to voice one's concerns about social safety, whereas such a need is absent in safe areas. Interestingly, the chance to participate is lower in residentially stable neighbourhoods than in less stable neighbourhoods. Perhaps this is because stable neighbourhoods are less subject to change, implying less need to protest against changes.

Perceived neighbourhood reputation and other neighbourhood problems

As explained in the theoretical part of this paper, various studies have found contrasting evidence regarding the impact of perceived reputation on participation. The results in Table 6.6 demonstrate that perceived reputation has a significant effect on attending neighbourhood meetings. Residents with a positive perception of their neighbourhood's reputation are more likely to attend meetings than residents who perceive the reputation to be negative. This finding is in line with the results of qualitative studies by Wacquant (1993) and Blokland (2008), who found that residents of stigmatised neighbourhoods were less likely to participate in the neighbourhood. These results diverge from those found by Mazanti and Pløger (2003) and Palmer et al. (2005), who reported an increased participation among residents of neighbourhoods with a negative reputation. A detailed look at Table 6.6 reveals that adding perceived reputation to the model has no noticeable impact on the other individual-level variables. After controlling for perceived neighbourhood reputation, the socio-economic status of the neighbourhood is no longer significant. This signifies that the effect of socio-economic status on the chance to participate is mediated through perceived reputation. To check whether the effect of perceived reputation might simply be caused by other variables, we controlled for several attitudinal variables. Including such variables (e.g., perceived social and functional neighbourhood problems and neighbourhood attachment, social networks and trust) causes the reputation coefficient to decrease, though it remains significant. This implies that the effect of perceived reputation is robust, which offers insight into the explanation of resident participation in neighbourhood meetings.

One of the motivations for residents to participate in the neighbourhood is thought to be the presence of problems, in so far as these situations are experienced as such. Residents are thought to voice their concerns mainly if there is a problem to complain about. A set of variables that indicate perceived problems in the neighbourhood (regarding the social milieu and functional aspects) are included in Table 6.6. A high score indicates a high degree of satisfaction with the referent of the variable, while a low score indicates a low degree of satisfaction. The assessment of functional neighbourhood aspects is found to be significant. The direction indicates that people who are more satisfied are more *likely* to participate than dissatisfied residents (Table 6.6). However, this variable is no longer significant after including different variables indicating loyalty to the neighbourhood. This finding is in line with a small number of studies pointing out that dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood is not a prerequisite for participation. They state that satisfied residents can still be active in order to maintain the quality of the neighbourhood, even when its quality is already high to begin with (cf. Olsen et al., 1989). Attendance at neighbourhood meetings by people living in high-quality neighbourhoods may indicate the determination of these residents to preserve the quality in a situation when *planned* developments (like a halfway house or a homeless shelter) could pose a threat (in the future).

Loyalty

Recent literature on residents' participation has stressed the importance of the residents' emotional attachment (or the psychological form of loyalty, in Hirschman's terms) to their neighbourhood. This attachment indicates the (psychological) investment that residents make in their neighbourhood (and in its other residents). While the coefficient of emotional attachment is positive, surprisingly it has no significant effect on participation in neighbourhood meetings. Regarding the behavioral form of loyalty – i.e., the presence of social networks in the neighbourhood – it appears that contact with one's neighbors is a significant predictor, whereas the presence of friends or family is not. Residents who do have contact with their neighbors have a higher chance of attending meetings, compared to residents who lack such contact. This may be the result of small talk among neighbors about the neighbourhood. The trust that residents have in the persons in these networks and in other neighbourhood residents is important in explaining participation. Residents who have a lot of trust in the actions of their co-residents are much more likely to attend meetings and to be active in informal activities compared to residents who lack this trust. As soon as a resident expects that others will also contribute to the neighbourhood, the threshold of participation is lowered. If fellow residents can be expected to take up neighbourhood issues when needed, the residents will be more willing to invest the time and effort to participate as well. In the view of several researchers (e.g., Wacquant, 1993; Wakefield et al., 2001), loyalty variables mediate the effect of reputation on participation. It has been argued that the reason why reputations are thought to impact participation may be related to elements of loyalty. However, we found no evidence to substantiate this claim.

6.5 Conclusions and discussion

The aim of this study was to investigate the impact of perceived reputation on resident participation. We explicitly focused on one specific type of formal neighbourhood participation, namely attending neighbourhood meetings. Our study differs from previous ones, which dealt with the impact of reputation on participation. Instead of looking only at the 'worst' neighbourhood, we took a wide variety of neighbourhoods into account, both infamous and well regarded areas. This enabled us to expand our understanding of perceived reputation with respect to participation. An additional advantage was that we were able to study the extent to which neighbourhood characteristics impact participation.

Our contribution to the literature is that we have linked perceived neighbourhood reputation to resident participation in neighbourhood affairs. We provide evidence of the effect of perceived reputation on participatory behavior and of the mechanism behind this relationship. The findings of this study indicate that perceived neighbourhood reputation has a significant positive effect on attending neighbourhood meetings: the more positive residents perceive their neighbourhood's reputation to be, the more likely they are to attend neighbourhood meetings. Interestingly, the effect of perceived reputation persisted even when controlling for an extensive set of variables such as neighbourhood characteristics, assessment of neighbourhood problems, neighbourhood-based social networks, emotional attachment and trust in the authorities and co-residents. Controlling for these variables had only a limited impact on the effect of perceived reputation on neighbourhood participation. This suggests that the reputation effects are stable. By including these variables, we have also gained a deeper understanding of why reputations have an effect on

participation. For example, Wacquant (1993) argued that reputation affects participation partly because a poor reputation would lead to a lack of trust in fellow residents and to diminished social networks. Furthermore, Wakefield et al. (2001) suggested that the negative reputation of the neighbourhood results in low trust in the authorities and subsequently impedes participation. However, our results do not reveal any of these mechanisms; introducing the variables that measure social network, generalised trust in fellow residents, and trust in the authorities did not have any impact on the coefficient of perceived reputation.

We interpret these results as follows. Reputation is important in explaining participation not because reputation lowers trust or reduces social networks. Rather, the reason why residents might not use the voice option when the reputation is negative is that they are not sure to whom they should address their complaints about the reputation. Problems related to reputation are not produced by one clearly distinguishable actor but by a multitude of actors (specifically other city residents and the local media). Thus, the residents may feel that complaining is ineffective, simply because there is no one to address the problem to.

