Behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations

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Abstract

Urban neighbourhoods remain under the attention of politicians and scientists. Although it has been acknowledged that the lives of most (categories of) people are no longer centred around their area of residence, the idea that the neighbourhood context can have an influence on the life of its residents (the so-called neighbourhood effect) has not vanished. A lot of research has been carried out to study these neighbourhood effects. At the same time, research on the reputation of urban neighbourhoods has been thriving. However the link between neighbourhood effects and negative neighbourhood reputations has received little attention.

Within the literature on neighbourhood effects, little attention is paid to the possible effect of the negative neighbourhood reputation on behaviour of residents (for exceptions see Bauder, 2002, Hastings and Dean, 2003). When reputation is taken into account, it focuses on the influence on attitudes and behaviour of *non-residents*. If attention is paid to the influence on the *residents* of these neighbourhoods, it is mostly connected to material- and psychological consequences of living in an infamous neighbourhood. Jobs are not offered because one lives in the wrong neighbourhood (Wilson, 1996), and people don't receive mortgages from banks, or only against disadvantaged conditions (Aalbers, 2001). On behavioural responses of residents to the negative reputation of their neighbourhood, hardly any research has been carried out so far. We believe this link deserves more investigation. This paper gives an inventory of possible behavioural responses of individuals to negative neighbourhood reputations. Hirschman's 'Exit, voice and loyalty' framework functions as a starting point to study three different behavioural responses (leaving the neighbourhood, attempting to change the neighbourhood, and maintaining social contacts).

1   Introduction

Distressed urban neighbourhoods continue to receive full attention by politicians and scientists. Although it has been widely acknowledged that the life of most groups of people is no longer centred around their area of residence, the idea that this neighbourhood context can have an influence on the life of the residents has not vanished. Politicians more and more often pronounce that low-income groups and immigrants should not be concentrated in urban areas, because of the disadvantages that such a concentration is thought to bring.
Not only have politicians shown interest in neighbourhood effects, but scientists have shown an increasing interest on the influence neighbourhoods can have on its residents and on the behaviour of these residents as well. A concentration of certain disadvantaged groups could possibly lead to a situation where the neighbourhood shows an independent influence on the lives of the residents. For example, the neighbourhood is believed to have an influence on the poverty rate, the values residents hold, the unemployment rate and educational achievements (Wilson, 1987, Ellen and Turner, 1997, Sampson et al., 2002). These results have been mainly found in the context of the (highly segregated and polarised) American context, while European studies (for example in the Netherlands) only show a very modest effect of the neighbourhood on residents (Ostendorf et al., 2001).

Neighbourhood effects can be broadly explained along two lines. Often socialisation theories are brought up in explaining the effect. Social networks do not contribute to chances of social mobility; in fact, subcultures are thought to arise in these neighbourhoods decreasing the chances of (labour, social) participation in mainstream society (Wilson, 1987, Ellen and Turner, 1997). A less used explanation to explain limited participation is found in negative neighbourhood reputations. Research that has taken the neighbourhood's reputation into account focuses mostly on the economic and social relations between the dwellers of infamous neighbourhoods and outsiders: varying from companies (banks), authorities (police, city workers) to other city residents. Some authors (Wacquant, 1993, Bauder, 2001, 2002) argue that chances of social participation, within mainstream society, are limited due to the notorious name of the area they live in. Jobs are not offered to them (Wilson, 1996) and persons living outside of these infamous areas do not want to maintain social contact with the residents of these 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 of fear of the local (predominantly Afro-American) community (Crump, 2002).

What is missing in current research are the effects of the neighbourhood's negative reputation on the behaviour of its own residents. So far, hardly any research on this topic has been carried out (for exceptions see Bauder, 2002, Hastings and Dean, 2003). If attention is paid to the influence of negative reputations on the *residents* of these neighbourhoods, it is mostly connected to material- and psychological disadvantages of living in an infamous neighbourhood. People don't receive mortgages from banks, or only against disadvantaged conditions (Aalbers, 2001) and people's self-esteem can be damaged by living in a notorious area (Wacquant, 1993, Taylor, 1998, Dean and Hastings, 2000). However, on behavioural responses of residents of infamous neighbourhoods to the negative reputation of their neighbourhood, hardly any research has been carried out so far. The current knowledge on the relationship between reputations and behavioural responses is limited. A better insight in this relationship can add the understanding of the concept of neighbourhood effects. This article focuses on the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and behavioural responses and aims to give insight which behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations can be discerned. Next, this article presents different ways to measure neighbourhood reputation.

