

The damages of stigma, the benefits of prestige: Examining the consequences of perceived residential reputations on neighbourhood attachment

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Abstract

This study examines how perceived residential reputations – that is, how people think non-residents assess the reputation of their neighbourhood – affect neighbourhood attachment, including residents' sense of belonging, local civic membership, social relationships and compliance with social rules and norms in the neighbourhood. We focus on Santiago, the capital city of Chile: a highly segregated context. We use data from the Chilean Longitudinal Social Survey (ELSOC,

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2016–2019) and information on neighbourhood characteristics. Results show that perceived residential reputations affect neighbourhood attachment, even after adjusting for time-invariant individual heterogeneity and lagged dependent variables. Specifically, perceived stigma reduces residents' neighbourhood identification, physical rootedness, trust and sociability with neighbours, while positive perceived reputations improve these components of neighbourhood attachment, although to a lesser extent. However, perceived residential reputations do not affect the formation of strong ties between neighbours or local participation, suggesting that residential reputations mainly influence affective components of neighbourhood attachment. We conclude that perceived residential reputations reinforce the influence of individual characteristics and objective neighbourhood conditions in producing diverging patterns of neighbourhood attachment, with broader implications for social inequality in the city.

Keywords

Latin America, neighbourhood attachment, residential reputation, residential segregation, territorial stigmatisation

摘要

本研究考察了感知到的住宅声誉--即人们认为非居民如何评价其所在街区的声誉--如何影响邻里依恋,包括居民的归属感、当地公民身份、社会关系以及对街区社会规则和规范的遵守情况。我们重点关注智利首都圣地亚哥:一个隔离问题极其严重的环境。我们使用的数据来自智利纵向社会调查(ELSOC, 2016-2019年)和街区特征信息。结果表明,即使对非时变的个体异质性和滞后因变量进行调整,感知到的住宅声誉也会影响邻里依恋。具体说来,所感知到的耻辱感会降低居民对街区的认同感、物理扎根感、信任感以及与邻居的社交,而所感知到的积极声誉则会改善邻里依恋的这些组成部分,尽管程度较轻。然而,所感知到的住宅声誉并不影响邻里之间紧密联系的形成或地方参与,这表明住宅声誉主要影响邻里依恋的情感成分。我们的结论是,在产生不同的邻里依恋模式过程中,感知到的住宅声誉会加强个人特征和客观邻里条件的影响,从而对城市中的社会不平等现象产生更广泛的影响。

关键词

拉丁美洲、邻里依恋、住宅声誉、住宅隔离、地域歧视

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Introduction

Urban residents are becoming increasingly aware of the symbolic (de)valuation and contrasting representations associated with their neighbourhoods. Both positive and negative reputations are often portrayed in residents' everyday interactions with non-residents, the media, political authorities and real estate agents (Paton et al., 2017; Slater, 2018; Wacquant, 2008). Residents who experience territorial stigma may develop several strategies to cope with it (Wacquant et al., 2014), ranging from submission to contestation of

negative stereotypes (e.g. Alvarez and Ruiz-Tagle, 2022; August, 2014; Halliday et al., 2021; Koutrolikou, 2015; Queirós and Borges Pereira, 2018; Sisson, 2021). These are often complex and nuanced responses, even involving ambivalent experiences between residents (Jensen and Christensen, 2012). The development of these strategies strongly reflects how perceived stigma affects the sense of commonality in neighbourhoods. Yet, the literature still lacks a detailed examination of the consequences of perceived residential reputations for neighbourhood attachment, including

different dimensions such as neighbourhood belonging, sociability, neighbourly trust and local participation.

While perceived residential stigma may affect place attachment, it must be noted that the large number of studies assessing territorial stigmatisation strongly contrasts with the scant research on perceived 'positive' residential reputations and their consequences for residents' outcomes. This is important because the symbolic power managed by dominant groups in cities can be deployed not only by denigrating others but also by increasing one's own worth (Otero et al., 2022; Wiesel, 2020), which might in turn improve neighbourhood attachment (Andersen, 2008; Kullberg et al., 2010; Permentier et al., 2009). Moreover, the reputational structure can also include less intense forms of perceived positive and negative reputations in between the extremes of stigma and prestige. These more general forms of perceived neighbourhood reputations have been included in previous works (e.g. Permentier et al., 2009), but their effects have been little discussed. Therefore, there is a vital need for a complete account of the relationship between perceived reputations and processes of neighbourhood attachment, from perceived stigma to perceived prestige and everything between.

A careful assessment of the literature also makes it clear that studies on residential reputations – especially negative reputations – and their relationship with neighbourhood attachment have mostly been conducted using qualitative methods (cf. Pereira and Queirós, 2014; Verdouw and Flanagan, 2019). Using these methods, scholars have fruitfully examined the processes whereby territorial stigmatisation is created, experienced and even contested (Tyler and Slater, 2018). Qualitative approaches have not, however, allowed researchers to evaluate whether specific case studies are representative of a broader social reality. This could

mean, for instance, that resistance to stigma may not apply to 'every' stigmatised population and territory, but might instead reflect partial versions of individual agency. It has also been difficult for researchers who conducted qualitative case studies to assess variations in perceived residential reputations over time and thus examine whether such perceptions produce further advantages or disadvantages. As such, current knowledge on the experiences and consequences of perceived residential reputations might be improved by employing panel data (Evans and Lee, 2020).

Against this background, the present study examines the extent to which perceived residential reputations – that is, how residents think other city residents evaluate their neighbourhood – affect neighbourhood attachment, including dispositions regarding neighbourhood belonging, trust in neighbours, neighbourhood sociability and local civic membership. Our empirical focus turns to Santiago, the capital of Chile, which has long been characterised by high levels of residential segregation driven, to a great extent, by radical neoliberal urban policies (Garretón, 2017). Past research on residential stigma has mainly focused on gentrification of public housing estates or urban revitalisation initiatives, and has not extended to larger urban processes that are critically engaged in space defamation or valuation, particularly in cities suffering from residential segregation on the peripheries of neoliberal urbanism (Kudla and Courey, 2019). We seek to answer the following research question: To what extent do both positive and negative residential reputations affect neighbourhood attachment?

To answer this question, we carried out longitudinal analyses using data from the Chilean Longitudinal Social Survey (ELSOC) with a four-year follow-up ($n = 489$; age range 18–75 years), and information on neighbourhood characteristics.

The article now continues by conceptualising neighbourhood attachment and discussing the theoretical arguments concerning the relationship between perceived residential reputations and neighbourhood attachment, in order to suggest our hypothesis.

Theoretical background

Definitions and traditional explanations for neighbourhood attachment

Neighbourhood attachment is a central aspect of urban life, mostly because it significantly benefits resident and community well-being. Extensive literature has examined the multiple dimensions of neighbourhood attachment, including sense of belonging and identification with the neighbourhood, shared norms and values among residents, trust in neighbours, neighbourhood social relationships, local civic membership and solidarity among residents (e.g. Dekker and Bolt, 2005; Hernández et al., 2007; Kearns and Forrest, 2000; Sampson et al., 1997; Volker and Flap, 2007).

In this research, we specifically follow those contributions that have adopted an analytical approach to neighbourhood attachment and provide operational definitions of its key constituents (e.g. Méndez et al., 2021). We define neighbourhood attachment as a multidimensional state that indicates the degree to which a resident engages with its neighbourhood. This covers both the emotional or affective bond to the neighbourhood and the practices that residents concretely deploy within it. Empirically, neighbourhood attachment can be examined through four major dimensions: sense of belonging, neighbourhood relationships, commitment to the local common good and compliance with social rules and norms.

Sense of belonging draws attention to emotional attachment to the neighbourhood, which includes dispositions such as place identification and physical rootedness

(Hernández et al., 2007). Neighbourhood relationships refers to the amount and quality of social interactions, neighbourly trust and mutual tolerance between neighbours (Volker and Flap, 2007). The third dimension embraces people's inclination to work for the common good of the neighbourhood, involving local civic engagement (e.g. participation in neighbourhood organisations) and local social support (e.g. reliance on neighbours for help in childcare) (Méndez et al., 2021). The last dimension encompasses adherence to shared collective rules in the neighbourhood (Kearns and Forrest, 2000), including respect for the neighbourhood environment (e.g. cleanliness and tidiness of public spaces) and compliance with social order in the neighbourhood (e.g. non-aggressive behaviours amongst residents) (Sampson et al., 1997).

The extent to which residents feel attached to their neighbourhoods has been shown to be strongly associated with individual characteristics (Permentier et al., 2011). It is known, for instance, that people with a higher socio-economic status tend to have greater levels of place identification and neighbourly trust (e.g. Dekker and Bolt, 2005; Woolever, 1992). Neighbourhood attachment also seems to vary according to the physical and social conditions of neighbourhoods. Residents living in areas characterised by high levels of poverty, criminality, density and physical decay often show a lower sense of neighbourhood belonging, lower trust in neighbours and poorer local social ties than those living in affluent neighbourhoods (e.g. Bailey et al., 2012; Link et al., 2022; Méndez et al., 2021). This is not to say that neighbourhood features themselves produce certain levels of neighbourhood attachment. Rather, neighbourhood conditions arguably reinforce the effect associated with structural forces rooted in macro-level institutional arrangements and urban policies (e.g. forced displacement,

peripheral social housing) that have generated segregation in the first place (e.g. Slater, 2013).

In this article, we propose that, in addition to individual characteristics and the conditions of specific areas, perceived residential reputations may also be relevant to explaining residents' differences in neighbourhood attachment.