Participation suffers from the residents' negative perception of their neighbourhood's reputation. As soon as many residents hold this view, their motivation to improve the neighbourhood's quality (for example, by attending meetings about the neighbourhood to express their concerns) may be at risk. The absence of this form of participation may then lead to a decline of the neighbourhood, since few people voice their concerns. Another side-effect may be that the neighbourhood would end up with undesirable facilities, since the residents are not willing to join in efforts to stop these developments. This could lead to a situation, which Wacquant (1998) called *organizational desertification*, whereby disorganisation renders the residents unable to force the local government to improve conditions. As a result, these neighbourhoods could end up with facilities that are unwanted by the rest of society, such as homeless shelters and halfway houses (Marcuse, 1993).

Participation is generally regarded as a positive instrument to sustain and improve the quality of urban neighbourhoods. The idea is that participation promotes action on local problems by both residents and local government. Participation should therefore be stimulated in order to prevent neighbourhood quality from declining. Policies that aim to increase levels of participation could, according to the findings of this study, focus on improving the (perceived) reputation of neighbourhoods. Improving the reputation could lead to higher participation levels and, subsequently, to higher-quality and more cohesive neighbourhoods. Furthermore, policies could also focus on creating opportunities for residents to meet each other, since neighboring ties and trust in fellow residents appear to be important for participation. This can be done by developing activities that give people an opportunity to meet their fellow residents, especially their neighbors (Dekker, 2007). By forming information channels between residents, these activities could provide the impetus for participation.

Notes

- 1 A previous study by the present author on the exit response found that voice was not a significant predictor of the exit option (Permentier et al., forthcoming)
- 2 The proportion of residents who indicated to be active in improving the liveability of the neighbourhood (GBA Utrecht, 2006)
- 3 In our models we have studied the possible impact of multicollinearity on our results by means of Variance Inflation Factors (VIF). The highest VIF score is 3,31 for the percentage ethnic minorities, which is deemed acceptable (greater than 10 is generally seen as problematic), indicating no evidence of multicollinearity

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7 Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

While it has been acknowledged that, in the present network-society, the daily life of individuals is no longer centred in their area of residence, it continues to play an important role in their lives (Wellman 1996; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001; Blokland, 2003). One attribute of the neighbourhood that has attracted recent interest is its reputation. This rise in interest is related in part to the need among policymakers to understand what type of neighbourhoods are popular living environments, what type are not (and why), and what type of neighbourhoods are most likely to acquire a negative reputation. This information is deemed to be necessary, because the government in the Netherlands has a general wish to minimise the differences between neighbourhoods in terms of the living conditions. A situation of extreme contrasts between neighbourhoods, regarding reputation for example, is deemed undesirable, because a neighbourhood's name may exert an impact on the social outcomes of its residents.

In the academic literature, attention has been paid to both the concept of reputation and the material and psychological consequences of living in a neighbourhood with a poor reputation. Conceptually, reputations can be expected to be related to neighbourhood characteristics. Evidence of this relationship is limited to mostly descriptive accounts of poor neighbourhoods. Other studies have investigated the consequences of living in stigmatised neighbourhoods on the psychological wellbeing of residents and on the material consequences. These studies, mostly qualitative and small-scale, show that among certain groups of residents there is a considerable impact on their feelings of self-worth and their quality of life. People feel an anomaly in a status-driven society. At the same time, these studies show that not all people are equally affected; certain groups dismiss a neighbourhood's stigma by emphasising its positive sides. There has been, however, little research that explicitly studies how neighbourhood reputation affects the *behaviour* of residents, although there have been indications that residents adjust their behaviour according to the reputation of their neighbourhood.

The aim of this study was to gain insight in the relationship between neighbourhood reputations and neighbourhood characteristics, enhance our understanding of the concept of reputation, and provide evidence of the influence of reputations on the behaviour of residents in a wide variety of neighbourhoods. These issues have been studied in a variety of neighbourhoods in Utrecht, the Netherlands. The overall research question of this study was:

To what extent are neighbourhood reputations related to neighbourhood characteristics and to what extent do neighbourhood reputations affect (intended) moving behaviour and residents' participation in the neighbourhood?

The central research question has been split into five more detailed research questions:

1. *What behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations among neighbourhood residents can be identified?*
2. *To what extent do residents and non-residents differ in their assessments of neighbourhood reputations and how are these reputations related to neighbourhood characteristics?*
3. *To what extent can a perceived neighbourhood reputation be explained by individual- and neighbourhood-level variables and to what extent do these determinants differ from variables explaining neighbourhood satisfaction?*
4. *To what extent does the residents' perceived reputation of a neighbourhood predict their intention to leave it?*
5. *To what extent does the residents' perceived reputation of their neighbourhood predict their participation in it?*

The previous chapters consisted of separate research papers, each with empirical findings. In this chapter, we answer the general and the detailed research questions and we reflect on our methods and our data.

7.2 Answering the research questions

The first research question links neighbourhood reputations to different types of resident behaviour:

1. *What behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations among neighbourhood residents can be identified?*

In chapter two we argued that relatively little attention has been paid to the impact of a neighbourhood's reputation on the neighbourhood residents' behaviour. This is surprising, since numerous studies have focused on the influence of neighbourhood reputations on the behaviour of non-residents, such as other city residents. The behaviour of these other city residents can be expected to be affected by these neighbourhood assessments and hierarchies. In several studies carried out in the US, city residents have been known to avoid visiting or moving into residential areas with a troubled name.

To study the relationship between reputations and different behavioural responses of neighbourhood residents, we used the 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework developed by Albert Hirschman (1970) as a starting point. Two types of responses are distinguished: *exit* (leaving the neighbourhood) and *voice* (expression of concerns with the neighbourhood through residents' participation in the neighbourhood). *Loyalty* (emotional attachment and social networks) is seen as a mediating variable that decreases the chance of opting for exit and increases the chance of a voice response. In its turn, voice reduces the chance of opting for exit. The literature review showed that some studies suggest that residents in neighbourhoods with negative reputations were more likely to leave the neighbourhood (exit option). Evidence regarding the voice option revealed that residents in disreputable neighbourhoods were less likely to participate, while others found a positive impact on voice. This theory review indicated that only a few studies have investigated the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and residents' behaviour; moreover, these studies mostly used small-scale qualitative methods, and were often based on

one type of neighbourhood: with an extreme negative reputation. With this review in mind, we outlined our research developments aiming to examine the effect of neighbourhood reputation on the behaviour of neighbourhood residents.