To study the effect of negative neighbourhood reputations on different behavioural responses, different research traditions need to be brought together, as an all-embracing theory on the relation reputation-behavioural responses is lacking. However, the exit, voice, neglect and loyalty-framework provides us with a useful tool to expound the possible behavioural responses. This

framework, initially developed by Hirschman (1970) and expanded by other researchers (Rusbult et al., 1982, Farell, 1983), was originally developed to study the different responses of consumers to products that show a decline in quality. This framework is used as a starting point to characterise possible behavioural responses of residents to the reputation of their neighbourhood. In addition to this framework, literature on residential mobility and neighbourhood participation are introduced. The exit-option refers to residents moving out of the neighbourhood due to the bad reputation. Literature on housing market behaviour concentrates mostly on the influence of the (changing) position of the household and the dwelling. The neighbourhood (and more specifically the neighbourhood reputation) as an influential factor on residential mobility receives considerable less attention (for exceptions see Kearns and Parkes, 2003, Clark et al., 2004) although Rossi already noted that *"Families moving up the occupational ladder are particularly sensitive to location and use residential mobility to bring their residences into line with their prestige needs"* (Rossi, 1955, p. 179). The voice-option refers to residents voicing their discontent with the neighbourhood's condition and reputation. By participating in the neighbourhood, residents aim to improve the neighbourhood condition (and indirectly the neighbourhood's reputation). According to Van Vught et al. (2003) the voice-option instead of the exit-option will be chosen by people who are more dependent on the community (higher dependence indicates fewer possibilities to use the exit-option).

The loyalty-option refers to people who have trust in their neighbourhood and fellow-residents, and therefore stay in the neighbourhood without taking action while the neglect- option refers to people who want to disassociate themselves from their neighbourhood and its residents. Literature dealing with the effect of reputation on neighbourhood participation and social contacts can be discerned into two movements. One movement suggests that a negative neighbourhood reputation has a harmful effect upon the social contacts and participation (see for example Wacquant, 1993) while others (Mazanti and Pløger, 2003) suggest a positive effect on the mutual relations between residents and their organisational capacities.

In the next section the concept of reputation is central. Before the relation between reputation and behavioural responses is studied, it is important to gain more insight in the concept of reputation. The third section aims, after introducing Hirschman's Exit, voice and loyalty-framework, at a more thorough understanding of the relation between negative neighbourhood reputations and behavioural responses. To carry out research studying the relation between neighbourhood reputation and behavioural responses, it is necessary to make the concept of reputation measurable. In section four, different approaches are introduced that form possible methods of measuring reputation. The paper ends with a short conclusion.

2   The concept of reputation

2.1   A definition of reputation

According to the Oxford dictionary (2004), reputation means: "**1** *The beliefs or opinions that are generally held about someone or something.* **2** *A widespread belief that someone or something has a particular characteristic.*" People form opinions constantly without always being aware of it. Reputations can be attached to multiple objects, varying from companies to celebrities. Places are no exception to this labelling process: to every country, state, city or neighbourhood a reputation is attached. Hortulanus (1995) argues that the concept of *reputation* has a more neutral sound than *stigma* or *image.* Indeed one can agree on the negative connotation of stigma since it is defined by Goffman (1963) as: "*a spoiled social identity*". Thus stigma represents a deviation from individual characteristics and behaviour considered normal and acceptable by society (Harvey, 2001).

Related to the concept of reputation is the concept of status, 'the subjective evaluations of positions in a system of social stratification' (Marshall, 1998). Status refers to the individual level, while reputation refers to the neighbourhood level. Individual statuses can be derived from the (reputation of the) neighbourhood one lives in. This way, the neighbourhood can be used as an indicator of a person's individual status (Congalton, 1969, Warner et al., 1960). A residential address can then be "*considered the quickest index to family social status*" (Coleman and Neugarten,

1972). 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, 2001). 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 W.L. Warner et al., 1960). The neighbourhood reputation can therefore play an important role in the outside identification of a person (Van der Meer, 1996). People do not only use neighbourhoods to assess the status of other city residents but they are thought to be concerned with the symbolic value of their place of residence as well: "*You have to approve about the neighbourhood before you consider a house*" (Coleman, 1978). A person's choice of neighbourhood is an important aspect of social consumption, enabling individuals to express and enjoy the extent of his success (Curtis and Jackson, 1977, p. 91).

Neighbourhoods and their reputations are assessed by the urban population in a contrastive way, in which neighbourhoods are primarily known as the counterparts of others (Forrest and Kearns, 2001). Residential groups are defined in contradiction from one another (Suttles, 1972, Semyonov and Kraus, 1982). "*Residential identities […] are embedded in a contrastive structure in which each neighborhood is known primarily as a counterpart to some of the other*" (Suttles, 1972, p. 51). Not the absolute, but the relative differences, seem relevant in the comparisons between neighbourhoods (Suttles, 1972, Hortulanus, 1995, Galster, 2001). The identification with a specific place automatically means identification *against* another place, by contrasting it with someplace people feel is very different to them and how they live (Rose, 1995, p. 92).
According to Semyonov and Kraus (1982, p. 781) neighbourhoods are "*organized in a system of stratification and the general population is aware of such a system*". Neighbourhoods occupy a position in an urban neighbourhood hierarchy (Suttles, 1972, Hortulanus, 1995, p. 42). The positioning of neighbourhoods in contrast to each other does therefore not only lead to the assessment of areas, it also creates a hierarchy in which the different neighbourhoods are positioned in relation to one other. Urban neighbourhoods are then perceived as stratified and therefore placed in a prestige hierarchy (De Wijs-Mulkens, 1999). It carries a meaning to other city residents and can thus be ranked. The reputation of a neighbourhood can be deduced from its position in this hierarchy (see section 4.2).