The relationship between perceived residential reputations and neighbourhood attachment

Perceived residential reputations refer to the perceptions that residents have as to how the place in which they live – whether district, area or neighbourhood – is viewed by non-residents or 'outsiders' (Andersen, 2008). These perceptions are closely related to (albeit analytically different from) internal reputations, which represent the value that residents attribute to their neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2008). In fact, residents can feel that their residential areas do not have the positive or negative characteristics that (they perceive) others to attribute. In this sense, perceived residential reputations mostly capture awareness of others' views of one's area of residence but do not necessarily entail direct internalisation of those views.

Processes associated with the emergence of perceived 'negative' residential reputations or residential stigma have received special attention in the literature. Wacquant's (2007) theory of advanced marginality constitutes, to some extent, a central pillar on which most studies concerned with 'bad' reputations have been developed. The author combines Goffman's (1963) relational approach to stigma with Bourdieu's theory of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991) to suggest that territorial stigma represents the most fundamental characteristic of the lived experience of those residents trapped in marginalised areas. Wacquant spotlights the

stratifying and classifying agency of dominant actors, including authorities and institutions (especially the State), who strive to impose social imaginaries and representations of social discredit in lower-class districts. Processes of territorial stigmatisation thus operate as a form of symbolic violence (from above) imposed upon deprived groups, worsening their already poor conditions. The weight and potency of such symbolic dispossession are said to be particularly intense under conditions of neoliberal urban restructuring (Wacquant et al., 2014), in which governmental policies have strongly reduced the role of the public sector in the distribution of resources to meet people's basic needs, while fostering deregulation and privatisation of public goods in various domains, including housing (Wacquant, 2012). As such, certain areas become renowned due to neoliberal governmentality that employs symbolic power as a means, aligned with the interests of elite groups, to further increase segregation and legitimise the reproduction of inequalities and injustices (Jensen and Tyler, 2015; Tyler and Slater, 2018).

This line of reasoning highlights that residential reputations are not solely the result of neoliberal ideologies and policies but also serve as an additional force that can harm both residents and places. The denigration of residential areas reduces labour market opportunities and chances of developing social capital outside the neighbourhood, and also constrains the delivery of public assistance in neighbourhoods (e.g. Tunstall et al., 2014; Wacquant, 2008; Warr, 2005). Politically, territorial stigma has been used as a device to legitimise punitive policies directed at those living at the bottom of the class structure (Tyler, 2013), but also to justify regeneration projects geared towards profit interests that often result in displacement (August, 2014; Kallin and Slater, 2014; Paton et al., 2017; Slater, 2018). Additionally, territorial stigmatisation reinforces symbolic fragmentation

between residents, which implies 'the loss of a shared frame of reference and a shared language to address the collective problem of marginalization' (Jensen and Christensen, 2012: 75). Each of these processes that underlie residential stigma has important implications regarding the way in which residents in areas of disrepute establish their own subjectivities, react against the negative labels assigned by others and produce their own representation (Wacquant, 2016; Wacquant et al., 2014). This requires reflection on the degree to which negative residential reputations are emblems of local disintegration and hurt attachment to neighbourhoods.

An important derivation of the theory of advanced marginality is that territorial stigma and associated perceptions come with spatial alienation and the dissolution of place (Wacquant, 2007). These processes include the loss of culturally familiar and socially stimulating communal places preserved by practices and institutions of mutuality, in which residents can identify with joint meanings and, as such, reduce the territorial community to indifferent spaces of mere survival and relentless contest. Studies have, to some degree, supported such general claims and reported that perceived territorial stigma can effectively undermine the motivational basis for creating bonds within defamed places. Residents who perceive the residential blemish often suffer feelings of shame, humiliation, self-estrangement, meaninglessness, social anguish and frustration with the stigmatising narrative (Contreras, 2017; Slater and Anderson, 2012; Wutich et al., 2014), ultimately encouraging them to develop socio-symbolic strategies of submission to cope with spatial denigration (Wacquant et al., 2014). The strategies adopted by the residents of stigmatised areas include mutual distancing, self-isolation, dissimulation or lateral denigration (see also Garbin and Millington, 2012; Halliday et al., 2021; Pattison, 2023; Pereira and Queirós, 2014;

Pinkster et al., 2020; Verdouw and Flanagan, 2019), all of which are an indication that the perception of a negative residential reputation can degrade local attachments.

Although territorial stigma arguably produces feelings of hopelessness and fosters coping strategies that converge to deny belonging to a stigmatised territory, individual and collective responses to spatial denigration are probably more complex and nuanced, and unlikely to be assembled in roughly coherent strings. There may be various ambivalences and contradictions created by territorial stigma (Jensen and Christensen, 2012), depending to some extent on the socio-economic and cultural resources available to residents (Wacquant et al., 2014), but also on neighbourhood history and experiences of organisation (e.g. Power et al., 2021). This means that residents might be aware that they live in a poorly perceived neighbourhood and partially internalise this taint, but still feel content with their surroundings and consider it a good place to live (Jensen and Christensen, 2012). In some cases, residents of stigmatised spaces can even go further and develop strategies to defend the neighbourhood from residential stigma and even invert it.

This resistance to territorial stigma that may come to feature in residents' actions unfolds through what Sisson (2021: 8) defines as 'territorial struggles', that is, 'territorial practices and representations from below that contest the dominant territorial practices and representations from above'. Residents may develop different meaningful practices to disrupt negative residential imaginaries, especially the activation of forms of organised action (e.g. Garbin and Millington, 2012; Queirós and Borges Pereira, 2018). In this sense, collective resistance to territorial stigma can encourage residents to preserve their neighbourhood and improve their representations (Kirkness, 2014; Pinkster et al., 2020), while rejecting

the misidentification and building critical consciousness of their stigmatisation (Jensen et al., 2021; Kallin and Slater, 2014). These counter-narratives might thus provide residents with hope and a sense of agency that may help to redefine the neighbourhood as a source of pride and claim their sense of belonging (see also August, 2014; Kirkness and Tijé-Dra, 2017; Slater and Anderson, 2012). As such, awareness of residential stigma produces complex and sometimes contrasting responses, whose symbolic weight can trigger different forms of neighbourhood attachment.

Another complexity that deserves to be addressed here is reputational structure. Until now, we have focused almost exclusively on territorial stigma, which is of paramount importance in the literature. Nevertheless, the reputational structure is broad and includes extremely negative perceived stigma, less intense forms and even positive reputations. Prestigious reputations are particularly crucial because they represent symbolic indicators of wealth and exclusiveness that highlight the relevance of particular areas for the privileged (Evans and Lee, 2020). As such, they can be used to channel the symbolic power possessed by dominant groups. Indeed, positive reputations may, for example, be capitalised in land values and pave the way for important urban dynamics in the educational or commercial spheres that reinforce existing class disparities in the city (e.g. Wiesel, 2020). Prestigious reputations could also constitute an aspirational force guiding self-segregation strategies, favouring class reproduction among the most privileged groups (see also Méndez and Gayo, 2019).

Territorial prestige may also affect residents' dispositions and behaviours, and in particular neighbourhood attachment. Positive perceived reputations can convey a strong self-image of success, self-esteem and class identification among the privileged.

This often translates into a powerful sense of neighbourhood belonging, which arguably enhances mutual understanding and recognition between residents (Savage et al., 2005). These affective features probably allow residents to increase their physical rootedness, develop trust in neighbours and increase their local sociability and participation (e.g. Kullberg et al., 2010; Permentier et al., 2009). In time, identification and recognition are also said to favour the desire to remain in the neighbourhood, because residents are more satisfied with their area of residence (e.g. Andersen, 2008). After all, residential prestige likely sets the stage for high levels of neighbourhood attachment.

Expectations

Based on the arguments outlined above, we propose that both positive and negative perceived reputations may influence residents' attachment to their neighbourhood. Initially, we must consider that our study context, as will be described in the next section, is a highly segregated city in terms of socio-economic status. This can certainly affect the way in which perceived residential reputations operate and likely generate polarised influences of residential stigma and prestige on neighbourhood attachment. First, we argue that perceived territorial stigma may be generally detrimental to neighbourhood attachment. In several Latin American cities like Santiago, neoliberal policy interventions have paved the way for the socio-spatial marginalisation of the poor towards the urban periphery in precarious social housing or informal settlements that are widely recognised as problematic (e.g. Caldeira, 2017). In this sense, territorial stigma has not been deployed merely to legitimate urban renewal programmes, as frequently occurs in the Global North, but rather to reproduce, entrench and intensify the social relegation of the urban poor (e.g.

Alvarez and Ruiz-Tagle, 2022; Otero et al., 2022). Nevertheless, we also recognise that responses to territorial stigma may be ambivalent and nuanced (Jensen and Christensen, 2012). Thus, we do not completely deny the possibility that perceived residential stigma influences neighbourhood attachment in the opposite direction, or that it at least produces no significant effects. This may particularly be the case for more practical components of neighbourhood attachment, such as strong social ties and participation in local organisations, which are key societal factors with which to contest dominant territorial representations.

Second, we suggest that perceived residential reputations of high prestige may complement the impact of territorial stigma. The rise of neoliberal subjectivities in segregated cities of Latin America has not only encouraged the affluent to reside among equals in gated communities and exclusive neighbourhoods (e.g. Borsdorf et al., 2016), but has also pushed them to deploy powerful symbolic boundaries rooted in space to make the distinction even more apparent. Therefore, we additionally expect that perceived positive reputations probably enhance attachment to the neighbourhood overall. Positive reputations may enhance residents' upper-class identity and allow them to claim neighbourhood belonging in order to reinforce this symbolic source of status rooted in the city.