2. *To what extent do residents and non-residents differ in their assessment of neighbourhood reputations and how are these reputations related to neighbourhood characteristics?*

In the literature, some studies have dealt with the theoretical aspects of the reputation concept. In general, a distinction is drawn between the assessments by residents and non-residents of a neighbourhood's reputation. Some studies have sought to explain why neighbourhoods have a good/bad reputation by looking into the observable characteristics of a neighbourhood. There are hardly any adequate empirical studies available to understand what characteristics are related to bad neighbourhood reputations. To gain a better understanding of this, we collected our own survey data regarding neighbourhood reputations from 1,389 residents in 24 neighbourhoods in Utrecht, the Netherlands. In chapter three, we first reported our analysis showing whether residents and other city residents had similar ideas about reputations. The results showed that, although there was strong agreement between residents and non-residents in the general ranking of neighbourhoods (neighbourhood hierarchy), these two groups differed markedly in their ratings of individual neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood residents rate their neighbourhood reputation higher than non-residents do. For most neighbourhoods, these ratings differed significantly, confirming that the theoretical division of reputation into an external and an internal type is empirically valid. In addition, we found that reputations differ between groups with different background characteristics (especially regarding ethnicity and socio-economic status). For example: a group of ethnic minorities rates the reputation of ethnic neighbourhoods higher than a group of native Dutch does, and native Dutch rate 'white' neighbourhoods higher than ethnic minorities do. Furthermore, the work reported in this chapter offers insights into which neighbourhood characteristics are related to neighbourhood reputations. We measured *reputation* on the individual level and aggregated the results to construct a neighbourhood-level variable. The results indicated that there is quite a strong relationship between neighbourhood characteristics and reputation; the social characteristics of a neighbourhood (socio-economic status and ethnicity) are particularly strongly linked to its reputation, whereas physical and functional factors are – particularly among other city residents – less closely related. We argued that these results should not be translated into policy measurements – improving reputations by creating social mix, for example – because such social engineering projects would not only be highly controversial (with regard to displacement effects, for example), but also unsustainable.

3. *To what extent can a perceived neighbourhood reputation be explained by individual- and neighbourhood-level variables and to what extent do these determinants differ from variables explaining neighbourhood satisfaction?*

The general wellbeing of the residents of urban neighbourhoods is affected not only by their satisfaction with the neighbourhood, but also by how they think others see it: the perceived neighbourhood-reputation (Kearns et al., 2000). The concepts of satisfaction and reputation may be assessed as identical concepts, and to a certain extent they may overlap, but there is evidence that even in stigmatised areas residents can be satisfied with their neighbourhood

(Skifter Andersen, 2008). The results reported in chapter four indicate that, although there is a correlation between the two concepts, their determinants do indeed differ. Variation in satisfaction with the neighbourhood is explained more by individual-level variables, such as satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes, whereas variation in perceived reputation is explained more by neighbourhood-level variables, for example the socio-economic and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood. We argue that the impact of satisfaction with neighbourhood attributes is smaller for perceived reputation, because perceived reputation is strongly influenced by the views of non-residents. These are based less on detailed assessments of different neighbourhood attributes than on a very limited number of social neighbourhood characteristics. Objective neighbourhood variables are more capable of explaining perceived reputation than neighbourhood satisfaction for two reasons. First, people are likely to select neighbourhoods on the basis of their preferences and this selection is likely to weaken the effect of objective neighbourhood variables on neighbourhood satisfaction. The selection effect is probably less important with regard to the perceived reputation. Being satisfied with the residential environment and increasing the level of satisfaction through residential mobility seem to be universal aims. Selecting a neighbourhood on the basis of its reputation is only relevant for those who derive status from their neighbourhood. Second, residents may adjust their assessments of their neighbourhood upwards if it does not fulfil their needs, but they have no options to go to an alternative neighbourhood (cognitive dissonance reduction). This factor partly explains why, even in deprived neighbourhoods, most residents tend to be satisfied. Cognitive dissonance reduction is less relevant for the explanation of the perception of reputation, because this is influenced to a large extent by how other city residents assess the neighbourhood and these non-residents have no need to adjust their ideas upward, because they do not live there.

4. *To what extent does the residents' perceived reputation of a neighbourhood predict their intention to leave it?*

It has been suggested that a neighbourhood's reputation can have a significant impact on the behaviour of the residents (see chapter two). In chapter five we reported our investigation of whether perceived reputation makes an additional contribution to the explanation of the intention to leave the neighbourhood (exit option). We used *perceived neighbourhood reputation* instead of *external reputation*, because within the behavioural model we assume that the characteristics of the residential context are important insofar as they are perceived, evaluated, and experienced by residents (Lee et al., 1994). The main conclusion of this article is that reputation exerts an independent effect on the chance of intending to leave the neighbourhood (even after controlling for personal, neighbourhood, and a set of variables that controlled for selection effects). Residents who hold a negative perception of their neighbourhood's reputation are more likely to plan to leave the neighbourhood than are residents who hold a positive view of the reputation. That this effect exists can be explained by pointing to the importance of neighbourhood status for the personal identity and self-worth of individuals. If people believe their individual status suffers from membership of a group (in this case based on their residential neighbourhood), they may decide to disassociate themselves from this group by moving out of the neighbourhood. Our results revealed that, in line with previous research, the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood has a significant effect on the intention to leave it. This effect disappeared, however, after controlling for perceived reputation; reputation operates

as a mediating variable with respect to this neighbourhood variable. The above findings do not, however, mean that including the socio-spatial context in residential mobility research is redundant. The objective neighbourhood variables have a strong impact on the subjective variables, like perceived reputation and emotional neighbourhood attachment, which in their turn have an effect on the intention to leave the neighbourhood.

