UNIVERSIDADE DE ÉVORA
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PhD in Psychology

Place Identity or the Place of Identity:
contribution to a theory of social identity of place.

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Supervisor: José Manuel Palma-Oliveira

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Abstract

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The relationship between the place where we live and our sense of who we are, has on one hand been neglected in social psychology, and on the other, within environmental psychology addressed mainly in the context of personal identity.

The main objective of this thesis is to move the comprehension of place into the context of inter-group relationships, using the concepts of social identity and entitativity from social psychology. Specifically, this thesis aims to contribute to understanding the impact of place of residence from two points of view: from the residents' point of view, place of residence as a basis for self-categorization and identification, leading to phenomena of in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination; and from the observers' point of view, place of residence as an important source of information for forming impressions about its residents.

Keywords: place identity, social identity, entitativity, neighbourhood

Resumo

Identidade de Lugar ou o Lugar da identidade:
contribuição para uma teoria da identidade social do lugar

A importância do lugar onde residimos para a compreensão da nossa identidade tem sido, por um lado negligenciada no âmbito da psicologia social e por outro lado no âmbito da psicologia ambiental abordada essencialmente no contexto da identidade pessoal. O principal objectivo desta tese é trazer o estudo do lugar para o âmbito das relações intergrupais, recorrendo aos conceitos de identidade social e entitatividade desenvolvidos no âmbito da psicologia social. Em particular, esta tese tem por objectivo contribuir para a compreensão do impacto do lugar em que residimos de dois pontos de vista: do ponto de vista do residente, o lugar de residência como uma base para a auto-categorização e identificação, conduzindo a fenómenos de favoritismo pelo grupo próprio e discriminação em relação aos outros grupos; do ponto de vista do observador, o lugar de residência como uma fonte importante de informação para a formação de impressões sobre os seus residentes.

Palavras Chave: identidade de lugar, identidade social, entitatividade, bairro

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1. Introduction

1.1. Framework

The claim that the places where people live contribute to their identity does not seem extraordinary or an original statement. As early as 1890, William James stressed the importance of the physical environment for identity by including in his theory of self the 'material self' that contains the body, clothes, home and possessions. Nevertheless, place has been systematically neglected in the study of individual and group identity (Haslam, Ellemers, Reicher, Reynolds & Smith, 2010).

With the emergence of environmental psychology at the end of the 1950s and during the 1960s, place became a central concept. Due to the multidisciplinary nature of environmental psychology, understanding of place began to be influenced by views, both from architecture and geography, that had their roots in a phenomenological perspective of the experience of the physical environment. Based on the concept of "genius loci" or "spirit of the place" from the Romans and influenced by authors such as Barchelar (1969) and Heidegger (1975), for instance, in architecture Norberg-Schultz (1971) and in geography Relph (1976) and Tuan (1974) pointed out that all places are full of significance that give meaning to people's lives, create a sense of belonging and a link to the physical space. In this sense, "*the existential purpose of building is therefore to make a site become a place, that is, to uncover the meanings potentially present in the environment*" (Norberg-Schultz, 1980, p.18). Despite the relevance of

this perspective, it was essentially centred on the physical characteristics of the place, and did not include explicitly the importance of people's behaviour and the user's perspective (Canter, 1977; Sime, 1995).

At the end of the 1970s the psychologist David Canter made an initial effort to incorporate the construct of place in the psychological perspective in his seminal book "Psychology of Place". His work was marked by a cognitive orientation with sources in the Bartlett (1932) school of "serial reproductions," the study by Terence Lee on "socio-spatial schemata" or in the studies by Kevin Lynch (1960) on mental maps and the image of the city. Canter defined place as "the result of relationships between actions, conceptions and physical attributes" (Canter, 1977, p.159). The author clarified that these three components taken together describe the majority of what is psychologically significant about the place (Canter, 1986). But, possibly the most important aspect of his theory of place was his conviction that place cannot be understood independently of the people who experience them. In this sense, for the first time he put the user at the centre of place comprehension (Canter, 1986).

Despite the discussion about the components of Canter's conceptualization (for a more comprehensive discussion see Giulianni, 1988), his proposal was an important point of departure for the following environmental-psychological research about the place construct. We can say that environmental psychology addressed the question of place for people from two points of view. First, from a more cognitive point of view, the objective was to understand the way people elaborated information about places. In line with Kevin Lynch's work about the image of the city, Terence Lee (1968, 1976) used Bartlett's concept of schema to understand the way people elaborated information about places, and perceived the neighbourhood as a unit. In research about different

cities, Lee found an isomorphism between the built environment and social structure. So he used the term socio-spatial schema as a particular type of schema used in the representation of space. This perspective focused only on the perception that residents had about their own neighbourhood, and only recently do we find references to the importance of environmental characteristics in the inhabitants' perception of these places (Gosling, Ko, Mannarelli & Morris, 2002) (see Chapter 5, introduction).

The second perspective focused on the relevance of place for the development and maintenance of identity. Following on from Fried's concept (1963) of "grieving for a lost home", Proshanky and colleagues (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky et al., 1983; Proshansky & Fabian, 1987) conceptualized "place identity". Place identity was defined as ''a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognition about the physical world in which the individual lives'' (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 59). The main aspects emphasized by the authors were, on one hand, that the development of self-identity, besides including the distinction between oneself and others, also included the environments in which individuals live. In this sense, places would be a fundamental component of individual identity. On the other hand, the authors emphasized the idea that place identity changes over time, as a result of changes in the physical and social environment.

This concept contributed to the proliferation of research in this area, and now place identity has become a core concept in environmental psychology. However, there is no consensus regarding the definition and structure of the construct (e.g., Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003, Dixon & Durrheim, 2004). As a result, in the literature it is possible to find at least four different ways in which the physical environment can contribute to developing and supporting a person's identity (for a more complete

explanation see Chapter 2, introduction): (1) the spatial arrangement could play an important role in defining people's identity; (2) importance of space appropriation through the possibility of changing the spatial arrangement and decoration for place identification; (3) the impact of environmental transformations on place identity, and (4) a sense of place can be evoked as a symbol of social identity.

But the approach taken by Proshansky and colleagues, as well as by most of the authors using the concept until now, has been centred on an individualistic perspective, neglecting the social nature of relations between people, identities and place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). More recently, some authors from environmental psychology moved comprehension of the environment for identity from an individualistic perspective to a social one (e.g., Bonaiuto & Bonnes, 2000; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, in press). They assumed an analogy between "place identity" and "social identity", in the sense that place identity can be understood as a categorization process defined by space.

In fact social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) focused the concept of group on individual perception, and considered that a group is a cognitive entity meaningful to the individual (Tajfel, 1974). In this sense, people self-categorized as belonging to groups with whom they perceive that they share meaningful characteristics, even if others do not share the same opinion. The main objective of this self-categorization is to achieve a positive identity and in this sense has consequences in terms of the way people perceive their group and other groups. This means that people as members of a group define themselves more according to the group characteristics and increase differentiation in relation to other groups with whom they compare. Thus, in the sense that people refer to a place in self-definition (e.g., I'm from Lisbon) they attribute themselves characteristics that are deduced from the characteristics of the place and

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its residents. And this self categorization has important implications in terms of the way people perceive Lisbon and its residents and other cities and their residents. We can say that a place can define a group psychologically in the sense that people feel they share characteristics with this group.

Therefore, we consider that place identity is a particular case of social identity, and we accept that the principles and strategies undertaken in relation to social identity, and well described and tested by the social identity approach, are similar to those used in relation to identification with place (Bonaiuto et al., 1996, Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, in press). In this sense, the social identity theories, namely Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Social Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985) and later developments, could be an appropriate approach to understanding the impact of identification with place on the way people understand their environment and its residents, and also other environments and their residents.

Although the concept of social identity and social categorization to understand place identity has already been used, it is still necessary to develop research, in both environmental and social psychology, to define empirically the limits of the analogy. This thesis aims to contribute to that ongoing discussion.

In this context, the main objective of this thesis is to move the understanding of place into the context of intergroup relationships. We assumed that place of residence influences the way people perceive their neighbourhood, the city as a whole and the residents of different neighbourhoods, and how they relate to them. Simultaneously, place of residence also gives observers relevant information about the residents. Thus, we aim to study the urban space as a mosaic of interrelated identities with implications for the way people perceive and relate to the inhabitants of other areas. This

information can contribute to an in-depth understanding of the significance of place of residence in inter-group relationships within the urban context.

Specifically, this thesis aims to contribute to understanding the impact of place of residence from two points of view:

1. from the residents' point of view, place of residence as a basis for self categorization and identification and in this sense influencing how people define themselves as individuals, as part of a group and how that determines the way people perceive themselves and others;

2. from the observers' point of view, explore if a neighbourhood can be understood as having group characteristics, and in this sense, place of residence as an important source of information for forming impressions about its residents.

Accordingly, we developed a set of investigations to be presented in the following chapters, seeking in a systematic way to answer these two main concerns. To understand the importance of space for subjects' identification, we used the social identity approach (Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Social Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985) and Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991, 1993)) from social psychology, aiming to understand to what extent place identity could be seen as a particular case of social identity.

Regarding place of residence as a source of information to form impressions about its residents, framed within the group perception, we want to understand if places of residence (neighbourhoods) are perceived with different degrees of unity, due to their physical configuration and social composition, and if that degree of perceived unity has an impact on the way people form impressions about the residents of the

neighbourhood. To achieve this aim we used the concept of entitativity (Campbell, 1958, Hamilton and Sherman, 1996) and we explored its applicability and relevance to understanding our sense of spatial unity - neighbourhood.
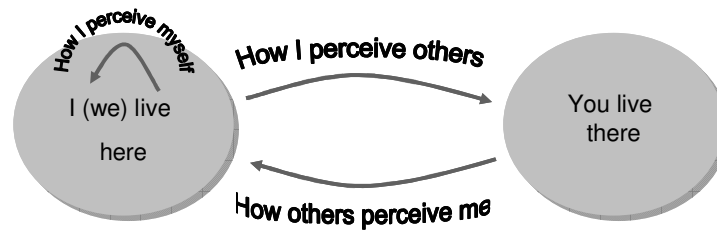
Figure 1.1. Implications of place of residence for intergroup perception

1.2. Aims and research questions

The main objective of this thesis was to study the importance of place of residence – in particular the neighbourhood – in intergroup relations in the urban context. Using as a framework theories from social psychology, namely the social identity approach and the concept of entitativity, this thesis had two objectives that can be specified in several research questions.

1. Place of residence can be a basis for social categorization and identification and in this sense contributes to how people define themselves as individuals and part of a group and influences the way people perceive themselves and others. Thus, the specific objectives were to explore:

   a. To what extent reference to place is used in self-definition (Chapter 2, study 1);

b. If place identity could be conceptualized as a hierarchical system of multi-identifications with diverse levels of inclusiveness evoked in relation to the geographic scale of the situation (Chapter 2, study 1, study 2);

c. If the intensity of place identity is dependent on place salience (Chapter 2, study 2);

d. If the size of the neighbourhood has an impact in terms of place identity, discrimination and differentiation in relation to the out-group (Chapter 3, study 1 and study 2)

e. If place identity is related to in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination and differentiation (Chapter 3, study 1 and study 2, Chapter 4, study 1)

2. Understand the implications of place of residence in terms of the way others perceive the residents of this area (organize information and form impressions about the people who live there), using the concept of entitativity. Thus, the specific objectives were to explore:

a. If an urban aggregate could be perceived with a certain degree of entitativity, as was found for other social groups (Chapter 5, and Chapter 6)

b. If it is possible to identify the social characteristics of neighbourhoods that are more strongly associated with the perception of entitativity (Chapter 5)

c. If it is possible to identify the physical characteristics of neighbourhoods that are more strongly associated with the perception of entitativity (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, study 2)

d. If perception of neighbourhoods as having high entitativity led to a faster and more extreme impression of the neighbourhoods' residents (Chapter 6, study 1 and study 2)

e. If in neighbourhoods perceived as having high entitativity, the observer makes more transference of behavioural traits from the group stereotype to individual residents (Chapter 6, study 2)

1.3. Spatial Unit – neighbourhood

This thesis focused on a particular scale of space, the neighbourhood in an urban context. In fact the neighbourhood is one of the most studied place scales (Lewicka, 2010), but its definition is still somewhat ambiguous. The urban planner Kevin Lynch (1960) identified the neighbourhood as one of the five most important elements in perception of the city. He defined a neighbourhood as a moderately sized area that had some physical homogeneity that could be perceived by the external observer. His definition was essentially centred on the physical characteristics of the space. At the same time, Terence Lee (1968), in comprehension of the cognitive representation of space, introduced the concept of socio-spatial schema to emphasize that the mental representation of neighbourhood includes knowledge relative to both the physical and social components of the environment. Lee centred his comprehension of neighbourhood from the point of view of its user and found a strong association

between the cognitive representation of the neighbourhood and the range and frequency of people's activities (Lee, 1976).

Thus, the neighbourhood can be seen as an urban aggregate with spatial boundaries characterized by a certain degree of homogeneity in attributes such as structural characteristics of residential and non-residential buildings, demographic characteristics of residents and usual users and also a social consensus about the ways people use the space. Three aspects are important in defining neighbourhood; the existence of perceived homogeneity between different space attributes, the existence of limits that distinguish what is in and what is out, and the interconnection between physical and social aspects.

In this sense, the neighbourhood was understood as a molar unit and an entity. However, as pointed out by Galster (2001), some neighbourhoods are more perceived as a unit and more easily identified and geographically defined than others. Thus, we do not know precisely what is in participants' minds when we ask them about a neighbourhood (Lewicka, 2010). In fact several studies identify some discrepancy in the delimitation of neighbourhoods by different people (Lee, 1976; Coulton, Korbin, Chan, & Su, 2001).

But as pointed out by Skjaeveland and Garling (2002), the main challenge in neighbourhood "research is to specify in a psychologically meaningful way the relative impact of these components as well as their dynamic interplay" (p184). And in our opinion, it is also to understand how the social and physical components of the neighbourhood interact and have an impact on residents' identification with the place, and how others form impressions about the residents of the neighbourhood.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured in five independent research chapters. These together aim to contribute to understanding the importance of residential neighbourhoods in intergroup relations, namely in place identity and in forming impressions about the residents of these places (Figure 2).

The first three research chapters (chapter 2, 3 and 4) aimed to test some of the main aspects of the social identity approach to identity defined by place. And in this sense they explore in a systematic way the similarities and differences between the concept of social identity developed in social psychology and the concept of place identity introduced in environmental psychology.

The chapter 2 focuses on the idea that identity is context-dependent. It explores the impact of manipulating the salience of the place scale on the intensity of place identity reported. Two empirical studies were developed, both using questionnaires and a population of university students. The first study proposed four different geographical contexts and through the Twenty Statement Test (TST) explored the reference and importance of different scales of place in self-description. The second study used a supraliminal priming strategy to manipulate the salience of the place scale – neighbourhood, city and country.

The chapter 3 is based on the idea that identification with a place could lead to the same type of in-group and out-group bias (in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination and differentiation) as social identity. Simultaneously this chapter aimed to assess if neighbourhood size was an important variable in identification with place, in discriminating inhabitants of other places and in the motives for that discrimination. Two studies were developed, the first using Tajfel's minimal group categorization

paradigm to categorize participants in two different groups: participants that prefer to live in small neighbourhoods and participants that prefer to live in large neighbourhoods. The second study explored the same objectives but in a real context, by studying a neighbourhood in Lisbon, Portugal.

The chapter 4 focuses on understanding the importance of place identity in comprehending neighbourhood relationships in an urban context. It specifically explored the effect of identification with the neighbourhood in the perception of, and in the relationship with, that place and its residents as well as in relation to other places with which they are compared. To achieve this purpose a field study was conducted in four adjacent neighbourhoods in the eastern part of Lisbon, Portugal.

The remaining two research chapters (chapters 5 and 6) focus on understanding the implication of place of residence for the way people organize information and form impressions about the people who live there.

The chapter 5 tested if, as with classic groups, neighbourhoods can be perceived as having different degrees of unity or entitativity (Campbell, 1958), and also identified the social and physical characteristics (antecedents) of neighbourhoods which were more strongly associated with the perception of entitativity. For this purpose, twenty of the best-known neighbourhoods in Lisbon were evaluated in relation to 23 social and physical properties of neighbourhoods.

Following the conclusions of the chapter 5, the chapter 6 tested the consequences in terms of information organization and impression formation according to belonging to a neighbourhood perceived with low or high entitativity. Two laboratory studies were designed and implemented using e-prime software, based on the results of chapter 5. In the first study, four target groups were used (two neighbourhoods and two classic

social categories) with different degrees of entitativity. In this study, the name of the neighbourhood or the social category was used as a supraliminal priming strategy to manipulate the target effect. In the second study, instead of the neighbourhood name, photos and descriptions of the neighbourhoods were used. This study also tested the effect of neighbourhood entitativity perception on the facility of trait transference from the group to individual group members.
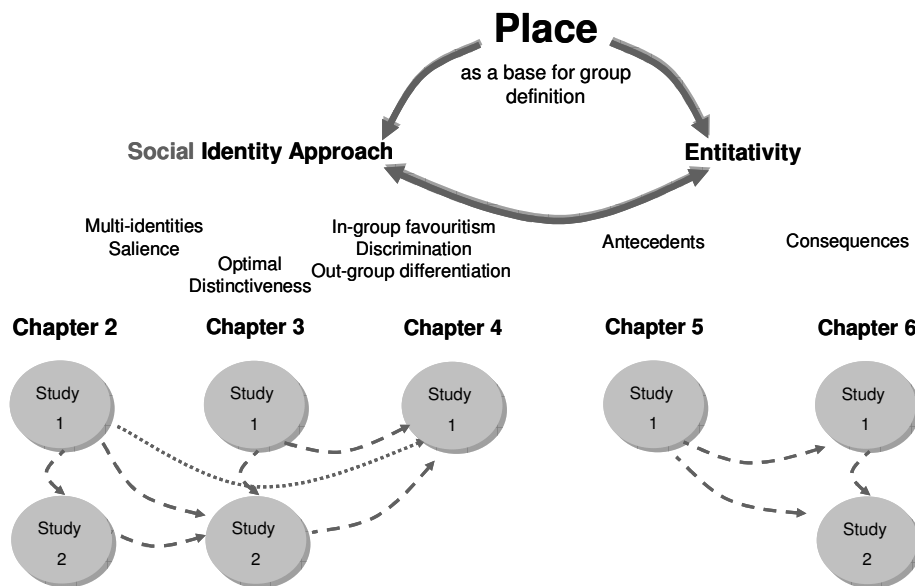
Figure 1.2. Thesis structure

Figure 1.2 presents the thesis structure and also the relations between the research chapters and studies. In fact we can distinguish two types of relations between the studies. On one hand, some studies contribute to the development of subsequent studies (unidirectional arrow). On the other, some studies share common theoretical assumptions and/or results (bidirectional arrow).

Table 1.1. Main concepts focused in the studies

	Main concepts/ Theories
Chapter 2. Exploring place and identity: the impact of place salience on place identity **Study 1** **Study 2**	**Place Identity** **Self-Categorization Theory** **Optimal Distinctiveness Theory** Salience Multiple Identities Place identity Salience Multiple Identities Place identity Place attachment
Chapter 3. Place identity and neighbourhood size: impact in terms of discrimination **Study 1** **Study 2**	**Place Identity** **Social Identity Theory** **Optimal Distinctiveness Theory** In-group favouritism Out-group Discrimination Group size In-group favouritism Out-group Differentiation Group size
Chapter 4. Place identity and intergroup relations: the study of four Lisbon neighbourhoods **Study 1**	**Place Identity** **Social Identity Theory** **Self-Categorization Theory** In-group – favouritism Out-group bias Relevant out-group for comparison Neighbourhood Satisfaction City Identity, National Identity Distance estimation
Chapter 5. How we think about neighbourhoods: The concept of "entitativity" and the understanding of "place" **Study 1**	**Entitativity - antecedents** Group social properties and entitativity Physical neighbourhood properties and entitativity
Chapter 6. The central role of entitativity in information organization and impression formation of a neighbourhood's residents **Study 1** **Study 2**	**Entitativity - Consequences** Integrative processing Integrative processing Perception of group members with the characteristics of the group

Methodologically, this thesis seeks to combine experimental and quasi-experimental methodologies, some conducted in the laboratory context with field studies. In fact, in this area of the study of places, environmental psychology traditionally preferred naturalistic rather than artificial laboratory studies (Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995). As environmental psychology accepted that people and environment can be understood as a molar unit (e.g., Wohlwill, 1970), field studies have the advantage of often revealing the effect of the "total environment" on a person. But they do not usually clarify how a particular aspect of the environmental acted to produce the effect

(Guifford, 2007). That means in the majority of cases they do not provide critical tests of theories or the possibility to achieve conclusions about the causal relation of events.

So, in this thesis we aimed to start by testing some of our hypotheses in a more controlled context and then complement these results with field studies.

2. Exploring place and identity: the impact of place salience on place identity

2.1. Abstract

Research about place scale and place identity supports the idea that bonds towards places may differ depending on the place scale. Based on the idea that identity is context-dependent, this chapter wants to add to this discussion the impact of manipulating the salience of place identity on the intensity of place identity reported. Two studies were designed in which the salience of place scale was manipulated. Study 1 showed that the multiples identities present in the individual are activated depending on the context. It also revealed that the same identity becomes more or less valuable depending on the context. Study 2 showed that place salience can have an impact on the intensity of place identity and place attatchment in permanent residents and temporary residents. These two studies showed the importance of including the salience effect in the discussion of place identity and place scale. These results are in consonance with the predictions of social identity theory and self-categorization theory and show the relevance of exploring the concept of place identity within this theoretical approach.

2.2. Introduction

A significant number of social identities (e.g., nationality, religion) are based on, and reinforced by, the places we inhabit (e.g., home, neighbourhood, country, place of work, place of worship) and the ways these places are constructed and appropriated by us. But although this idea does not strike us as particularly original, it is only recently this relationship between identity and the physical environment and its importance for individuals and groups has started to be investigated in the social identity tradition.

In the context of environmental psychology, where place is a core concept, Proshansky (1978) and Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1993) introduced the concept of place identity. This concept contributed to the proliferation of investigations that explore the relationship between place and identity. But definitions of place identity vary widely, both in terms of the structure of the construct (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), and in the aspects of place identity they focus on (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003). More recently some studies appeared in the context of environmental psychology that use Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) (Turner, 1985) to understand the relationship between identity and the physical environment (e.g., Bonaiuto, Breakwell & Cano, 1996; Valera, 2002). In this context, place identity was conceptualized as a substructure of the individual's social identity, consisting of aspects of self-concept based on belonging to geographically defined groups. Thus, place can be seen as a social category, with a socially developed and shared meaning resulting from the interaction between its elements, and not just as a scenario where the interaction occurs (Valera & Pol, 1994). It was assumed therefore that the principles and strategies undertaken in relation to

identification with place are similar to those used in identification with a social group, as was pointed out by Bonaiuto and coleagues (1996).

We can therefore assume the existence of at least two visions of place identity. One that comes directly from Proshansky´s (1978) vision which assumes place identity to be a dimension of overall personal identity (although it can be shared). Another that uses an analogy between place identity and social identity. The scholars who use that concept have to accept, either explicitly or implicitly, that place identity, being a part of social identity is not a dimension of personal identity but rather of the social one.

But use of the concept of social identity and thus social categorization for understanding place identity can be considered as a loose or straighter analogy. It can be used, as we defend, as the same concept used alternatively when social categorization is defined primarily by space, as opposed to the case were the social group is the most salient feature. Thus, the fields of both environmental and social psychology need to design a research programme to define empirically the limits of the analogy. Our research aims to contribute to that aim, and particularly to analyse if place identity is context dependent and if it can be differentially activated, as SIT and more particularly SCT (Turner, 1985) so consistently argued.