Finally, we propose that the effects of perceived reputations on neighbourhood attachment may be driven not only by stigma and prestige, but also by less intense forms of residential reputation in between the extremes. We consider that the effect of these 'intermediate' reputations might follow the continuum of reputations or lay the groundwork for variegated patterns of neighbourhood attachment. As we know from previous studies, different dimensions of neighbourhood attachment are strongly affected by individual characteristics and

objective residential conditions; as such, we specifically expect that perceived reputations produce summative effects.

The case of Santiago, Chile

Santiago is Chile's capital city and home to nearly 40% of the national population – approximately seven million residents. It is characterised by high levels of socio-economic residential segregation, only comparable to those of racial segregation in US cities (Agostini et al., 2016). Such residential segregation is closely related to the neoliberal governance model established during the military dictatorship (1973–1990). Several market-led urban reforms were implemented, including displacement of lower-class families towards the margins of the city by means of the forced eradication of slums (e.g. Hidalgo, 2019; Scarpaci et al., 1988). In general, the quantity and quality of local resources and opportunities became much more dependent on the socio-economic status of the local population due to processes of municipal decentralisation, the segmentation of basic healthcare and education services, the targeting of welfare resources to the 'deserving poor' and the withdrawal of social organisations and political parties from marginal neighbourhoods. Municipal budgets are extremely unequal, so poor municipalities can only offer residents very low-quality services.¹ Thus, the rise of residential segregation has been closely linked to the widening of territorial inequalities (Ruiz-Tagle et al., 2023).

Despite the stronger emphasis put on social policies and poverty reduction since the return to democracy in 1990, the provision of social housing has become increasingly dependent on private developers, thereby reinforcing the location of lower-class families on cheap and lesser-resourced land in the most deprived peripheral districts (Garretón, 2017). Along the way,

intensifying real estate activities have favoured middle- and upper-class strategies of self-segregation. The provision of public infrastructure (e.g. subway lines and urban freeways), private megaprojects (e.g. shopping malls) and the rise of gated communities have stimulated the wealthy to move away from the city centre and to forge exclusive spaces to work and reside in the north-eastern part of the city. These are privileged areas that offer high-quality (mostly private) goods and services such as schools, healthcare, green spaces and recreational facilities (Méndez and Gayo, 2019).

Due to these marked socio-economic, residential and territorial inequalities, it is not surprising that perceived neighbourhood stigma is overwhelmingly reported in peripheral areas of Santiago: among residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, 53% perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood to be negative or very negative. By contrast, in the north-eastern affluent districts, most residents share a positive or very positive view of their neighbourhood (97%) (see Otero et al., 2022). Despite these differences, objective neighbourhood conditions and negative reputations do not strictly overlap, which may indicate different reactions against stigma and diverse strategies of symbolic self-preservation deployed by residents (see also Alvarez and Ruiz-Tagle, 2022). Studies have also documented that residential reputations – particularly territorial stigma – have generated a number of consequences, including the construction of walls and fences to exclude social housing residents (Salcedo, 2010), and an increase in neighbourhood conflicts in certain places (Méndez and Otero, 2018). New identities can also stem from these symbolic struggles (e.g. Cornejo, 2012), all of which further justify an examination of the influence of perceived residential reputations on neighbourhood attachment, with a particular focus on Santiago, Chile.

Data, variables and methods

Data

We use four waves of a new panel dataset from the ELSOC, representing the Chilean urban population aged 18–75 years. The survey was produced by the Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies (COES) and collected between 2016 and 2019. Residents participated through face-to-face interviews and the overall response rate in the first wave was 62% (see ELSOC, 2018). We only include residents living in the Metropolitan Region of Santiago, who comprised a sample of 646 individuals in 2019. We merged this individual survey data with georeferenced information at the census tract level, collected in 2017 and 2018. Data come from the Chilean census, the Observatory of Chilean Cities (OCUC) and the Centre for Territorial Intelligence (CIT).

The selection process required for the analyses reduces the number of observations taken forward from the original sample. First, we include respondents who were present across all four waves, which reduces the sample to 557 individuals. Second, we only include interviewees with complete neighbourhood data – a total of 534 individuals. Third, we only include residents who remained in the same neighbourhood throughout the entire period. This reduces the sample to 510 respondents. Finally, we only include individuals with no missing information for each of our variables of interest in 2019. Following these procedures, the final sample consists of 489 individuals across 201 census tracts. Table A1 (in the Appendix) details this process, showing no major change in the average value of our dependent variables.

Variables

Measuring neighbourhood attachment. As proposed in the theoretical section, neighbourhood attachment embraces a series of

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of neighbourhood attachment.

Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	Min.	Max.	Mean	Years available
Sense of belonging	Neighbourhood identification	1	5	3.62	All
	Physical rootedness	0	1	0.48	All
Neighbourhood relationships	Trust in neighbours	1	5	3.19	All
	Sociability with neighbours	1	5	3.53	All
	Neighbours in core personal network	0	5	1.51	2017, 2019
	Visits between neighbours	1	5	2.09	All
Commitment to the common good	Participation in local organisations	0	1	0.33	2016, 2018
Compliance with social rules and norms	Compliance with social order and respect for the neighbourhood environment	1	5	1.75	All

attitudes and practices classified into four dimensions: sense of belonging, neighbourhood relationships, commitment to the local common good and compliance with social rules and norms in the neighbourhood. We measure these dimensions using eight indicators, described below and summarised in Table 1.

First, we address two sub-dimensions of sense of belonging to the neighbourhood: neighbourhood identification and physical rootedness. Place identification is measured with an average index of four highly correlated items ($\alpha=0.87$). Respondents were asked to state the extent to which they agreed with the following statements: (i) 'this is the ideal neighbourhood for me', (ii) 'I feel integrated into this neighbourhood', (iii) 'I identify with the people of this neighbourhood' and (iv) 'this neighbourhood is part of me'. A five-point Likert-type scale was used, with responses ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. Physical rootedness is measured using a dummy variable indicating whether residents wanted to remain in the neighbourhood.

Second, neighbourhood relationships comprise three sub-dimensions: neighbourhood sociability, strong ties with neighbours and neighbourly trust. Neighbourhood

sociability is measured using an average index of four highly correlated items ($\alpha = 0.75$). Respondents were asked to state the extent to which they agreed with the following statements: (i) 'it is easy to make friends in this neighbourhood', (ii) 'people in this neighbourhood are sociable', (iii) 'people in this neighbourhood are friendly' and (iv) 'people in this neighbourhood work together'. A five-point Likert-type scale was used, with responses ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. Strong ties are measured through the 'name generator' survey instrument. Respondents were asked to report the number of fellow residents with whom they often discuss important personal matters (up to five alters) (i.e. the core discussion network). We also consider an alternative measure indicating the number of visits to neighbours in the past year. Neighbourly trust is measured using a five-point Likert-type scale, with responses ranging from 'not at all' to 'very much'.

Third, commitment to the local common good is represented through participation in neighbourhood organisations. Respondents were asked the following question: 'Are you an active member, inactive member, or not a member of a residents' association or another neighbourhood organisation?' We created a

dummy variable to indicate membership – whether active or inactive – of neighbourhood organisations. We did not examine social support or solidarity among residents, because this issue was not included in the survey.

Fourth, compliance with social rules and norms in the neighbourhood is represented through an average indicator comprising two highly correlated items ($\alpha = 0.72$). Respondents were asked to state how often they have been bothered or made to feel uncomfortable by any of the following problems with their neighbours over the past 12 months: (i) ‘threats, insults or offense from neighbours’ and (ii) ‘problems because neighbours litter or destroy public areas’. A five-point Likert-type scale was used, with responses ranging from ‘never’ to ‘always’.

Perceived residential reputations. Our primary independent variable of interest is perceived residential reputation, measured using a five-point Likert-type scale. The question was: ‘How do you think those who live elsewhere evaluate your neighbourhood?’. Respondents were invited to rate the reputation of their neighbourhood as ‘very negative’, ‘negative’, ‘neither negative nor positive’, ‘positive’ or ‘very positive’. Previous studies have traditionally included this type of variable as continuous in their quantitative analyses (e.g. Permentier et al., 2009). In contrast, we treat the variable as categorical and keep all five levels. This way, perceived neighbourhood stigma and prestige are represented at the extremes of the variable distribution, while more neutral forms of perceived reputation fall in between. The goal of this categorical variable is twofold. First, we aim to go beyond the average linear effect of reputations, following our hypothesis that both negative and positive reputations influence neighbourhood attachment in opposite directions. Second, the approach allows us to specify how strong versions of perceived

neighbourhood reputations (stigma and prestige) differ from more general forms of negative and positive reputations in the way they shape neighbourhood attachment.

Moreover, 8% of our sample report ‘very negative’ perceived reputations, another 8% perceive their neighbourhood ‘very positively’, 20% have neutral views, 21% perceive a ‘negative’ reputation and 44% perceive a ‘positive’ reputation. As such, perceived reputations are expressed not only by stigma or prestige; rather, they are distributed along a continuum, which reinforces our interest in including all levels of perceived reputation in our empirical analysis.

Objective neighbourhood characteristics. Our empirical analysis includes objective neighbourhood characteristics known to influence neighbourhood attachment (Permentier et al., 2011). We devised a typology of neighbourhoods at the census tract level based on 14 variables, including land value per square metre, the proportion of residents by socioeconomic groups, a measure of social homogeneity based on the entropy index (H) and a normalised violence score that includes robbery, drug trafficking, assault, homicide and rape.

We performed a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) on those variables and applied a hierarchical clustering analysis on the first two components using Ward’s method. Four clusters emerged from this analysis, which provide a clear view of the socio-spatial contrasts in Santiago and ensure a balanced distribution of our sample across neighbourhood types. Below, we briefly describe the characteristics of these four neighbourhood types, while Figure 1 shows their spatial distribution within the city. Complete descriptive statistics are available in Table A2 in the Appendix.