5. *To what extent does the residents' perceived reputation of their neighbourhood predict their participation in it?*

In the last chapter (chapter six), we considered the effect of perceived neighbourhood reputation on residents' participation in the neighbourhood. According to several studies, participation in activities to improve a neighbourhood's quality can be influenced by the perceived reputation of the neighbourhood. No consensus was found in the literature: a negative neighbourhood reputation was found in some studies to have a demobilising effect, while in other studies a mobilising effect on participation was found. We hypothesised that a positive perceived reputation would stimulate participation and negative perceived reputation would demobilise participation. The main conclusion in this paper is that people who hold a negative reputation perception are less likely to attend city-initiated meetings concerning the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood variables (neighbourhood crime rates and neighbourhood stability) remained significant predictors of residents' participation even after controlling for subjective variables, in contrast with the neighbourhood variables discussed in the previous chapter. A reason why people who hold a negative reputation perception are less likely to participate could be that people do not want to be part of a neighbourhood organisation in a disreputable area, since such involvement would indicate that participants associate themselves personally with the neighbourhood. An alternative explanation could be that residents do not participate, because they do not expect voicing to help resolve the problem of the neighbourhood's reputation, since many actors (other city residents, the media) are involved in the construction of this reputation. Our research results dismissed some ideas put forward by others on how reputation effects participation. Wacquant (1993) argues that negative reputation decreases trust between residents and subsequently leads to lower rates of participation. Wakefield and colleagues (2001) put forward the idea that negative reputation perception decreases residents' trust in local authorities and this leads to lower rates of participation. Neither of these proposed mechanisms were supported by our data.

7.3 Reflection

In this section, we pay attention to certain issues regarding the gathered data and our methods. The research questions focus on the concept of reputation and the impact of reputation on behaviour. Owing to the nature of these questions, we had to collect the data ourselves, since questions about the reputations of not only one's own, but also (an)other neighbourhood(s) are not included in either nation-wide surveys such as the Housing Demand Survey or in relatively smaller surveys such as Utrecht Neighbourhood Monitoring. We therefore had the advantage that we were able to include questions related to reputation and different forms of behaviour. Furthermore, in contrast with most previous studies of reputation, we were able to select a variety of neighbourhoods that differed in physical and social characteristics. This variety enabled

us to generalise our results instead of limiting them to uniformly disreputable areas. We carried out the study in just one city to ensure there were no contextual differences for the individual neighbourhoods.

Although we sampled 24 neighbourhoods, this number was still relatively low given the quantitative methods we used. A larger sample would have enabled us to distinguish the impact of different neighbourhood characteristics on reputation more clearly (chapter three). The relatively low number of selected neighbourhoods made it difficult to discern the impact on the reputation of the neighbourhood of two important neighbourhood characteristics: socio-economic status and ethnic composition. Our selection of neighbourhoods was limited because 1) we aimed for the selection of neighbourhoods that were all well-recognisable among the urban population of one single city and 2) the intensity of gathering our own survey data limited the number of neighbourhoods we were able to include.

Another limitation of the data we collected was its cross-sectional nature. Longitudinal data – in which people are followed over time – would have benefited this study in several ways. First, we would have been able to study the development of (the perceptions of) reputations over time and relate this to changes in neighbourhood characteristics. Second, we could have used techniques such as event history analysis to study the impact of reputation on actual moving behaviour, which we were unable to do in the present study. Time and budgetary constraints made it unfeasible to collect data on multiple occasions. Third, selection bias is inherent in studies that are based on cross-sectional data. Selection bias may occur because people tend to select themselves into neighbourhoods on the basis of their individual preferences (see for a discussion of this topic Friedrichs et al., 2003; Galster, 2003). A household that does not care about the social reputation of the neighbourhood is more likely to select a neighbourhood with a poor reputation as a new residential location than is a household that attaches great value to a neighbourhood's reputation. Longitudinal data potentially allow us to control for selection bias by modelling the selection process itself, for example, by using a two-stage model that first estimates the probability that people choose a certain neighbourhood and then estimates the probability that people want to move out of their neighbourhood. In this study, we may have been unable to control for selection bias rigorously enough, but we believe that the effects found of reputation on behaviour may be suppressed through this selection process.

Two points can be made about this selection bias. First, we have attempted to control for selection effects by including in our models the perceived dwelling and neighbourhood choice at the moment of selecting the current neighbourhood, and status-sensitivity. People who give priority to their neighbourhood's social status will not – if their resources allow it – find themselves in a disreputable neighbourhood. Compared with many other studies of residential mobility (intentions), our approach is a step forward, since hardly any of them have controlled for selection effects.

Second, we believe that the potential selection bias in our results does not weaken the effects found of perceived reputation on the two types of studied behaviour, because we are likely to underestimate the size of the parameters. Thus, even though we have not used longitudinal data, we are confident that our results will be confirmed.

This study consisted of a quantitative approach to neighbourhood reputations, whereas most other studies of reputations use a more qualitative approach, such as discourse analysis, in-depth interviews with residents, and ethnographic research. As we argued in the introduction, to be able to generalise from our results to a broader population, quantitative methods are needed.

Furthermore, this quantitative approach enabled us to select a large variety of neighbourhoods and a large number of individuals. A result of this selection is that, in this study we have not been able to shed any light on the construction of neighbourhood reputations. Qualitative research would be more capable of explaining how reputations result from a process of continuous dialogue between residents and non-residents and how this dialogue re-establishes the relationships between the actors involved. A qualitative approach would be more capable than our quantitative data could of providing insight into the shifting power balance of the actors involved in the interactive process of reputation construction (see for example Blokland, 2008). Thus, a potential weakness of this study is the lack of depth in understanding the construction of reputations; but the great strength of our study is that we were able to generalise our findings, something qualitative studies would not be capable of doing.

7.4 Overall research conclusions

The individual papers that together form this study have added new insights to the literature. In debates on the effect of the neighbourhood context on the behaviour of neighbourhood residents, much attention is paid to the statistical relationships between the neighbourhood context (with percentage low-income households and percentage ethnic minorities as important variables). Theories on the most widely discussed neighbourhood effects, such as socialisation, epidemic, and social network theories, put social networks in neighbourhoods as the prime mechanism underlying neighbourhood effects. More recently, the role of a neighbourhood's reputation as an alternative mechanism that impacts on residents' outcomes and behaviour has been recognised (Galster, 2003, 2007). Most work on the role of the neighbourhood context on individual behaviour does not, however, clarify which underlying mechanisms are at work, simply because these mechanisms have not been measured. With this study, we have explicitly investigated the effect of reputation on the behaviour (intentions) of neighbourhood residents.