Thus, this chapter has two main objectives. In a more global aspect, contribute to an overall research programme where the theoretical similarities and differences between place and social identity are systematically assessed. More specifically, it aims to understand to what extent the reference to place is used in self definition, and explore the relationship between place scale and place identity, bearing in mind the assumptions of multiple identities and self-categorization salience from Self-Categorization Theory (SCT).

2.2.1. Place and self definition

Despite some references to the importance of places and things for identity in authors such as James (1989), Mead (1934) or Erickson (1950), theorizing about place and identity has been neglected. In Environmental Psychology the concept of "place identity", introduced and described by Proshansky (1978, Proshansky et al, 1993), had the virtue of emphasising the importance of place for identity. But the concept was not adequately theorised in relation to a model of self (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003) and the authors did not test the concept empirically (Speller, 2005).

However, it is important to retain the main ideas of the "place identity" conceptualization. According to Proshansky et al. (1983), the development of identity was "not restricted to making distinctions between oneself and significant others, but extends with no less importance to objects and things, and the very spaces and places in which they are found" (p.57). Thus, place identity "... is a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person, consisting of broadly conceived cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives" (Proshansky et al., 1983, p.59). Although the authors did not provide many details about the structure and processes of place identity, they suggested that the cognitive processes of developing place identity were similar to those of other cognitive structures (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). But the Proshansky and colleagues conceptualization emphasized the importance of identity almost only from an individualistic perspective of self identity, neglecting the collective nature of the relations between people, identities, and place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). This concept of place identity does not take into account two aspects: on one hand the notion of place beyond the physical, including conceptions (Canter, 1977) or meanings (Stokols, & Schumaker, 1981) that are socially constructed and shared by subjects. On

the other hand, the idea that the place can function as a basis for social categorization, and so we talk of a social identity that is based on a physical dimension, such as belonging to a country or city (e.g., Valera, 2002). Here, we would bring place identity to the field of intergroup relations.

In the literature it is possible to identify at least four different ways the physical environment could contribute to developing and supporting a person's identity. First, the spatial arrangement could play an important role in defining our identity. For instance, in a study in an organizational context, Millward, Haslam, and Postmes (2007) found that the organizational arrangement of the workplace in a traditional office or in a "hot-desk" (work surface which is available to any worker as and when needed) had an impact on team identity and organization identity. Thus, the results showed that in the traditional office the employees had high levels of team identification, but lower levels of organizational identification. In the hot-desk contexts the results were the opposite, organizational identification having higher levels than team identification. Previous studies of residential areas also report the importance of neighbourhood arrangements for increased neighbour interaction and increased place identity (e.g., Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2005).

Secondly, some authors have explored the importance of space appropriation through the possibility of changing the spatial arrangement and decoration for place identification. This process can operate at an individual level, at home, at work (e.g., Knight & Haslam, 2010), at school or at a collective level. This process can also operate on a wider scale, for instance, in the neighbourhood some places can represent collective activities that support place identity (e.g., Bernardo, 2005, Uzzell,

Pol & Badenas, 2002), or places can contribute to reinforcement and expression of national identity (e.g., Jackson & Penrose, 1993, Lyons, 1996).

A third perspective explored the impact of environmental transformations on place identity (e.g., Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2005). For instance, in situations of forced resettlement, involving important physical and social changes, these changes have an impact on the subject's identity, and imply a redefinition of place identity and outgroup significance (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2005, Speller, Lyons & Twigger-Ross, 2002).

Finally, another way a sense of place can be evoked is as a symbol of social identity. For instance, for British people, the Falkland Islands before 1982 did not have a special significance for national pride. However, after the conflict between Argentina and the United Kingdom, it acquired an important significance that contributed to reinforcing the social identity of British people (Haslam et al., 2010).

The above examples show the different ways in which space can help to define identity, i.e., from the case where the specific organization of the place can induce a certain level of social identity to be more salient (team or organization), to the cases where place is, in itself, a defining instrument of a given social category.

2.2.2. Place identity and place scale

An important issue concerning the physical environment is that it is largely continuous. But the social, economic and psychological factors introduce a scale differentiations of places that are frequently at odds with the most striking physical differences. Thus, it is

not surprising that we can identify ourselves with different scales of the environment, such as home, buildings, neighbourhood, district, city, region, and country. In the study on "the places", different scales of the environment were studied initially by Russell and Ward (1982) who stressed their hierarchical nature (e.g., home, neighbourhood, city and country). But many studies implicitly or explicitly considered the identity of the different scales as a static process, and thus sought to identify the place scale in which individuals had a higher identity. As an example, Rubisteen and Parmalee (1992) suggested that the intensity of identification will be higher for locations defined by the individual and lower for places defined by the group. With a similar approach, Cuba and Hummon (1993) identified factors that predict links to place at the different scales, and showed that demographic variables such as sex and age were the best predictors of dwelling attachment, and participation in the local community the best predictor of neighbourhood attachment.

In order to demonstrate that bonds towards place may differ dynamically according to place scale, some research addressed more than one type of place. A study of a representative sample of Portugal showed that 41% of respondents said they feel attached in the first place, to the locality where they reside, 35% feel attached to Portugal and 18% to the region where their live (Lima et al., 2002, cit by Lima, 2002). Similar results were obtained in a large study made with representative samples from three regions of Poland, where the percentage of places most frequently selected in the first three choices were 57% for city, country region 26%, country 89%, and Europe 27.6% (Lewicka, 2006 cit in Lewicka, 2008). So most results showed a higher local identity (Kohr & Martini, 1992; Lewicka, 2005), and regional identity tends to be lower than national or local identity (Lewicka, 2006 cit in Lewicka, 2008), with a higher national identity. But this pattern is not fixed and could diverge across regions as

shown by the results of a study of national and regional identities in Portugal (Garcia-Marques & Palma-Oliveira, 1986). In this study, in some regions, such as the Lisbon area, the national level was more relevant than the regional level, while in others (like Oporto) the opposite was the case.

At a more restricted scale, Hidalgo and Hernandez (2001) studied the emotional bonds with three places: home, neighbourhood and city. The results reported a curvilinear, U-shaped relationship between scale of place and strength of place attachment, meaning that participants report more emotional bonds to the home or city and less to the neighbourhood. These results were corroborated in a later study by the same authors (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007).

Accordingly, most studies reported that the emotional bond to scales like city, region and country, in the first group of studies, or home, neighbourhood and city, in the second, was higher than the midpoint of the scale (region or neighbourhood). But a curvilinear relationship between scale of place and emotional link to the space is not supported by all studies. A recent study contributed important information to this discussion. Several studies carried out in four Central European cities (Lewicka, 2010), using five scales of place (apartment, building, neighbourhood, city district, city) reported a curvilinear relationship between place attachment and the place scale that was particularly strong in the highly attractive cities and especially in the scale items related to emotional reaction to places. But she found a linear relationship in the least attractive city and in the items related to feeling of security, amount of control and knowledge of place. A linear relationship was also reported in a cross-cultural investigation of environmental risk perception that showed that the more remote a place the higher the perceived risk (Gifford et al., 2009).

Despite the number of studies pointing to lower place identity with neighbourhoods, several others showed, in certain circumstances, high levels of place identity with neighbourhood. For example, in situations of imposed relocation, Fried (1963) in the classic research of the West End community in Boston, showed stronger bonds to the neighbourhood. In the same way, Bernardo´s (2005) analysis of an imposed relocation process reported a stronger attachment to the old neighbourhood and community than to the old house. It seems that in certain circumstances the neighbourhood can be an important source of identity. Thus, it seems that the relationship between place identity and place scale should be more explored, and that place identity can be understood as a dynamic process that varies in response to variations in the social and physical context (e.g., Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994).

As can be easily concluded, these different patterns of results could be explained by the social and self-categorization theories. First of all, use of a certain level of social categorization is dependent on certain factors where the salience and what really constitutes the level of social comparison (i.e., what group /space it is relevant to compare) are of major relevance.

2.2.3. Place identity and salience

To understand the relationship between place and scale, it is important to remember some important aspects described in SCT (Turner, 1985). The first is the multiplicity of identities, so identities can be as many as the reference groups the individual considers relevant in terms of belonging. The idea of multiple identities assumes that each one can become salient or not, depending on the context in which the subject finds

him/herself (Hoggs & Abrams, 1988). This means that the subject self-categorizes on the basis of certain social identities that are active (cognitively operative) in a given context and acts in conformity with that self-categorization (Turner et al., 1994). In other words, self-categorization theory highlights the contextual nature of identities and takes into consideration different levels of identity, from specific levels (e.g., local identity) to more inclusive and abstract levels (e.g., national identity).

But few studies explore the issue of salience of identity, i.e., the idea that an identity may become salient or not, depending on the context. In a research that evaluated settlement, specific place and local identity, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) reported that not all levels of place identity were salient for all residents. For respondents that had lived all of their lives in a given area, only the place and local identity were salient, and the settlement identity was not salient. In an experimental study, Hopkins, Reicher and Harrison (2006) manipulated identity salience in order to understand the feelings of Scottish residents about moving to England. In the situation when identity with Britain was made salient, by drawing a map where the whole mainland had the U.K. flag, the residents were not very apprehensive about moving. But when Scottish identity was made salient (by drawing a map coloured with the cross of St. Andrew in Scotland, and with the cross of St. George in England) the residents were more apprehensive about moving to England. Also Morrison (1999) manipulated the identity salience associated with the space at three different levels of abstraction - provincial, regional and national - in the context of an environmental social dilemma. The results showed that intragroup cooperation was higher than intergroup cooperation at each level of abstraction.

This means that for the same person it is possible to activate different social identities. However, the variability of identities is not arbitrary, but related to context variation. It

represents the perceiver's changing relationship with the context (Turner et al., 1994). So the context might make a specific identity salient and/or increase the importance of a specific identity for the subject.

Assuming that place identity has a set of psychological features similar to social identities as the fundamental tenet in our study, we expected place identity to be context-dependent and vary in relation to context changes. Then we expected that if a specific place scale was salient, this would have an impact in terms of the level of place identity activated. It was also expected that place salience would increase the intensity of place identity reported by individuals. Simultaneously, we expected to find that place identity differed according to place scale, as reported in several studies (e.g., Hidaldo & Hernandez, 2001, Hernandez et al., 2007, Lewicka, 2010). Particularly, we wanted to assess if participants reported less identity to the neighbourhood than to the city or country.

To summarize, we want simultaneously to find out if some levels of identification tend to be more intense than others, and if salience of the place scale heightens the intensity of identification reported. This means we want to add to the discussion of space scales that subjects most identify with, that has developed within the framework of environmental psychology, with the concept of the salience effect developed within the social identity approach.

To achieve this purpose, two studies were designed with two general objectives for investigation: (1) the impact of the salience of a specific scale of place (e.g., neighbourhood, city, country) on activation of the corresponding level of place identity for self definition (Study 1); and (2) the impact of salience on the intensity of place

identity and place attachment of residents with different links to the residential area, defined through three place scales: neighbourhood, city and country (Study 2).

2.3. Study 1

2.3.1. Study objectives

Study 1 had three specific objectives:

1. the first objective was to understand to what extent reference to place is used in self definition. More specifically, the study aimed to investigate if when we need to describe ourselves, we use place references, and if the frequency of place reference used is dependent on the scale of the context. In other words, if we use more place reference in broader scales (e.g. when we are at an international meeting) than in less extensive scales (e.g., when we are at a meeting in our own city).

2. the second objective was to identify if place identity could be conceptualized as a hierarchical system of multi-identifications with diverse levels of inclusiveness evoked in relation to the geographic scale of the situation. Thus, it was expected that in broader contexts participants would use broader geographical references and in less extensive scales use less extensive geographical references.

3. the third goal was to identify the social identity value of different group memberships in relation to the geographic scale of the situation. Thereby, it was expected that the importance of the same place reference (e.g., I'm from Lisbon) would vary in different

contexts. For example "being from Lisbon" can have different importance in the national and international context.

2.3.2. Method

Participants

104 university students from the University of Évora (65.5% female and 38.5% male), aged between 19 and 32 (M=20.64; SD=2.18), participate in this study. All the participants answer the same questionnaire.

Instruments and Procedure

The material for the experiment was contained in a questionnaire (see annex 1) composed of four situation descriptions followed by a set of tasks. The participants read a descriptive paragraph about a group meeting in a specific geographical context and had to complete a series of tasks, described below. Four descriptions were considered with different geographical contexts: (1) a new high school in the area of residence; (2) a university in a different city, (3) in an Erasmus context (Europe), (4) in a post-graduate course in the United States of America (USA). The participant had to concentrate on the description before completing the tasks. The description for the context of a university in a different city was the following:

"You are in the university you have chosen to take your degree course, in a city far from your home. On the first day of classes all students are gathered for a first contact. After an introduction to the university and the course, all students are required to respond to the following question: "Who am I?"

Each participant answers to the four situations, in a random order.

For each description the participants had to complete three tasks. The first task consisted of completing the Twenty Statement Test (TST) (Hartley, 1970) as a method of generating spontaneous self-descriptions. The participants needed to complete 20 sentence stems beginning with "I am …". The second task was to rate each self-description in terms of the importance of these aspects to others' comprehension of her/him (1 is the most important). The last task was to rate the self-characteristics according to the degree of importance of these characteristics to the participant herself/himself.

The last part of the questionnaire concerned socio-demographic characterization, and included questions about sex, age, birthplace and place of residence. All respondents volunteered to participate and provided their informed consent. The questionnaire was applied collectively in a university classroom context.

2.3.3. Results

The first analysis concerned the use of place and space in self-description. Table 2.1 show that the participants used the reference to "places" to describe themselves, and that use of the "place" reference was related to the scale of context. Thus, the place reference was less frequent in the city context and increased as the scale of the context widened. In order to evaluate if place references were significantly different, an analysis of repeated measurements with one factor was performed. The results showed that the number of place references in the self-description was significantly different between contexts $F(3,103)=21.044$, $p<.001$. A pairwise comparison, using a

Bonferroni correction showed that the number of place references in self-description was marginally significantly smaller in the city context than in the national context (p=.076), and significantly smaller in city context than in the European context (p=.000), and the intercontinental context (p=.000). In the national context, place references in the self-description were significantly fewer than in the European context (p=.000), and the intercontinental context (p=.000). No differences were found between the European context and the intercontinental context in terms of the number of participants that used the "place" reference in their self-definitions.

Table 2.1. Percentage and number of participants that use the space reference in their self-description, by context.

Context	City	National	European	Intercontinental
Space references	36.2%	51.4%	74.3%	74.3%
% (subject frequency)	(37)	(53)	(77)	(77)
Space References				
Means	0.045	0.075	0.14	0.13
Europe				5% (4)
Country	16% (6)	15% (8)	98% (76)	100% (77)
Region	19% (7)	34% (18)	17% (13)	13% (10)
City	70% (26)	68% (36)	17% (13)	14% (11)
Street	11% (4)			

The results also revealed that geographical context influenced the scale of place reference used in self-descriptions (Table 2.1). Thus, the results showed that in the city context the main reference was the city, in the national context the main reference was also the city as well as the region. At the European and intercontinental level, the most frequent reference made was to the country. Thus, the space references used most frequently were the city and the country, and least frequently, Europe.

The second analysis concerned, on one hand participants' ordering of the self description in order of importance for others' comprehension of them, and on the other hand, the order according to the degree of importance of these characteristics for the participant her/himself.

We will focus on reference to the city and country, as these were the two most frequent place references made by the subjects. In order to evaluate if there were differences in terms of the importance attributed by participants to the city reference in the different contexts, a *Wilcoxon test* was used. The results showed that the city reference was more important in the national context (Median=2.0) than in the city context (Median=4.5) for others' comprehension of them (S+=5.17, S-=7.55; Z=-2.103, p_{UE}=0.016). The same occurred with the degree of importance of these characteristics for the participant her/himself: reference to the city was more important in the national context (Median=4.5) than in the city context (Median=6.0), (S+=5.17, S-=7.55; Z=-1.685, p_{UE}=0.048). The results also showed that the city reference, both in the city context and in the national context, was more important for others' comprehension of them (median=4.5; median=2.0) than for the participant her/himself (median=6.0; median=4.5).

Concerning country reference in the self-descriptions, the results showed that country reference was more important in the European context (Median=1.0) than in the intercontinental context (Median=2.0) for others' comprehension of them (S+=17.28, S-=14.23; Z=-1.249, p_{UE}=0.108), but was only marginally significant. The same occurred with the degree of importance of these characteristics to the participant himself, that reference to the city was more important in the European context (Median=3.0) than in the intercontinental context (Median=4.0), (S+=28.37, S-=28.17; Z=-1.602, p_{UE}=0.055).

It was also found that participants considered more important the reference to the country, both in the European and intercontinental context, for others' comprehension of them (median=1.0; median=2.0) than for the participant her/himself (median=3.0; median=4.0).

2.3.4. Discussion

The results indicated that participants used the reference to "places" to describe her/himself, however use of the "place" reference depended on the scale of the context, and was more frequent in broader contexts. The results also revealed that geographical context influenced the scale of place reference used in self-description. In the area of residence context participants referred more to the city, in the different city context referred more to the city and the region, and in the European and USA context the country. These results confirmed that use of places as defining features of a person´s identity was context-dependent. This pattern of results is similar to that expected when using more usual social categories (defined by the social group).

One aspect that emerges from the data analysis is that European identity was very rarely mentioned in subjects' self-description. Another study had previously noted that people in all European countries prefer national to European identity (European Commission, 2001; Lewicka, 2006, cit in Lewicka, 2008). It seems that Europe is not an important source of identity for this group of Portuguese students. These results are consistent with Brewer´s optimal categorization level theory (Brewer, 1993).

Finally, the results showed that self-description importance was also related to the scale of the situation, and varies in relation to the same self-description (e.g.,

Portuguese) in different scale contexts (e.g., European or USA context). This result showed how identities are flexible and context-dependent. These results reinforce the idea that self-categorization is not arbitrary, but veridical and varies in order to represent the perceiver's changing relationship with the context (Turner at al., 1994).

This first study showed the impact of salience of a specific scale of place (e.g., neighbourhood, city, country) on activation of the corresponding level of place identity for self-definition. With the second study we want to explore the impact of the salience of place scale on the intensity of place identity reported by residents with different links to the residential area - temporary and permanent residents.

2.4. Study 2

2.4.1. Study Objectives

This second study explored the importance of the salience of the level of inclusion (neighbourhood, city and country) for the intensity of place identity and place attachment in two different samples: permanent residents, who have lived in a place for a long time and plan to remain in the same area; and temporary residents, who live in a place during the school year. Thus, this study had four main specific objectives.

1. The first objective was to ascertain if participants reported more intense place identity and/or place attachment to salient places in comparison to non-salient places for different levels of inclusion.

2. The second objective was to ascertain if the salience effect had the same impact for two groups of participants, permanent and temporary residents. As reported by several authors, length of residency is strongly connected to place identity and place attachment (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Bonaiuto, Aiello, Perugini, Bonnes, & Ercolani, 1999; Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2004). Therefore, we expected significant interaction between the type of resident and the salience effect, with permanent residents expected to report higher place identity and place attachment in the salient condition in comparison with the non-salient condition at all levels of inclusion (neighbourhood, city and country). Accordingly, temporary residents were not expected to report differences between the salient and non-salient condition at the neighbourhood and city level of inclusion, but report differences with respect to country.

3. The third objective was to compare the level of identity and attachment for the different levels of inclusion (neighbourhood, city and country). Specifically, we expected to find differences between these three areas, i.e., a higher level of identity and attachment to the city and to the country than to the neighbourhood, in line with previous studies (e.g., Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Hernandez et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2010).

4. The last objective was to compare levels of place identity and place attachment in the two groups of residents: permanent residents in the neighbourhood and city and temporary residents in the neighbourhood and city. In this comparison we expected to confirm the results of Hernandez et al. (2007) who found that place attachment is a bond developed before place identity. Therefore, temporary residents are expected to report more place attachment than place identity, and permanent residents are not expected to reveal differences between place attachment and place identity.

2.4.2. Method

Participants

178 university students from the Technical Institute of Lisbon (43.3% female and 56.7% male), aged between 18 and 38 (M=21.29; SD=2.76), participate in this study. All the respondents volunteered to participate and provided their informed consent. The participants were classified into two groups: (a) permanent residents in the city of Lisbon, who had lived in their neighbourhood for at least at 5 years; (b) temporary residents in the city of Lisbon, living there only during the school year, and having been in Lisbon less than 3 years. Using these criteria the sample was composed of 92 permanent residents (M=12.65, SD=7.792), and 86 temporary residents (M=2.42, SD=2.525). In each group subjects were randomly divided in three target conditions, (a) neighbourhood salience; (b) city salience and (c) country salience. Thus, the experiment consists of a 2 (permanent vs temporary residents) X 3 (salience: neighbourhood, city, country).

Design, instruments and procedure

A factorial design of repeated measurements was employed in this research. Two within-subject factors and two between-subject factors were analysed. Within-subject factors were ''type of bond'' (attachment and identity) and ''type of environment'' (neighbourhood, city and country). "Salience condition" and ''type of relationship with the residence'' (permanent and temporary residents) were the between-subject factors. The dependent measures were place identity and place attachment to neighbourhood, city and country.

The material for the experiment was contained in a questionnaire (see annex 2) composed of two sets of items to measure place identity (four items) and place attachment (eight items). This questionnaire was the same as the one used by Hernandez et al. (2007). Two types of questionnaires were created, modifying the order of item presentation within each sub-scale. Each participant answered the questionnaire in relation to the three areas: neighbourhood, city (Lisbon) and country (Portugal). Thus, the final instrument was composed of 36 items, with participants responding on a 6-point scale, where 1 was "not at all" and 6 was "really a lot". With these items we obtained an overall score for intensity of attachment to the three areas and an overall score for intensity of identity with the same three areas.

The last part of the questionnaire was socio-demographic characterization, which included questions about sex, age, birthplace, place of residence and years of residence in the neighbourhood and in the city, and 'type of relationship with the residence' (permanent and temporary residents).

The questionnaire had three formats in order to make the neighbourhood, city or country salient. The differences were in the initial instructions of the questionnaire. The following example is from the neighbourhood salience condition: *"The Faculty of Psychology of the University of Lisbon is conducting a study on the quality and satisfaction of Neighbourhoods."* The word "neighbourhoods" was in bold and in a larger font size than the remaining text. In the city and country conditions the word "neighbourhoods" was replaced by the word "cities", or "country".

The questionnaire was applied collectively in a university classroom context.

2.4.3. Results

The non-existence of univariate outliers was checked for all items. Internal consistence was calculated for the attachment and identity scales for each environment assessed. The results reported a Cronbach α value higher than 0.89 in all cases. Thus, for the place identity scale the Cronbach α value was 0.96 for the neighbourhood context, 0.96 for the city context and 0.92 for the country context. For the place attachment scale the Cronbach α value was 0.95 for the neighbourhood context, 0.941 for the city context and 0.891 for the country context.