The first cluster corresponds to areas of concentrated advantage with a high proportion of upper- and upper middle-class

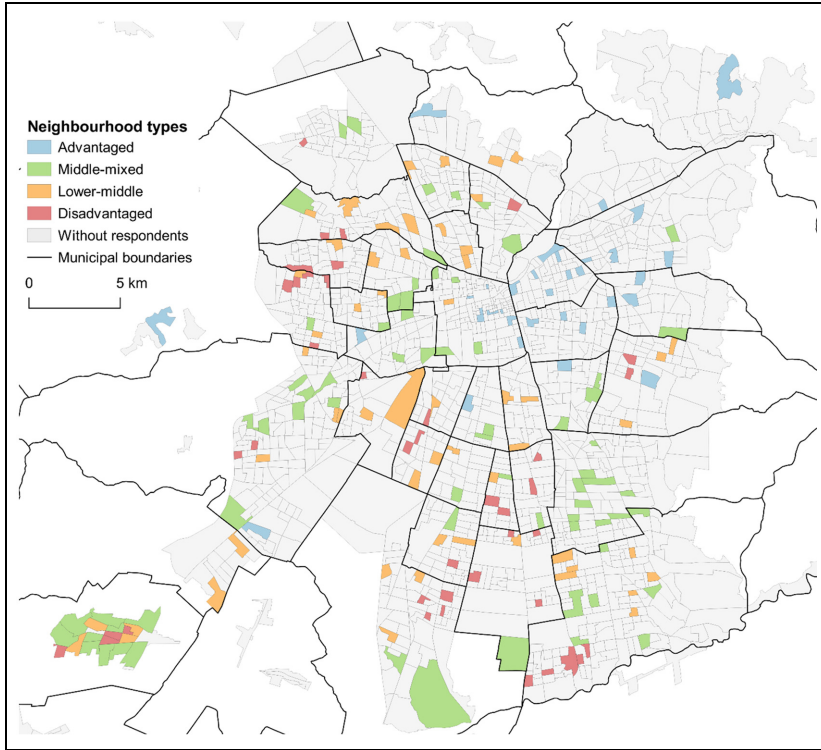


Figure 1. Neighbourhood types in Santiago, Chile.
 Source: National Institute of Statistics (INE) and Centre for Territorial Intelligence (CIT-sUAI).

residents and elevated land values (11% of the sample). It is also characterised by good accessibility to green spaces, and low levels of urban violence. This type is strongly concentrated in the north-eastern part of the city. The second cluster (31% of the sample) includes middle-mixed neighbourhoods. Land is more affordable than in the previous type, while population density is significantly lower. These neighbourhoods are more evenly spread across the metropolitan area. The third cluster (35% of the sample) comprises neighbourhoods with a higher proportion of lower middle-class population and increased SES homogeneity. Finally, the fourth cluster (24% of the sample) corresponds to disadvantaged neighbourhoods located on the urban margins. Significant levels of housing

overcrowding and urban violence broadly reflect the vulnerability experienced by residents of these areas.

Methods

We divide our analysis into two parts. First, we focus on cross-sectional data, looking at the most recent year available (2019 or 2018) and including a battery of control variables. Second, we move on to a longitudinal approach, including the four waves of the survey and estimating fixed-effect and dynamic models. The latter models allow us to account for all time-invariant factors, not only those available as control variables. Due to the nature of the data, however, some variables – namely strong ties and

local participation – do not allow for longitudinal analysis, as they only have data for two of the four waves of the survey. All models are estimated under clustered standard errors at the census tract level. With the exception of the dynamic panel model, all of these models are estimated using OLS. Our explanatory analysis looks into the association between neighbourhood attachment and perceived residential reputations.

Our first model can be described by equation (1):

$$Attachment_{ij} = \alpha + \beta_1 Rep_{ij}^1 + \dots + \beta_5 Rep_{ij}^5 + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

where $Attachment_{ij}$ represents each of the eight dependent variables we use to measure neighbourhood attachment for resident i in census tract j . $Rep_{ij}^1, \dots, Rep_{ij}^5$ are the five categories of perceived residential reputation, ranging from ‘very negatively’ to ‘very positively’. We treat residential reputation as a categorical variable to explore potential non-linearities when assessing the role of either positive or negative perceptions.

The following model includes a series of control variables, represented by the vector X_{ij} .

$$Attachment_{ij} = \alpha + \beta_1 Rep_{ij}^1 + \dots + \beta_5 Rep_{ij}^5 + \gamma X_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (2)$$

The vector X_{ij} specifically includes demographic variables (sex, age and age squared), socio-economic factors (educational levels) and the objective neighbourhood characteristics (i.e. neighbourhood clusters). As mentioned before, we include these variables in a stepwise manner, beginning with demographic variables, followed by both demographic and socio-economic variables and finishing with all three sets of variables.

Our final cross-sectional specification takes advantage of the panel structure of our data by controlling for the lagged value

of each dependent variable. Lagged dependent variables are useful as a way of controlling for the dynamic aspect of our variable of interest if previous attachment reinforces (or weakens) current levels of attachment. To the extent that attachment presents inertia over time, controlling for its lag allows us to capture the unobserved factors shaping that inertia. If we study attachment at time t , then we can write this specification using equation (3).

$$Attachment_{ij,t} = \alpha + \beta_1 Rep_{ij,t}^1 + \dots + \beta_5 Rep_{ij,t}^5 + \gamma X_{ij,t} + \delta Attachment_{ij,t-1} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (3)$$

To take full advantage of the panel structure, we also include two specifications using fixed effects. Fixed effects control for all time invariant factors, either observed or unobserved, providing a more exhaustive way to account for potential confounders. For the purpose of our estimation, we include two models: a standard fixed effect model (equation (4)), and another including both fixed effects and the lag of the respective dependent variable (equation (5)). Importantly, neighbourhood-level variables are available only at one point in time (2017 or 2018). As such, we cannot include measures of neighbourhood change in our analysis. This implies that neighbourhood characteristics are treated as time-invariant variables in the fixed effect models described below.

$$Attachment_{ij,t} = \alpha + \beta_1 Rep_{ij,t}^1 + \dots + \beta_5 Rep_{ij,t}^5 + \mu_{ij} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (4)$$

$$Attachment_{ij,t} = \alpha + \beta_1 Rep_{ij,t}^1 + \dots + \beta_5 Rep_{ij,t}^5 + \mu_{ij} + \delta Attachment_{ij,t-1} + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (5)$$

To properly estimate our fixed effect models, we need to include all available years of data for each individual. While equations (1) – (3)

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of neighbourhood attachment by perceived residential reputations.

	Highly negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Highly positive	All
Neighbourhood identification	2.88	3.27	3.35	3.96	4.03	3.62
Physical rootedness	0.22	0.24	0.41	0.62	0.68	0.48
Trust in neighbours	2.63	2.94	3.04	3.39	3.66	3.19
Sociability with neighbours	3.32	3.24	3.44	3.67	3.93	3.53
Neighbours in core personal network ties	1.78	1.31	1.46	1.61	1.29	1.51
Visits between neighbours	2.1	2.07	2.05	2.1	2.16	2.09
Participation in local organisations	0.32	0.28	0.36	0.34	0.34	0.33
Compliance with social order	2.55	2.1	1.83	1.51	1.14	1.75

Notes: ELSOC, 2019. $n = 489$ residents.

are estimated using a single point in time (i.e. $t = 2019$), equations (4) and (5) use multiple years ($t = 2016, \dots, 2019$ for equation (4) and $t = 2017, \dots, 2019$ for equation (5)).²

Lastly, we address the bias stemming from the inclusion of both individual fixed effects and the lagged dependent variable in dynamic panel models such as that in equation (5) (Nickell, 1981). The correlation between the two terms follows from the lagged error term $\varepsilon_{ij,t-1}$, which is present in both $Attachment_{ij,t-1}$ and in μ_{ij} (which can be computed as the average value of the dependent variable across time). The resulting bias generates inconsistent estimates, particularly when the number of years is small relative to the number of individuals, as is our case.

We address this bias by re-estimating equation (5) using System GMM, developed in Arellano and Bover (1995) and Blundell and Bond (1998). In short, System GMM uses internal instrumental variables to address the bias that arises in dynamic panel models. First, it estimates the model in first differences (thus removing the fixed effect) and using the lags of the endogenous variables in levels as instruments. Second, it estimates the model in levels (i.e. as shown in equation (5)) using the lagged first differences of the endogenous variables as instruments. Both equations are put together and estimated through the

generalised methods of moments (see Roodman, 2009 for further details).³

Most of our explanatory analysis focuses on the estimated coefficients for reputations categorised as ‘very negatively’ and ‘very positively’, with the neutral reputation as the reference category (value ‘3’ in the Likert scale). In other words, our interest lies in the extremes of the reputation distribution and how they shape neighbourhood attachment. We therefore focus on the interpretation of the estimated coefficients $\hat{\beta}_1$ and $\hat{\beta}_5$ across all specifications, and present the full regression tables for equations (1) – (5) for each dependent variable in the Appendix. To improve comparability, all dependent variables are standardised so that each has a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 1.

Results

Descriptive analyses

We start with a descriptive overview of the relationship between perceived residential reputations and neighbourhood attachment. Table 2 reports the mean for all outcome variables by levels of perceived residential reputations in 2019.

First, we observe that both dimensions of sense of belonging to the neighbourhood vary with the level of perceived residential

reputations. Residents with a 'highly positive' residential reputation show the highest level of place identification, whereas those with a 'highly negative' reputation (or perceived neighbourhood stigma) show the lowest level (4.03 and 2.88 on average, respectively). The desire to remain in the neighbourhood (physical rootedness) is also higher among residents who perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood to be 'highly positive' (68%).