We have extended the existing explanatory framework of residential mobility and neighbourhood participation by introducing the concept of perceived neighbourhood reputation. It was hypothesised that perceived reputation would have an effect over and above more established factors such as neighbourhood satisfaction. Indeed, we found that a negative perception increases the chance that residents intend to leave the neighbourhood, while residents are also less likely to attend neighbourhood meetings. These results are important, because they give insight into not only the mechanism responsible for changes in the socio-spatial structure of the urban landscape, but also the stability of urban neighbourhoods. We therefore suggest that future research on moving intentions and neighbourhood participation should include perceived reputation as an important variable, because we have shown that doing so enhances our understanding of the mechanisms that induce people to move out of their neighbourhood (in addition to other important variables).

Furthermore, we have enhanced our understanding of the role of objective neighbourhood variables on behaviour. We found on the one hand that neighbourhood variables are indeed capable of explaining residents' participation in the neighbourhood. On the other hand, neighbourhood variables did not have any direct effect on the intention to leave the neighbourhood. We also found that neighbourhood variables are quite important in explaining perceived neighbourhood reputation. Perceived reputation has in its turn an effect on behaviour.

The effect of objective neighbourhood variables on behaviour is partially mediated through this perceived reputation variable.

This study has integrated two different behavioural responses (*exit* and *voice*) that on their own have each received considerable attention in the literature, but not in relationship to each other. In this study we have used Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework (1970) to link these responses. It is striking that these different responses are often studied separately, because Hirschman's work makes it clear that the choice to opt for exit decreases because of voice and that both the exit and voice responses are affected by other elements, such as loyalty to the neighbourhood. By using his framework, we linked up with a limited number of studies by authors who have researched the impact of neighbourhood problems on both *residential mobility* and *community participation* and the interrelatedness of these two concepts. The results in our study reveal that, besides perceived reputation, loyalty has, as suggested by Hirschman, an effect on the intention to leave the neighbourhood (*exit*) and participation in it (*voice*). We found no evidence, however, that *voice* reduces the probability of the intention to leave the neighbourhood: apparently, involvement in the neighbourhood through membership of neighbourhood-based organisations is less important in this respect than other forms of neighbourhood involvement, such as emotional and behavioural attachment.

Our results emphasise that it is necessary to split loyalty into an emotional and a behavioural variable, since the impact of these differed significantly between the responses. Emotional attachment significantly reduces the chance of intending to leave the neighbourhood, while at the same time behavioural attachment is also significant (although not for all indicators). Regarding participation, it is striking that emotional attachment has no effect on neighbourhood participation and, for behavioural attachment, only contact with neighbours is relevant. These findings stress the need to define attachment in an emotional and behavioural component rather than approach it as one concept that captures many different elements.

Future research is needed to investigate the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and regeneration efforts in urban areas. Both academics and professionals consider that the reputations of the most disreputable neighbourhoods need to be improved, for example to improve their relative position on the urban housing market. However, as we have noted in chapter three, changing a reputation is a complicated matter. Nevertheless, urban professionals have introduced various policies to improve reputations. These policies may consist, for example, of improving the physical appearance of a neighbourhood and changing its social composition by introducing a social mix or even by utilising marketing instruments, such as the branding of neighbourhoods. The lack of evidence of the success of dealing with negative reputations through urban regeneration indicates that reputations are not easily changed and that labels do not simply alter even after intensive physical renewal. In this regard, systematic study that investigates to what extent these policy efforts have been successful in improving these reputations of residential areas is inadequate. What is needed is a study that follows the perception of neighbourhoods by residents and non-residents over time (before and after an intervention) to ascertain whether these policy approaches are effective. In this way, neighbourhood reputations will continue to be on the agenda of academics and policymakers alike.

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Samenvatting

Reputatie, buurten en gedrag

1 Inleiding

Bewoners uit bepaalde buurten worden vaak geconfronteerd met de slechte naam en de lage status van hun buurt: “Als ik vertel dat ik in Kanaleneiland woon, dan vragen ze me: Waarom woon je daar? Je bent toch niet gek?”. Veel stedelijke buurten hebben een reputatie, die positief (bijvoorbeeld Oud-Zuid in Amsterdam) of negatief kan zijn (bijvoorbeeld Schilderswijk in Den Haag). De reputatie van een buurt wordt, zoals bovenstaand voorbeeld laat zien, vaak geprojecteerd op haar bewoners.

Het begrip reputatie duidt op breed gedragen opvattingen of opinies over iets of iemand. Het duidt op een wijdverspreid beeld dat er van iets of iemand bestaat. Buurtreputaties zijn een reflectie van hoe mensen over het algemeen over een bepaalde buurt denken. Het begrip reputatie is daarmee van collectieve aard: het wordt gedeeld door een grote groep mensen. Dit houdt niet in dat ieder of iedere groep mensen dezelfde betekenis aan een buurt zal geven. Daaruit volgt dat een buurt meerdere reputaties kan hebben.

De recente aandacht voor buurtreputaties van beleidsmakers en wetenschappers is gerelateerd aan de reeds langer bestaande aandacht voor leefbaarheidsproblemen en de concentratie van armoede in buurten. De recente interesse in buurtreputaties heeft verschillende achtergronden. Er bestaat onder meer de vrees dat de herstructurering van stedelijke buurten niet het gewenste effect heeft vanwege de reputatie van deze buurten: er wordt gesuggereerd dat het aantrekken van de middenklasse in beruchte buurten bemoeilijkt wordt door de slechte naam en daarmee het succes van de stedelijke herstructurering in de weg staat. Het is daarnaast onduidelijk of het herstructureren van deze buurten een positieve invloed heeft op de reputatie van deze buurten. Op het niveau van de individuele bewoner bestaat, onder zowel beleidsmakers als wetenschappers, daarnaast de angst dat het wonen in buurten met een negatieve reputatie nadelige gevolgen heeft voor de levenskansen van haar bewoners.