One of the first authors in the field of sociology and geography to deal with reputation is Walter Firey. His 1945 article on Bostonian neighbourhoods is one of the first articles using a subjective understanding of the city in which symbolism and sentiments received a central role. He recognised that '*space […] at times a symbol for certain cultural values that have become associated with a certain spatial area*' (Firey, 1945, p. 140). This meant a break with the fixation of the Chicago School on (rational) economic theories. Firey argued that people can hold non-economic values about neighbourhoods and that sentiment and symbols can play a role in explaining the position of neighbourhoods in the city context. Firey's example of Beacon Hill, a residential area near the centre of Boston, illustrates that neighbourhoods can retain their position 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. Hunter (1974, p. 68) underlines this when discussing the role of a neighbourhood's name. Hunter interprets the name as a symbol of communication by which a meaning is given to an area, which affects the perception and experience of a place by residents and non-residents.

Within the field of sociology, urban studies, and geography, relatively few researchers have come to an explicit definition of the reputation concept. In the last few years it has received more attention, since it was thought that reputations can exert a negative influence on residents of certain neighbourhoods (Wacquant 1993, Power, 1997). Hortulanus (1995, p. 42), as one of the few who presents a definition, argues in his Ph.D.-thesis 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 thus to the meaning and assessment assigned by residents and outsiders to the neighbourhood. Next, it refers more or less to the steady image the neighbourhood has among city residents and to the place it has in that way in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy.*" Hortulanus' definition will be used in this paper.

Lacking in this definition of reputation, but present in the definition of the Oxford dictionary as noted at the beginning of this section, is the collectiveness of a reputation. Reputation is a wide shared belief, shared by certain groups. It has thus a collective nature. This nature of reputation is explained by Suttles (1972) on the basis of the need for residents to create a certain (collective) notion of urban neighbourhoods. This collective notion among outsiders is necessary to be able to create boundaries between areas for safety and status considerations, although these boundaries probably 'oversimplify their reality' (Suttles, 1972, p. 13). However this oversimplification in comprehensible (and often homogeneous) areas is necessary to comprehend the size of the urban population and its diversity. Residents of areas are then labelled and defined by the area they live in (De Wijs-Mulkens, 1999), so that the place of residence thus shows (safety and status) information both to its residents as to non-residents (Kearns and Parkinson, 2001).

2.2   Internal and external reputation

Reputations are a product of both non-residents and residents, although the first group is more important here. Residents (insiders) may hold a different reputation of their neighbourhood from non-residents (outsiders). As a consequence, neighbourhoods have different reputations among different groups of city-residents. These different views on neighbourhoods (coined 'fractured images' by Hastings and Dean, 2003), can be assessed as two types of reputation: an *internal* reputation that is the reputation the residents hold of their neighbourhood and an *external* reputation, the neighbourhood's reputation among non-residents (Hortulanus, 1995).

The first type of reputation, the internal reputation, generally consists of a detailed view on physical and social attributes of the neighbourhood (Hortulanus, 1995). Residents are more familiar with their area of residence, and have therefore a more detailed view of their neighbourhood (Evans, 1980) However residents show a tendency to overrate their neighbourhood: after all, in most cases they have chosen to live in that area (Clark and Cadwallader, 1973, Bell et al., 1996). An alternative explanation would be that residents without any prospect of improvement of their residential situation show a psychological adaptation to their situation (see Festinger, 1957). Their stay can thus be justified by a higher rating. The reputation among non-residents (outsiders), the external reputation, is the second type of reputation. It consists of simplified images of neighbourhoods through sharp boundaries and exaggerated differences given 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 external reputation is thought to be less detailed and to be more generalised. Partly this is related to incorrect or lack of knowledge of the neighbourhood situation. Another reason for a less detailed view is that a very accurate view is not in the interest of the outsiders. The very basis of neighbourhood reputations is to make the city and its population comprehensible (Wacquant, 1993, Hortulanus, 1995).