This pattern is repeated when considering trust and sociability between neighbours. Neighbourly trust is lower among residents who perceive residential stigma than those who share a highly positive image of their neighbourhood (2.63 and 3.66 on average). Regarding sociability, the difference between residents who have a positive or a negative view of their neighbourhood reputation is less noticeable but remains important (0.6 points on average). Nevertheless, the number of neighbours in core personal networks and the frequency of visits between neighbours remain constant across the reputation hierarchy.

Regarding commitment to the local common good, the level of active participation in neighbourhood organisations varies slightly across the different levels of perceived residential reputation. On average, 32% of residents who perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood to be 'highly negative' are involved in local organisations, while participation reaches 34% among those who live in a neighbourhood with a good perceived reputation. Finally, regarding the last dimension, people who find the reputation of their neighbourhood positive report less norm-violating behaviour than people who have a negative view of their residential environment.

Explanatory analyses

The rest of the analysis is based on linear regressions. To allow for a more

straightforward interpretation of the regression models, Figure 2 illustrates the coefficients for 'highly negative' and 'highly positive' perceived reputations across all outcomes and model specifications, with neutral reputation being the reference category. Specifically, here we report the estimates for β_1 and β_5 as shown in equations (1) – (5). We present tables with the results for all levels of residential reputations in the Appendix.

First, we examine the relationship between perceived residential reputations and both dimensions of sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. Cross-sectional specifications (models 1 – 5) generally indicate that, relative to neutral reputations, perceived stigma ('very negative' perceived reputation) is negatively associated with neighbourhood identification (Table A3 in the Appendix). This association persists in the fixed-effect specification. The coefficients remain significant and decrease only modestly after including the lagged dependent variable (Model 7) and after controlling for additional sources of bias (Model 8). The positive effect of perceived residential prestige on place identification exceeds the negative effect of stigma. As a result, the gap in place identification attains 0.78 standard deviations between the extremes of the neighbourhood reputational hierarchy. More general forms of positive reputation also improve place identification.

Physical rootedness is also significantly lower for residents who perceive the reputation of their neighbourhood to be very negative (Table A4 in the Appendix). Model 8 shows that the detrimental impact of territorial stigma is even greater for physical rootedness than for place identification to the neighbourhood (–0.51 and –0.33 standard deviations, respectively). The same pattern occurs among residents who perceive moderate negative reputations. By contrast, the effect of very positive and positive

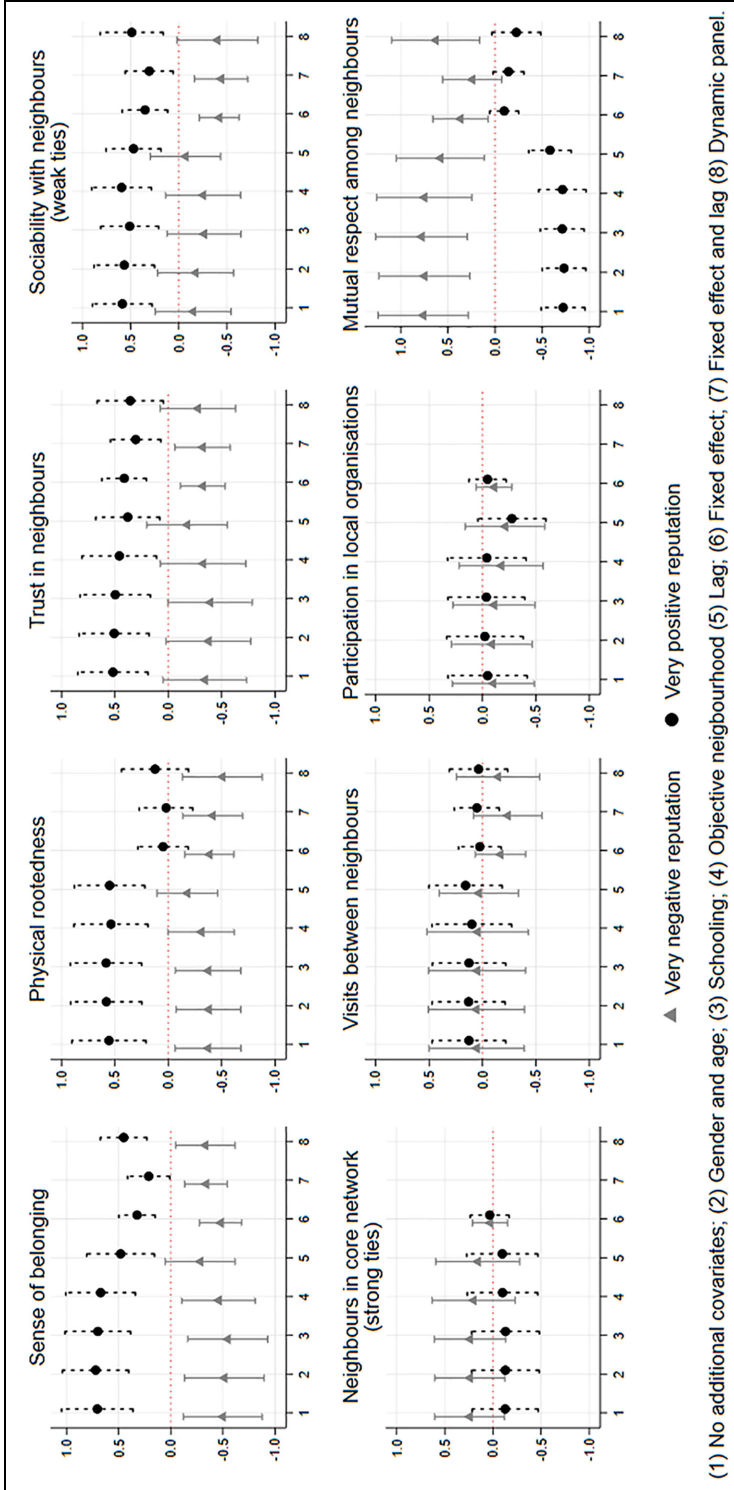


Figure 2. Effects of 'very negative' and 'very positive' residential reputations on neighbourhood attachment. Source: ELSOC, 2016–2019.

residential reputation becomes marginal and loses statistical significance in longitudinal models (Models 6 – 8).

Second, we analyse how residential reputations are connected to variations in neighbourhood relationships. Consistent with descriptive findings, positive residential reputations increase trust and improve sociability between neighbours (Tables A5 and A6 in the Appendix). This positive relationship is persistent across all models and attains 0.36 and 0.49 standard deviations respectively in the final specification (Model 8). Perceived territorial stigma is not significantly associated with trust in neighbours, but significantly reduces the propensity to maintain social relationships at the local level. Cross-sectional and longitudinal specifications also indicate the detrimental effects of moderate ‘negative’ reputations (see Table A6 in the Appendix). Regarding the presence of neighbours in core personal networks and mutual visits between neighbours, which are our indicators of strong local ties, perceived residential reputations seem to have no significant effect (see Tables A7 and A8 in the Appendix). In other words, perceived reputations do not enhance or limit the emergence of strong ties between neighbours. As such, this indicates that residential reputations do not affect all domains of the relational dimension of neighbourhood attachment.

Third, we examine residents’ commitment to the local common good. Cross-sectional models indicate a non-significant relationship between highly positive or negative reputations and the level of participation in local organisations across all models. Interestingly though, residents who have moderately negative views of their neighbourhood report significantly lower levels of membership in neighbourhood organisations after adjusting for time-invariant characteristics (Table A9 in the Appendix).

Regarding the level of compliance with social rules and norms in the neighbourhood,

we find that living in a neighbourhood with negative and highly negative perceived reputations increases tensions between neighbours (see Table A10 in the Appendix). The size of the effect remains significant in longitudinal models. By contrast, a ‘highly positive’ residential reputation significantly decreases the frequency of reported norm-violating behaviour in the neighbourhood, but the effects are smaller than those reported for perceived residential stigma. Overall, this suggests that neighbourhood prestige encourages respect for local norms and harmonious coexistence between neighbours.

Overall, our findings indicate that, in general, perceived residential reputations – both negative and positive – significantly affect neighbourhood attachment. Perceived residential stigma hurts the level of attachment to neighbourhoods, while perceived residential prestige improves it. These results are stable after accounting for observed neighbourhood conditions, individual fixed effects and lagged dependent variables, providing substantial support for our hypothesis. Yet, we find that perceived residential reputations do not evenly affect every component of neighbourhood attachment. While the emotional and normative dimensions of neighbourhood attachment clearly vary with perceived reputations, the effects of reputations are mixed when referring to the relational dimension, and less clear or not significant regarding the practical dimension of neighbourhood attachment – that is, commitment to the local common good. Moreover, although perceived prestige and stigma have the most significant effects on neighbourhood attachment, moderate forms of perceived reputation also play an important role in shaping this process, thereby indicating their distinct nature. We provide a more detailed discussion of these nuances in the last section of the article.

Conclusions and discussion

The aim of this study has been to examine the consequences of perceived residential stigma and prestige in generating disparities in neighbourhood attachment. The case of Santiago provided an apt setting for this study, not least because it is a highly segregated context. The study relied on a multidimensional definition of neighbourhood attachment, operationalised through four dimensions: sense of belonging, neighbourhood relationships, commitment to the local common good and compliance with social rules and norms. To measure the effect of perceived residential reputations, we estimated longitudinal regression models. Overall, we showed that perceived symbolic (de)valuation of neighbourhoods affects their residents' attachment to them. There are five specific results to be discussed.