Over de gevolgen van buurtreputaties op het leven van buurtbewoners is uit internationaal onderzoek bekend dat het verkrijgen van een baan of goede opleiding mede afhangt van het woonadres van het individu. Ook komt daarbij naar voren dat het zelfbeeld van bewoners en hun zelfvertrouwen ervan te lijden heeft als de bewoners in hun omgang met anderen telkens wordt gewezen op de slechte naam en de lage status van hun buurt. Uit de beschikbare literatuur komen verschillende hiaten naar voren over de huidige kennis betreffende buurtreputaties. In deze studie richten we ons op twee specifieke punten. Ten eerste op de ontbrekende kennis over de samenhang tussen buurtreputaties en buurtkenmerken. Er zijn nauwelijks studies die systematisch deze relatie onderzoeken en daarmee blijft onduidelijk welke buurtkenmerken samenhangen met buurtreputaties en hoe sterk deze samenhang is. In hoeverre buurtreputaties gevolgen hebben voor het gedrag van buurtbewoners is vervolgens het tweede punt dat hier

onderzocht wordt. In deze studie wordt specifiek stilgestaan bij twee typen gedrag: 1) de intentie de buurt te verlaten en 2) bewonersparticipatie in de buurt. De kennis hierover is beperkt, maar is onder meer van belang om beter inzicht te verkrijgen in processen van ruimtelijke uitsortering van bewoners en buurtverandering. Om de kennis over buurtreputaties uit te breiden, is de volgende centrale vraag geformuleerd:

In hoeverre hangen buurtreputaties samen met buurtkenmerken en in welke mate beïnvloeden buurtreputaties de intentie van buurtbewoners om de buurt te verlaten, en de participatie van bewoners in hun buurt?

Naast de inleiding en de conclusie bestaat dit boek uit vijf (empirische) hoofdstukken, elk geschreven als afzonderlijk artikel. Na het inleidende hoofdstuk één, geeft hoofdstuk twee een literatuuroverzicht betreffende de relatie tussen buurtreputatie en gedrag van zowel buurt- als niet-buurtbewoners. In hoofdstukken drie en vier wordt ingegaan op factoren die respectievelijk samenhangen met de buurtreputatie (geoperationaliseerd op collectief niveau) en de perceptie van de buurtreputatie (geoperationaliseerd op individueel niveau). Vervolgens komen in hoofdstukken vijf en zes de gevolgen van buurtreputatie op de twee hierboven genoemde typen gedrag aan de orde.

2 Data en methode

Vanwege de afwezigheid van data omtrent buurtreputaties in lokale en nationale surveys, zoals de Utrechtse buurtmonitor en het Woon, hebben we de data met behulp van vragenlijsten zelf verzameld. Deze vragenlijsten zijn in het voorjaar 2006 door bijna 1400 buurtbewoners in 24 Utrechtse buurten ingevuld. Dit gaf als voordeel dat we het concept van buurtreputatie op verschillende wijze hebben kunnen meten en niet alleen voor de woonbuurt van de respondent maar ook voor andere buurten in Utrecht. Daarnaast konden we een variëteit aan buurten selecteren met verschillen ten aanzien van de fysieke en sociale kenmerken van de buurt. Hiermee werd het mogelijk om resultaten te generaliseren en niet, zoals veel andere studies, enkel uitspraken te kunnen doen over buurten met de meest negatieve reputatie. De data zijn in één stad verzameld om ervoor te zorgen dat de context voor alle buurten gelijk is. In de survey hebben we uiteindelijk 24 buurten geselecteerd. Helaas betekende dat het onmogelijk was om de samenhang van bepaalde buurtkenmerken met buurtreputatie te onderscheiden. Onze selectie van buurten werd echter beperkt omdat 1) we ons richten op die buurten die het meeste bekendheid genieten onder stadsbewoners 2) onze middelen een grotere selectie van buurten niet toelieten. In tegenstelling tot veel andere studies die buurtreputaties bestudeerd hebben, en gebruik maken van discourse analysis, diepte-interviews en etnografische studie bestaat deze studie uit een kwantitatieve benadering van buurtreputaties. Zoals eerder al beargumenteerd is, is deze keuze mede ingegeven omdat we de resultaten willen kunnen generaliseren naar de bredere populatie. Hiervoor is een kwantitatieve aanpak nodig. Daarnaast maakt deze aanpak het mogelijk om een heel gevarieerd palet aan buurten te onderzoeken met een groot aantal bewoners. Deze keuze heeft er wel toe geleid dat we geen inzicht hebben verkregen in de wijze waarop de constructie van buurtreputaties plaatsvindt. Kwalitatieve methoden zouden beter inzicht hebben kunnen geven hoe reputaties het resultaat zijn van een continue proces tussen

bewoners en niet-bewoners en hoe deze dialoog tussen deze groepen de (machts) relatie tussen de betrokken actoren bevestigd. Een potentiële zwakte van deze studie is dus het ontbreken van een diepgaand begrip in de constructie van reputaties, maar de kracht is daarentegen de generaliseerbaarheid van de resultaten, iets waar kwalitatieve studies minder toe in staat zijn.

3 Samenvatting van de resultaten

Hoofdstuk twee gaat in op de vraag welke kennis er in de wetenschappelijke literatuur bestaat ten aanzien van de invloed van buurtreputaties op het gedrag van buurtbewoners. Het basisidee is hier dat (bepaalde groepen) bewoners geen onderdeel willen zijn van een buurt met een slechte reputatie omdat dit schadelijk kan zijn voor het zelfbeeld van bewoners. Bewoners kunnen daar op verschillende manieren mee omgaan. In dit hoofdstuk wordt Hirschman's 'Exit, voice en loyalty' kader (1970) als uitgangspunt genomen. Oorspronkelijk was Hirschman's werk gericht op het bestuderen en verklaren van de reacties van ontevreden klanten van producten (consumenten), organisaties (werknemers) en naties (burgers). Sindsdien is dit kader onder meer toegepast in buurtstudies. Twee specifieke reacties van buurtbewoners op de buurtreputatie worden in deze studie onderzocht, te weten: de intentie om uit de buurt te verhuizen (*exit*) en bewonersparticipatie in de buurt (*voice*). *Loyalty*, gedefinieerd door de concepten buurtbinding en sociale netwerken binnen de buurt, wordt in deze studie niet zozeer gezien als een gedragsresponse, maar als een intermediaire variabele die de kans op *exit* verkleint en de kans op *voice* vergroot.

Na bestudering van de literatuur blijkt dat er nauwelijks studies bestaan die *systematisch* de invloed van reputaties op *exit* en *voice* hebben bestudeerd. Vaak betreft het kleinschalig kwalitatief onderzoek enkel gebaseerd op één enkele buurt met een (extreem) negatieve reputatie. In hoofdstuk vijf en hoofdstuk zes zal, op basis van Hirschman's indeling, op een systematische wijze ingegaan worden op de invloed van de buurtreputatie op gedrag.