Partly the internal- and external reputation may coincide since residents and non-residents are likely to judge certain attributes in the same way. Curtis and 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). Logan and Culver's study (1983) in New York, found that residents of both a working class area and an affluent area showed great similarities in the assessment of 84 communities in Long Island. A shared belief about these communities was thus apparent. However it has been concluded earlier in this section that there are differences between external and the internal reputation since residents have more knowledge about their neighbourhood than outsiders.
One of these differences between the assessment by residents and non-residents is the ability of residents to apply a micro-differentiation: a more refined classification of the neighbourhood, in block-face, street or even building level (Wacquant, 1993, Hortulanus, 1995, Purdy, 2003). Two possible explanations can be offered. The first reason is that residents are more aware of internal differences of their residential area and can therefore create a finer differentiation, while outsiders

lack this knowledge to use sub-neighbourhood divisions[1] (Hastings and Dean, 2003). According to Hunter (1974), residents of higher status areas within larger, but lower status-communities, will use such differentiations to emphasise the prestige of their residential environment. The same mechanism is used the other way around by residents of less prestigious areas. To be identified with the more prestigious neighbourhoods is useful to them. In infamous neighbourhoods, people might apply a strategy of differentiation to distance themselves from the 'real bad parts' of the neighbourhood (Wakefield and McMullan, 2005) (see also section 4). The second reason is that outsiders do not apply a micro-differentiation to neighbourhoods because of the complexity and the size of the city. This reason is the most important characteristic of the external reputation: it consists of simplified images of neighbourhoods through sharp boundaries and exaggerated differences given by outsiders (Suttles, 1972).

The category of outsiders is assumed to have a shared view on the reputation. However differences might exist between different groups of outsiders and even within one group of outsiders. An illustration of this, are Suttles' (1968) findings in Chicago. He argues that white non-residents assess West Side neighbourhoods differently from black non-residents because the first group thinks of it as another 'negro' impoverished area, while the latter do contrast it with another Afro-American area (such as the more affluent South Side)(Suttles, 1968, p. 25). This shows that background references used in the assessments neighbourhoods might differ, and can lead to a different understanding of the area.

3   Framework   behavioural   responses   to   neighbourhood reputations

3.1   Exit, voice, loyalty and neglect framework

Negative reputations can have different consequences for neighbourhood residents and possibly lead to different responses from its residents. These can be divided in three categories: material, psychological and behavioural consequences. In this article the emphasis is placed on the third category, to be more precise: on behavioural responses. These will be discussed on the basis of the Exit, voice and loyalty framework of Hirschman (1970). Hirschman's (1970) original framework was developed to explain possible reactions of dissatisfied customers to products, companies or organisations. In this paper, this framework is used to study the consequences of the negative reputation of their neighbourhood on behavioural responses of its residents. Hirschman discerns three types of responses: exit, voice and loyalty. Other authors (for example Rusbult et al., 1982, Farell, 1983) have added a fourth response: 'neglect'.
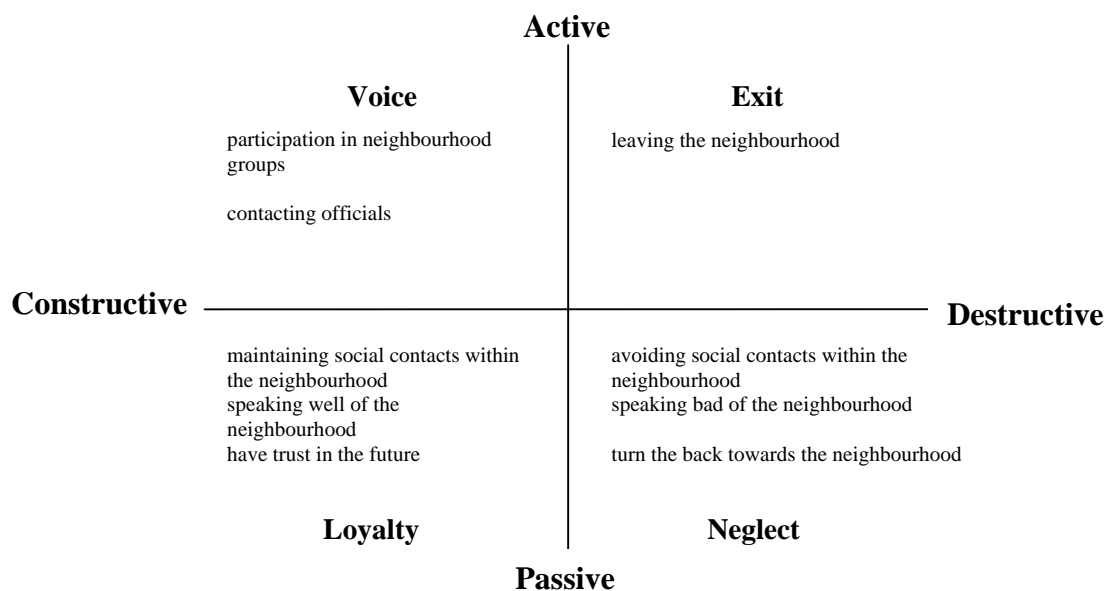
The exit-option refers to a situation when consumers stop buying a product or stop being a member of a certain organisation and possibly go to a competing brand or organisation. Voice is the (actively) expression of dissatisfaction to the appropriate management or organisation or to anyone who cares 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 its peers, while the vertical from refers to the expression of discontent to persons who are affiliated to the specific organisation and who occupy a managerial position within that organisation (O'Donnell, 1986). Loyalty is passively but optimistically waiting for better conditions. The fourth option, neglect, is passively allowing conditions to worsen. The four responses can be divided according to two dimensions: the constructive/destructive and active/passive nature of the responses (see figure 1)(Lyons and Lowerty, 1986). Voice and loyalty form a constructive response: people using these two options provide a positive and helpful alternative in improving the product or organisation. The feedback provided by the customers will benefit the (quality of the) product. In contrast, exit and neglect have a destructive nature as they undermine the product or organisation. The feedback is unhelpful and obstructive as these responses are not

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[1] Note that this not apply to all outsiders. Especially among adjacent residents and businesses one can expect a more differentiated view (see for example Suttles, 1968, p. 25).

aimed at improvement. Along the active/passive axis, voice and exit can be characterised as active responses, as people actually come into action, to make their opinion known. Loyalty and neglect on the other hand are passive responses: people are inactive by not taking any action.