First, we found that perceived residential stigma strongly reduces residents' sense of identification with the neighbourhood, physical rootedness, trust in neighbours and local sociability. These results are in line with the scarce quantitative studies previously conducted, especially those indicating that perceived territorial stigma increases residents' intentions to leave the neighbourhood, and neighbourhood conflicts (Andersen, 2008; Méndez and Otero, 2018). To some extent, this evidence supports claims by Wacquant (2007) regarding pervasive social dissolution and spatial alienation in stigmatised neighbourhoods. We show that this concretely applies to place identification and local sociability. As mentioned, perceived residential stigma probably leads to feelings of individual anguish and despair (Contreras, 2017), thereby forcing residents to generate strategies of submission to cope with the space's negative imagery (Wacquant et al., 2014). As reported in previous qualitative research, territorial stigma may result in mutual distancing, self-isolation and lateral

denigration (e.g. Garbin and Millington, 2012; Pereira and Queirós, 2014; Pinkster et al., 2020), which ultimately hinder neighbourhood attachment.

Second, we cast new light on the effects of positive residential reputations – or perceived neighbourhood prestige – on neighbourhood attachment. We found that such perceptions promote neighbourhood attachment, especially by increasing residents' sense of identification with the neighbourhood, neighbourly trust and local social relationships. These findings are consistent with prior quantitative research, and especially with a study focused on the association between positive reputations and trust in neighbours (Kullberg et al., 2010). In addition, we also found that perceived neighbourhood prestige significantly reduces reported norm-violating behaviour in the neighbourhood, but does not seem to contribute to the existence of strong ties with neighbours, participation in neighbourhood organisations or the desire to stay in the neighbourhood (physical rootedness). Interestingly, the latter result partly challenges the findings reported in a study focused on the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands, indicating that perceived neighbourhood reputation reduces the intention to leave the neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2009). Despite these nuances, there is overall support for our claim that the high symbolic value perceived by residents improves their attachment to the neighbourhood, probably because it reinforces a strong self-image of success, self-esteem and self-entitlement, all of which are rooted in class identification in the first place.

Third, it is important to stress that the consequences of perceived residential reputations on neighbourhood attachment are, to some extent, varied. Perceived residential stigma and prestige clearly affect neighbourhood attachment in terms of place identification, neighbourly trust and sociability with neighbours, and compliance with social rules

and norms, but do not significantly affect the formation of strong ties with neighbours and participation in local organisations. These differences suggest that residential reputations challenge residents' identities, broader sociability and normativity in particular, but are less clear regarding how they experience core social relationships and local commitments. On one hand, when referring to negative reputations, we suggest that residents probably deny neighbourhood belonging because this would mean identifying themselves with the subject of defamation – one which they might prefer to avoid. The internal spatial boundaries/divisions that residents designate within defamed places in order to divert residential stigmatisation towards a 'demonised' other – especially residents with less social power – may explain why general sociability is lower when residents perceive the tainted reputations of their neighbourhoods. In the case of positive neighbourhood reputations, we consider that a greater sense of place belonging probably comes from the incorporation of spatial signals of honour and prestige in the process of social class identity construction. This can certainly encourage broader sociability among 'equals' and generate a scenario of mutual trust between residents in prestigious areas.

Strong local ties and participation in neighbourhood organisations are domains that refer to the potential care and support that residents can receive in their residential areas. They represent the practical sense of neighbourhood attachment. Residents who perceive residential stigma may not reduce local participation and preserve some of the stronger ties, even in a context of emotional detachment, precisely because such connections and organisations can be more relevant under these conditions. This may also explain why residents who perceive residential prestige may reduce their local participation. Overall, the fact that perceived positive

and negative reputations do not affect all dimensions and domains representing neighbourhood attachment suggests the existence of ambivalences in residents' experiences with their residential areas when dealing with symbolic struggles (Jensen and Christensen, 2012). These results, however, should not be interpreted as contradictions, but as complexities that residents experience when dealing with reputations and managing their local attachment in the process. After all, perceived stigma and prestige do not produce results that are far removed from what was expected; rather, they seem to be less important in certain domains.

Fourth, our study also provides evidence of the existence of several nuances regarding the reputational structure. Although the effects of reputations are prominent at the edges of the reputational hierarchy, that is, perceived prestige and stigma, we showed that less intense forms of positive and negative reputation also play a role in neighbourhood attachment. A perceived moderately positive reputation increases neighbourhood attachment regarding identification and neighbourly trust. In addition, residents with a moderately negative perceived residential reputation exhibit a lower physical rootedness and less sociability with their neighbours and seem to reduce their local participation and compliance with social rules and norms. In general, moderate reputations follow the direction of effects reported for perceived residential stigma and prestige, although their impact is, in most cases, smaller than those reported for the extremes of the reputational structure. As such, these findings suggest not only that the effects of residential reputations operate throughout the entire reputation distribution, but also that the effects of moderate reputations follow the continuum of reputations rather than laying the groundwork for varied patterns of neighbourhood attachment.

Finally, in most of our models, neighbourhood characteristics had no significant effects on neighbourhood attachment. This likely happened because the constitutive power of perceived reputations and their effects on residents' attachment to the neighbourhood are strongly connected with macro-structures, including the long-standing neoliberal urban policies that have promoted residential segregation in the first place (Wacquant, 2012). In other words, residential reputations are strongly dependent on structural conditions, so, to a certain extent, they capture the influence of the latter on the communitarian fate of populations. Additional cross-sectional analyses not presented here indeed indicated that perceived residential reputations reduce and thus somewhat mediate the influence of objective neighbourhood characteristics on neighbourhood attachment. Therefore, we can conclude that perceived residential reputations operate on behalf of objective conditions and also have an explanatory power of their own, thereby reinforcing the influence of spatial inequality on neighbourhood attachment. This is consistent with previous research from the USA that found that neighbourhood stigma, fostered by racial stereotypes, affects collective perceptions of disorder and crime above and beyond observed neighbourhood characteristics, with severe implications for the persistence of residential segregation (Quillian and Pager, 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004).

Our study is not without limitations. First, while we provide a robust estimation of the coefficients through fixed effects and lagged dependent variables, we could not fully discard the possibility of endogeneity. Second, we were not able to fully exploit the dynamic nature of our data because our measures of the objective neighbourhood characteristics are based on a single point in time. Third, we have not focused on the explanatory mechanisms that explicitly link perceived residential reputations and

neighbourhood attachment. These limitations point to the need for further research on changing patterns of residential reputations over time and space.

All in all, we have provided fruitful insights into how perceived residential reputations yield different forms of neighbourhood attachment. This study is valuable because it employs panel data and focuses on both extremes of the distribution – not only stigma, but also perceived neighbourhood prestige. Perceived reputations distinctively affect the affective domains of neighbourhood attachment, especially the sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, but also general sociability with neighbours and compliance with local norms. Nevertheless, reputations do not have a clear impact on more practical domains such as strong ties with neighbours and local participation. In this sense, our results do not rule out the possibility that perceived residential stigma may activate different forms of organised action through which to combat territorial defamation, as has been proposed in the literature. The overall tendency, however, is that perceived stigma mostly damages the territorial community, while prestigious reputations generally reinforce neighbourhood attachment. Thus, our results somewhat support seminal ideas proposed by Wacquant (2007) and more recent claims by Tyler and Slater (2018: 735) that stigma 'functions as a form of power' that serves to reproduce and reinforce existing socio-spatial hierarchies. As such, our study highlights that scholars must be careful not to generalise positive experiences in stigmatised areas and consider that urban relegation under neoliberal regimes has effectively made everyday life more alienating for the most deprived.

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Notes

1. In 2019, for instance, the average annual per-capita budget of the 52 municipalities belonging to Chile's Metropolitan Region was around US\$404, ranging from US\$1420 in Vitacura to US\$180 in Cerro Navia. Regarding education, student performance and socio-economic background are much higher in upper-class municipalities, which also have more private schools and more experienced teachers. In terms of urban green space, only 20% of residents in lower-class municipalities like La Pintana have access to nearby open space of at least 5000 m², while this is the case for 75% of residents in upper-class districts like Vitacura.

2. Because of the nature of our data, we estimate a fixed effect model using an unbalanced panel. While this does not present major concerns in terms of estimation or inference, it could create problems due to attrition and interpretation of the relevant population. For that reason, all our fixed effect estimates should be interpreted as representative of the 489 respondents in 2019.
3. Further details of the System GMM estimation include the use of a two-step estimator (robust to heteroscedasticity) and the use of the five perceived residential reputation dummies as instruments. As with all other estimators, standard errors are clustered at the neighbourhood level.

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Appendix

Table A1. Number of observations and average neighbourhood attachment by sample selection stage.

Variable	Total sample	Full panel	Neighbourhood data	Remained in the same area	No missing values in 2019
Neighbourhood identification	3.62	3.62	3.6	3.6	3.59
Physical rootedness	0.46	0.46	0.44	0.45	0.45
Trust in neighbours	3.17	3.18	3.19	3.19	3.18
Sociability with neighbours	3.47	3.49	3.51	3.52	3.53
Neighbours in core personal network	1.56	1.66	1.72	1.71	1.74
Visits between neighbours	2.15	2.15	2.14	2.13	2.14
Participation in local organisations	0.31	0.32	0.29	0.29	0.3
Compliance with social order	1.75	1.74	1.74	1.74	1.75
Observations	646	557	534	510	489

Table A2. Description of neighbourhood types.