De empirische hoofdstukken drie tot en met zes zijn gebaseerd op de door ons zelf verzamelde data. In hoofdstuk drie en hoofdstuk vier worden deze data gebruikt om inzicht te geven in de samenhang tussen buurtreputaties en buurtkenmerken (hoofdstuk drie) en in de invloed van individuele kenmerken en buurtkenmerken op de *perceptie* van de buurtreputatie onder buurtbewoners (hoofdstuk vier). In hoofdstuk drie is verder nagegaan in hoeverre bewoners en niet-bewoners hetzelfde oordelen over de reputatie van de 24 buurten. Het reputatieconcept dat, zoals eerder al gemeld is, een collectief karakter heeft, is geconstrueerd door individuele reputatiemetingen te aggregeren naar buurtniveau. Uit de resultaten blijkt dat buurtbewoners en niet-buurtbewoners weliswaar hetzelfde idee over de hiërarchie van de 24 buurten hebben, de rangorde van de 24 buurten is met andere woorden gelijk voor deze groepen, maar dat buurtbewoners de reputatie van hun buurt wel stelselmatig hoger beoordelen dan niet-bewoners. Evenzeer is vastgesteld dat persoonskenmerken van bewoners hierbij van belang zijn: buurten met een bevolking die overeenkomt met het eigen persoonlijke kenmerk worden stevast hoger beoordeeld dan buurten waarbij de bevolkingssamenstelling (sterk) verschilt van het eigen persoonlijk kenmerk (ethniciteit, inkomen en opleidingsniveau). Autochtonen beoordelen bijvoorbeeld buurten met een hoog aandeel autochtonen hoger dan niet-westerse allochtonen, terwijl deze laatste groep buurten met een hoog aandeel niet-westerse allochtonen weer hoger beoordelen dan autochtonen. Verder is nagegaan in welke mate er een samenhang bestaat tussen

buurtreputaties en buurtkenmerken. Hier blijkt een sterke samenhang te bestaan, waarbij met name de relatie met sociale kenmerken (sociaal-economische en etnische samenstelling) erg sterk te noemen is. Vooral buurten met een gemiddeld hoog huishoudensinkomen en met een hoog aandeel autochtonen kennen een (zeer) goede reputatie, terwijl buurten met overwegend arme huishoudens en een hoog aandeel niet-westerse allochtonen juist negatief bekend staan. Fysieke en functionele kenmerken van de buurt blijken in dit opzicht minder relevant te zijn. Hiermee blijken factoren die in de samenleving als geheel de sociale stratificatie sturen, sociaal-economische status (inkomen en opleiding) en etniciteit, dezelfde te zijn als bij de stratificatie van stedelijke woonbuurten.

In hoofdstuk vier wordt, met behulp van multivariate statistiek, de perceptie van de buurtreputatie onder de eigen bewoners verklaard aan de hand van diverse individuele- en buurtkenmerken. Tevens wordt een vergelijkbare analyse uitgevoerd voor buurttevredenheid om zodoende inzicht te krijgen in de verschillen tussen deze, op het oog vergelijkbare, concepten perceptie van buurtreputatie en buurttevredenheid. Alhoewel er een samenhang tussen de twee concepten bestaat, wordt ook duidelijk dat het belang van de groep verklarende variabelen sterk uiteenloopt. Buurttevredenheid wordt sterker verklaard vanuit individuele variabelen – zoals tevredenheid met buurtattributen – terwijl bij perceptie van buurtreputatie de buurtkenmerken, onder meer de sociaal-economische en etnische samenstelling van de buurt, een grotere rol in de verklaring speelt. Het eerste resultaat, tevredenheid met buurtattributen speelt een grotere rol bij buurttevredenheid dan bij perceptie van reputatie, wordt verklaard doordat laatstgenoemde concept veel meer beïnvloed wordt door het beeld van niet-bewoners over de buurt. Buitenstaanders kijken veel meer in termen van algemene indrukken van de buurt dan naar gedetailleerde oordelen over specifieke buurtattributen.

Het tweede resultaat, de grotere rol van buurtkenmerken in de verklaring van perceptie van reputatie, is te verklaren met selectiemechanismen en reductie van cognitieve dissonantie. Individuen selecteren buurten veelal op grond van hun voorkeuren en deze selectie vermindert zo de invloed van buurtkenmerken op buurttevredenheid; dit selectiemechanisme wordt minder belangrijk geacht voor de verklaring van reputatieperceptie. Dit komt doordat tevreden zijn met de buurt en het vergroten van deze tevredenheid als universele doelen voor buurtbewoners wordt gezien, terwijl het selecteren van de buurt op basis van de buurtreputatie alleen van belang is voor diegenen die bewust bezig zijn met de status van hun buurt. Verder kunnen buurtbewoners hun waardering van de buurt omhoog aanpassen op het moment de buurt niet (helemaal) voldoet aan hun eisen maar ze geen mogelijkheid hebben om naar een andere buurt te vertrekken (cognitieve dissonantie reductie). Dit kan verklaren waarom in achterstandsbuurten toch de meerderheid van de bewoners tevreden is met de buurt. Dit mechanisme lijkt minder relevant voor de perceptie van de buurtreputatie omdat dit concept sterk afhankelijk is van hoe andere stadsbewoners de buurt beoordelen. Deze andere stadsbewoners hoeven hun oordeel niet te verhogen aangezien ze toch niet in de betreffende buurt wonen.

Hoofdstuk vijf en hoofdstuk zes onderzoeken de invloed van buurtreputatie op respectievelijk de intentie om de buurt te verlaten (de *exit* optie in Hirschman's theoretisch kader) en de participatie binnen de buurt (de *voice* optie volgens Hirschman). Er wordt verondersteld dat de *perceptie van de buurtreputatie* (gemeten op het individuele niveau van de buurtbewoner) hier van belang is in plaats van de externe reputatie (het aggregaat van individuele metingen onder niet-buurtbewoners), omdat in het behaviourale model dat hier toegepast wordt de kenmerken