Figure 1   Dimensions of response to dissatisfaction, response types, and illustrative behaviours

Active

Voice

participation in neighbourhood groups

contacting officials

Exit

leaving the neighbourhood

Constructive

Destructive

maintaining social contacts within the neighbourhood
speaking well of the neighbourhood
have trust in the future

avoiding social contacts within the neighbourhood
speaking bad of the neighbourhood

turn the back towards the neighbourhood

Loyalty

Neglect

Passive

Source: Authors' figure, adapted from Lyons and Lowerty, 1986

The framework of Exit, voice, loyalty and neglect has not only been applied to products or organisations but to many different contexts, for example social relationships (Rusbult et al.., 1982), corporate restructuring (Turnley and Feldman, 1998) and political dynamics. Within the neighbourhood context, Van Vught et al. (2003) have studied possible factors affecting the problem solving strategies of neighbourhood problems by residents. They found the exit and voice strategies to be influenced by 1.) the dissatisfaction with community services (more dissatisfied community members are more likely to show action, either by exiting or voicing their concerns, than satisfied members)(see also Lyons and Lowerty, 1986) and 2.) the dependency of persons on the community and its services. The authors argue that exit-opportunities are more limited for older people, those with children, those who are home owners and have lower income as they have fewer exit-options and are more dependent on the neighbourhood (Orbell and Uno, 1972). Thus, people who are dissatisfied and are less dependent are more likely to opt for the exit-option, while dissatisfied people with higher dependency on their area of residence are more likely to choose the voice-option.
Lyons and Lowerty (1986) found in their study that prior satisfaction with community services influenced chosen strategies. Persons who have known services much better in their current neighbourhood, or in their former neighbourhood, are more likely to be dissatisfied, than persons who have been used to the level of service offered in their current neighbourhood). Persons who have been more satisfied before with community services are more opt to use the voice-option, while persons less satisfied are more likely to use the exit-option. Another important aspect is the investment level of individuals in their neighbourhood. Persons who are owner-occupant are (similar to what Van Vught et al., 2003 concluded) more likely to use voice. The voice-option is also more likely used by persons who feel more attached to their neighbourhood.

The Exit, voice, loyalty and neglect-framework has been criticised by some authors (see for example Dowding et al., 2000). One point of criticism is the difficulty in operationalising the four different options. There are two main reasons for this difficulty. The first reason is overlap between different response-categories (Dowding et al., 2000). For example, it is difficult to

interpret certain behaviour as typically voice or typically neglect, thus causing problems in categorising. The categories are, in other words, not one-dimensional and can therefore be hard to measure and to interpret, with the exception of the exit-option. More than being clear categories, the different options can be ranked along a continuum, where clear-cut boundaries do not exist. Another point is that certain categories seem strongly related to each other. A person who is loyal to his neighbourhood is less likely to opt for the exit-option than for the voice-option (see Dowding et al., 2000). Second, people can show multiple behavioural responses, which are part of more than one of the four categories as discerned by Hirschman (1970).

So far, the framework of EVLN has been used to different contexts. In the following paragraph we specifically relate possible behavioural responses of residents living in notorious neighbourhoods to their poor neighbourhood reputation.

3.2   Active responses

The first two responses to a neighbourhood's reputation are the exit- and the voice-option. Both options can be regarded as active responses to the neighbourhood and the negative neighbourhood reputation, as residents actively express their concern about their area of residence.

The **exit-option**, the first option, is probably the most clear-cut behavioural response to negative neighbourhood reputations, since it can be perceived as a dichotomous response: either one leaves or one stays (Dowding et al., 2000). As people, living in a certain unpopular neighbourhood, feel the neighbourhood conditions and the neighbourhood's reputation as a burden on their well-being the exit-option is a real possibility. Moving out of the neighbourhood is then a possible reaction of residents to the bad reputation of their area of residence. An explanation for this behaviour is that residents want to live in an area with a certain prestige, an area holding positive associations among the general population. As argued before, the neighbourhood can play an important role in displaying the social success of households. Of the residents who value the neighbourhood's reputation, most are thought to opt for the exit-option first. This means a potential loss of active persons (Hirschman, 1970, p. 51, Orbell and Uno, 1972, Dowding et al., 2000).