	Advantaged	Middle mixed	Lower-middle	Disadvantaged	All
SES segregation (Theil's <i>H</i> index)	<i>0.3</i>	<i>0.27</i>	0.39	0.51	0.36
Proportion of high-SES households	19.95	3.3	<i>0.96</i>	<i>0.17</i>	4.54
Share of medium-high-SES households	34.05	9.68	<i>3.21</i>	<i>1.05</i>	9.73
Share of medium-SES households	28.21	24.23	<i>13.8</i>	<i>6.97</i>	18.15
Share of medium-low-SES households	<i>13.78</i>	37.83	40.72	35.31	34.48
Share of low-SES households	3.45	21.2	34	45.84	27.35
Share of poor households	<i>0.55</i>	<i>3.76</i>	7.3	10.66	5.74
Unemployment rate	<i>4.72</i>	<i>6.26</i>	7.48	9.14	6.98
Land value per square metre	1874	978	<i>751</i>	<i>635</i>	978
Population density	202.57	92.02	134.15	203.13	144.55
Accessibility to green spaces	3.87	2.74	<i>1.94</i>	2.25	2.57
Precarious housing	<i>1.96</i>	<i>10.43</i>	17.28	15.35	12.23
Overcrowded housing	<i>3.74</i>	<i>5.87</i>	10.4	13.76	8.53
Urban violence	<i>0.44</i>	<i>0.45</i>	0.49	0.54	0.48
Number of neighbourhoods	35	75	70	45	225
Percentage of neighbourhoods	16	33	31	20	100

Notes: 225 census tracts of the Santiago Metropolitan Region. Significantly higher values are in bold. Significantly lower values are in italics.

Table A3. Sense of belonging by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	-0.50** (0.19)	-0.51*** (0.19)	-0.56*** (0.20)	-0.46** (0.19)	-0.28 (0.17)	-0.48*** (0.10)	-0.34*** (0.10)	-0.33** (0.15)
Negative	-0.09 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.16)	-0.15 (0.16)	-0.11 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.13)	-0.14** (0.07)	-0.09 (0.09)	-0.14 (0.12)
Positive	0.63*** (0.12)	0.58*** (0.12)	0.55*** (0.12)	0.51*** (0.13)	0.39*** (0.11)	0.19*** (0.06)	0.15** (0.06)	0.20** (0.09)
Very positive	0.71*** (0.17)	0.72*** (0.16)	0.70*** (0.16)	0.67*** (0.17)	0.48*** (0.16)	0.32*** (0.09)	0.21** (0.10)	0.45*** (0.11)
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				0.10 (0.14)	0.04 (0.12)			
Lower middle				0.05 (0.11)	0.02 (0.10)			
Disadvantaged				-0.19 (0.14)	0.01 (0.12)			
Other control variables								
Women		-0.10 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.08)			
Age		0.03 (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)			
Age squared		-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			0.04 (0.47)	0.05 (0.46)	0.12 (0.57)			
Secondary			0.05 (0.47)	0.02 (0.45)	0.08 (0.57)			
Vocational			-0.13 (0.47)	-0.17 (0.46)	0.04 (0.58)			
University			0.05 (0.47)	-0.02 (0.45)	0.12 (0.57)			
Graduate			-0.31 (0.51)	-0.42 (0.49)	-0.26 (0.60)			
Lagged DV					0.49*** (0.05)		-0.23*** (0.03)	0.39*** (0.14)
Time								
Year = 2017						-0.00 (0.04)		
Year = 2018						-0.01 (0.05)	-0.00 (0.04)	
Year = 2019						-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)
Constant	-0.28** (0.11)	-1.09*** (0.42)	-1.10* (0.63)	-0.98 (0.64)	-0.84 (0.69)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	
Observations	489	489	489	489	488	1938	1449	1449
R ²	0.16	0.19	0.20	0.21	0.40	0.04	0.08	
Individuals						489	489	489
Instruments								35
Sargan test								0.024
Hansen test								0.216
AR(1) test								0.000
AR(2) test								0.000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

***p < 0.01. **p < 0.05. *p < 0.1.

Table A4. Physical rootedness by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	-0.37** (0.16)	-0.38** (0.15)	-0.34** (0.16)	-0.30* (0.16)	-0.15 (0.15)	-0.39*** (0.12)	-0.42*** (0.14)	-0.51*** (0.19)
Negative	-0.32** (0.13)	-0.35*** (0.13)	-0.34*** (0.13)	-0.33** (0.13)	-0.17 (0.13)	-0.16** (0.08)	-0.19* (0.10)	-0.23* (0.13)
Positive	0.42*** (0.11)	0.36*** (0.12)	0.35*** (0.12)	0.34*** (0.12)	0.29** (0.12)	0.04 (0.07)	0.01 (0.09)	0.07 (0.11)
Very positive	0.56*** (0.18)	0.58*** (0.17)	0.56*** (0.17)	0.54*** (0.18)	0.54*** (0.17)	0.05 (0.12)	0.02 (0.13)	0.12 (0.16)
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				0.05 (0.15)	-0.09 (0.14)			
Lower middle				0.03 (0.11)	0.05 (0.11)			
Disadvantaged				-0.07 (0.12)	-0.04 (0.12)			
Other control variables								
Women		-0.10 (0.08)	-0.09 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.08)			
Age		0.03 (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)			
Age squared		-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			0.37 (0.57)	0.38 (0.59)	0.76 (0.53)			
Secondary			0.37 (0.58)	0.36 (0.59)	0.71 (0.53)			
Vocational			0.61 (0.58)	0.59 (0.59)	0.98* (0.54)			
University			0.58 (0.58)	0.55 (0.60)	0.87 (0.54)			
Graduate			0.43 (0.61)	0.38 (0.62)	0.79 (0.57)			
Lagged DV					0.33*** (0.05)		-0.26*** (0.03)	0.14 (0.21)
Time								
Year = 2017						0.01 (0.06)		
Year = 2018						0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	
Year = 2019						0.02 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.05 (0.06)
Constant	-0.14 (0.10)	-1.00** (0.39)	-1.67** (0.71)	-1.62** (0.75)	-1.99*** (0.70)	0.03 (0.06)	0.07 (0.07)	
Observations	489	489	489	489	478	1920	1422	1422
R ²	0.12	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.27	0.01	0.08	
Individuals						489	488	488
Instruments								35
Sargan test								0.231
Hansen test								0.353
AR(1) test								0.009
AR(2) test								0.000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.01$. ** $p < 0.05$. * $p < 0.1$.

Table A5. Trust in neighbours by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	-0.34*	-0.38*	-0.34*	-0.32	-0.18	-0.32***	-0.32**	-0.28
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.18)
Negative	-0.09	-0.10	-0.12	-0.12	-0.02	-0.03	-0.01	0.01
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.12)
Positive	0.29**	0.28**	0.25**	0.26*	0.18	0.17***	0.20***	0.24**
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.10)
Very positive	0.52***	0.51***	0.43**	0.45**	0.38**	0.41***	0.31**	0.36**
	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.15)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.16)
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				-0.06	-0.13			
				(0.18)	(0.16)			
Lower middle				0.10	0.07			
				(0.12)	(0.09)			
Disadvantaged				-0.00	0.05			
				(0.15)	(0.12)			
Other control variables								
Women		-0.05	-0.04	-0.03	0.06			
		(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.08)			
Age		0.03	0.04**	0.04**	0.03			
		(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)			
Age squared		-0.00	-0.00**	-0.00**	-0.00*			
		(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			-0.08	-0.07	-0.17			
			(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.35)			
Secondary			-0.02	-0.01	-0.08			
			(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.35)			
Vocational			0.05	0.07	0.03			
			(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.36)			
University			0.30	0.33	0.15			
			(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.36)			
Graduate			0.47	0.54	0.28			
			(0.38)	(0.40)	(0.38)			
Lagged DV					0.49***		-0.28***	-0.12
					(0.04)		(0.03)	(0.22)
Time								
Year = 2017						0.01		
						(0.05)		
Year = 2018						0.01	0.00	
						(0.05)	(0.04)	
Year = 2019						0.00	-0.00	-0.01
						(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Constant	-0.12	-0.56	-0.99*	-1.06*	-0.68	-0.07	-0.06	
	(0.10)	(0.41)	(0.53)	(0.56)	(0.51)	(0.05)	(0.06)	
Observations	489	489	489	489	487	1937	1448	1448
R ²	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.09	0.31	0.02	0.10	
Individuals						489	489	489
Instruments								35
Sargan test								0.182
Hansen test								0.339
AR(1) test								0.191
AR(2) test								0.000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

***p < 0.01. **p < 0.05. *p < 0.1.

Table A6. Sociability with neighbours by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	-0.15 (0.20)	-0.18 (0.20)	-0.27 (0.20)	-0.24 (0.20)	-0.06 (0.19)	-0.42*** (0.11)	-0.44*** (0.14)	-0.40* (0.21)
Negative	-0.25 (0.15)	-0.25 (0.16)	-0.32** (0.15)	-0.33** (0.16)	-0.29** (0.14)	-0.23*** (0.08)	-0.16* (0.09)	-0.22* (0.12)
Positive	0.27** (0.11)	0.27** (0.12)	0.20* (0.11)	0.21* (0.11)	0.19* (0.10)	0.04 (0.06)	0.04 (0.08)	0.12 (0.09)
Very positive	0.59*** (0.16)	0.57*** (0.16)	0.52*** (0.16)	0.58*** (0.16)	0.46*** (0.15)	0.35*** (0.12)	0.31** (0.13)	0.49*** (0.17)
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				-0.33** (0.16)	-0.32*** (0.12)			
Lower middle				0.13 (0.12)	0.06 (0.10)			
Disadvantaged				-0.00 (0.16)	0.00 (0.14)			
Other control variables								
Women		-0.13 (0.09)	-0.19** (0.09)	-0.17* (0.09)	-0.07 (0.08)			
Age		0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)			
Age squared		-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			0.33 (0.41)	0.35 (0.41)	0.17 (0.56)			
Secondary			0.17 (0.40)	0.19 (0.40)	0.09 (0.56)			
Vocational			0.12 (0.40)	0.18 (0.40)	0.03 (0.56)			
University			0.09 (0.41)	0.22 (0.41)	0.12 (0.56)			
Graduate			0.04 (0.45)	0.29 (0.44)	0.16 (0.58)			
Lagged DV					0.43*** (0.04)		-0.26*** (0.03)	0.21 (0.19)
Time								
Year = 2017						0.01 (0.05)		
Year = 2018						-0.00 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)	
Year = 2019						-0.00 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Constant	-0.10 (0.10)	-0.27 (0.39)	-0.33 (0.55)	-0.47 (0.56)	0.01 (0.66)	0.05 (0.05)	0.07 (0.06)	
Observations	489	489	489	489	481	1917	1416	1416
R ²	0.06	0.07	0.12	0.13	0.31	0.03	0.09	
Individuals						489	488	488
Instruments								35
Sargan test								0.103
Hansen test								0.330
AR(1) test								0.002
AR(2) test								0.000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.01$. ** $p < 0.05$. * $p < 0.1$.