An analysis of repeated measurements with two factors was performed, in order to see whether there were significant differences between intensity of attachment and intensity of identity for each group (permanent residents and temporary residents), for each condition (neighbourhood salience, city salience and country salience) and in each environment (neighbourhood, city and country). Significant interaction was not found between subjects between the two within-factors: "type of bond" and "type of environment", and the two between-factors "type of residential relationship" (permanent residence or temporary residence) and the salience condition F (2,172)=0.691, $p >$ .05). But a significant interaction effect was found between the two within-factors: "type of bond" and "type of environment, and the between-subjects factor "type of residential relationship" (permanent residence or temporary residence), F (1,172)=78.905, p<.05). A significant interaction effect was also found between the two within-factors: "type of bond" and "type of environment, and the between-subjects factor salience condition F (2,172)=9.371, p<.05). This means that the "type of residence relationship" and the salience condition influence had separate effects on place identity and place attachment, as reported by the participants in relation to the three environments tested.
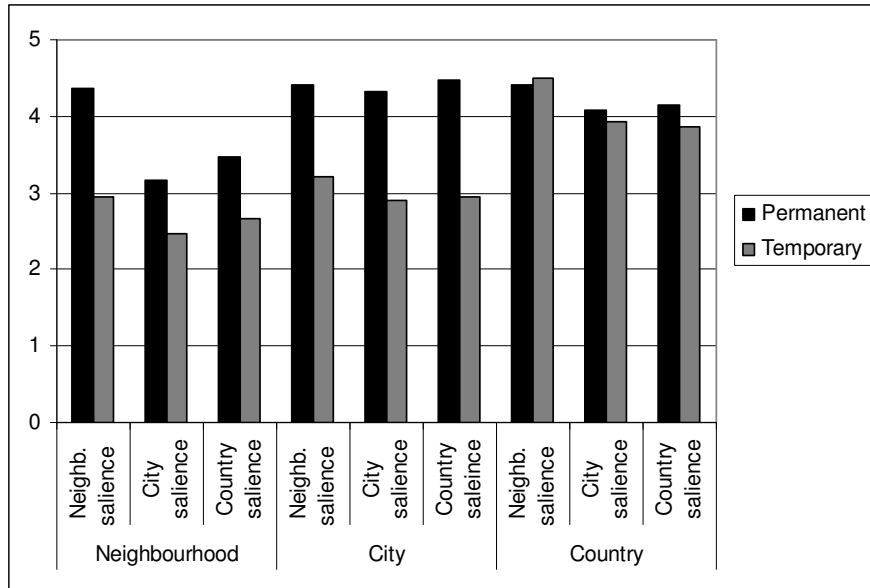
Figure 2.1. Mean of place identity, according to environment and group condition
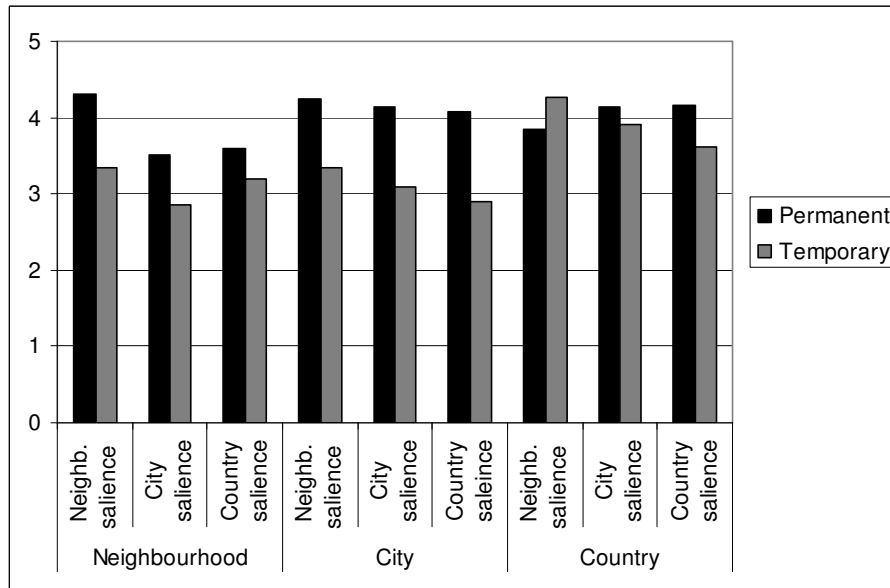
Figure 2.2. Mean of place attachment, according to environment and group condition

In order to clarify these effects, a study of interactions was performed by means of an a*posteriori* comparison. Comparing the two resident groups (permanent and temporary

residents) for each target condition and each environment, as shown in Table 2.2, we could find significant differences between permanent residents and temporary residents in almost all the situations analysed.

Table 2.2. Means rating and *t* tests by type of residence relationship (permanent or temporary resident) and target condition (neighbourhood salience, city salience and country salience) (only the significant results are displayed)

	Permanent Res.	Temporary Res.	t	Sig
Neighbourhood condition				
Place Identity - neighb.	4.367	3.942	5.00	0.000
Place Identity – city	4.408	3.217	5.11	0.000
Place attachment - neighb.	4.313	3.338	4.82	0.000
Place attachment – city	4.233	3.350	4.29	0.000
Place attachment - country	3.854	4.246	-1.73	0.089
City condition				
Place Identity – city	4.328	2.464	4.96	0.000
Place attachment - neighb.	3.500	2.848	2.46	0.017
Place attachment – city	4.148	3.080	4.50	0.000
Country condition				
Place Identity - neighb.	3.467	2.670	2.52	0.015
Place Identity – city	4.475	2.946	5.54	0.000
Place Identity – country	4.142	3.554	2.56	0.013
Place attachment – city	4.071	2.893	4.83	0.000
Place attachment - country	4.150	3.621	2.89	0.006

Comparing the three target groups (neighbourhood salience, city salience and country salience) for each type of residence relationship, each environment and each type of bond, the results showed (see Table 2.3) that in relation to permanent residents the neighbourhood salience group reported a significantly higher place identity and place attachment than the other groups. But the salience of city and salience of country did

not increase significantly either type of bond. Concerning temporary residents, neighbourhood salience increased place identity and place attachment to the country, but country salience did not increase any type of bond in relation to the country.

Table 2.3. Means ratings on dependent measures by target condition (neighbourhood salience, city salience and country salience) and type of residence relationship (permanent or temporary resident) (only the significant results are displayed)

	Target condition			
	Neighbourhood salience	City salience	Country salience	P^a
Permanent resident				
Place Identity - neighb.	4.37_{ab}	3.21_a	3.47_b	0.000
Place attachment - neighb.	4.31_{ab}	3.56_a	3.59_b	0.000
Temporary Resident				
Place Identity – country	4.50_{ab}	3.93_a	3.8578_b	0.000
Place attachment - country	4.26_a	3.91	3.6205_a	0.000

Note: Means in the same row with different subscripts are significantly different at the $p< 0.05$ level

[a] and [b] significance of target main effect.

Concerning the within-subjects factors, analysis of repeated measurements showed a significant interaction between the two within-factors: "type of bond" and "type of environment", and the two between factors "type of residential relationship" (permanent residence or temporary residence) and the salience condition (F (5,860)=2.207, $p<.05$; observed power=.920). To clarify these effects *a posteriori* analysis of means comparisons was carried out. Comparing place identity and place attachment in the different groups the results, presented in Table 2.4, report that there were significant differences between place attachment and place identity with the three environments considered for permanent residents. Thus, permanent residents reported a more

intense place attachment to the neighbourhood than place identity, but a more intense place identity than place attachment to the city and to the country.

Temporary residents reported a significantly more intense place attachment than place identity to the neighbourhood, and a similar pattern to the city, but the difference was not significant. However, in relation to the country this group revealed a significantly more intense place identity than place attachment in the neighbourhood salience condition (t (1,29)=-1.993, p<.05).

Table 2.4. Comparison between place attachment and place identity (t tests) by type of residence relationship and type of environment (neighbourhood, city and country)

	Comparison place attachment - place identity					
	Neighbourhood		City		Country	
	t	sig.	t	sig.	t	$p.$
Permanent residents	2.133	.036	-3.763	.000	-2.101	.038
Temporary residents	6.319	.000	1.449	.151	-.973	.333

An analysis of repeated measures for each group was performed in order to make multiple comparisons, with the Bonferroni *post-hoc test*, allowing comparison within subjects between place identity and place attachment, and also comparison between the three environments (neighbourhood, city and country). The results showed that permanent residents report significant differences between place attachment to the different environments, $F(2, 90)=5.577$, $p<.004$, and between place identity to the three environments, $F(2, 84)=15.688$, $p<.000$. The same occurred with the temporary residents in relation to place attachment $F(2, 84)=19.529$, $p<.000$, and place identity to the three environments $F(2, 84)=29.092$, $p<.000$. The comparison between the three environments revealed that permanent residents established significantly less intensive place attachment to the neighbourhood ($M=3.79$) than to the city ($M=4.15$) ($p<.04$). In

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relation to place identity this group revealed a more intensive place identity with the city (M=4.40) (p<.01) and with the country (M=4.21) (p<.01) than with the neighbourhood (M=3.66). No differences were found between place identity with the city and with the country. Temporary residents showed a more intensive place attachment to the country (M=3.93) than to the neighbourhood (M=3.13) (p<.01) or city (M=3.11) (p<.05). The results also showed a significantly higher place identity with the country (M=4.00) than with the neighbourhood (M=2.70) (p<.01), and city (M=3.03) (p<.01).

2.4.4. Discussion

Salience effect on place identity and place attachment in permanent and temporary residents

The initial prediction was that participants would report a more intense place identity and place attachment for salient places than for non-salient places, for all scales considered. The results showed a salience effect only at the neighbourhood scale, in both permanent residents and temporary residents, but with different impacts in each group. Permanent residents reported a high level of place identity and place attachment to the neighbourhood, in the neighbourhood salience condition, as expected. On the contrary, temporary residents reported a high place identity and place attachment to the country in the neighbourhood salience condition. In fact, temporary residents reported a low bond with the neighbourhood, with values below the middle of the scale, as expected. So it seems that in the absence of place attachment or place identity, temporary residents transfer identity to another source of identification relevant to this group, national identity. It is important to remember that the temporary residents

were only temporary in relation to the neighbourhood and the city, but permanent residents in Portugal, so the national identity was relevant to them. The same results were reported by Jerónimo, Marques, Monteiro, Reis and Palma-Oliveira (2010) in a research about the attractiveness of Lisbon neighbourhoods. This study showed that in the less attractive neighbourhoods, residents reported low place identity with the neighbourhood but high identity with the city, in comparison to the residents of more attractive neighbourhoods. These results emphasized that self-identity is a dynamic process, dependent on contextual factors that activate one or another level of identity, thus having an impact in terms of self-perception and consequent behaviour (Turner & Onorato, 1999).

One question remains unanswered, i.e., why did the salience effect only have an impact on the neighbourhood scale but no impact on the city or country scale, for both groups? Two possible explanations can be put forward. One possible reason is related to the fact that both the city and the country already had a high place identity and place attachment, while on the contrary the neighbourhood showed the lowest place identity and place attachment.

Another possible reason is related to the fact that the neighbourhood has a smaller scale than the city and country. As stressed by the Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991, 1993) individuals prefer groups that simultaneously fulfil the needs of assimilation and differentiation from the ingroup. Groups with a small number of members should be more likely than large groups to fulfil both these needs. This is because in small groups it is easier to perceive unity relations between ingroup members, and the individual's need of distinctiveness should be satisfied by the intergroup comparison (Brewer & Weber, 1994; Simon & Hamilton, 1994). Research

showed that belonging to a large and inclusive group activates an individual's need for differentiation and comparison with other group members. At the same time, belonging to small, less inclusive groups, motivates intragroup assimilation and intergroup comparison and differentiation (Brewer & Weber, 1994). So we could expect that despite having a lower identification with the neighbourhood, salience has a greater effect on individuals, inasmuch as the neighbourhood is smaller, motivates the subject to intragroup assimilation and intergroup comparison. In our study this occurred both for the permanent and temporary residents. It is important to underline that the manipulation of salience made in this study is weaker than in study 1, but also had an impact on the place identity reported in relation to neighbourhood.

Place identity and Place attachment to different place scales

Several studies that simultaneously analysed different spatial levels (e.g., Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Hernandez et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2010), reported a lower level of place identity and place attachment to the neighbourhood than to the city or country. The same results emerged in this study. In fact, the neighbourhood had the lowest scores for place identity and place attachment for both temporary and permanent residents. It is possible that certain characteristics of the places analysed could help in understanding these results. The neighbourhood is a spatial entity that frequently has no defined limits, but physical and symbolic boundaries (Kelley, 1968) that are defined in a different way by different groups of people (Lee, 1976). Simultaneously, the neighbourhood usually has less content and relevant meaning than the city or country (Hernandez et al., 2007). So in this type of methodology, participants give their responses to different neighbourhoods with

different physical and social characteristics that promote different interaction with the place, while the city and the country are the same for all participants. So in this methodology, where participants outside their place of residence have to reveal their identity with different place scales, the neighbourhood might be the most difficult scale to evoke.

Despite these results, several field studies report strong place identity and place attachment to neighbourhoods (e.g., Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2005; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). But these studies assessed neighbourhoods bonds in the context of major neighbourhood transformation, such as relocation processes (e.g., Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2005) or a revitalization process (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). These processes showed the capacity to make the neighbourhood salient to the identity of its residents. According to SIT and SCT, use of a certain level of social categorization, as mentioned above, is related to the levels that are most efficient in grounding our positive social identity. Probably nowadays and with present urban dynamics, city and national levels are prone to more relevant social comparisons.

Place identity and Place attachment in permanent and temporary residents

Length of residence was reported in several studies (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Bonaiuto et al., 1999; Brown et al., 2004) as contributing to increasing the bonds to place. In this context, the results showed that permanent residents reported higher place identity and place attachment than temporary residents, in relation to the neighbourhood and city. But regarding the country, all the participants have lived in Portugal for a long time and so all are permanent residents, which is why we did not expect significant differences between the groups. The results do not refute this

hypothesis. However, despite the fact that the results obtained are stable for the two groups in all the salience conditions, in our study we did not measure the length of residence but the type of relationship residents have with their residence. In fact, permanent residents have lived in that place for longer than temporary residents. Variables like the expectation to stay in the neighbourhood or constraints in choosing the neighbourhood were not analysed. Recent studies emphasize the importance of studying the variables that may regulate the relationship between place bonds and length of residence (e.g., Brown et al., 2003).

Place identity and place attachment were expected to vary depending on the relationship with the residence (Hernandez et al., 2007). In accordance with expectations, temporary residents reported more place attachment than place identity in relation to the neighbourhood and city, although in relation to the city the value was only marginally significant. Concerning permanent residents, it appears that in the case of neighbourhood, place attachment is greater than place identity. But for the city and country there is a greater identity than attachment, which confirms the data of Hernandez et al. (2007, study 1).

2.5. Conclusions

The two studies presented help us to understand that place identity is context-dependent, in the sense described by social identity within SCT (Turner, 1985). Thus, in a precise moment the individual activates the identity level that best responds to his relationship with context. This had several consequences in the studies presented. On the one hand, the scale of place identity activated depends on, and is in line with, the

scale of context. Respectively, the contexts in broader scales (international context) activate broader identities (e.g., identity to the country), while less pervasive contexts (national context) activated less inclusive identities (e.g., local identity). Moreover, it also means that the same place identity may vary depending on the scale of the context. For example, it is more important for the city identity in a national context than in an international context (Study 1). And yet the identity value may also vary in a context that is made salient by intergroup comparison, leading to an increase in the value of identity (Study 2). But concerning this last aspect, it is not clear in what conditions we can make an identity salient to the individual or the group. As found in Study 2, the type of salience used only had an effect on neighbourhood identity, having no effect on city and country identity. This aspect needs to be further explored in future studies, mainly to highlight if the level most likely to be used is correlated with the most relevant social comparison level.

These studies also support the idea that identity with the neighbourhood is not as strong as identity with the city or country, as many previous studies have indicated (e.g., Cuba & Hummon, 1993, Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001, Hernandez et al., 2007).

The flexibility of identity in the same subject depending on the context appears to be very well described in social identity theory and self-categorization theory. In the context of place identity, even if it is implied, it has not been taken into account. This flexibility does not mean arbitrariness, but these "self-categorisations are veridical in that their variation is systematically related to changes in social reality" (Turner at al., 1994, p. 458). As seen in Study 1, despite a context of intercontinental expectation, through activation of European identity, this activation only occurred in rare cases, demonstrating that the context can only shape identity, rather than change it.

These studies aimed to contribute to the understanding of space as a key defining factor of a person's identity. Unlike the conceptualisation of Proshansky and colleagues (1983), which sought to frame the importance of space for the subject's individual identity, here we sought to bring place to the field of intergroup relations. A place can be understood as a social category, with a socially developed and shared meaning resulting from the interaction between their elements, and should thus be governed by the same principles and be based on the same processes as for social identity. Thus, the principles of meta-contrast, the concept of salience, the processes of social comparison and the search for a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1985) are key concepts in understanding how places influence individuals and groups.

3. Place identity and neighbourhood size: impact in terms of discrimination

3.1. Abstract

This chapter aims to assess if identification with a place can lead to the same type of discrimination as social identity. In particular, it aims to assess if neighbourhood size is an important variable in identification with the place and in the discrimination of inhabitants of other places. The motives for discrimination are also explored in relation to neighbourhood size. Two studies are presented, with the first having been performed in a laboratory context using the minimal group categorization paradigm, and the second in a real context, by studying a neighbourhood in Lisbon, Portugal. Consistent with the predictions, the results showed that smaller neighbourhoods reported higher place identity and satisfaction, and also higher discrimination in relation to other neighbourhoods. Consistent with the Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991), the results show that the motivation for discrimination varies as a function of the in-group size. Thus, the members of larger groups discriminate by increasing the differentiation between in-group and out-group, and the members of smaller groups show motivation to increase the value of the in-group.

3. 2. Introduction

Since the 60s, research regarding the environment has come to recognize the importance of places for individuals' identity. Thus, identity, in addition to covering the unique characteristics and conceptions of a person and their sense of belonging to groups, would also involve membership of territories and places. Thereby, places would be a fundamental component of personal identity and not only the settings where human activities take place (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminooff, 1983; Krupat, 1983). More recently, we found some authors assuming the idea that places can also be a basis for social categorization (e.g., Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, in press, Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010; Valera & Pol, 1994, Lewicka, 2008, Bonaiuto et al, 1996), in the sense that people define themselves as belonging to a group that is defined geographically. Accordingly, places are social constructions with shared social meanings as a result of the interaction between their users, and not only a scenario where interactions occur. In this context, place identification contributes to social identity and can contribute to understanding group processes. Thus, we can suppose that just like identification with a social group, identification with a place has effects on perception and behaviour in relation to that place and its residents as well as in relation to other places with which they compare it.

In fact, the literature revealed that place identity influences the perception of problems or transformation in places. In several studies on the perception of the risk of earthquake, Lima (1993) found a negative association between identity and perception of seismic risk. Similar results were obtained by Bonaiuto et al. (1996) who verified that subjects with higher place identity had a lower perception of environmental problems in the area. In a set of studies conducted in Portugal on the perception of risk resulting

from the construction of a waste incineration plant and the relationship with place identity (Lima, 2003; Palma-Oliveira, Antunes, & Marques 2007), it was found that risk perception was linked to the value of the attitude in relation to the incinerator. Thus, when the residents had a negative attitude in relation to the incinerator being built, there was a positive relationship between identification with the place and risk perception. If there was a positive attitude in relation to the incinerator, the study verified a negative relationship between identity and risk perception (Palma-Oliveira, Antunes, & Marques 2007). Thus, in the first situation identity had an amplifying function in relation to risk perception, while in the second case identity had a protective function (Lima, 2003). But in both cases, place identity was associated with a desire for enhancement of the group belonged to.

The same results were obtained in other contexts. In relation to the construction of a hydroelectric power station (Vorkinn & Riese, 2001), which was perceived as negative, it was found that residents with higher place identity had a more negative attitude to the infrastructure. Concerning the creation of a natural protected area (Carrus, Bonaiuto & Bonnes, 2005) that had been viewed positively by the residents, there was a positive correlation between identity and acceptance of the classification.

All the above-mentioned cases found that place identification influenced the way changes were perceived in places, confirming that the greater the identification with the place, the greater the desire to express positive attitudes to environmental changes that could have brought a more positive character to the place. This idea is present in Social Identity Theory (SIT), which considers that a basic motivation leading an individual to identifying with a particular group, is the possibility to achieve positive distinctiveness (Brown, 2000). Also studies on national identity, carried out with real-life

groups, found that high identification was associated with greater in-group bias and a more positive auto-stereotype (Nigbur & Cinnirella, 2007; Smith, Giannini, Helkama, Maczynski, & Stumpf, 2005).

Increasing the value of group membership motivated by the desire to raise self-esteem, is carried out through a process of comparison between the group belonged to and an out-group relevant to the individuals, leading to a process of discrimination against the relevant out-group. Thus, in the sense that the residents of a place (e.g.: neighbourhood, city, region) perceive themselves as a social group based on a shared spatial unit, they differentiate themselves from the inhabitants of other units at the same level of abstraction (Valera & Guardia, 2002). In a study that compared national, regional and city identity in a group of Portuguese citizens, positive distinctiveness in relation to their group for all scales considered was found. However, discrimination was found only in relation to relevant groups (Garcia-Marques & Palma-Oliveira, 1986). For example, results showed that the Portuguese citizens discriminated against the Spanish, the only country with which they share borders, and with which they have a long history of relations. On the contrary, they showed no discrimination against the French. In this context, Bonaiuto, Breakwell and Cano (1996, p.172) said that "the struggle for a positive social identity, which offers positive self-esteem through self-enhancement, can therefore also be achieved through, what we might call, positive 'in-place' distinctiveness".

In this context, we expect individuals highly identified with their place to have a more positive perception of their group and greater discrimination in relation to the relevant out-group than subjects with low identity. In this sense, place identity can be conceptualized as a substructure of the individual's social identity, consisting of

aspects of self-concept based on belonging to geographically defined groups. "Not only can place act as a social category providing identity in its own right but also it can act as a "trigger" for identities to emerge" (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003, p.207). The emphasis was no longer on the individual level, as in the Proshansky and colleagues (1983) concept of place identity, but became integrated in the framework of intergroup relations in the sense of SCT (Turner, 1985). In the absence of a theoretical framework that integrates self-environment relationships, in recent years, there has been an attempt to understand the relationship between place and identity using concepts from social psychology. Thus, several authors use the term 'place identity' as a self-categorization in terms of place (e.g.: Lewicka, 2008, Hernandez et al., 2007, Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010) integrated in the principles of Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) (Turner, 1985).

Despite research supporting this idea, to our knowledge, there is no systematic study comparing the similarities and the specificities of place identity and social identity. Therefore, we hope the studies we present might contribute to a more comprehensive systematization.

3.2.1. Place identity, neighbourhood dimension and discrimination

Some studies have shown that the physical and social features of spaces influence our identification with them (e.g., Kim & Kaplan, 2004; Newman, 1995). Amongst these characteristics, place size was considered an important variable when studying places (for a fuller discussion see Lewicka, 2010). Some studies found a linear relationship

between the scale of the place and the perception of danger (e.g., Gifford et al., 2009) while others have reported a curvilinear, U-shaped relationship between place scale (apartment, neighbourhood, city) and place attachment (e.g., Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2010). However, research in environmental psychology has been devoted mainly to comparing different scales of place (e.g., home, building, neighbourhood, city, country, or region), rather than comparing intra-scale spaces with different dimensions.

Based on studies regarding satisfaction with places, in public housing projects people seem to prefer smaller sized neighbourhoods (Lord & Rent, 1987), and are more satisfied with urban services in smaller communities (Mouritzen, 1989). In a study that compared a large Italian city – Rome, and a small city called Lecce, Bonaiuto and Bonnes (1996) reported that in the small city, inhabitants tended to have more integrated urban experiences between different places, higher interpersonal relationship activities and less urban isolation. The size variable was often associated with other physical variables such as the presence of spaces that facilitated social interaction, or social variables, such as social class, which influenced satisfaction and identity with the residential space. Given that research in environmental psychology is often based on field studies, the size variable is difficult to isolate. However, it is an important variable to consider in the debate, notably regarding the psycho-social impact of urbanization processes (e.g.: Healey, 2006).

Within the context of Social Identity Theory (SIT), several studies focused on the variable of group size, as a variable that influences the intensity of social identity and with consequences for intergroup relations. But what became evident was that group size is often associated with group status, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish

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these two effects. However, we can say there is both theoretical and empirical justification for considering the two effects independently (e.g., Simon, Aufderheide, & Kampmeier 2001; Brewer, Manzi, & Shaw, 1993; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). Here we will focus on relative group size, referring to larger groups and smaller groups.