Although a neighbourhood reputation possibly has a substantial impact on residential mobility, literature on residential mobility dealing with neighbourhood characteristics (and therefore also neighbourhood reputations) is rare. Only a limited number of studies investigate the neighbourhood role (see for example Lee et al., 1994, Clark et al., 2004) and the role of neighbourhood reputation in relationship to residential mobility, although Clark and Cadwallader (1973), noted that subjective evaluation of neighbourhoods might be better in explaining spatial behaviour than so called 'objective' data (for example socioeconomic status, ethnic composition). Lee et al. (1994, p. 251) cite two studies that found respondents who had to choose between a less desirable house in a very good neighbourhood or a very good house in a less desirable neighbourhood opting for the first option. Semyonov and Kraus are one of the few authors linking neighbourhood reputation to residential mobility (1982, p. 788): 'Awareness (of social hierarchies of communities and neighbourhoods, *added by author*)[…] should have significant consequences for patterns of residential selection and residential mobility. The prestige or symbolism associated with residential areas can affect the investment consumers may be willing to make in various places'.

The decision to leave the neighbourhood (the exit-option) is not always a clear-cut one: the burden of moving can be rather high, as relocation involves high (transaction and or emotional) costs (Dowding et al., 2001, p. 471). The **voice-option** is the second form of actively expressing concerns. This option indicates a persons' expression of dissatisfaction with the reputation of neighbourhood, chosen when the exiting opportunities are rather limited. Dissatisfaction can be communicated by individuals, but residents can also organise themselves in neighbourhood committees. This may lead to a broad network of social contacts within the neighbourhood, or participation in social organisations in the neighbourhood. Possibly, the reputation of the

neighbourhood influences the neighbourhood participation of individuals. Literature on neighbourhood participation has so far only paid limited attention to influence of the area's reputation on participation. From the (limited) literature dealing with reputation and neighbourhood participation, some evidence appears that residents of infamous residential area choose the voice-option. Mazanti and Pløger (2003) found in Denmark evidence supporting this possible response. In Avedøre Stationsby, a stigmatised area, the negative reputation brought, according to some residents, residents together in 'collective stance against the outside world's understanding and negative stigmatisation of their neighbourhood (Mazanti and Pløger, 2003, p. 320). To fight the (in their eyes) underserved stigma, the residents came closer together and organised themselves. Kearns and Parkinson (2001, p. 2105) report in their study similar findings, by arguing that discrimination of place can lead to a response in which residents engage in 'a high degree of mutually supportive behaviour'.

The conclusions of the two above mentioned studies contrasts with findings by Wacquant (1993). According to him, residents of infamous neighbourhoods do not want to organise themselves in a neighbourhood coalition, due to the neighbourhood reputation. The possibility to mobilise residents is thus smaller. Wacquant (1998) coined the term 'organizational desertification' to describe a situation in which residents' disorganisation lead to the inability of these residents to enforce 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 reinforcing the stigma. Wacquant (2004) interprets this process as an example of the asymmetric relation of the ghetto with society.

3.3   Passive responses

Two alternative options to the active option of exit and voice are the loyalty- and neglect- option, both passive strategies. In contrast to residents using the voice-option, people using the **loyalty-option** don't display participation in neighbourhood committees, rather they show a passive form of behaviour in which they put trust in the neighbourhood and its residents. Positive associations are being held to the area they live in, residents don't mind associating themselves with their neighbourhood. Social contacts with residents are thus not influenced by the reputation of the area.

The **neglect-option**, shares with the loyalty-option the passive form, but differs since it is in contrast to loyalty a more destructive form of behaviour. Residents show a distrust to the area and its dwellers, and turn their backs to their neighbourhood and to their fellow-residents due to the notorious name of the neighbourhood. Negative associations are held to the area of residence, and residents are not willing to participate in social life in the area.

Different authors mention the effect of an area's negative reputation on social contacts within the neighbourhood. According to Suttles (1972, p. 236), Wacquant (1993) and Brodsky (1996) undermining social relations within the neighbourhood can be a motivation to be disassociated with the neighbourhoods' and the neighbours' bad reputation. The costs of identification with the neighbourhood are perceived to be too high; therefore people retreat from their neighbourhood. 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 deepened relations with a very limited number of residents, a safe world with mutual understanding is constructed. These types of relations will likely affect the neighbourhood participation of residents in their neighbourhood in a negative way. By employing this strategy residents protect themselves for the negative reputation of their area of residence. Side effects of this approach are the decrease of trust in fellow-residents and the decrease of local social solidarity. According to Wacquant (1993) strategies of distancing reinforce the negative view of the outsiders, leading to a self fulfilling prophecy in which the public disgrace produces exactly what she thinks to observe: social and communal disorganisation and cultural anomie (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 of those who are

morally inferior and those who are not (see also Costa Pinto, 2000, Hastings, 2004). Some individuals and families are labelled as vile people lacking values, thus taking the role of scapegoat. At the same time, residents emphasis their own morality and will 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 on 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 of; possibly leading to avoidance of these areas at certain times or at all.