van de eigen buurt relevant zijn zoals ze door bewoners zelf ervaren worden. De belangrijkste conclusie in hoofdstuk vijf is dat de perceptie van buurtreputatie, na het controleren voor individuele- en buurtkenmerken en buurttevredenheid, een zelfstandig effect heeft op de intentie om uit de buurt te verhuizen. Ook het controleren voor zelf-selectie in buurten van bewoners (door middel van het opnemen van een variabele die de ervaren keuzevrijheid bij de buurtkeus en statusgevoeligheid voor de buurt meet) deed het effect van de buurtreputatie op *exit* niet verdwijnen. Bewoners die de reputatie van hun buurt negatief ervaren, zijn eerder geneigd uit de buurt te verhuizen in vergelijking met bewoners die de buurtreputatie positief zien. Het bestaan van dit effect wordt toegeschreven aan het belang dat de buurt speelt voor de persoonlijke identificatie en het zelfbeeld van individuen. Als het zelfbeeld van bewoners negatiever wordt omdat men gerekend wordt tot een bepaalde groep, in dit geval een groepsindeling gebaseerd op de woonbuurt, besluit men vaker het groeplidmaatschap op te zeggen door uit de buurt te verhuizen. Verder blijkt dat de etnische samenstelling van de buurtbevolking de kans vergroot dat men geneigd is te verhuizen. Echter door te controleren voor reputatieperceptie verdwijnt dit effect, wat erop kan duiden dat de relatie tussen etnische samenstelling van de buurt en de intentie om uit de buurt te verhuizen via de perceptie van buurtreputatie loopt. Dit houdt echter niet in dat het meenemen van de (sociale) context overbodig is: deze heeft namelijk een sterke invloed op subjectieve variabelen zoals reputatie perceptie en buurtbinding, welke op hun beurt een invloed hebben op de verhuisgeneigdheid.

In hoofdstuk zes is het effect van de buurtreputatie op bewonersparticipatie (geoperationaliseerd door middel van het bezoeken van gemeentelijke inspraakavonden over de buurt) onderzocht. In de literatuur kwam naar voren dat deze participatie, met als doel de kwaliteit in de buurt te verbeteren, door de buurtreputatie zou kunnen worden beïnvloed. In sommige studies werd een negatief effect gevonden; een slechte reputatie leidt volgens deze studies tot minder bewonersparticipatie, terwijl in andere studies een tegenovergesteld effect werd gevonden. Uit onze studie blijkt dat bewoners die een negatieve perceptie van de reputatie van hun buurt hebben minder snel buurtinspraakavonden bijwonen. Sommige studies suggereren dat dit komt doordat een slechte reputatie het vertrouwen en de contacten tussen bewoners vermindert en zodanig tot minder participatie leidt. Andere studies verklaren een lagere bewonersparticipatie in buurten met een slechte reputatie met een afgenomen vertrouwen in de overheid. Onze studie ondersteunt echter geen van deze verklaringen. Een mogelijke alternatieve verklaring kan zijn dat bewoners niet participeren omdat dit niet de problemen rond de slechte reputatie oplost, aangezien er zoveel diverse actoren betrokken zijn bij de totstandkoming van de buurtreputatie (andere stadsbewoners, de media enz). Het bezoeken van inspraakavonden om het probleem van de slechte reputatie aan te pakken heeft, vanwege het ontbreken van één duidelijke producent van de slechte reputatie, dan ook geen grote kans om dit te veranderen.

4 Belangrijkste conclusies

In de literatuur omtrent de invloed van de buurt op het gedrag van bewoners, staan vaak statistische samenhangen tussen de buurtcontext en gedrag van bewoners centraal. Theorieën die hier centraal staan zoals socialisering, epidemische en sociale netwerk theorieën besteden aandacht aan sociale netwerken als *het* onderliggende mechanisme dat het voorkomen van deze effecten verklaart. Meer recentelijk is er aandacht voor de rol van de buurtreputatie als

mechanisme achter deze buurteffecten. Veel studies naar buurteffecten geven geen inzicht in de achterliggende mechanismen die spelen, simpelweg omdat deze niet gemeten zijn. In deze studie hebben we expliciet stilgestaan bij de invloed van de buurtreputatie op gedrag(intenties) van buurtbewoners.

In tegenstelling tot veel andere studies, is er in deze studie voor gekozen om de twee gedragsresponsen (*exit* en *voice*) in samenhang te behandelen op basis van Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' kader. Het is opvallend dat de twee responsen vaak afzonderlijk van elkaar behandeld worden, temeer omdat uit dit kader blijkt dat deze twee niet los van elkaar te zien zijn: de kans om voor *exit* te kiezen neemt af als een individu ook *voice* gebruikt. Zowel *exit* als *voice* staan beide onder invloed van andere variabelen, zoals buurtbinding. Met het gebruik van Hirschman's kader wordt aansluiting gezocht bij een klein aantal andere studies die de invloed van buurtproblemen op zowel verhuisintentie uit de buurt (*exit*) als bewonersparticipatie (*voice*) hebben onderzocht alsmede de onderlinge samenhang tussen deze twee. Niet alleen reputatieperceptie heeft invloed op de gedragsresponsen maar ook, zoals door Hirschman gesuggereerd, buurtbinding (*loyalty*) is hier belangrijk. Een andere suggestie van Hirschman -*voice* leidt tot een afname van *exit*- werd echter niet door onze resultaten ondersteund. Blijkbaar is actief zijn in de buurt door middel van bewonersparticipatie hier minder van belang voor verhuisintenties dan andere vormen van buurt betrokkenheid zoals emotionele binding en sociale netwerken in de buurt.

De introductie van de perceptie van buurtreputatie heeft nieuwe inzichten geleverd in de verhuisliteratuur en bewonerparticipatieliteratuur. De hypothese was dat buurtreputatie een verklaring zou geven van de intentie om de buurt te verlaten naast meer gebruikelijke factoren, zoals buurttevredenheid. Onze resultaten laten zien dat een negatieve perceptie van buurtreputatie inderdaad de kans vergroot dat bewoners de buurt willen verlaten, terwijl bewoners ook minder snel inspraakavonden van de gemeente bijwonen. Hiermee dragen de resultaten bij aan een beter inzicht in (veranderingen in) de sociaalruimtelijke structuur en de stabiliteit van buurten.

Curriculum Vitae

Matthieu Permentier was born in Zoetermeer on the 24th of October 1980. He completed his secondary education at Alfrink College in Zoetermeer in 1999. He studied Human Geography and Planning at the University of Utrecht, with a special interest in urban geography, and graduated in October 2003. In December 2003 he started a half year project on housing preferences of immigrants at the department of Urban geography at Utrecht University. In December 2004 he started his Ph.D. research on neighbourhood reputations at the same department. He now works at the Netherlands Institute for Social Research/SCP in The Hague on a project on residential and social mobility in distressed urban areas.

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