Generally, research has shown that smaller groups have more intergroup bias than larger groups, both in laboratory conditions (e.g., González & Brown, 2006; Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001; Bettencourt, Miller, & Hume, 1999), and in real situations (e.g., Liebkind, Henning-Lindblom, & Solheim, 2008; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Research has also shown that people are more likely to define themselves by using features which are less common or distinctive in that context, which occurs in smaller groups. In this sense grade-school children in their self-descriptions used more the reference to gender when their gender was in the minority in their households (McGuire, McGuire & Winton, 1979). In the same line, Simon and Hamilton (1994) found that self-stereotyping was inversely related to in-group size. Participants assigned to a minority category rated themselves as more defined by the characteristics of the group, than subjects who belonged to a larger group.

Nevertheless, regarding consensus in relation to the influence of group size on social identification and intergroup bias, different explanations are used to understand the motivation that leads minority groups to have more in-group favouritism and greater discrimination against the out-group. We can identify two groups of arguments to explain this effect. One explanation focused on the idea that belonging to smaller groups made the group more salient. Thus, smaller groups discriminated more than larger groups because they were more focused on their membership of the group (e.g., Bettencout et al. 1999; Simon et al., 2001). Another explanation focused on the idea

that belonging to minority groups was a more vulnerable source of security and positive identity for their members. Thus, when given the chance, people seek to reinforce their identity, valuing more the in-group and discriminating more the out-group (e.g., Lucken & Simon, 2005; Simon et al., 2001; Blank, Mummendey, & Otten, 1995). To support this explanation, Lucken and Simon (2005), using both artificial and real-life groups, reported that minority members were more worried and experienced less positive effect as a consequence of their group membership, than members of majority groups.

In contrast to these explanations, Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT) (Brewer, 1991, 1993) proposed that people prefer groups which, in a given context, satisfy the need for inclusion in the in-group and simultaneously fulfil the need for differentiation through distinction between the in-group and out-group. Consequently, people would present more identification and satisfaction with such groups (Brewer & Weber, 1994; Simon & Hamilton, 1994). This theory empirically verified that smaller groups more easily satisfy these two human needs, because they are more distinctive than larger groups (Hornsey & Jetten, 2004). The research tested directly the model of optimal distinctiveness evaluating the consequences of assigning an individual to a social category that is very inclusive (broad and heterogeneous) or highly distinctive (small and homogeneous). They found that assignment to a very broad category motivates the subject's differentiation and intragroup comparison. In accordance, assigning to a distinctive group motivates intragroup assimilation and intergroup comparisons, which is consistent with the theory (Brewer & Weber, 1994).

One implication of Optimal Distinctiveness Theory is that people should be more satisfied with membership of small groups than very large groups, where the need for differentiation is not satisfied or very small, and where the necessity of similarity is not

satisfied (Brewer, 1991). This implication is confirmed in several studies where group size is an independent variable (e.g., Abrams, 1994, 2009), and others where group size is the dependent variable (e.g., Pickett, Silver & Brewer, 2002). In the latter study the authors found that when participants were induced in a need for assimilation to the group, they overestimated group size. When participants were induced with a need for distinctiveness in relation to the group, they evaluated the group as smaller than it really was (underestimation). Similarly, attribution to an overly inclusive group produced subgroup differentiation (Hornsey & Hoggs, 1999).

In this framework, and based on the ODT, we can predict that for both artificial groups and real-life groups, members of smaller groups have greater identification and satisfaction with their group and, as a consequence, greater intergroup bias than members of larger groups. As claimed by several authors, identification is a necessary and sufficient condition for discrimination (e.g., Gagnon & Bourhis, 1996; Tajfel, 1982).

Thus, this chapter aims to study if identity with a place leads to the same type of discrimination as social identity. In particular, if group size is an important variable in identification and satisfaction with the place and in discrimination concerning the inhabitants of other places. For these purposes, two studies were designed. The first used the minimal group categorization paradigm by Tajfel, in order to classify participants in two groups, (1) preference for small neighbourhoods and (2) preference for big neighbourhoods. The second study compared two groups of residents of the same neighbourhood in two situations, reference to the whole neighbourhood (large group) or reference to a part of the neighbourhood (small group).

3.3. Study 1

The overall objective of this study was to determine if allocation to a social category based on space had the same effects in terms of discrimination as has been identified in relation to other social categories. In particular, it aimed to verify the influence of group size on place identity, satisfaction and the discrimination process. Ultimately, it aimed to identify the motives for discrimination among members of large and small groups.

This experiment used a minimal group categorization scheme to classify individuals into two groups: individuals with a preference for small neighbourhoods (fewer than 250 families) and individuals with a preference for large neighbourhoods (over 500 families). Later on, the groups were divided according to group identification, based on the median of responses on the identification scale. Thus, the experiment consisted of a 2 (in-group size: big vs. small neighbourhood) X 2 (identification: high vs. low) between participants design.

In-group size manipulation was expected to imply three main effects: (a) based on optimal distinctiveness theory and evidence from previous research (e.g., Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001, study 1 and 3; Abrams, 1994; Simon & Brown, 1987; Simon & Hamilton, 1994, study 1) it was expected that participants included in the small neighbourhood category would identify more with their group than those in the big neighbourhood category; (b) it was also expected that participants included in the small neighbourhood category would report more satisfaction with the group than those in the other category; and finally (c) it was expected that participants included in the smaller neighbourhood category would report more out-group discrimination than those in the larger groups.

Concerning identification, two main effects were expected: it was expected that participants with high identification would report (a) more satisfaction and (b) more discrimination than participants with low identification.

As for discrimination, and taking into account that identification is a necessary and sufficient condition for discrimination, three effects were also expected: (a) smaller groups would discriminate more than larger groups; (b) subjects with high identification would discriminate more than subjects with low identification. Since we consider that both identification and group size may explain discrimination (e.g., Brown et al, 1992; Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001), from the interaction between these two variables it is expected (c) that smaller groups with low identification discriminate more than larger groups with low identification. In conditions of high identification no significant differences between groups were expected.

The motives for discrimination between groups were measured using type B matrices (Tajfel et al., 1971, study 2), which opposes maximum differentiation (MD) against the other two motives, maximum joint profit (MJP) and maximum in-group profit (MIP). Smaller and larger groups' members were expected to exhibit different discrimination motives in type B matrices. Larger groups' members would exhibit maximum differentiation rather than maximizing in-group profit. On the other hand, smaller groups' members would exhibit maximum differentiation and MIP/MJP.

But it should be noted that, since for smaller groups the underlying motive is to maximize the reward for in-group favouritism more than out-group discrimination, we expected the subjects to choose the amount that allowed that group to have a greater sum than the out-group. That is, smaller groups would present both MIP and MD, as found by Leonardelli and Brewer (2001, study 2).

Participants

One hundred and four psychology students (71.2% women) from the University of Évora participated in the study, receiving course credits for their participation. Six individuals were dropped from the study due to incorrect completion of the materials, leaving ninety-eight subjects.

Procedure

The individuals were randomly classified in two conditions: preference for small neighbourhoods vs. preference for large neighbourhoods, according to the procedure of minimal groups. All subjects were asked to answer a questionnaire with 13 questions on Quality of Urban Life, using a 7-point Likert scale. On completion of the questionnaire, an assistant took the questionnaires to another room, with the participants being told that this was to categorize them. In fact, the assistant randomly classified participants into one of two in-group size conditions. Some time later, the participants received a booklet where the first page contained a description of their classification in one of these two groups. The participants who were classified as "big neighbourhood" read the following description:

"The questionnaire you just completed examined your preference in terms of urban quality of life. The perception of urban quality of life is related to preferred characteristics of residential areas and urban lifestyle. The literature points to two preference styles concerning residential areas: a preference for living in large neighbourhoods with more than 500 families, and a preference for living in small neighbourhoods with fewer than 250 families.

Your test results indicate that you are a person who prefers to live in large neighbourhoods. At the moment it is not possible to do so, but we would like to discuss this with you after this session. With the aim of identifying a category of membership for the remainder of the study, we

put the letter "L" (large) in your identification number. Please use this designation in the rest of the forms. "

The participants classified as "small neighbourhood" read the same paragraph, but with "big neighbourhood", replaced by "small neighbourhood" in the text. The remaining pages of the booklet contained the dependent measures (see annex 3).

Dependent Measures

Social identity scale – scale previously used by Leonardelli and Brewer (2001) in experiment 3, consisting of 10 items. The authors reported an internal consistency for the ten-item scale of α=.85, which in our study was α=.825.

Satisfaction scale – four-item scale previously used by Leonardelli and Brewer (2001) in experiment 2 and 3. The authors reported the internal consistency of the four-item scale as α=.79, which in our study was α=.824.

Tajfel's Matrices – Two kinds of Tajfel allocation matrices were used to evaluate the discrimination motives. Matrices type A and B (Tajfel et al, 1971, experiment 2). The type A matrices were built in order to set maximum in-group profit (MIP) against maximum joint profit (MJP), although not allowing distinction between maximum in-group profit (MIP) and maximum differentiation (MD). The type A matrices produce two pull scores: one that indicates a preference towards maximum joint profit, and another indicating in-group profit (both MIP and MD).

The type B matrices put maximum differentiation (MD) against maximum joint profit (MJP). This kind of matrix produces two pull scores, one indicating maximum differentiation (DM), and the other indicating maximum in-group profit (MIP) and/or maximum joint profit (MJP). Therefore, in the version B matrices it was not possible to distinguish these two motives (MIP and MJP). A description on how to calculate the pull scores is provided in the literature (e.g.: Turner, Brown & Tajfel, 1979; Turner, 1978).

Matrices type A													
In-group	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7
Out-group	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25

Maximum in-group profit and
Maximum differenciation (MIP/MD)   Maximum joint profit (MJP)

Matrices type B													
In-group	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Out-group	1	3	5	7	9	11	13	15	17	19	21	23	25

Maximum differenciation (MD)   Maximum in-group profit (MIP)
and Maximum joint profit (MJP)
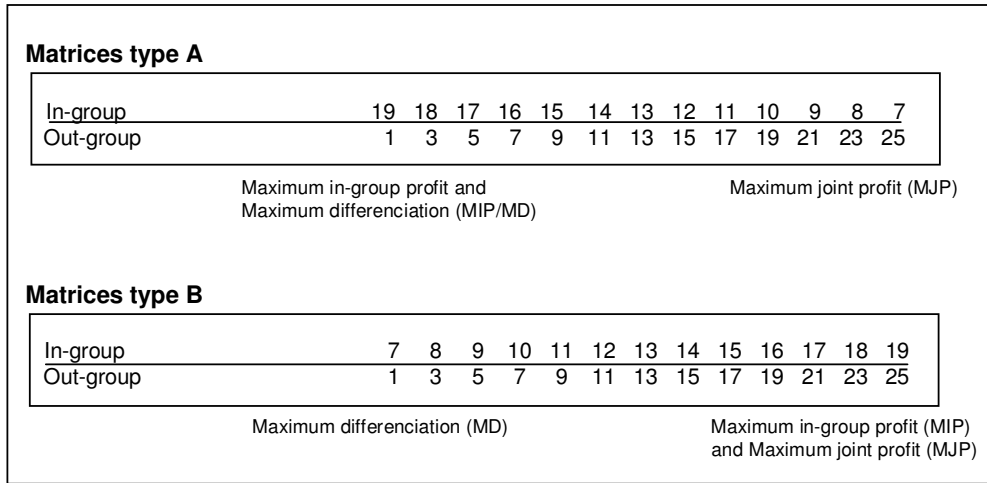
Figure 3.1. Examples of Matrices type A and type B (Tajfel et al., 1971)

In the type A matrices similar responses were expected in both groups (large and small neighbourhoods). For B matrices, different patterns of discrimination were expected in the two groups, large neighbourhoods and small neighbourhoods. In the large neighbourhoods group response MD pull was expected to be predominant, but not the MIP/MJP. In the small neighbourhoods group MD and MIP/MJP answers were expected.

3.3.2. Results

In-group identification and satisfaction

We expected that small group members would be more identified than large group members. The identification scale scores were submitted to an ANOVA. The analysis indicated a significant in-group size main effect, F (1, 96)=9.175, $p<.03$. Accordingly, smaller groups reported higher identification with the in-group (M=36.18) than larger

groups (*M*=32.23). There was also a significant interaction effect between the group dimension and identification F (3, 94)=74.681, p<.000. Tukey HSD post hoc analysis revealed significant results for all the interactions. Thus, smaller groups presented higher identification scores than larger groups. However, larger groups with high identification reported higher scores in identification than smaller groups with low identification levels. The larger groups with low identification presented the lowest identification scores (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. Means and Standard Deviations for Identification and Satisfaction

	High In-group Identification		Low In-group Identification	
	Smaller in-group	Larger in-group	Smaller in-group	Larger in-group
Identification	40.96 (4.00)	37.78 (2.43)	30.57 (2.35)	27.12 (5.11)
Satisfaction	19.33 (1.90)	18.48 (2.27)	16.00 (2.52)	14.72 (2.88)
N	27	23	23	25

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses

Concerning satisfaction, as we expected, members of smaller groups reported significantly higher scores (*M*=17.80) than larger groups (*M*=16.52), F (1, 96)=4.505, p<.036. There was also a significant interaction effect between group dimension, identification and satisfaction F (3, 94)=19.901, p<.000. Tukey HSD post hoc analysis showed higher satisfaction for smaller groups with high identification (*M*=19.33) compared to smaller groups with low identification (*M*=1 6.00), p<.000, and compared to larger groups with low identification (*M*=14.72), p<.000. Results also showed a higher satisfaction for larger groups with high identification (*M*=18.48) compared to larger groups with low identification (*M*=14.72), p<.000, and compared to smaller groups with low in-group identification (*M*=16.00), p<.004. However, no significant main effect was found between larger and smaller groups both with high in-group

identification. The same was the case for larger and smaller groups both with low in-group identification. Thus, results showed that satisfaction varied as a function of an interaction effect between in-group size and identification.

Discrimination

One purpose of this study was to confirm results from other studies that highlight the effect of in-group size and identification on discrimination. Therefore, it was expected that the members of a numerically smaller group would exhibit greater intergroup discrimination than members of a larger group, and that members of groups with high in-group identification would show higher discrimination than members of groups with low in-group identification.

Data from Matrix A allowed calculation of two pull scores (based on the procedure described in Turner, Brown, Tajfel, 1979; Turner, 1978) that ranged from -12 to 12. On the MD/MIP pull, - in-group bias pull - the positive numbers indicate in-group favouritism while the negative ones indicate out-group favouritism. It was expected that smaller in-group members and the members of groups with high identification would have higher scores in this pull. On the MJP pull, positive numbers indicated maximum joint profit and negative numbers a minimization of joint profit.

The results showed a significant in-group size main effect in MD/MIP pull scores F (1, 96)=3.769, $p<.055$, $\eta^2=.04$. Thus, members of smaller groups exhibited more in-group bias ($M=3.32$) than members of larger groups ($M=2.31$). In relation to the MJP pull, smaller groups differed significantly from larger groups F (1, 96)=4.743, $p<.032$, $\eta^2=.05$. Larger group members exhibited this pull ($M=0.73$) more than smaller group members ($M=0.26$).

Group members with high identification and low identification exhibited a significant difference in the MD/MIP pull, F (1, 96)=11.910, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.11$. Group members with

high identification presented a high in-group bias (M=3.67) compared to group members with low identification (M=1.95). On the MJP pull, as expected, the result was the reverse: the high identification group showed lower scores (M=0.25) than the low identification group (M=.74). These differences were also significant $F(1, 96)=5.188$, $p<.025$, $\eta^2=.05$.

Further analysis allowed exploration of the interaction between in-group size and in-group identification. Thus, regarding the MD/MIP pull, a significant main effect of interaction between in-group size and in-group identification was identified $F(3, 94)=5.154$, $p<.002$ $\eta^{2}=.14$. Tukey HSD post hoc analysis showed a significant main effect of identification on in-group bias. So the members of the smaller group with high identification presented a higher in-group bias compared to the members of the larger group with low identification $p=.002$. Also the members of the larger group with high identification, exhibited high in-group bias compared to the larger group with low identification $p<.065$. Consequently, the importance of identifying intergroup discrimination is demonstrated in these results.

On the MJ pull, a significant main effect of interaction between in-group size and in-group identification was also identified $F(3, 94)=3.23$, $p<.026$ $\eta^{2=}.09$. However, Tukey HSD post hoc analysis only found a significant difference between the smaller group with high identification, with a low score in this pull, and the larger group with low identification $p<.013$.

The main purpose of using of Matrix B was to clarify differences between larger and smaller group members in terms of discrimination motives. The B matrices oppose MD pull to MIP/MJP pull. So it was expected that larger group members would exhibit maximum differentiation and smaller group members a maximum differentiation and MIP/MJP.

The data from Matrix B allowed calculation of two pull scores (based on the procedure described in Turner, Brown, & Tajfel, 1979; Turner, 1978) that ranged from -12 to 12. On the pull MD, the positive numbers indicate relative in-group favouritism while the negative ones indicate out-group favouritism. On the pull MIP/MJP, positive numbers indicate maximum in-group profit/maximum joint profit, while negative ones indicate a minimization in-group profit/maximum joint profit (Turner, 1983).

Results also demonstrated a significant in-group size main effect on MD pull scores $F(1, 96)=5.640$, $p<.020$, $\eta^2=.06$. Thus, as expected, members of smaller groups exhibited less in-group bias ($M=1.88$) than members of larger groups ($M=2.89$). In relation to the MIP/MJP pull, smaller groups presented significantly higher pull scores than the larger groups, $F(1, 96)=6.701$, $p<.011$, $\eta^2=.07$.

As expected, no differences were found in relation to the high and low identification groups, regarding the pull MD. However, a significant main effect of identification on the MIP/MJP pull scores was found $F(1, 96)=3.683$, $p<.058$, $\eta^2=.04$. The members of the group with high in-group identification exhibited a higher score ($M=2.38$) than the members of the group with low in-group identification ($M=1.57$).

Further analysis allowed exploration of the interaction between in-group size and in-group identification. Thus, regarding MD pull, a significant main effect of interaction between in-group size and in-group identification was verified $F(3, 94)=2.310$, $p<.081$, $\eta^2=.07$. As expected, Tukey HSD post hoc analysis showed a significant main effect for the members of the smaller group with high identification compared to the members of the larger group with high identification ($p<.070$). Concerning the MIP/MJP pull, ANOVA results showed a significant interaction effect between in-group size and in-group identification $F(3, 94)=4.568$, $p=.005$, $\eta^2=.13$. Post hoc analysis only showed differences between the smaller group's members with high identification and the members of the other three groups ($p<.054$, $p=.014$ and $p<.012$).

Table 3.2. Means and Standard Deviations for pull scores of Matrix A and B, by in-group size and in-group identification

	Group Size		Identification	
	Smaller in-group	Larger in-group	High	Low
Matrix A				
Pull MD/MIP	3.32	2.31***	2.98	1.95*
Pull MJP	0.26	0.73 **	0.25	0.74**
Matrix B				
Pull MD	1.88	2.89**	2.31	2.44^{ns}
Pull MIP/MJP	2.51	1.44**	2.38	1.57***
n	50	48	50	48

Note: *Significantly different at p> .01
  **Significantly different at p> .05
  *** Significantly different at p> .09

Table 3.3. Means and Standard Deviations for pull scores of Matrix A and B, by in-group size and in-group identification

	High In-group Identification		Low In-group Identification	
	Smaller in-group	Larger in-group	Smaller in-group	Larger in-group
Matrix A				
Pull MD/MIP	4.04	3.24	2.48	1.46
Pull MJP	0.08	0.46	0.48	0.98
Matrix B				
Pull MD	1.63	3.105	2.18	2.67
Pull MIP/MJP	3.19	1.44	1.72	1.44
n	27	23	23	25

3.3.3. Discussion

The findings from Study 1 confirmed the predictions overall. The first aspect emerging from the results was the importance of group size in the comprehension of identification and satisfaction with the group. These results confirmed the hypothesis supported by

Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT) (Brewer, 1991, 1993) which considered that individuals tend to have higher identification and satisfaction with smaller groups. According to ODT, smaller groups better satisfy individuals' need for assimilation (in-group inclusion) and their need for differentiation (distinctiveness from others). This was already confirmed in different types of groups, such as intimate groups and task groups as well as for social categories like nationality (e.g., Pickett, Silver, & Brewer, 2002). Studies in natural settings also supported the idea that people prefer to live in smaller neighbourhoods (e.g., Mouritzen, 1989; Bonaiuto & Bonnes, 1996). Nevertheless, in the 'real world', the size of the neighbourhood is often associated with other factors that are important in the residents' preference, such as the presence of infrastructure or social interaction. This study allowed us to study group size independently of other variables.

The second finding that should be noted was that place identity is at least a necessary condition for discrimination (e.g., Tajfel, 1982; Grieve & Hogg, 1999; Gagnon & Bourhis, 1996), meaning that place can serve as a basis for defining a social identity leading to the same types of discrimination as other social groups, as described by SIT (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986). We found that participants with greater identification with the neighbourhood in which they were categorized, were those that showed greater motivation to discriminate against members of the out-group. Studies in natural intergroup settings with broader scales such as the national or regional level, have shown the same kind of results. In accordance, greater identification with their country, region or city led to a more negative perception of relevant same-level out-groups (e.g., Garcia-Marques & Palma-Oliveira, 1986). Also in situations of cooperation and competition between individuals from different provinces, regions and of different nationalities, it was shown that participants were more willing to collaborate in the

intragroup condition than in the intergroup condition for all levels of identity (Morrison, 1999). Studies on the neighbourhood scale aiming to realize the impact of place identity on discrimination are unknown. But some studies reported that residents with high place identity refer to the relevant same-level out-group by assigning negative traits (Bernardo, 2005), or have a higher perception of physical distance in relation to the out-group place (Palma-Oliveira, 1986).

However, place identity was not the only factor that explained intergroup discrimination. In fact, the results showed an interaction between place identity and neighbourhood size, as we predicted. Participants from smaller groups and with high identification had a greater discrimination level than larger groups, although there were no significant differences between subjects categorized as belonging to larger neighbourhoods and those categorized as belonging to a small neighbourhood, both with high identification. This result is in line with those obtained by Leonardelli and Brewer (2001), and once again confirms the importance of identification regarding discrimination. Thus, as predicted by ODT, participants categorized as belonging to a smaller neighbourhood showed more identification and satisfaction, in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination. But discrimination by members of larger groups was equivalent to discrimination by smaller groups in the case of high identification.

The next step concerned assessing if motivation to discriminate the out-group was the same in large and small groups. A previous study with social groups (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001) found that motivation was different when groups were in the majority or in the minority. Here, we attempted to test the same hypothesis for groups defined by preference for small neighbourhoods and large neighbourhoods. Results revealed that the motivation behind the discrimination was different depending on the group size. For

larger groups there was a preference for strategies of maximum differentiation (MD), meaning that the central objective aimed at intergroup differentiation, and there was no increased value of the MIP/MJP pull. In contrast, smaller groups, which according to the ODT were balanced between the desire for assimilation and group differentiation, showed a motivation to discriminate that balanced both the maximum discrimination and the maximum in-group profit. So we can say that comparing small groups and large groups, the former were more motivated by the need to reinforce the belonging to the group, while the latter were more motivated by the desire to increase the distance between the in-group and the out-group. These results are supported by the ODT, which considers a dual process model of intergroup bias (Hewstone, Rubin, Willis, 2002). The intergroup bias could be motivated by the need to reinforce satisfaction with the optimally distinct group (more distinctive groups), or it could be motivated by the need for intergroup differentiation, in the case of very inclusive groups. Both motives, need for distinctiveness and need to belong, contributed to in-group favouritism although in different ways (Hornsey & Jetten, 2004). The same results were reported by Vignoles and Moncaster (2007) concerning national identification. The authors showed that those with a stronger motive for distinctiveness evaluated the national significant out-group more negatively, and those with a stronger motive to belong evaluated the national in-group more positively.