4 Operationalisation of reputation

4.1 Introduction

So far, attention has been paid to the concept of reputation and different behavioural responses to a negative neighbourhood reputation. To actually research the relationship between a neighbourhood's reputation and different behavioural responses, the concept of reputation needs to be measured. In this section three different approaches are introduced.

Before this, we want to emphasize that in our opinion reputation is a measurable concept, although it holds true, as Lynch (1960) argued for example, that every person holds their (individual) view on neighbourhoods. However, Lynch himself already noted that people have, in general, a more or less similar idea of a city (and of its neighbourhoods). Boulding (1956) makes a distinction between the public from the personal image, where public image is the image where the essential characteristics are shared by individuals (Boulding, 1954, p. 64). Gould (1973) holds similar views when he states that: *"individuals' total experiences of the world are unique. However the view of people is not totally unrelated to each other. A portion of our viewpoint is quite particular to our selves, while another part is shared, or held in common, with many of our fellows"* (Gould and White, 1974, p. 186).

4.2 Ranking neighbourhoods

The first method of measuring reputation is by ranking of urban neighbourhoods. This method asks respondents to rank a number of residential areas in a hierarchy, ranging from the most preferred neighbourhood to live in, to the least preferred neighbourhood. Neighbourhoods are thus seen in relation to each other. To measure reputation, the individual rankings per neighbourhood are calculated, leading to an overall ranking based on all the individual rankings.

Gould and White (1974) used the ranking method to determine the residential desirability of the 48 continental states of the United States. He found a remarkable degree in the ordering of the states among three groups of students from different areas of the United States. Semyonov and Kraus's (1982) investigation of the reputation of communities and areas in Israel found the categorisation of neighbourhoods, based on prestige, to be hierarchical. No more than three percent of the respondents ever used the 'don't know' category. Their study thus shows that places are perceived as being organised in a system of stratification easily recognised by the population, an outcome supported by others (Laumann et al., 1970, Curtis and Jackson, 1977).

Semyonov and Kraus (1982) found prestige to be strongly related to socioeconomic status, ethnic composition, distance from the city centre (prestige improves with distance) and the year of establishment (prestige declines with age). Logan and Cullver's Long Island's research (1983) found similar results as Semyonov and Kraus. The perception of 84 Long Island communities among residents of both a working class area and an affluent area, showed highly similar held beliefs. This was found to be associated with socioeconomic status, racial composition, population age, geographic location and housing density (as indicated by Census data). The perceptions of differences between communities are, in this study, widely shared among different groups of city residents. The number of suburbs that could not be classified per respondent was low at five out of 84. Hortulanus (1995) used the neighbourhood rankings to find out what

neighbourhoods are known to be the 'best' and which ones are considered the 'worst'. He found city residents capable of ranking the twenty neighbourhoods in the Dutch city of Utrecht.

However some problems occur from ranking a large number of geographical areas. An important drawback is that people seem able to indicate the best and the worst areas, but that the attitudes towards the middle groups are less clear. People might not be able to give a preference between neighbourhoods they feel not strongly about, or they have a complete blank feeling (Adams, 1969,Congalton, 1969, Clark and Cadwallader, 1973, Thill and Sui, 1993): "*for any meaningful number of entities (a dozen or more), this task [to rank geographic entities in order of preference,* add in by authors] *can hardly be carried out without compromising the integrity of the respondent's preference structure"* (Thill and Sui, 1993). Gould (1973) admits that in his residential preference map of the U.S.A., a bias is likely to occur, in which neighbouring states are higher ranked and smaller states are more likely to rank lower. Other authors find that respondents do have (great) difficulties with ranking, for example because the number of entities to rank are too large, or because people lack information to come to the ranking. Clark and Cadwallader (1973, p. 696) found in their research, asking for the three most desired neighbourhoods, already 29.4 percent of the respondents could not come to a ranking of only three neighbourhoods. Felson's research results on Chicago neighbourhoods (1978) found similar results and found these to be in agreement with Congalton's research of Sydney's suburbs (1969). Felson concluded that suburbs, as places of distinctive lifestyles, "*may be confused, vague and ineffective in status communication for the general population*" (Felson, 1978, p. 57).
Another problem arises from the question that is asked to collect the responses. Gould (1973) uses the question: 'Imagine to have complete freedom of location according to your own particular views as to what is desirable'. Clark and Cadwallader (1973) criticize the use of this question, as it contains no constraint. In moving decisions, they argue, family income is an important restriction and this income-restriction should be used in questions aimed at finding the residential preferences of urban residents.

4.3   Individual assessments

An alternative method to measure reputation is to use the sum of individual assessments. Thill and Sui (1993) suggest using this method over the method of ranking geographic areas, because of the difficulties (as mentioned in the previous section) involved in the ranking procedure. A difference with the previous method of ranking, is that respondents are not asked to put the neighbourhoods in order from most preferred to least preferred. Rather, people give a rating to each individual neighbourhood. Thus different neighbourhoods can get a similar rating, something impossible in the ranking method, in which each neighbourhood is assigned a unique position. Neighbourhoods are in this way less seen in direct relation to each other, as people do not give a preferential order on the total number of neighbourhoods.