Table A7. Neighbours in core network by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	0.24 (0.18)	0.24 (0.19)	0.21 (0.19)	0.21 (0.22)	0.16 (0.22)			
Negative	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.11 (0.14)	-0.12 (0.14)			
Positive	0.11 (0.13)	0.13 (0.13)	0.13 (0.13)	0.14 (0.13)	0.13 (0.13)			
Very positive	-0.13 (0.18)	-0.13 (0.18)	-0.11 (0.18)	-0.11 (0.19)	-0.11 (0.19)			
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				-0.07 (0.16)	-0.05 (0.16)			
Lower middle				-0.05 (0.13)	-0.05 (0.13)			
Disadvantaged				-0.01 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.16)			
Other control variables								
Women		0.06 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)	0.03 (0.09)	0.01 (0.09)			
Age		-0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)			
Age squared		-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			0.85*** (0.18)	0.84*** (0.19)	0.77*** (0.19)			
Secondary			0.76*** (0.19)	0.76*** (0.20)	0.73*** (0.20)			
Vocational			0.62*** (0.19)	0.61*** (0.20)	0.61*** (0.21)			
University			0.51*** (0.19)	0.51** (0.20)	0.48** (0.20)			
Graduate			0.87*** (0.31)	0.90*** (0.34)	0.93*** (0.34)			
Lagged DV					0.11** (0.05)			
Time								
Year = 2017								
Year = 2018								
Year = 2019								
Constant	-0.03 (0.11)	0.07 (0.45)	-0.37 (0.51)	-0.35 (0.52)	-0.32 (0.52)			
Observations	489	489	489	489	489			
R ²	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.04			

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$.

Table A8. Visits between neighbours by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	0.05 (0.23)	0.06 (0.23)	0.09 (0.23)	0.06 (0.25)	0.04 (0.19)	-0.17 (0.12)	-0.24 (0.16)	-0.15 (0.20)
Negative	0.03 (0.15)	0.03 (0.15)	0.02 (0.15)	0.01 (0.14)	0.03 (0.13)	-0.04 (0.07)	-0.13 (0.09)	-0.11 (0.13)
Positive	0.06 (0.12)	0.08 (0.12)	0.08 (0.13)	0.10 (0.13)	0.05 (0.12)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.12)
Very positive	0.13 (0.18)	0.13 (0.17)	0.07 (0.18)	0.10 (0.19)	0.17 (0.17)	0.03 (0.10)	0.05 (0.11)	0.04 (0.14)
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				-0.00 (0.18)	-0.02 (0.16)			
Lower middle				0.05 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.10)			
Disadvantaged				0.10 (0.15)	0.07 (0.13)			
Other control variables								
Women		0.14 (0.09)	0.17* (0.09)	0.18* (0.09)	0.22** (0.08)			
Age		-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)			
Age squared		0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			-0.65 (0.52)	-0.64 (0.51)	-0.95 (0.71)			
Secondary			-0.71 (0.50)	-0.69 (0.50)	-0.97 (0.71)			
Vocational			-0.55 (0.53)	-0.52 (0.52)	-0.77 (0.72)			
University			-0.36 (0.51)	-0.32 (0.50)	-0.70 (0.71)			
Graduate			-0.17 (0.56)	-0.12 (0.56)	-0.53 (0.75)			
Lagged DV					0.42*** (0.04)		-0.24*** (0.03)	0.31 (0.33)
Time								
Year = 2017						-0.00 (0.05)		
Year = 2018						-0.01 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	
Year = 2019						-0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.05)
Constant	-0.05 (0.10)	0.13 (0.46)	0.39 (0.75)	0.29 (0.76)	0.70 (0.88)	0.02 (0.06)	0.06 (0.07)	
Observations	489	489	489	489	489	1943	1457	1457
R ²	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.20	0.00	0.06	
Individuals						489	489	489
Instruments								35
Sargan test								0.161
Hansen test								0.384
AR(1) test								0.047
AR(2) test								0.000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.01$. ** $p < 0.05$. * $p < 0.1$.

Table A9. Participation in local organisations by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	-0.10 (0.20)	-0.09 (0.19)	-0.08 (0.20)	-0.14 (0.20)	-0.20 (0.19)			
Negative	-0.19 (0.13)	-0.20 (0.13)	-0.21 (0.13)	-0.24* (0.13)	-0.24** (0.12)			
Positive	-0.05 (0.13)	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.07 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.13)	-0.19 (0.12)			
Very positive	-0.05 (0.19)	-0.02 (0.18)	-0.07 (0.19)	-0.06 (0.19)	-0.28* (0.16)			
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				0.12 (0.22)	0.23 (0.21)			
Lower middle				0.04 (0.12)	0.03 (0.11)			
Disadvantaged				0.16 (0.15)	0.17 (0.13)			
Other control variables								
Women		0.07 (0.09)	0.07 (0.09)	0.07 (0.09)	-0.00 (0.09)			
Age		0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)			
Age squared		0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			0.37 (0.48)	0.37 (0.49)	0.04 (0.47)			
Secondary			0.07 (0.48)	0.10 (0.50)	-0.10 (0.47)			
Vocational			0.17 (0.48)	0.19 (0.50)	-0.01 (0.48)			
University			0.28 (0.50)	0.30 (0.52)	-0.03 (0.50)			
Graduate			0.58 (0.60)	0.56 (0.63)	0.46 (0.61)			
Lagged DV					0.40*** (0.05)			
Time								
Year = 2017								
Year = 2018								
Year = 2019								
Constant	0.09 (0.11)	-0.18 (0.42)	-0.48 (0.60)	-0.58 (0.64)	0.08 (0.62)			
Observations	489	489	489	489	488			
R ²	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.04	0.18			

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.01$. ** $p < 0.05$. * $p < 0.1$.

Table A10. Compliance with social rules and norms by perceived residential reputation.

	Cross-sectional model					Longitudinal model		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Residential reputation (ref = neutral)								
Very negative	0.76*** (0.24)	0.75*** (0.25)	0.79*** (0.25)	0.76*** (0.26)	0.59** (0.24)	0.37** (0.15)	0.24 (0.16)	0.63*** (0.24)
Negative	0.29* (0.16)	0.29* (0.16)	0.31* (0.16)	0.30* (0.17)	0.16 (0.15)	0.26*** (0.09)	0.13 (0.10)	0.29** (0.13)
Positive	-0.34*** (0.12)	-0.33*** (0.12)	-0.29** (0.12)	-0.28** (0.12)	-0.20* (0.11)	-0.12* (0.07)	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.12)
Very positive	-0.72*** (0.12)	-0.73*** (0.12)	-0.73*** (0.13)	-0.72*** (0.13)	-0.59*** (0.12)	-0.10 (0.08)	-0.14* (0.08)	-0.23* (0.13)
Spatial cluster (ref = middle-mixed)								
Advantaged				-0.07 (0.16)	-0.06 (0.15)			
Lower middle				-0.04 (0.11)	-0.08 (0.10)			
Disadvantaged				0.05 (0.15)	0.06 (0.14)			
Other control variables								
Women		-0.02 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)	-0.01 (0.08)			
Age		0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)			
Age squared		-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)			
Education (ref = no formal education)								
Primary			-0.55 (0.53)	-0.56 (0.52)	-0.74 (0.58)			
Secondary			-0.66 (0.53)	-0.66 (0.52)	-0.82 (0.58)			
Vocational			-0.55 (0.54)	-0.54 (0.52)	-0.77 (0.58)			
University			-0.43 (0.54)	-0.40 (0.53)	-0.59 (0.59)			
Graduate			-0.46 (0.55)	-0.41 (0.55)	-0.55 (0.61)			
Lagged DV					0.35*** (0.06)		-0.26*** (0.03)	0.16 (0.18)
Time								
Year = 2017						0.01 (0.06)		
Year = 2018						0.01 (0.05)	0.01 (0.05)	
Year = 2019						0.01 (0.05)	0.00 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Constant	0.09 (0.10)	0.06 (0.44)	0.47 (0.71)	0.45 (0.73)	0.44 (0.75)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.02 (0.07)	
Observations	489	489	489	489	489	1942	1456	1456
R ²	0.15	0.15	0.17	0.17	0.28	0.02	0.08	
Individuals						489	489	489
Instruments								35
Sargan test								0.026
Hansen test								0.009
AR(1) test								0.005
AR(2) test								0.000

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** $p < 0.01$. ** $p < 0.05$. * $p < 0.1$.