Furthermore, neighbourhood size is an important variable that should be considered. But outside the laboratory, it has been difficult to study because the group size is usually connected with other variables. Study 1 tried to overcome this through the use of Tajfel's minimal group categorization, allowing study of group size without the interference of other variables. But this procedure made the group size salient, and that fact may have influenced the results. Thus, it became important to evaluate the

impact of group size, in the in-group and out-group perception, in a natural context. This was the main aim of Study 2.

3.4. Study 2

The overall objective of Study 2 was to determine, in a real context, if the size of the residencial neighbourhood has an impact on place identity and place satisfaction as well as on the perception of the neighbourhood and adjacent neighbourhoods. Thus, we aim to assess if the predictions of Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT) observed in Study 1 in a laboratory context, also occur in a real context. This study took place in a new neighbourhood of Lisbon - Parque das Nações – which due to its configuration and size was assigned two sub-names/sub-areas that divide the district into two parts: Parque das Nações South and Parque das Nações North (Figure 3.2). This neighbourhood is bordered by two other neighbourhoods: Olivais and Moscavide.

Following the results of Study 1, in Study 2 (1) we expected that participants for whom residence in small neighbourhoods is made salient (Parque das Nações subgroups) would identify more with their group than participants for whom residence in a large neighbourhood is made salient (Parque das Nações); (2) it was also expected that participants for whom residence in small neighbourhoods is made salient would present more in-group satisfaction than participants for whom residence in a large neighbourhood is made salient; (3) we also expected in participants for whom residence in small neighbourhoods is made salient the perception of more in-group homogeneity, (4) more in-group favouritism, and (5) more intergroup differentiation.

Figure 3.2. Map of Parque das Nações.

Olivais | Moscavide

Parque das Nações South | Parque das Nações North

3.4.1 Method

Participants

Participants were residents of Parque das Nações neighbourhoods, situated in the eastern part of the city of Lisbon, Portugal. Parque das Nações is a new residential and business area developed along 5 km of the Tagus riverside. Informally, this area is divided in two parts with different designations: Parque das Nações – South and Parque das Nações – North. To manipulate the size of the group, a supraliminal priming strategy (Bargh & Chartrand, 2000) was used. Thus, residents were first divided according to their place of residence being North or South. Then, each of these groups was divided randomly into two subgroups that responded to one of two questionnaires: one addressed to the whole Parque das Nações (large group) – larger neighbourhood salience condition, and the other addressed only to one subgroup (small group) - Parque das Nações North" or "Parque das Nações South" - as the place of residence - smaller neighbourhood salience condition. The questionnaire was presented as follows to the large group: "We would like you to give us your opinion of the Parque das Nações". For the small group, the designation "Parque das Nações"

was replaced by "Parque das Nações North" or "Parque das Nações South", depending on the place of residence. Thus, we had four groups: two that responded to the questionnaire on the neighbourhood as a whole - "Parque das Nações", one that lived in the North and the other in the South of Parque das Nações; and two other groups who responded to the questionnaire regarding their sub-neighbourhood - North or South. This method allowed answers for large and small neighbourhoods (sub-neighbourhoods) in the same population universe.

Table 3.4- Means, standard deviations and frequency distributions of demographic characteristics of the sample

	Parque das Nações South	Parque das Nações North	Parque das Nações (South)	Parque das Nações (North)
N	32	30	30	32
Gender (% of female)	59	60	50	47
Age (mean)	51.16	45.53	48.10	48.25
Length of residence	7.25	6,37	6.65	7.76
Education (%)				
Primary	0	0	0	6.25
Incomplete High school	6.25	0	0	3.12
High school	6.25	6.75	6,7	6.25
Incomplete University	6.25	6.75	10	0
University	81.25	86.5	83.3	84.38

One hundred and twenty two residents, distributed over the four groups, answered the questionnaire. The sample consisted of 54.0% women (N=67) and 46.0% men (N=57), with an overall mean age of 48.31 years (SD=13.478; Min=18; Max=77). The majority had a university degree (83.9%), and a length of residence in the neighbourhood in which they currently live of 7.08 years (SD=2.392). The samples collected were not representative of the city population. Nevertheless, we assured as wide a spectrum of age and education levels as possible (Table 3.4). The criteria for sample selection were

ease of access and whether the participant agreed to give an interview. The distribution of subjects over the four groups was random.The data was collected during 2010.

Procedure

Dependent Measures

The questionnaire was composed of four parts (see annex 4): the first assessed place identity and satisfaction with the neighbourhood; the second included questions about group homogeneity and intergroup differentiation; the third was about perception of neighbourhoods' quality, prestige and security; the last section included a socio-demographic characterization. Participants responded to all the items using a 9-point response scale.

Place identity scale – this was composed of four items based on those used by Hernandez et al. (2007). The intensity of place identity was assessed in relation to the neighbourhood, with internal consistency for the four-item scale being α=.764.

Satisfaction scale – this scale was composed of four items, based on Leonardelli and Brewer (2001, in experiment 2 and 3). Internal consistency for the four-item scale was α=.763.

Concerning the questions about intergroup differentiation, two types of questions were used, and repeated in relation to two out-groups of Olivais and Moscavide, which are two neighbourhoods situated near Parque das Nações: "To what extent do the residents of "*Parque das Nações*" and "Olivais" differ?" and "To what extent do you think residents of Parque das Nações are different from the residents of "Olivais?". Each smaller neighbourhood was also asked the same questions in relation to the other small neighbourhood, meaning that the residents of Parque das Nações South

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answered in relation to Parque das Nações North and vice versa. The Cronbach Alfa for the two items of intergroup differentiation from Olivais was α=.769, from Moscavide α=.770, and from Parque das Nações North/South α=.866. In relation to in-group homogeneity the question was "To what extent do you think the residents of "Parque das Nações" have similar characteristics?" (based on Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2007, study 2).

Perception of neighbourhood quality, prestige and security – the participants were questioned about the quality, prestige and security of their own neighbourhood and in relation to two other neighbourhoods: Moscavide and Olivais. The smaller groups also answered in relation to the other small out-group. Participants responded using a 9-point response scale (1=very bad to 9=excellent).

After completing the entire questionnaire, participants were debriefed about the specific aims of the study and expected results, and their participation was acknowledged.

3.4.2. Results

Place identity and place satisfaction

We expected that participants for whom residence in a smaller neighbourhood is made salient would identify more with the place than participants for whom residence in a large neighbourhood is made salient. No differences were expected between the sub-neighbourhoods (Parque das Nações North and South). The scores on the place identification scale were submitted to a *two-way* ANOVA, which indicated a significant main effect of the in-group size, $F_{(1, 120)}=3.570$, $p=.061$. Thus, participants in the

smaller neighbourhood salience condition reported higher place identification with the in-group (*M*=6.94), than participants in the larger neighbourhood salience condition (M=6.41). As expected, there was no significant effect of the neighbourhood and also no significant interaction effect between the neighbourhood group and the group size.

Table 3.5. Means and standard v a r i a t i o n s of the dependent measures

	Small Groups	Large Groups	PN North	PN South
Place identity	6.94 (1.40)**	6.41 (1.70)**	6.72 (1.52)	6.63 (1.64)
Satisfaction	7.39 (1.02)*	6.87 (1.44)*	7.21 (1.12)	7.05 (1.40)
In-group Homogeneity	5.76 (1.82)*	4.95 (2.06)*	5.76 (1.60)*	4.95 (2.24)*
In-group Global quality	7.65 (.70)*	7.37 (.60)*	7.51 (.70)	7.51 (.63)
Out-group Global quality Moscavide	3.54 (1.20)	3.67 (1.18)	3.81 (1.14)**	3.39 (1.21)**
Out-group Global quality Olivais	4.58 (1.14)	4.53 (1.35)	4.90 (1.09)*	4.21 (1.30)*
Intergroup differentiation Olivais	5.57 (2.11)	5.36 (1.92)	5.19 (2.03)	5.73 (1.98)
Intergroup differentiation Moscavide	6.27 (2.21)	5.60 (2.29)	5.51 (2.25)	6.36 (2.22)
Intergroup differentiation Total	6.23 (1.95)*	5.36 (1.95)*	5.50 (1.97)	5.98 (1,97)

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses

* Significant differences at p<. 05; ** Significant differences at p<.09.

Concerning satisfaction, as expected, members of the small neighbourhood salience condition reported significantly higher scores in satisfaction (M=7.39) than members of the larger neighbourhood salience condition (M=6.87), F(1, 120)=5.388, p<.022. No significant effect of the neighbourhood and also no significant interaction effect between neighbourhood and group size were found.

In-group favouritism

Concerning positive favouritism in relation to the in-group, the results supported previous predictions. *A*nalysis of the global quality of the neighbourhood including the

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three questions about quality, prestige and security of the neighborhood (Cronbach Alfa=0,641), showed that participants in the smaller neighbourhood condition reported higher scores in global quality of the neighbourhood (M=7.65) than participants in the larger neighbourhood condition (M=7.37), F(1, 120)=5.436, p<.021. As expected, there was no significant effect of the neighbourhood and also no significant interaction effect between neighbourhood and group size.

Analysis of each question per se revealed that participants in the smaller neighbourhood condition reported higher quality of the neighbourhood (M=7.73) than participants in the larger neighbourhood condition (M=7.21) F(1, 120)=15.758, p<.000. But the results also showed that the neighbourhood of residence (North or South) had influence on the perception of place quality. This means that the residents of Parque das Nações South reported a lower score (M=7.34), than those of the North (M=7.60) F(1, 120)=4.342, p<.040. An interaction effect between the residents' origin (North, South) and the manipulation (small and large neighbourhoods) was also found. Concerning the prestige of the neighbourhood, no differences were found. In relation to neighbourhood security, marginally significant differences in relation to neighbourhood size were found. Thus, participants in the smaller neighbourhood condition reported higher scores (M=7.53) than participants in the larger neighbourhood condition (M=7.21) F(1, 120)=3.079, p<.082.

In-group Homogeneity

We expected members of the small neighbourhood condition to report more in-group homogeneity and at same time more out-group differentiation, than members of the larger neighbourhood condition. The results supported these assumptions. Concerning in-group homogeneity, participants in the smaller neighbourhood condition reported

higher scores in homogeneity (*M*=5.76) than participants in the larger neighbourhood condition (*M*=4.95), $F_{(1, 120)}$=5.920, *p*<.016. A significant main effect in the neighbourhood was also found $F_{(1, 120)}$=5.920, p<.016. The residents of Parque das Nações North reported higher in-group homogeneity (*M*=5.76) than the residents of Parque das Nações South (*M*=4.95). No significant interaction effect between neighbourhood and group size was found.

Intergroup differentiation

Concerning intergroup differentiation, analysis of both out-groups together indicated a significant main effect of the in-group size, $F_{(1, 120)}$=4.451, *p*=.037. Thus, participants in the smaller neighbourhood condition reported higher intergroup differentiation from the out-group (*M*=6.12) than participants in the bigger neighbourhood condition (*M*=5.36). As expected, there was no significant effect of the neighbourhood and also no significant interaction effect between the neighbourhood group and the group size. The analysis of intergroup differentiation, in relation to each out-group, showed no significative differences between groups in relation to Olivais. Concerning the smaller neighbourhoods, no differences were found in relation to intergroup differentiation between Parque das Nações North and South.

In terms of out-group evaluation, the answers in relation to the global quality of two out-group - Olivais and Moscavide - neighbourhoods were analysed. No differences were found between groups' size in relation to the Olivais neighbourhood. But the results showed that residents from Parque das Nações South reported lower scores (M=4.21) in relation to the global quality of Olivais than Parque das Nações North (M=4.90), $F_{(1, 120)}$=10.274, *p*=.002.

Concerning the Moscavide neighbourhood, the results showed that residents of Parque das Nações South reported lower scores in relation to the global quality of this neighbourhood (*M*=3,39), than those of Parque das Nações North (*M*=3,81), $F_{(1, 120)}$=3.84, *p*=.052. No differences were found between groups' size in relation to the Moscavide neighbourhood.

3.4.3. Discussion

The main objective of Study 2 was to assess the influence of group size on the perception of in-group and out-group in a real context. In order to avoid other variables such as neighbourhoods' status or the aestetic or functional characteristics influencing the results, we chose to evaluate only one neighbourhood – Parque das Nações. The size effect was manipulated with supraliminal priming that made salient in half of the participants the whole neighbourhood (Parque das Nações), and in the other half only part of the neighbourhood (Parque das Nações North or Parque das Nações South).

The results from this study confirmed the predictions overall. The importance of group size in identification and satisfaction with the neighbourhood was confirmed. As Study 1 and Study 2 confirmed, the residents of small neighbourhoods had higher identification and satisfaction with the neighbourhood than the residents of large neighbourhoods, which was supported by ODT (Brewer, 1991, Brewer & Weber, 1994). Simultaneously, the residents of smaller neighbourhoods were the ones that perceived greater intergroup differentiation, which confirms the relation between social identity and intergroup differentiation (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

ODT supported the idea that small groups better satisfy the individual's need for in-group assimilation and the need for differentiation. In this sense, we expected residents of smaller groups to report more in-group homogeneity and in-group favouritism (e.g., Simon & Hamilton, 1994; Brewer & Weber, 1994), which was indeed found in this study.

But this study also reported results that were not foreseen in the initial hypotheses. In fact, there were significant differences between the two parts of the neighbourhood Parque das Nações (North and South). Thus, Parque das Nações South showed significantly lower perception of in-group homogeneity and significantly lower perception of quality of the neighbourhood than Parque das Nações North, while residents of Parque das Nações South evaluated the two out-groups considered (Olivais and Moscavide) more negatively regarding their overall quality. Careful analysis of the data showed that although there were no significant differences, Parque das Nações South had lower identity and satisfaction than Parque das Nações North. As we know, lower identity is generally associated with a lower perception of homogeneity and greater intergroup discrimination (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which seems to happen in Parque das Nações South.

In order to understand these data it became important to analyse more thoroughly the physical characteristics of the two spaces. Parque das Nações North is a slightly older neighbourhood and with more infrastructure and services than the South, including the presence of schools (pre-school to 9th grade), a church, the headquarters of Parque das Nações residents' association and a much larger number of shops. As we know, both the length of stay (e.g.: Bonaiuto, Aiello, Perugini, Bonnes, & Ercolani, 1999; Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2004) and the presence of infrastructure are good predictors

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of place attachment and identity. So it can be said that in Parque das Nações South, the characteristics of the neighbourhood do not contribute to promoting place identity, and the residents do not seek to strengthen this identity through assimilation to the neighbourhood, but through differentiation from out-groups (e.g.: Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001, Hornsey & Jetten, 2004). Hence the importance of fostering the creation of anchoring elements in Parque das Nações South, in order to allow a strengthening of place identity.

3.5. General Discussion

First of all, the results from these two studies showed the impact of neighbourhoods' perceived size in terms of place identification and place satisfaction, as well as in terms of discrimination. Consistently with ODT (Brewer, 1991, 1993), the studies reported that belonging to small neighbourhoods in comparison with belonging to large neighbourhoods had a positive impact on individuals in terms of increasing their place identity and place satisfaction. Concerning small groups, instead of a feeling of insecurity or more vulnerable social identity, they provide individuals with sufficient inclusiveness within the group and at the same time sufficient differentiation (Brewer, 1991). For this reason, these individuals were more satisfied and revealed more place identity. The two studies presented confirm these assumptions in two different situations: laboratory context and real context.

Research on residential satisfaction reported that the size of the residential area was an important factor in satisfaction with housing projects (e.g., Lord & Rent, 1987, Mouritzen, 1989), and also that people reported more satisfaction in relation to living in

small cities (Bonaiuto & Bonnes, 1996). But place size was frequently associated with other variables such as structure of the neighbourhood, density, height of buildings, infrastructure available and social issues that together have implications for social interaction. Therefore, in the real context it was very difficult to distinguish these variables and the importance of neighbourhood size for satisfaction. To overcome this limitation, we tested the size impact in laboratory conditions in Study 1, and in a real context in Study 2, using only one neighbourhood and through manipulation of group size by the reference to the neighbourhood as a whole or as a part.

According to the predictions, the results of both studies showed that smaller groups reported stronger discrimination from the out-group than larger groups. But the most interesting aspect of the results was that the motivation to discriminate was different in the small and large groups. According to ODT, small groups better satisfy the needs for both inclusion and differentiation, because of their relative distinctiveness. For this reason, the members of the smaller groups were more satisfied with their group and were highly motivated to contribute to their group. On the other hand, in larger groups this balance between inclusion and differentiation needs was not so well achieved and as a consequence, their members were not so satisfied with the group. So in intergroup contexts, in order to increase the value the in-group, they chose to maximize the difference between in-group and out-group. Accordingly, the results of both studies confirmed these predictions. Members of small groups showed a motivation to value the in-group. This motivation was expressed in the results of Study 1, by the balance between differentiation strategy and maximum in-group profit. This means that small group members would like to contribute as much as possible to their own groups, but only if the out-group does not to receive more. In Study 2, the motivation to increase the value of the in-group was expressed in the perception of the neighbourhood's

global high quality. On the contrary, larger group members discriminate by increasing differentiation between groups. Both in the laboratory and real contexts, the predictions of ODT were confirmed, and the motives for discrimination in small and large groups were found to be different.

These results open up new areas of study for understanding intergroup relations in the urban context. What this study found, was that participants assigned to smaller neighbourhoods tended to have greater identification and greater discrimination. But the most interesting data was the motive for such discrimination. In fact, the type of discrimination was different between the participants of smaller and larger neighbourhoods. For small neighbourhoods the reason behind the discrimination was based on the desire to promote their own group, the need to belong (Hornsey & Jetten, 2004), and less relevantly, discrimination in relation to the out-group. The motivation in large groups was distinctiveness in relation to the out-group, by increasing the difference between in-group and out-group (distintiveness need). Thus, it can be inferred that in the urban context, the size of the district belonged to has an impact on how other neighbourhoods and their residents are perceived. In particular, these results indicated that in very large districts, where the balance between the need for inclusion and the need for distinctiveness is not as well achieved (Brewer, 1991), there was an effect of increasing the negative rating of the out-group (e.g.: Vignoles & Moncaster, 2007).

Finally, the results from these two studies emphasized that the principles defined for social identity can be used to understand place identity. In fact, here we conceptualized place identity as a social categorization defined primarily by the space. And these studies showed, in a laboratory or real context, that attribution to a social category

based on space has the same impact in terms of identification and discrimination, as do the social categories based on social groups. More specifically, these results showed that the size of the neighbourhood, as the size of the group, had an important impact in terms of identification and satisfaction, and also had an impact in terms of the discrimination process.

4. Place identity and intergroup relations: the study of four Lisbon neighbourhoods

4.1. Abstract

The main objective of this chapter is to understand the importance of place identity in the comprehension of neighbourhoods' relationships in an urban context. We consider here that the processes involved in place identity are psychologically similar to the processes involved in the identification of any social group. Thus, place identity influences perception and behaviour in relation to that place and its residents, as well as in relation to other places with which they are compared, in a way that is theoretically predictable (in the Social Identity Approach). To verify this idea, a field study was conducted in four adjacent neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon. The aim was to explore the influence of place identity on the perception of the participants' own neighbourhood and its residents (in-group) and of the other neighbourhoods and their residents (out-groups). According to the Social Identity Approach (SIA), results showed that place identity was highly correlated with neighbourhood satisfaction, perception of in-group homogeneity, perception of the global quality of the neighbourhood and perception of intergroup differentiation in relation to some neighbourhoods. The results also allowed identification of three types of possible relationships between the groups: relevant out-group for comparison; idealized reference group for approximation; devaluated group for avoidance. Moreover, in this

chapter we extend the predictions of SIA to comprehension of distance estimation. These results can contribute to better comprehension and management of discrimination and intergroup conflicts in the urban context.

4.2. Introduction

Since the 60s, the importance of the spaces where we live for the identity of the subject has been recognized. First the study by Fried (1963), regarding forced relocation in the city of Boston, and some years later the introduction of the concept of place identity by Proshansky and colleagues (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminnoff, 1983) emphasized the idea that self-identity was not only based on individual, interpersonal and social processes, but also included physical environments, making place a fundamental component of personal identity[1].

Introduction of the Place Identity concept, despite the controversy concerning its conceptualization and operationalization (e.g., Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003, Dixon & Durrheim, 2004), led to a proliferation of research over the last decades. However, the concept of place identity from Proshansky and colleagues' point of view, as well as for most of the authors who have used the concept until now, was centred on an individualistic perspective, thus neglecting the social nature of the relations between individuals, identities and place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, in press).

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[1] That idea was not new. In fact, there are references to the importance of place and things for self-identity in authors such as James (1980) and Erickson (1956). For instance, Erickson (1946) introduced the concept of "spatial identity", and stated that spatial aspects, such as place status, were important factors in the definition of identity.

With the study presented in this chapter we intended to bring the concept of place identity into the context of intergroup relationships, by conceptualizing the urban space as a stage for intergroup relations, based on the subject's sense of belonging to physical spaces (which always included the people that live or use these spaces).

In this sense, place identity can be understood as a substructure of social identity, consisting of aspects of self-identity based on belonging to geographically defined groups. Although we did not find a systematic study of the principles and strategies of the social identity approach in relation to places in the literature, some authors claimed they "look similar to those operating in the case of social identification with a social category or group" (Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003, p. 225). So we could assume that identification with a place could be understood through the principles defined by Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) (Turner, 1985) and their subsequent developments.

In fact, comprehension of place identity as a substructure of social identity was not original[2]. In recent years some authors used SIT and SCT to understand the relation between place and the physical environment in a more explicit (e.g., Bonaiuto, Breakwell & Cano, 1996; Valera & Pol, 1994; Valera & Guardia, 2002) or more implicit way (e.g., Hernandez et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2008).

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[2] In fact, Altman as early as 1976, stimulated a strong debate in the Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin about the importance of the psycho-social perspective in environmental studies and social psychology's interest in applying its knowledge in this type of study.

This chapter aims to meet two challenges: first to use the SI Approach[3] to the understanding of neighbourhoods' relations in the urban context, and thus contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between place identity and social identity. Second, to test the principles of the SI Approach in a real context. In fact, as pointed out by Tajfel (1979), the great challenge of Social Identity Theory is its analysis and application to real world intergroup relations.

Thus, this chapter begins with a brief reference to the main concepts of the Social Identity Approach, and its possible application to the comprehension of groups defined by their geographical belonging to a place. A field study was designed to study four adjacent neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon. The main objective was to understand if place identity with the neighbourhood leads to the same in-group and out-group bias as was described in relation to social identity. With this study, we aim to contribute to a better understanding of intergroup relations in an urban context.

4.2.1. Social Identity Approach

The Social Identity Approach, which includes the concepts and principles contained in Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Self Categorization Theory (SCT), is one of the most widely diffused and extensively used approaches in social psychology (Brown, 2000), particularly in recent years (see Postmes & Branscombe, 2010). One of the reasons for this was the scientific utility of the concept in explaining inter-group relationships in general, the relation between the individual and the group in particular, and

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[3] We use the term "Social Identity Approach" to refer to both social identity theory and self-categorization theory, as used by Turner (1999).

comprehension of the individual cognitions influenced by group phenomena (Capozza & Brown, 2000).

SIT was based on the article by Tajfel (1972), which attempted to explain the intergroup discrimination verified with the 'minimal group paradigm" (Tajfel, Flament, Billig & Bundy, 1971). In this article, Tajfel added to the understanding of individual identity the social identity dimension, which was the part of self concept based on group membership. At the centre of SIT (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was the human motivation to achieve positive self-esteem through belonging to positively evaluated groups. This process could be summarized through the sequence of the basic processes of 'social categorization – social identity – social comparison – positive distinctiveness' (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). Thus, SIT considered that people defined themselves in terms of social categories (e.g., women, Portuguese), and that self-categorization provided them with social identities. Social identities were defined in an intergroup context, through social comparisons between our group and another relevant group. The central hypothesis of this theory was that social comparison aimed to produce intergroup differentiation to achieve a positive self-evaluation of that identity. To obtain that positive distinctiveness, group members could use several individual and group strategies that could include in-group bias such as in-group favouritism and out-group depreciation.