To come from the individual assessments to the reputation of the neighbourhood, the respondent's assessments will be averaged. For every single neighbourhood this will result in an average rating by residents and by non-residents. The average rating can, in our opinion, be interpreted as the neighbourhood's reputation while this is in line with the definition given at the beginning of this paper, in which it was stated that reputation is 'a wide shared belief'.

This procedure resembles the ranking method; however the scores do have a different nature, with implications for the statistical treatment. Ranking scores have an ordinal nature while the scores gathered through individual assessments are measured on a ratio-scale. More importantly, according to Thill and Sui (1993), the fuzziness that is present in the ranking of areas (due to lack of knowledge and/or information) is not apparent when using the individual assessment to construct reputation. This is due to the fact that people do not have to compare neighbourhoods with each other, and therefore avoid the problems of assigning a rank even when in the perception of the respondent no differences between the neighbourhoods are present.
However, the problem of unfamiliarity with certain neighbourhoods can still be problematic. Felson (1978) asked respondents to rate different Chicago suburbs (periodically mentioned in the media) on a five point scale from "excellent" to "poor". Based on these ratings, a ranking of ten

suburbs was constructed. A large number of suburbs could not be rated by a significant number of respondents because of unfamiliarity with the areas (even though Felson aimed at increasing variance in ratings by over representing suburbs at the high and low-ends of the status ladder)[2].

4.4   Perception of reputation

The third method to measure reputation is by using 'perception of reputation'. This 'perception of reputation', also called self-reflective reputation by Rijpers and Smeets (1998), is the reputation that residents assume outsiders have of their neighbourhood (Tsfati and Cohen, 2003). It might lead residents to think that outsiders perceive their neighbourhood negatively, which could result in a situation in which the residents disassociate themselves from their groups or adjust their behaviour. Whether outsiders actually perceive the neighbourhood as the neighbourhood residents do does not matter. What does matter is that, in line with the Thomas-theorem, is that "*If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences*".

In their 1998 research, Rijpers and Smeets found that residents thought that outsiders (the self-reflective reputation) have the same knowledge about their area as themselves (internal reputation). However it was shown that the external reputation did not coincide with the 'perception of reputation'. Outsiders did not have the same view on the area as the insiders expected them to have. Tsfati and Cohen (2003) studied the subjective understanding of peripheral towns in Israel. According to their study, this subjective understanding plays an important role in residential mobility intentions. People who thought that outsiders were more influenced by media coverage on their hometown than themselves, showed higher intentions to move than people who believed that outsiders were less influences than themselves. This effect is called the third-person effect and refers to unknown people who are thought to be influenced by the media, more than the respondents themselves (Davison, 1983). The way we think others perceive us or our situation can then influence our behaviour. The reasoning behind this is that the self-image of people is strongly affected by the way we believe others see and think of us. People want to disassociate from low-status groups. For those who believe that the media fosters a negative reputation of the group they belong to, the negative coverage may create a desire to disassociate themselves from their group. It is established that regardless of whether people's perceptions of where they live are really shaped by media coverage, if people believe others are affected by this coverage more than they are, they are more likely to consider relocation (Tsfati and Cohen, 2003, p. 711).

To study the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and behavioural responses, we suggest that 'perception of reputation' can be a fruitful approach. It measures reputation on an individual level which makes it suitable to relate it to the individual behavioural responses of people. Connecting the two preceding methods of measuring reputation with behavioural responses is more problematic, since these do not take the perception of reputation by the resident himself in account. We believe that this perception of reputation has more influence on behavioural responses than the other forms of measuring reputation.

5   Conclusion

This paper has focused on the relationship between negative neighbourhood reputations and behavioural responses. We started with the statement that research on neighbourhood effects has tends to miss out the influence of the neighbourhood reputation on the lives of people residing in notorious neighbourhoods. Some research has been done on the material- and psychological consequences the neighbourhood's reputation can cause. However, research has been mostly lacking on behavioural responses. This paper we introduced the idea that a neighbourhood's reputation can be seen as a new variable in explaining behaviour. Therefore, we have discerned

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[2] 83,9 % of the respondents recognised the suburb of Cicero, while the least known one, Woodlawn, was rated by only 56,5 %.

different behavioural responses to neighbourhood reputations. As a framework to categorise the different responses we introduced the Exit, voice, loyalty and neglect framework. This framework acted as an umbrella to integrate literature on different types of responses (residential mobility and neighbourhood participation, maintaining social contacts). Finally, we have made the concept of neighbourhood reputation operational, so that the relationship between neighbourhood reputation and behavioural responses can actually be studied. Different measurements of neighbourhood reputation were introduced and discussed to make a diffuse concept as the concept of reputation is, measurable. With this paper we hope to have gained more attention to the cause of neighbourhood reputation within research of neighbourhood effects.

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