SCT (Turner, 1982, 1985) was developed in the tradition of SIT, and "represents a major expansion in the range of applicability of the social identity tradition, from intergroup relations and social conflict into the realm of group processes, stereotyping and social cognition" (Turner, 1999, p. 6). At the centre of SCT was the comprehension of processes through which people came to conceptualize

themselves in terms of social categories. The basic process postulated was self-categorization, i.e., in some circumstances people could define themselves more in terms of social category membership, than in terms of individual characteristics. Each person could define him/herself in terms of different social identities, which could be as many as the reference groups the individual considered relevant in terms of belonging. The idea of multiple identities assumes that each one could become salient or not depending on the context in which a person finds him/herself. This means that the subject self-categorizes on the basis of certain social identities that are active in a given context, and acts in conformity with that self-categorization. To summarize, "self-categorization is seen as a dynamic, context-dependent process, determined by comparative relations within a given context" (Turner, 1999, p.13).

Taking into account the aim of the study presented here, it is important to explore some aspects of the SI approach more carefully.

In-group identification and in-group bias

In-group bias was a central issue in SIT. In fact, Tajfel and colleagues (1971, Tajfel & Billig, 1974), verified with the 'minimal group paradigm' that the mere perception of belonging to one of two distinct groups was sufficient to initiate intergroup discrimination favouring the in-group. Due to the relevance of this issue, several authors (Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Kelly, 1993) considered that a basic proposition of social identity theory is the causal link between in-group identification and in-group bias. However, SIT never advanced this causal relationship (Turner, 1999; Brown, 2000; McGarty, 2001). Instead, Tajfel and Turner (1986) clarified that at least three types of factors influence in-group bias in real intergroup situations. First, identification with the group, second the existence of relevant aspects for intergroup

comparison, and thirdly the existence of similarity or proximity, making comparison with the out-group relevant. A test of the social identity-intergroup differentiation hypothesis considering these three factors (Lalonde, 2002) stressed their importance in comprehension of the relation between achieving a positive social identity and intergroup differentiation.

In fact several studies supported the idea that the degree of bias varied with the magnitude of group identification, both in laboratory studies (e.g., Jetten, Spears, Hogg, & Manstead, 2000, study 1; Grant, 1993) and field studies (e.g., Nigbur & Cinnirella, 2007; Smith et al., 2005; Abram, 1994; Jetten et al., 2000, study 2). For instance, concerning national identity, Nigbur and Cinnirella (2007, study 1) verified that British high national identifiers differentiated the in-group more strongly from others, than did low identifiers. Also Smith and colleagues (2005) showed in a cross-national study, a significant correlation between national identification and positivity of the national stereotype.

If we transpose this concept to identity with a place, we can expect residents with a high level of identification to have a more positive perception of their space and its residents than residents with a low level of identification, or non-residents. In fact, several studies found a positive relationship between place identity and positive perception of place and its residents. This was shown, for example, in relation to perception of the space as being more civilized (Félonneau, 2004; Brown et al., 2003), less dangerous (Billig, 2006), less polluted (Bonaiuto, Breakwell & Cano, 1996), and a better place to live (Kyle, Graefe, Manning, & Bacon, 2004; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2011). This was also shown in a study that used the Tajfel minimal group paradigm to categorize participants in two groups that prefer to live in small or large

neighbourhoods. In addition we showed (chapter 3, study 1) that place identity was correlated with in-group favouritism and out-group differentiation.

Social comparison and relevant out-group

Social comparison was a core concept in SIT, but perhaps one of the most difficult due to the dynamic and contextual character of social identity. In fact, the theory was not clear in relation to how group members choose the relevant out-group (Tajfel, 1999) and there is a lack of systematic work on the assessment of comparison choice (Brown & Haeger, 1999). Brown (2000) emphasized the importance of identify for the contextual and personal variables that had influence on the nature and direction of intergroup comparisons in the real world.

Festinger (1954) introduced the concept of social comparison to explain that in the absence of an objective criterion, people compare their opinions and abilities with other people's opinions and abilities. SIT transposed the concept to intergroup relations, although the same subjectivity in SIT was still present. The question of choice of the relevant other (individual or group) was the main unsolved question in both conceptualizations. In SIT, comparison between the in-group and a relevant out-group (intergroup comparison) had the aim of constructing the group as both different and superior to other groups. Also SIT postulated the primacy of the enhancement motive in the intergroup comparison process. In this sense, downward comparisons should be preferred and comparisons with upward out-groups should be avoided (Hogg, 2000). But in the real world there are always several downward groups available for comparison and the question was which of them would be chosen. SIT also predicted that similarity, proximity and situational salience were important variables in the choice of the relevant out-group for comparison (Tajfel & Turner, 1979,

1986). The role of similarity and familiarity yielded largely supportive findings (e.g.: Zagefka & Brown, 2005; Gartrell, 2002). Concerning salience, the potential conflict between in-group and out-group revealed itself as an important factor in the choice of a relevant out-group for comparison in field studies. For instance, Abrams (1984) studied rival public schools, Verkutyten & Nekuee (1999) examined ethnic minorities, and Terry and colleagues (2001) focused on pilots from two airlines.

In fact the question of choice of the relevant out-group has not yet been solved. The majority of social comparison studies were conducted in a laboratory when the necessity and direction of social comparisons were assumed in advance by the researchers. Understanding and testing the choice of out-group for comparison in field studies is more difficult, because frequently other variables interfere in the process (Brown & Haeger, 1999). For example, some authors emphasized the importance of understanding the history of intergroup relationships for comprehension of out-group choices, in field studies about national identities (Lalonde, 2002), and regional identities (Simon et al., 1995).

Some studies have shown that the concept of place identity was also formed based on a process of social comparison that led to a process of differentiation between the in-group and relevant out-group (e.g., Lalli, 1986; Garcia-Marques & Palma-Oliveira, 1986; Stoll-Kleeman, 2001). Lalli (1986) stated in relation to urban identity, that identity with a particular town fulfilled the function of demarcation against all other people that did not live in that town or other people that did not like to live in towns. The comparison must be made for example between "cosmopolitan" towns and "provincial" towns. Garcia-Marques and Palma Oliveira (1986), in a study about national, regional and city identity, concluded that "we cannot understand the

evaluative contents of self-stereotypes without referring to the relevant same-level out-group" (p. 317).

Other studies were reported where differentiation between in-group and out-group influenced responses concerning changes in the space. Stoll-Kleeman (2001) showed that farmers' rejection of the creation of protected areas was not related to the attitude in relation to protected areas or competition for resources, but with the perception of distinctiveness between in-group and out-group. Farmers felt that they could not be in favour of a measure that was supported by nature conservationists (out-group). A recent study found that manipulation of intergroup comparison can be used in order to promote motivation to adopt sustainable behaviour (Ferguson, Branscombe & Reynolds, 2011). This study showed that students who compared themselves to past students reported more willingness to adopt sustainable behaviour than students who compared themselves to future students.

Group perception and perception of group homogeneity

The understanding of group perception also changed with SIT and SCT. In fact the process of categorization was inherently comparative, contextual and relative (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). Also, it was achieved by a process of meta-contrast, with accentuation of similarities within a group (in-group or out-group) and minimization of differences between group members (Tajfel, 1969). In other words, they expected a higher perception of homogeneity in both the in-group and out-group. In fact, the research showed that out-group members were seen as more similar to each other than in-group members, both in real and laboratory contexts (e.g., Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992). The higher out-group homogeneity perception was justified by the differential familiarity with in-group and out-group members (Linville, Fischer &

Salovey, 1989), or by different information storage or processing (Ostrom, Carpenter, Sedikides, & Li, 1993). But in fact, under certain conditions in-group homogeneity can be very high. This can be the case, for example, in minority groups or in a dimension strongly associated with in-group definition, such as gender (Brown & Smith, 1989; Simon, Glassner-Bayerl & Stratenwerth, 1991).

Another variable that played an important role in in-group perception was group identification. In general, high identifier group members tended to perceive both in-groups and out groups as more homogeneous than low identifiers (e.g., Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997; Doosje et al., 1995).

After describing some of the basic premises of the social identity approach, now the main challenge was to test them in the real context (Tajfel, 1979), and using place of residence as a source of categorization. Thus, the study we describe below concerned understanding the importance of place identity in neighbourhoods' relationships in an urban context.

4.3. Study

4.3.1. Study objectives

This study explored the importance of place identity with the neighbourhood, in the perception of place and its residents, as well as in the perception of other bordering neighbourhoods. Thus, a field study was conducted in four adjacent neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon, with different physical and social characteristics. Based on the SI approach, this study had five main objectives:

1. to ascertain if place identity was related to place satisfaction and perception of in-group homogeneity;

2. to explore the relationship between different levels of abstraction of place identity: identity with the neighbourhood, city identity and national identity. Particularly, to explore if low identity regarding the salient level (neighbourhood) had an impact on the other levels (as reported in Palma and colleagues (2010) and in chapter 2, Study 1);

3. to ascertain if place identity led to in-group favouritism, in terms of higher evaluation given to the quality of people's own neighbourhood, and in underestimation of the distance to Lisbon city centre;

4. to ascertain if place identity led to out-group bias, namely, a more negative evaluation of neighbourhood quality, intergroup differentiation, and overestimation of the distance between people's own neighbourhood and other neighbourhoods;

5. to verify the ecology of the four neighbourhoods' relationships. Specifically, to identify for each neighbourhood, the relevant and non relevant out-group for comparison.

4.3.2. Method

A field study was conducted in four neighbourhoods (Parque das Nações, Chelas, Olivais and Moscavide) in the eastern part of the city of Lisbon, Portugal (Figure 4.1). The objective was to study a set of contiguous neighbourhoods, with relationships between them, and with different social and physical characteristics, including new

and old neighbourhoods, small and large neighbourhoods, and neighbourhoods with bad and good stereotypes. In fact the literature found a strong connection between length of residence and place identity (e.g., Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Bonaiuto, Aiello, Perugini, Bonnes, & Ercolani, 1999; Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2004), and group size and place identity (chapter 3).

In fact, these neighbourhoods differed in many dimensions, including year of construction, architecture and demographic composition. Parque das Nações is a new residential and business area developed along 5 km of the Tagus riverside, built on an industrial brownfield site and still growing after twelve years, following the '98 Lisbon world exhibition. A recent study showed that this neighbourhood was perceived by the residents of the rest of the city as one of the most positive neighbourhoods in Lisbon (Braga, Soro, Jesus, & Palma-Oliveira, 2009). Parque das Nações is surrounded by three other neighbourhoods: Chelas, Olivais and Moscavide.
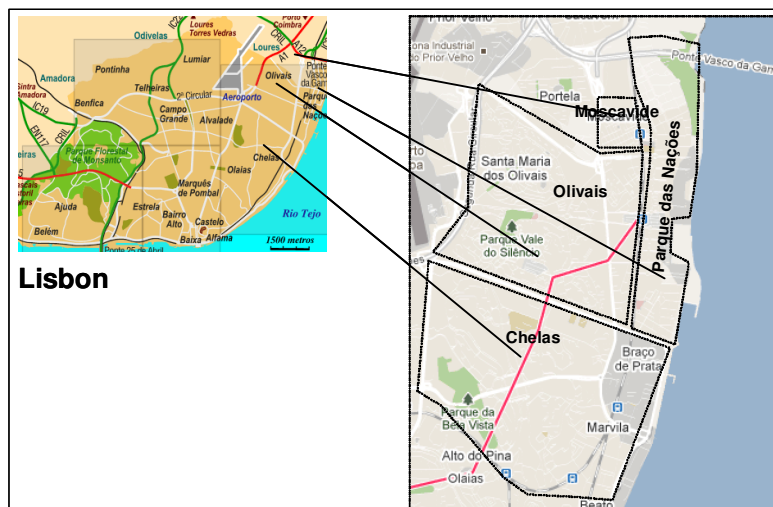
Figure 4.1. Map of study area

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The Chelas and Olivais neighbourhoods were planned and construction started during the 60s, with the aim of promoting social housing. The urban plan for Olivais followed the ideas expressed in the 'Athens Charter' and reflected the rationalist thought, translated into the insertion of high-rise buildings in green spaces. The neighbourhood of Chelas was also planned with the same urban model in mind but aimed to be a multifunctional structure integrating services and industrial areas, besides high-density housing. Both neighbourhoods occupy a large area, but there are significant differences between them, relating both to differences in the morphology of the terrain and to development of the neighbourhood. The Olivais neighbourhood was developed primarily during the 60s and 70s and has clear boundaries, the urban fabric being quite homogeneous. The urban morphology of Chelas is more heterogeneous and fragmented. This is related to two main aspects: topography, as a deep valley separates it from the central area of the city; and the construction of major road infrastructure that cuts the neighbourhood into smaller units. This fragmentation is accentuated by the fact that the neighbourhood was not built all at once. Construction started in the late 60s and early 70s but development was interrupted for socio-political reasons and only later continued. Thus, the present urban morphology does not favour pedestrians' movement, due to distance, the obstacles created by major roads and the poor quality of the urban public space. This ill-defined urban structure makes it more difficult to perceive the neighbourhood's boundaries.

Chelas

Olivais

Moscavide

Parque das Nações
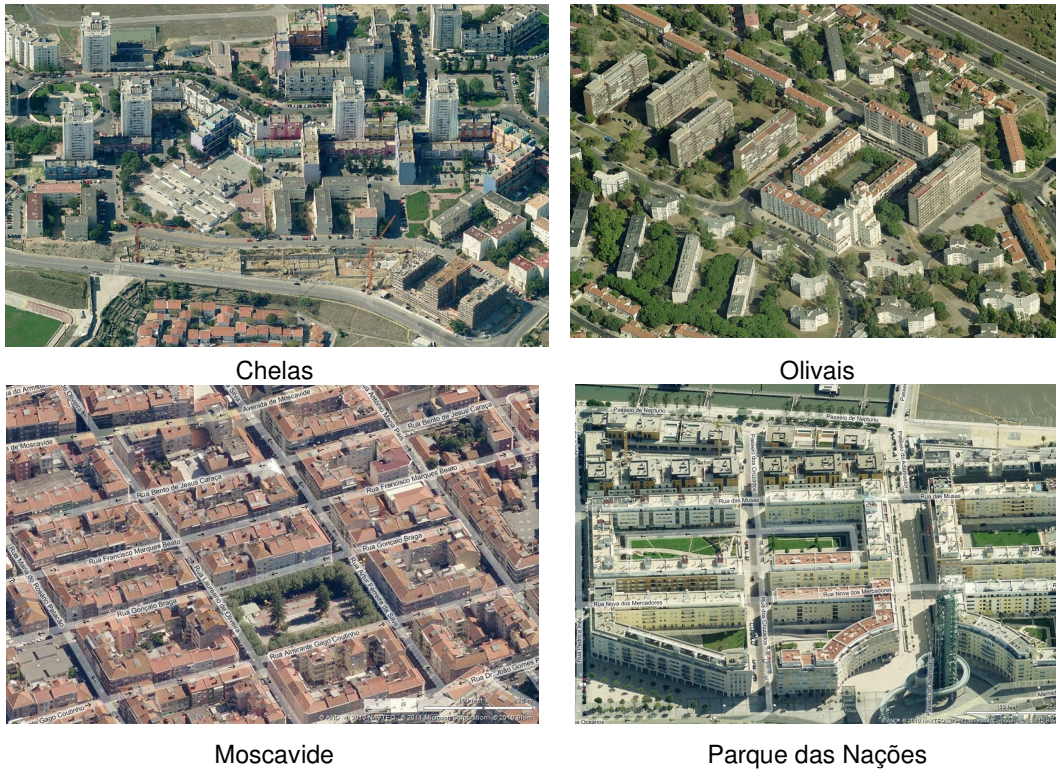
Figure 4.2. Aerial Photos of the four neighbourhoods

Moscavide occupies the smallest and oldest area of the four neighbourhoods studied. The current built-up area goes back to the 40s and 50s, having a grid structure with regular blocks, buildings of 4 or 5 floors without green spaces except for a small garden in the centre. It is also very homogenous and coherent, but unlike Olivais, presents a very high density of buildings. It has also very strong boundaries due to the existence of major roads that make it less permeable to the adjacent neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, the smaller scale, when compared to the others, provides its inhabitants with good conditions for pedestrian movement and a certain level of self-sufficiency in terms of commerce and services located on the ground floor of each building.

Participants

One hundred and eighty residents answered the questionnaire. The sample consisted of 53.9% women (n=97) and 46.1% men (n=83), with an overall mean age of 47.98 years (SD=16,88; Min=18; Max=92). The largest number had a university degree (45.0%), followed by primary school (33.9%) and high school studies (20%). All residents had lived in the neighbourhood for more than five years (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. Means and Frequency Distribution of Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

	Parque das Nações	Chelas	Olivais	Moscavide
N	62	40	39	39
Gender (% female)	50	60	56.4	51.3
Age (mean)	46.45	48.10	49.18	49.10
Residence time (mean)	7.53	30.28	28.64	35.67
Education (%)				
No school	0	5	0	0
Primary school (4 years)	4.8	47.5	56.4	43.6
High school (12 years)	14.5	27.5	15.4	25.6
University	80.6	20.0	28.2	30.8

Instruments and Procedure

The questionnaire was composed of five parts (see annex 5): the first part assessed place identity and satisfaction with the neighbourhood. In this part we also assessed identification with Lisbon and national identity. The second part included questions about group homogeneity and intergroup differentiation; the third part was about perception of neighbourhoods' quality, prestige and security; in the fourth section participants were asked to estimate the distance from their residence to the other neighbourhoods and also to the city centre. The last section included socio-demographic characterization.

Place identity scale –composed of four items based on those used by Hernandez and colleagues (2007). The intensity of place identity was assessed in relation to the neighbourhood, the city (Lisbon) and the country (Portugal). Internal consistency for the four-item scale was α=.693, for the neighbourhood, α=.833, for the city, and α=.907, for the country.

Satisfaction scale –composed of four items, based on Leonardelli and Brewer (2001) in experiment 2 and 3. Internal consistency for the four-item scale was α =.862.

Participants responded to all items using a 9-point response scale.

Concerning the questions about intergroup differentiation, two types of questions were used repeatedly in relation to the three out-groups: "To what extent do the residents of "Parque das Nações" and "Olivais" differ " and "To what extent do you think residents of Parque das Nações are different from residents of "Olivais"?. In relation to in-group homogeneity the question was "To what extent do you think you have similar features to the residents of "Parque das Nações"?" (based on Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton & Sherman, 2007, study 2).

Perception of neighbourhood quality, prestige and security – the participants were questioned about the quality, prestige and security of their own neighbourhood and in relation to the other three neighbourhoods. Participants responded using a 9-point response scale (1=very bad to 9= excellent). Internal consistency for the three-item scale was α =.852.

Distance estimation - participants were asked to estimate the distance, in kilometres, from their residence to the other three neighbourhoods, and also in relation to a main square located in the centre of Lisbon - Marques de Pombal.

All the participants were residents of the neighbourhoods. They were approached in the street and agreed to respond to the questionnaire. The collected samples were not representative of the city's population, but care was taken to ensure they represented a large spectrum of age and levels of education whenever possible (see Table 4.1). The criterion for sample selection was ease of access and whether the participant agreed to give an interview. The data was collected during 2010.

After completing the entire questionnaire, participants were debriefed about the specific aims of the study and expected results, and their participation was acknowledged.

4.3.3 Results

Identity, satisfaction and in-group homogeneity

A first analysis of the scores of the variables of 'place identity', 'city identity', 'national identity' and 'satisfaction' between the four neighbourhoods studied revealed that the scores were high and very similar in three of the neighbourhoods: Parque das Nações, Olivais and Moscavide (Table 4.2). The scores for these variables for each neighbourhood were submitted to an ANOVA. The analysis indicated a significant main effect of place of residence concerning the following variables: place identity $F_{(3,175)}=21.847$, p<.000; national identity $(3,176)=2.962$, p<.034, satisfaction $(3,176)=37.800$, p<.000 and perception of in-group homogeneity $F_{(3,176)}=26.096$, p<.000. No differences were found for city identity $(3,176)=.917$, p<.434.

A Tukey HSD post hoc analysis confirmed that no significant differences were found for these variables between the three neighbourhoods of Parque das Nações, Olivais and Moscavide (Table 4.3). Contrariwise, the Chelas neighbourhood reported significantly lower scores in these variables in comparison with the other three neighbourhoods (Table 4.3). However, it showed a significantly higher national identity than Parque das Nações, and a marginally significant higher identity than Olivais. Concerning 'city identity', all the neighbourhoods reported scores above the middle value of the scale and no significant differences were found between the four neighbourhoods.

Table 4.2. Means and standard deviations for some dependent measures

	Parque Nações	Chelas	Olivais	Moscavide
Place identity (neighbourhood)	6.91 (1.23)	3.85 (1.66)	6.84 (1.91)	6.71 (3.21)
City Identity	6.15 (1.08)	6.44 (1.59)	6.47 (1.55)	6.06 (1.41)
National Identity	6.79 (0.91)	7.56 (0.85)	6.77 (2.27)	6.89 (1.37)
Satisfaction	7.16 (1.04)	4.23 (1.63)	7.36 (1.79)	7.06 (1.80)
In-group Homogeneity	6.06 (1.42)	2.80 (1.39)	5.82 (2.73)	6.00 (2.45)
Intergroup differentiation P. Nações	-------	4.50 (2.34)	5.41 (2.22)	5.77(2.42)
Intergroup differentiation Chelas	7.27 (1.59)	-------	6.21 (1.98)	5.31 (2.92)
Intergroup differentiation Olivais	5.84 (1.70)	3.06 (1.80)	-------	4.12 (2.22)
Intergroup differentiation Moscavide	6.09 (2.11)	3.40 (1.77)	5.12 (2.47)	-------

Note: Standard deviations are in parentheses

Concerning the perception of in-group homogeneity, the Tukey post hoc test reported no significant differences between Parque das Nações, Olivais and Moscavide. However, the Chelas neighbourhood reported a very low perception of in-group homogeneity, significantly lower than the other three neighbourhoods (Table 4.4).

Table 4.3. Means and Tukey Post Hoc Tests for Some Dependent Measures Between Chelas and the other three Neighbourhoods

	Chelas	Parque Nações	F Sig	Chelas	Olivais	F Sig	Chelas	Moscav.	F Sig
Place identity	3.85	6.91	.000	3.85	6.84	.000	3.85	6.71	.000
City identity	6.44	6.15	.725	6.44	6.47	.999	6.44	6.06	.648
National identity	7.55	6.80	.040	7.55	6.76	.064	7.55	6.89	.154
Satisfaction	4.23	7.16	.000	4.23	7.36	.000	4.23	7.06	.000
In-group Homogeneity	2.80	6.06	.000	2.80	5.82	.000	2.80	6.00	.000

Intergroup differentiation

In relation to perception of intergroup differentiation, the descriptive statistics analysis confirmed that Chelas presented the lowest scores in 'intergroup differentiation', with scores below the middle value of the scale. Contrariwise, Parque das Nações showed the highest intergroup differentiation scores.

The scores for intergroup differentiation for each neighbourhood were submitted to an ANOVA. The analysis indicated a significant main effect of place of residence on intergroup discrimination in relation to all neighbourhoods: Parque das Nações, $F(2,115)=3.118$, p<.048; Chelas, F(2,137)=10.409, p<.000; Olivais $F(2,138)=28.148$, p<.000, and Moscavide $F(2,138)=19.391$, p<.000. To clarify these effects, a Tukey HSD post hoc analysis was carried out. The results presented in Table 4.4 show that in relation to the Parque das Nações neighbourhood, the residents of Chelas reported significantly less intergroup differentiation than the residents of Moscavide. The residents of Moscavide and Olivais reported the same level of intergroup discrimination in relation to Parque das Nações.

Table 4.4. Means and Tukey Post Hoc Tests for Intergroup Differentiation

Intergroup different.			F Sig			F Sig			F Sig
P. Nações	Chelas	Olivais		Chelas	Moscav.		Olivais	Moscav.	
	4.50	5.41	.197	4.50	5.77	**.045**	5.41	5.77	.776
Chelas	Olivais	P.Nações	F Sig	Olivais	Moscav.	F Sig	P.Nações	Moscav.	F Sig
	6.21	7.27	**.041**	6.21	5.31	.157	7.27	5.31	**.000**
Olivais	Chelas	P. Nações	F Sig	Chelas	Moscav.	F Sig	P.Nações	Moscav.	F Sig
	3.06	5.84	**.000**	3.06	4.12	**.037**	5.84	4.12	**.000**
Moscavide	Chelas	P. Nações	F Sig	Chelas	Olivais	F Sig	Olivais	P.Nações	F Sig
	3.40	6.09	**.000**	3.40	5.12	**.001**	5.12	6.09	**.049**

Concerning the Chelas neighbourhood, the residents of Parque das Nações reported more intergroup differentiation than residents of both Olivais and Moscavide. No significant differences were found in intergroup differentiation between the residents of Moscavide and Olivais in relation to the Chelas neighbourhood.

In relation to the Olivais neighbourhood, the residents of Parque das Nações reported a significantly higher level of intergroup differentiation than residents of both Chelas and Moscavide. And the residents of Moscavide showed higher intergroup differentiation than the residents of Chelas. Thus, again we found that the residents of Chelas reported less intergroup differentiation in relation to Olivais than the other two groups.

Concerning the Moscavide neighbourhood, the residents of Chelas reported less intergroup differentiation than the residents of Parque das Nações and than residents of Olivais. The residents of Parque das Nações reported a higher level of intergroup differentiation than both Chelas and Olivais. To summarize, Chelas showed less differentiation in relation to the other three neighbourhoods, and on the contrary, Parque das Nações reported higher intergroup differentiation.

Figure 4.3 reports the relation between place identity and intergroup differentiation. The results emphasize that Chelas is not an out-group for any of the other three groups, and Parque das Nações is an idealized reference group for Chelas and Olivais.
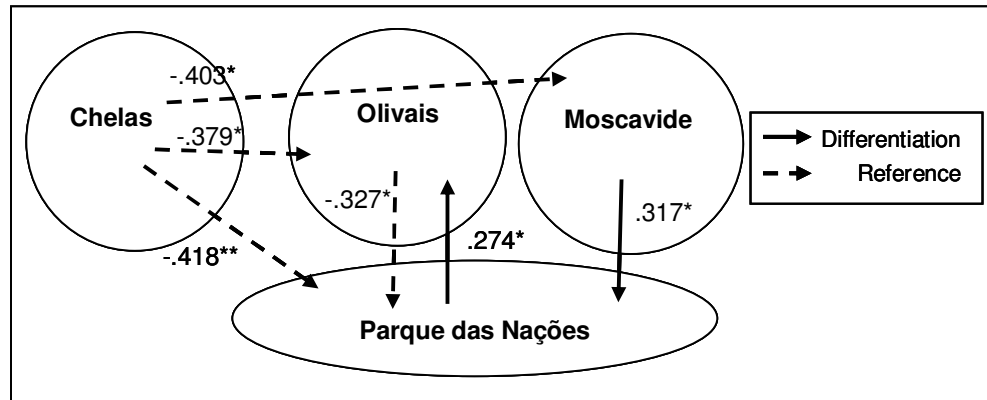
Figure 4.3. Correlation between place identity and intergroup differentiation

Neighbourhood Quality Perception

Concerning the perception of global quality of the in-group, the results indicated a significant main effect of place of residence on the perception of in-group global quality F (2,176)=98.325, p<.000. The results of the Tukey HSD post hoc analysis showed that Parque das Nações reported significantly higher scores than the other three groups. On the contrary, Chelas reported significantly lower scores than the other groups (see Table 4.5).

In relation to the perception of global quality of out-groups, the scores were submitted to an ANOVA. The analysis indicated a significant main effect of place of residence on the perception of global quality of out-groups in relation to all neighbourhoods, with the exception of Parque das Nações: Parque das Nações, F (2,115)=1.809, p<.168;

Chelas, $F_{(2,137)}=4.748$, p<.010; Olivais $F_{(2,138)}=15.501$, p<.000, and Moscavide $F_{(2,138)}=17.987$, p<.000. The Tukey HSD post hoc showed that all the groups perceived Parque das Nações as having high quality and on the contrary all neighbourhoods perceived Chelas with very low scores. An analysis of out-group quality perception by neighbourhood revealed that Parque das Nações reported the lowest scores of out-group quality perception in relation to all the other three groups. And Moscavide reported the highest out-group quality scores for all the three groups. Moscavide perceived Chelas as having higher global quality than Parque das Nações. They also perceived Olivais as having higher global quality than Parque das Nações and Chelas. In relation to Moscavide, the out-group that evaluated this neighbourhood highest was Olivais, followed by Chelas.

Table 4.5. Means and Tukey Post Hoc Tests for global quality perception

	P.Nações	Chelas	F Sig	P.Nações	Olivais	F Sig	P.Nações	Moscav.	F Sig
In-group Global quality	7.70	3.44	**.000**	7.70	6.24	**.000**	7.70	6.42	**.000**
	Chelas	Olivais	F Sig	Chelas	Moscav.	F Sig	Olivais	Moscav.	F Sig
	3.44	6.24	**.000**	3.44	6.42	**.000**	6.24	6.42	.906
Out-group Global quality P. Nações	Chelas	Olivais	F Sig	Chelas	Moscav.	F Sig	Olivais	Moscav.	F Sig
	7.38	7.38	.999	7.38	7.74	.226	7.38	7.74	.223
Out-group Global quality Chelas	Olivais	P.Nações	F Sig	Olivais	Moscav.	F Sig	P.Nações	Moscav.	F Sig
	2.70	2.37	.446	2.70	3.23	.204	2.37	3.23	**.007**
Out-group Global quality Olivais	Chelas	P.Nações	F Sig	Chelas	Moscav.	F Sig	P.Nações	Moscav.	F Sig
	5.65	4.73	**.002**	5.65	6.20	.168	4.73	6.20	**.000**
Out-group Global quality Moscavide	Chelas	P.Nações	F Sig	Chelas	Olivais	F Sig	Olivais	P.Nações	F Sig
	4.38	3.89	**.129**	4.38	5.38	**.001**	5.38	3.89	**.000**
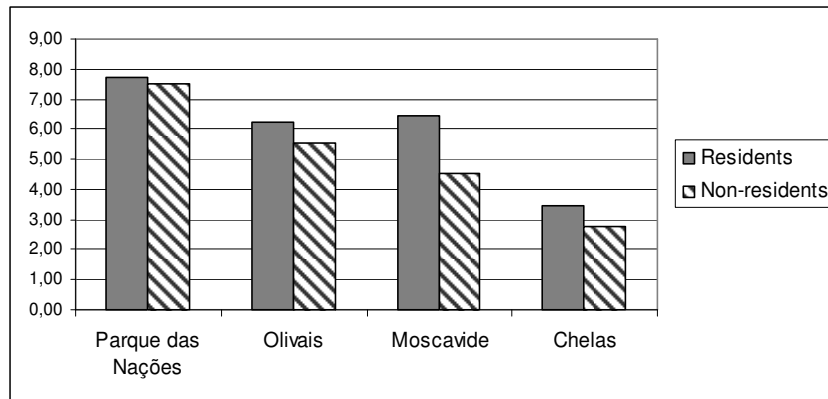
Figure 4.4. Neighbourhood global quality perception (in-groups and out-groups)

Comparison between the perception of the global quality of neighbourhoods made by residents (in-group) and non-residents (out-group) (see Figure 4.4) showed that the in-group and out-group perception was not very different. Nevertheless, evaluation by the in-group was better than by the out-group.

Distance estimation

To analyse distortion in the distance estimated by participants, we used the following equation: Distortion=Distance Estimation - Real Distance. Thus, when the result was positive, i.e., the perceived distance was greater than the real distance, this meant that residents overestimated the distance. When the value was negative this meant there was an underestimation of distance.

Residents were asked first to estimate the distance from their neighbourhood to a well- known point in the centre of Lisbon. It was expected that all groups would underestimate the distance to the city centre, because the place chosen is highly valued in terms of real estate value and it is one of the most important points in terms of services and employment. In fact, Parque das Nações and Olivais

underestimated the distance to the city centre, and Chelas and Moscavide overestimated it (Table 4.6). The scores from the distance estimation equation were submitted to an ANOVA. The results showed a significant difference between the groups ($F_{(3, 176)}$=12.887, p<.000). A HSD Tukey post hoc analysis revealed that Parque das Nações and Olivais estimated the distance to the city centre as significantly less than the residents of Chelas and Moscavide (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6. Means and HSD Post Hoc Turkey for the distortion in the distance estimation to the city centre (only displaying pairs that showed a significant difference between them)

	PN	Che.	F sig	PN	Mos.	F sig	Che.	Oliv.	F sig	Oliv.	Mos.	F sig
Marques Pombal	-0.21	3,30	**.000**	-0.21	2.28	**.002**	3.30	-0.31	**.000**	-0.31	2.28	**.004**

In relation to the distortion in distance estimation from their neighbourhood to the other neighbourhoods, the scores were also submitted to an ANOVA. The results showed a significant difference between the groups for all neighbourhoods: distance estimation for Parque das Nações ($F_{(2, 115)}$=20.170, p<.000), Chelas $F_{(2, 137)}$=20.245, p<.000; Olivais $F_{(2, 138)}$=9.472, p<.000, and Moscavide $F_{(2, 137)}$=4.700, p<.02. A HSD Tukey *post hoc* analysis revealed (Table 4.7) that Chelas estimated the distance to the other three neighbourhoods as less than the residents of the other three neighbourhoods. Thus, Chelas residents reported living significantly closer to Parque das Nações than Olivais residents; as living significantly closer to Olivais than Parque das Nações and Moscavide residents; and closer to Moscavide than residents of Olivais.

Parque das Nações overestimated the distance to the other three neighbourhoods. Thus, Parque das Nações residents estimated Chelas to be significantly more distant

than Olivais residents; and estimated Olivais to be more distant than the residents of Chelas did. Moscavide reported living significantly closer to Parque das Nações than Olivais residents did, and significantly more distant from Chelas than Olivais and Parque das Nações; and more distant from Olivais than Chelas.

Table 4.7. Means and Post Hoc Turkey in the Distortion of Distance Estimation Between Neighbourhoods

Places

P. Nações	Chelas	Olivais	F Sig	Chelas	Moscav.	F Sig	Olivais	Moscav.	F Sig
	-0.50	0.67	**.000**	-0.50	-0.49	.998	0.67	-0.49	**.000**
Chelas	P.Nações	Olivais	F Sig	P.Nações	Moscav.	F Sig	Olivais	Moscav.	F Sig
	1.97	0.71	**.001**	1.97	3.18	**.002**	0.71	3.18	**.000**
Olivais	P. Nações	Chelas	F Sig	Chelas	Moscav.	F Sig	P.Nações	Moscav.	F Sig
	1.71	0.75	**.000**	0.75	1.73	**.001**	1.71	1.73	.998
Moscavide	P. Nações	Chelas	F Sig	Chelas	Olivais	F Sig	P.Nações	Olivais	F Sig
	1.35	0.83	.313	0.83	2.05	**.008**	1.35	2.05	.141

Correlations

A Pearson correlation analysis was performed between all the dependent measures for all the participants. The results, displayed in Table 4.8, show a significant and positive correlation between place identity, neighbourhood satisfaction, perception of in-group homogeneity, perception of global quality of their neighbourhood and underestimation of the distance to the centre of Lisbon. We also verified that place identity was significant and positively correlated with higher differentiation in relation to the Olivais and Moscavide neighbourhoods, lower perception of the global quality of Parque das Nações and overestimation of the distance to the other neighbourhoods.

Table 4.8. Correlation and Significance Between Dependent Measures (only the significant results are displayed)

	Place Identity	City Identity	National Identity	Satisf.	Homog.	Differ. PN	Differ. Chelas	Differ. Olivais	Differ. Moscav.	GlobalQ in-group
City Identity	-.007									
National Identity	-.124	.595**								
Satisfaction	.781**	-.002	-.101							
Homogeneity	.642**	.064	-.081	.663**						
Different. PN	.082	-.177*	-.052	.105	.102					
Different. Chelas	.019	.021	-.030	-.042	-.036	.401**				
Different. Olivais	.222**	-.239**	-.280**	.286**	.251**	.539**	.778**			
Different.Moscavide	.179*	-.235**	-.188**	.283**	.307**	.537**	.608**	.910**		
GlobalQual. In-group	.604**	-.055	-.156**	.737**	.667**	.050	.242**	.416**	.375**	
GlobalQual.PN	-.154*	-.234**	.036	-.232**	-.112	.193*	.313**	.224**	.290**	-.051
GlobalQual.Chelas	.177*	.141*	.068	.142*	.315**	-.029	-.394**	-.281**	-.090	.040
GlobalQual.Olivais	.058	.014	.119	.100	.082	.287**	-.146	-.174*	-.191*	-.012
GlobalQMoscavide	.191*	.075	-.013	.202**	.228**	.182	-.078	-.250**	-.158*	.076
Distance city centre	-.154*	.100	.165*	-.192**	-.228*	.053	-.116	-.205**	-.171*	-.314**
Distance PN	.220**	-.036	-.276**	.348**	.135	-.109	-.062	-.181	.157	.280**
Distance Chelas	.154*	-.056	-.094	.087	.048	.222*	-.076	-.201*	-.078	.022
Distance Olivais	.257**	-.224**	-.221**	.330**	.266**	.219*	-.038	.204**	.270**	.265**
Distance Moscavide	.162*	-.097	-.299**	.169*	.116	.241*	-.019	.221*	.189*	.121

* Significant differences at p<. 01; ** significant differences at p< .05.

We also found that city identity was significant and positively correlated with national identity, but not correlated with place identity, perception of in-group homogeneity, perception of in-group quality or perception of the distance to the city centre. i.e., city and national identity were not correlated with the dimensions associated with the neighbourhood.

However, the results showed that national identity was significantly and negatively correlated with perceptions of the global quality of people's own neighbourhood. And also national and city identity were significantly and negatively correlated with out-group differentiation in relation to the neighbourhoods of Olivais and Moscavide.

We expected out-group differentiation to be positively correlated with distance estimation to the same out-group and also negatively correlated with perception of the global quality of the neighbourhood. This was confirmed in relation to both Olivais and Moscavide. In fact, in relation to Olivais and Moscavide the results showed that higher out-group differentiation was significantly correlated with higher distance estimation and lower global quality perception of these neighbourhoods. The results also showed that the differentiation in relation to Chelas was significantly correlated with the perception of lower global quality of this neighbourhood. No correlation was found between distance estimation and the perception of global quality for each neighbourhood.

The results also showed that the higher the perception of in-group global quality, the higher the perception of differentiation in relation to the neighbourhoods of Chelas, Olivais and Moscavide, and the lower the perception of the distance to the city centre.

4.3.4. Discussion

Place identity, neighbourhood satisfaction and perception of in-group homogeneity

The first objective of this study was to find out if place identity was related to neighbourhood satisfaction and in-group homogeneity. In fact, analysis of the results for all participants in the study showed a significant correlation between the three variables. These results raised some questions. The first concerns in-group homogeneity, as it was predicted by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and confirmed by several studies in relation to identification with groups (e.g., Ellemers, Spears &

Doosje, 1997; Doosje et al., 1995), that place identity is highly correlated with in-group homogeneity.

The last aspect to be considered was the relation between place identity and neighbourhood satisfaction. The relationship between these two variables has not been well studied. However, a recent study found that place identification with the neighbourhood of residence influences the degree of satisfaction with the residential environment. Moreover, the results show that place identity with the neighbourhood interacts primarily with the social aspects of residential satisfaction (Fleury-Bahi, Féloneau, & Marchand, 2008).

Place Identity with the neighbourhood, city identity and national identity

The second objective was to explore the relation between different levels of abstraction regarding identity: place identity with the neighbourhood, city identity and national identity. Analysis of the whole sample showed that place identity was not correlated with city or national identity. But national and city identity were significantly correlated with each other. In fact, different levels of abstraction of identity are not necessarily associated (Turner, 1985), as reported for example by Hernandez and colleagues (2007).

Analysis of the scores by neighbourhood revealed that the Chelas neighbourhood reported a very low score in place identity with the neighbourhood, but reported the highest score for city identity and national identity, of all the four neighbourhoods. It seems that the residents of Chelas, in the absence of positive place identity with their neighbourhood, took advantage of the opportunity to report high identity when they were asked about city and national identity. Thus, Chelas residents compensated for

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low neighbourhood identity with an increase in identity at higher levels of abstraction (city and national identity). Similar results were also reported in chapter 2, study 1, when temporary residents of the neighbourhood and the city reported lower identity with both places, despite showing very high national identity. In another study about the attractiveness of Lisbon neighbourhoods, we also showed that in less attractive neighbourhoods the residents reported low neighbourhood identity but high city identity in comparison to the residents of more attractive neighbourhoods (Jerónimo, Marques, Monteiro, Reis, & Palma-Oliveira, 2010). These results highlighted that identity is a dynamic process, dependent on the person/situation interaction (Turner, 1985). Moreover, they showed that in order to achieve a positive identity, people make adjustments to the situation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this case, it seems that the Chelas neighbourhood used an upper level of abstraction to improve its identity.

In line with these results was additional data obtained with this questionnaire. At the end of the survey all participants were asked the following question; "What do you answer, when a colleague asks you where you live?" Comparison of the responses from the four neighbourhoods showed that while the neighbourhoods of Parque das Nações, Olivais and Moscavide responded with the name of the respective neighbourhood in more than 80% of cases (91%, 82% and 95% respectively), in Chelas only 43% of the residents answered that they lived in Chelas. The remaining 57% of residents reported that they lived in a sub-area of the neighbourhood. Again, these results emphasized the dynamic character of identity in their constant search for positive identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this case, Chelas residents used a type of "social change" (Smith & Mackie, 2007) through the recategorization of in-group boundaries. We could say that use of a subgroup served here as a form of escape for

a group with a highly negative stereotype, with which it is difficult to express a positive identity (Nier et al., 2001).

Place Identity with the neighbourhood and in-group favouritism

To evaluate in-group favouritism we used two types of measures. The first was evaluation of neighbourhood qualities, and the second, estimation of the distance between people's own neighbourhood and the city centre.

The results of the evaluation of neighbourhood qualities confirmed the predictions of the SIT approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1985), of favouritism that is expressed in a better evaluation of the qualities of one's own neighbourhood. In fact we found that residents evaluated their neighbourhood better than non-residents did, for all four neighbourhoods studied. The same results were previously reported by Palma-Oliveira and colleagues (2010) in a study about the attractiveness and safety of municipalities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

A strong correlation was also found between place identity and perception of the quality of one's own neighbourhood. These results were shown before in studies that used classic social categorization (e.g., Nigbur & Cinnirella, 2007; Smith et al., 2005) as well as in studies that used social categorization based on belonging to a space (e.g., Kyle, Graefe, Manning, & Bacon, 2004; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2011).

Concerning the estimation of distance between the neighbourhood and the city centre, this has usually been studied in the scope of spatial cognition, analysing the importance of the physical characteristics of the space and the amount of information available between two points on the distance estimations. For instance, factors such as the number of turns in the path (Jansen-Osmann & Wiedenbauer, 2004),

intersections (Sadalla & Staplin, 1980), or uphills or downhills along a path (Okabe & Aoki, & Hamamoto, 1986) were reported as resulting in overestimation of distance. So, in the present case the spatial cognition approach would predict an overestimation of distance. However, in our particular case we can say that other types of variables were present. The questionnaire made neighbourhood identity salient, and thus the impact of place identity must be considered in association with distance estimation. According to SIT, it was expected that place identity would be highly and negatively correlated with the distance from the neighbourhood to the city centre. In fact the results confirmed that the higher the place identity, the lower the distance estimated between neighbourhood and city centre. Considering that the centre of the city has a generally positive evaluation, approximation of the neighbourhoods to the city centre can be understood as a strategy to improve the positivity of the neighbourhood, as predicted by SIT. Thus, effects not usually studied in this context, such as the estimation of distances, were influenced by place identity.

Place Identity with the neighbourhood and out-group bias

Out-group bias was considered one possible strategy to achieve a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In fact in this study we verified that place identity was significantly correlated with differentiation in relation to two neighbourhoods: Olivais and Moscavide. This result will be explored further in the following section. We also found that place identity was significantly correlated with overestimation of the distance to the other neighbourhoods. In fact, the physical distance between groups has been used before to understand intergroup relationships. For instance, in a conflict situation between two villages in the north of Portugal, Palma-Oliveira (1986) found that residents overestimated the distance between the two groups.

Ecology of neighbourhoods' relationship

One important aspect reported before regarding the SI approach was the understanding of identity in the context of intergroup relationships. In fact social identity is developed and only makes sense in an intergroup context of social comparisons. In a laboratory context, there is manipulation of in-group and out-group and the comparison direction is known (Brown & Haeger, 1999). In field studies, it is usual to choose two groups for which a specific variable regarding their comparability is salient. In the present study we used four neighbourhoods, and we made the comparison salient in the sense that we asked the residents to evaluate their own neighbourhood and to evaluate the other people's neighbourhoods located nearby. But we did not know in advance if all neighbourhoods considered the other neighbourhoods as relevant out-groups for comparison. Thus, to understand the ecology of relationships between these four neighbourhoods, we needed to evaluate how each group evaluated and discriminated the other three groups. In fact, Tajfel and Turner (1979) emphasized that out-group discrimination and distinctiveness occurred with more intensity with regard to the relevant out-group than with irrelevant groups.

Analysis of the results by group revealed that the residents of the Chelas neighbourhood reported very low place identity and in-group homogeneity. They also reported very low intergroup differentiation from the three other groups, and so approximation (assimilation) to the out-group, and also underestimation of inter-neighbourhood distance. Thus, it seemed that due to the very low place identity, and very low perceived quality of the neighbourhood (in comparison to the other three neighbourhoods) the residents of Chelas could not use the comparison process to achieve a positive identity, as described in the social identity approach. So instead of

using the comparison process to differentiate from the other groups, they used the comparison process to meld with the other groups, as a way to improve their identity. So, 'they are not better than the others, they are as good as the others'.
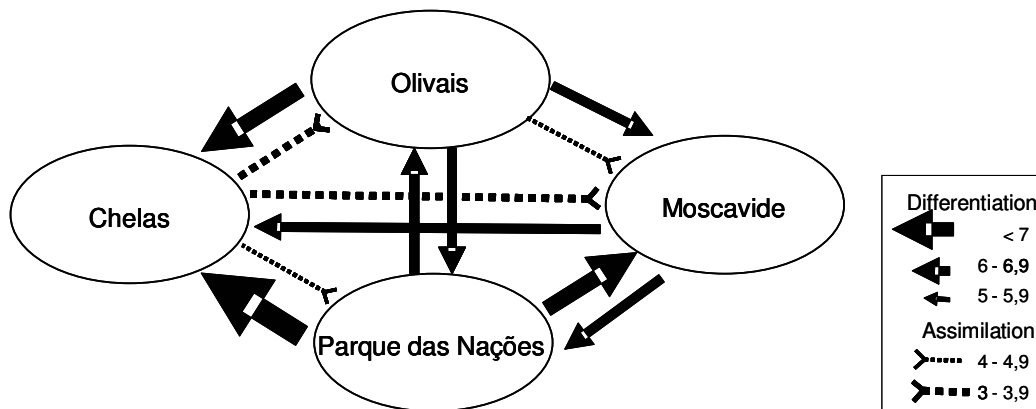
Figure 4.5. Means of out-group differentiation

When the opportunity occurred, Chelas residents reinforced their identity, reporting a high identity with the city and the country, or categorized themselves as a part of the neighbourhood (sub-group) that did not have such a strongly negative stereotype as that associated with Chelas.

On the other hand, the residents of Parque das Nações reported the highest place identity (but not significantly higher than the residents of Olivais and Moscavide), and a very high perception of neighbourhood quality, with a score very close to the others' perception of the quality of Parque das Nações. Thus, this result did not demonstrate in-group favouritism. Concerning out-group bias, the residents of Parque das Nações reported a higher intergroup differentiation in relation to the other three groups, the

lowest perception of quality compared to the other three groups and also the highest detachment (overestimation of distance) from the other neighbourhoods.

In relation to the perception of Parque das Nações, the residents of the three neighbourhoods of Chelas, Olivais and Moscavide described Parque das Nações as a neighbourhood with high quality, higher than their own. The three neighbourhoods showed a score for intergroup differentiation a little above the mid point of the scale, but considered that they lived closer to Parque das Nações (distance underestimation). Thus, we can say that generally Parque das Nações was not a relevant out-group for comparison (Tajfel, Turner, 1979) for all the other three groups, but more an idealized reference group. The possible explanation of these results can be the perception of a gap between the other people's neighbourhoods and Parque das Nações. This gap can make it impossible for the other three groups to compare themselves with Parque das Nações (Festinger, 1954). Garcia-Marques and Palma-Oliveira (1986), in a study about Portuguese people's evaluation of their own country and two other countries (Spain and France), also reported that the Portuguese perceived the French more as an idealized reference group than an out-group for comparison, and in this sense they reported a very positive image of the French.

Concerning the other two neighbourhoods, Olivais and Moscavide, they reported very high place identity, not significantly lower than the residents of Parque das Nações, and a higher perception of the quality of their own neighbourhood. In intergroup differentiation, both revealed a score slightly above the mid point of the scale. Olivais reported a higher distance to Moscavide, and Moscavide a higher distance to Olivais. Thus it seems that Olivais and Moscavide can be perceived as relevant out-groups for comparison.

The results from the correlation also emphasized this ecology of intergroup relationships. Place identity was positively and significantly correlated with higher differentiation in relation to the Olivais and Moscavide neighbourhoods (which can be understood as relevant out-groups for comparison), and with overestimation of distance to the other neighbourhoods.

Summarizing, we can say that Chelas and Parque das Nações were not relevant out-groups, because they were "incomparable" in the sense of Festinger (1951). Chelas, because it was more negative than the other neighbourhoods and Parque das Nações, because it was more positive. Thus, Chelas did not use any of the other three groups as a relevant out-group, but presented an assimilation strategy, with lower intergroup distinctiveness and reduction in terms of distance to the other neighbourhoods. Chelas also reported an overestimation of the distance to the city centre. On the contrary, Parque das Nações reported higher differentiation and distance in relation to the other neighbourhoods. But all the other groups tend to report medium differentiation, in relation to Parque das Nações and reported an approximation in terms of distance estimation (underestimation). So Parque das Nações can be seen as an idealized reference group. Olivais and Moscavide can be considered as relevant out-groups, for one another.

After this general discussion it is important to note that according to the SIT prediction, similarity and familiarity are important factors in choice of the relevant out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In fact, this study emphasised the importance of the perception of similarity in the choice of relevant out-group. As described before, Chelas and Parque das Nações were not perceived as relevant out-groups, because both are very different from the other groups. Parque das Nações, because it was

evaluated as a very positive neighbourhood and Chelas as very negative. Moreover, Chelas and Parque das Nações reported difficulty in finding a relevant out-group. Only the more similar groups - Olivais and Moscavide - can be seen as relevant out-groups, for one another.

4.4. Conclusions

This field study aimed to explore if the Social Identity Approach could be an important concept in studying relationships between neighbourhoods in an urban context. As we already saw in previous studies (chapter 2 and 3), our study also confirmed that the geographical area of residence could be an important source of social categorization, influencing the way we see ourselves and others. It can also have an impact on the way we think, feel and act. In this sense, the neighbourhood of residence can contribute to self-definition, and be developed through comparison of one's own neighbourhood with other relevant neighbourhoods.

The present study was particularly concerned with comprehending how our place identity with the neighbourhood influences the way we compare ourselves with the residents of other neighbourhoods and how we relate ourselves to them. In this context, it was important to understand how the out-group was chosen for comparative purposes in intergroup contexts, from the SIT perspective. In fact, this study confirmed the assumption of SIT that in each context we do not compare with all groups present, but only with the group or groups that are relevant for comparison in that context. From the most important factors in the choice of relevant out-group, identified by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986), similarity was identified in our study as an important variable, but familiarity and situational salience were also present.

It was through comparison with this relevant group that positive identity through in-group bias such as in-group favouritism and out-group depreciation was sought. But this study confirmed that we can also identify other types of intergroup relationships which in a different way can also contribute to improved identity. First, for groups that are very different from our group and therefore incomparable with our own, we have a very positive perception of them and in that sense they work as an idealized reference group. In relation to this type of group, we have a positive description of it and strategies of approximation (assimilation). The second type of group is also very different from our own but is perceived as very negative. In relation to this group, we do not compare ourselves with them and we use strategies of separation (distinctiveness).

Thus, the results of our study go beyond the classic principle of the SIT approach, which stressed that the search for a positive social identity is made through a process of comparison with a relevant out-group for that context (with in-group valorisation and out-group depreciation). Moreover, it showed that positive social identity can also be achieved through 'separation' from groups perceived as negative, and 'approximation' to groups socially perceived as highly positive. We can understand how the identity of the place of residence has a broader effect on intergroup relations.

Thus, it seems that in order to understand the ecology of intergroup relationships between neighbourhoods, it is fundamental to use the place identity concept, as conceptualized here, regarding the comprehension of discrimination and intergroup conflict in an urban context.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the use of field studies has advantages and limitations. In fact, this study contributed to the need to test SIT in the real world of

intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1979), and to the relevance of psychological research in promoting more informed social policy intervention (Brewer, 1997). However, in field studies, where social identity is not manipulated, and where identity is a measure of individual difference, there are complicating factors (Turner, 1999) which reduce the predictive value of SIT (Ellemers & Barreto, 2001). Among these factors we have the historical relationships between neighbourhoods which are not always possible to reconstruct and understand. Thus, this study, more than providing answers, intends to highlight the relevance of understanding cities as being comprised of a mosaic of interrelated identities that need to be understood in the framework of intergroup relationships.

5. How we think about neighbourhoods: The concept of "entitativity" and the understanding of "place"

5.1. Abstract

The aim of this research is to understand the implications of belonging to a place in terms of the way others perceive the residents of this area. For this purpose, the concept of "entitativity", from social psychology, was used. The main objectives are to verify if a neighbourhood varies in terms of perceived entitativity and identify the social and physical characteristics of this neighbourhood that are more strongly associated with the perception of entitativity. A set of 189 university students rated a sample of 20 neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon, Portugal, on 23 social and physical properties of neighbourhoods and perceived entitativity. The results show that the neighbourhoods vary significantly with regard to the perception of entitativity, and a set of physical attributes of place were strongly related to entitativity. The results also show that people make consistent inferences between the physical and social characteristics of the neighbourhood. This study reveals that people have consistent theories about the city, and its residents, which can have implications in terms of intergroup relationships in the urban context.

5.2. Introduction

The aim of this chapter was to understand if the place of residence, specifically the neighbourhood, can be an important source of information for forming impressions about its residents. As we know from social perception, our first impressions of others (individuals and groups) begin with visible cues that include physical appearance, non-verbal communication, behaviour and the environment (e.g.: Carlston, 1994). Using the available information the perceiver develops a mental conception of an individual or a group and uses that information to make judgments about people and groups. Although numerous studies focus on the cues used in forming impressions, the environments that people construct and inhabit have been little studied as a source of information for forming impressions about individuals and groups. An exception was the recent work by Gosling, Ko, Mannarelli and Morris (2002), which studied two personal environments: bedroom and office. They asked observers to rate their impressions about the occupant of an office or a bedroom, based only on the physical features of the environment. The results showed that the observer's evaluation was quite accurate in comparison with evaluation by friends of the room or office occupant and the occupant's rating of himself. This research provided strong support for the importance of personal environment in forming impressions about subjects.

The research presented in this chapter refers specially to the importance of neighbourhood of residence as a source of information for forming impressions about its residents. Since the studies by Kevin Lynch, the theme of neighbourhoods has acquired particular relevance in environmental cognition. Lynch (1976) identified neighbourhoods (districts) as one of the five most probable categories of indicators

used by people for structuring information about cities. In connection with Lynch's work and in parallel with the emergence of social cognition, Terence Lee (Bartlett's student) used Bartlett's concept of schema to understand how people elaborated information about places. Specifically, Lee (1968, 1976) argues that the representation of space followed the same dynamic principles observed in the operation of social schemata and object schemata. The author used the term socio-spatial schema, as a particular type of schema used in space representation. He argued there was an isomorphism between the built environment and the social system where it was integrated (Lee, 2003). In this sense, it was impossible to isolate the physical environment from social meanings and behavioural activity patterns. "It is as if their very close interdependence has built up a mental organisation coalescing them into a single functioning unit serving as a model for behaviour (Lee, 1962, cited in Lee, 2003).

Studying the spatial cognition that inhabitants of Cambridge (UK) had about their neighbourhood, Lee (1968, 1976) found that a very high percentage of residents had a salient socio-spatial schema of their neighbourhood. The neighbourhoods were described by the residents as a configuration that stood out from an undifferentiated background, with formal qualities, and with contours or boundaries, i.e., with the characteristics of a gestalt (Lee, 1976). The author also found positive correlation between the spaciousness of the area Cambridge residents indicated as spatially defining the neighbourhood and the degree of social involvement in it.

Currently, the neighbourhood is one of the most studied place scales (Lewicka, 2010), but despite an intuitive understanding of the concept, its definition is ambiguous. Lynch (1969) defined neighbourhood as a moderately sized area that

the residents of the city identify as having a particular character, and Keller (1968, p. 89) defines neighbourhood as a "place with physical and symbolic boundaries". Galster (2001) clarified the multidimensionality of the spatially based attributes that define a neighbourhood, "consisting of everything from structures and topography to demography, public services and social interactions" (p. 2121). Galster (2001) also underlined that neighbourhoods are produced by the same actors that consume them, and that includes households, property owners, business people and local government. A neighbourhood could be seen as an urban aggregate characterised by a degree of social and physical homogeneity, that is identified both by its residents and by the remaining residents of the city. This urban aggregate included the physical characteristics of the layout and appearance of the buildings in the space, the infrastructure and facilities as well as the residents and users of the space. In this sense, the neighbourhood was understood as a molar unit that can be understood as an entity. But, we can suppose there are variations in neighbourhoods in the sense that some can be better understood by the external and internal perceiver as having unity than others.

In recent years, a new line of research, based on the concept of entitativity by Campbell (1958), has found evidence that some group characteristics have influence in the process of impression formation. More specifically, the research found that all groups vary in terms of degree of entitativity, i.e., "the extent to which a set of people is perceived as a meaningful group, as one entity" (Rutchick, Hamilton, & Sack, 2008, p. 905). The entitativity research showed that in impression formation for groups perceived with high entitativity, the perceiver would make on-line inferences about the group, assuming consistency among the elements (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996). In the sense of physical and social homogeneity being the key

element that defines a neighbourhood, the concept of entitativity can be a useful element to understand the perception of neighbourhoods and their residents.

Thus, the objective of this study was to assess the extent to which "membership" of a particular neighbourhood was an important element in the way others perceive us, i.e., if a neighbourhood had the capacity to give information to the observer about its residents. More specifically, we intended to evaluate whether the concept of entitativity could be applied to the perception of neighbourhoods. That is, if we could find a continuum of entitativity in city neighbourhoods. Simultaneously, we intended to see if there were physical characteristics of neighbourhoods correlated with the perception of neighbourhood entitativity.

5.2.1. Social perception and entitativity

One classic question in social psychology has been definition of a group. Despite the general consensus that a group is a collection of individuals, a collection of individuals may not be a group. Campbell (1958), in a classic article, analyzed this question from the perceiver's point of view, i.e., how he or she perceives a social aggregate as a group. The author introduces the unpronounceable term "entitativity", which "refers to the degree to which a social aggregate is perceived as "having the nature of an entity, or having real existence" (p.17). For Campbell, entitativity was not a group property that was present or absent in a group but a continuum in which groups vary in how much they are perceived as possessing this quality. (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Hamilton, Sherman & Lickel, 1998). Accordingly, a group varied

between a mere aggregate of individuals (e.g., the line of people in the supermarket) and a real group (e.g., a soccer team)4.

In the 90s, two important articles brought the concept back to the study of group perception (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Brewer & Harasty, 1996). Hamilton and Sherman compared the similarities and differences in forming impressions of people and forming group stereotypes. The authors explored the idea that the perceiver expected less entitativity (unity, consistency, organization and coherence) in groups than in individuals, which led to different mechanisms for processing information and making judgments. Also, Brewer and Harasty (1996) made a correspondence between the perceived entitativity of a group and the degree to which groups were represented as prototypes. In this sense they argued that minority groups were more likely to be represented as prototypes than majority groups, meaning that minority groups will be seen as possessing more entitativity than majority groups. These two articles suggested that perceptions of entitativity, i.e., seeing social targets as possessing unity and coherence, had important implications for how people organize information about groups and form impressions.

Following Campbell's conceptual analysis, in the last decades, and notably since 1996, there has been a considerable amount of research into the antecedents to perception of entitativity, namely, the perceptual cues or group properties most strongly related to entitativity (e.g., Brewer & Harasty, 1996; Abelson, Dasgupta, Park & Banaji, 1998; Dasgupta, Banaji, & Abelson, 1999; Hamilton, Sherman &

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[4] In fact, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) introduced a new understanding of the definition of groups, focused on the individual. Thus, group is a cognitive entity that is meaningful to the individual (Tajfel, 1974). So from the individual point of view, a person belongs to the groups with which he perceives he shares meaningful similarities, even if others do not have the same opinion. Likewise, people who are seen by others as sharing significant attributes are a group even if they do not share that view (Smith & Mackie, 2007).

Lickel, 1998; Lickel et al., 2000; Rutchick, Hamilton & Sack, 2008), and the perceived entitativity in different types of groups (e.g., Lickel et al., 2000; Pickett, Silver & Brewer, 2002; Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2007).

5.2.2. Group properties and group entitativity

One important contribution by Campbell to comprehension of this concept was specification of a set of cues that might be used by perceivers to infer whether a collection of people can be classified as a group or as an aggregate of individuals. Influenced by Gestalt psychology principles, the author suggests that entitativity is influenced by factors such as similarity, proximity, common fate and the salience of the group to the perceiver. The initial empirical research in group entitativity was dedicated to identifying these properties of social groups (e.g., Lickel et al., 2000) or manipulating them (e.g., Dasgupta, Banaji & Abelson, 1999; Gaertner & Schopler, 1998; Welbourne, 1999; Brewer, Hong & Li, 2004; Rutchick, Hamilton & Sack, 2008).

A literature review, based on Hamilton, Sherman and Castelli (2002) regarding the variety of cues on which entitativity might be based, allowed identification of a wide range of group properties. Following Campbell's (1958) suggestion, a set of authors focused on the perceived similarity or variability among group members as a cue to perceived entitativity (e.g., Brewer, Weber & Carini, 1995; Brewer & Harasty, 1996; McGarty, Haslam, Hutchinson & Grace, 1995; Yzerbyt, Rogier & Fiske, 1998). Some studies found significant correlations between entitativity and similarity measures (e.g., Lickel et al., 2000, Spencer-Rodger et al., 2007). However, a recent set of studies showed divergence between the perception of entitativity and similarity in in-

groups and out-groups (Crump, Hamilton, Sherman, Lickel, & Thakkar, 2010). In two studies, Crump and colleagues (2010) found that in-group members were perceived as relatively more entitative than out-group members, while out-groups were perceived as more similar in comparison to in-groups. In a third study the authors verified that manipulation of similarity had an impact on the perception of group similarity but not on the perception of group entitativity. Differently, entitativity manipulation influenced perception of group entitativity but not the perception of group similarity.

A different perspective established a relation between group entitativity and the concept of essentialism in the perception of social categories (e.g., Haslam, 1998; Yzerbyt, Roger & Fiske, 1998; Yzerbyt, Corneille & Estrada, 2001). Group essentialism can be defined as "the perception that there is some inner essence that defines the group as a category (Hamilton, 2007, p.1081). In this sense, psychological essentialism can be an aspect of perceived group entitativity, and therefore a high entitativity group may be seen as similar in terms of appearance and behaviour and perceived as unalterable by human intervention (Kashisma, 2004). In a more recent paper Demoulin, Leyens and Yzerbyt (2006) empirically tested whether essentialist perception of social categories was a similar but distinct concept of entitativity. (For a more complete discussion about essentialism and entitativity, see Hamilton et al., 2004 and Hamilton, 2007).

Another view suggested a connection between perceived entitativity and perception of interdependence, interconnectedness and organization among groups (e.g., Gaertner & Schopler, 1998; Hamilton, Sherman & Lickel, 1998, Lickel et al., 2000). Lickel and colleagues (2000) evaluated the interdependence among group members

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using three variables: interaction, common goals and common outcomes. They also used as a variable the importance of group membership in relation to the person's interdependence on the other group members. In three studies, they verified that the group properties most strongly related to entitativity were interaction, common goals, common outcomes, group-member similarity and the importance of the group. On the contrary, group size, length of group history and the permeability of group boundaries were not correlated with entitativity. However, Brewer and Harasty (1996), Brewer, Weber and Carini (1995) and Mullen (1991) showed that in similar situations minority groups will be perceived as higher in entitativity than majority groups.

More recent studies have tried to integrate and understand the sometimes contradictory results reported in the literature. In 2004, Brewer, Hong and Li proposed a new perspective on entitativity that suggested the entitativity perception of groups could be based on two different theories of groups: essentialism and dynamic agency. Essentialist theories focus on the shared static properties that characterize the group, such as psychological traits (e.g. traits, stereotypes) or other characteristics that present consistency across time and are similar among members of the group. Social categories were an example of this type of group. Agency theories focus on the dynamic characteristics of groups, such as shared goals and actions, group changes and development over time and from situation to situation. A similar approach was presented by Wilder and Simon (1998). This proposal was supported by some empirical work based on individual and cultural differences in perception of groups. For instance, in a series of five studies, Ip, Chiu and Wan (2006) confirmed it was possible to identify two different cues to entitativity perception: a) perception of common goals and, b) perception of common traits.

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Moreover, Rutchick, Hamilton and Sack (2008) showed that in categorically construed groups, perceived similarity was most predictive of entitativity; and in dynamically construed groups, perceived action and interaction were most predictive of entitativity perception.

Thus, until now the literature has presented some diversity concerning the cues of entitativity. In the same way there was ambiguity about how to measure entitativity. Some authors used only one item to measure entitativity (e.g., Lickel et al., 2000, Hogg et al., 2007), with participants rating each group on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 – "not a group at all" – to 9 – "very much a group". Other researchers used scales with two or three items (e.g., Susskind et al., 1999, Castano et al., 2002; Rutchick et al, 2008) and others with a larger number of items (Kashima et al., 2005; Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton & Sherman, 2007; Sacchi, Castano & Brauer, 2009). Finally other researchers used pictorial measures, such as the GEM-in (e.g., Gaertner & Schopler, 1998).

5.2.3. Varieties of social groups and entitativity

Research in entitativity during the last decade has investigated perceived entitativity in different types of groups. Lickel et al. (2000), for instance distinguished 5 types of groups: intimacy groups, task groups, social categories, weak social groups and transitory groups, and showed that the different groups differ in terms of perceived entitativity. Intimacy groups collected the highest score in entitativity, followed by task groups and social categories (Lickel et al., 2000; Pickett, Silver & Brewer, 2002; Brewer et al., 2004). Despite social categories not being seen as very entitative

(only obtaining a score of 4.47 on a 9-point scale), people developed rich and well structured stereotypes about social categories (Hamilton, Sherman & Rodgers, 2004).

These different types of groups were defined by different properties (see Lickel et al., 2000 and Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2007) and recent research demonstrated that perceivers believe behaviour in these groups to be governed by different principles (e.g., Lickel et al., 2006). Moreover, it recognized that these different types of groups fulfil different types of social needs (e.g., Johnson et al., 2006).

The present research was focused on the study of "neighbourhoods". These are usually described as social categories (e.g., Spencer-Rogers et al., 2007). However, it is possible to identify a set of differences between a group defined as resident in a "neighbourhood" and the typical social categories used in entitativity studies. For example, in the study of entitativity antecedents, Lickel et al. (2000) defined social categories as very large groups with long histories, relatively impermeable boundaries and a lower level of interaction among members. Examples of these social categories were women, blacks, Jews or Americans. A neighbourhood was generally smaller than the social categories described above, and size could have an important impact on the perception of group entitativity (e.g., Brewer & Harasty, 1996). The boundaries of a neighbourhood were permeable in the sense that it was possible, and relatively simple, to penetrate it or to move out. Concerning the history, there was a wide variation and often the neighbourhood history was also connected to the physical characteristics of the place. Thus, it was impossible to compare the results obtained in relation to these social categories (e.g., women, Jews) with neighbourhoods.

In this chapter, we understand social categories in the sense of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, in the sense people define themselves as belonging to a neighbourhood and have the perception that they share some characteristics with the other residents, this neighbourhood can be understood as a social category (Tajfel, 1974). Likewise, the residents of a neighbourhood can be understood by others as sharing significant attributes, and in this sense they are perceived as a group, which like other groups can vary in terms of perceived entitativity.

5.2.4. Research overview

This study aimed to draw on the concept of "entitativity", as used in social psychology, to understand the implications of place of residence in terms of how others perceive the residents of this area.

It focused on the antecedents of perceived entitativity in the perception of groups based on a geographic dimension, i.e., neighbourhoods. Four specific issues regarding the perception of entitativity in neighbourhoods were analysed. Firstly, if an urban aggregate such as a neighbourhood could be perceived with a certain degree of entitativity. Secondly, if it was possible to identify the social and physical characteristics of these neighbourhoods that were more strongly associated with the perception of entitativity. Thirdly, if it was possible to identify different dimensions in the perception of neighbourhoods. And finally, if it was possible to identify sets of neighbourhoods that differ in terms of their physical properties and perceived entitativity.

5.3. Study

5.3.1. Method

Pre-test

The pre-test was designed to choose a group of neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon that were better known by students, both in terms of geographical location and characterization.

A questionnaire was designed in order to assess knowledge about 47 neighbourhoods all over the city. The questionnaire consisted of the following 3 questions for each neighbourhood: 1) "Have you ever heard of this neighbourhood?"; 2) "Can you identify where it is situated?"; 3) "Have you ever been to this neighbourhood?". The last part of the questionnaire assessed socio-demographic information (e.g., age, sex, present and past area of residence). The questionnaire was answered by 50 students from the Technical University of Lisbon and the Higher Institute of Applied Psychology, who gave their informed consent to participate. 82% of the respondents lived permanently in the metropolitan area of Lisbon and 18% only lived in the Lisbon metropolitan area during the school year, returning to their home areas for vacations.

Choice of the 20 districts included in the main study was based on the following criteria: 100% of subjects responded positively to question 1; at least 70% of participants responded correctly to question 2; and at least 50% responded yes to question 3. The 20 neighbourhoods varied in terms of attributes such as size, architectural aspects, antiquity and income, this being the result of the previously described pre-test.

Main Study

Participants

189 university students from the Technical Institute and the Higher Institute of Applied Psychology, both in Lisbon, participated in this study. The sample consisted mainly of residents that live in the metropolitan area of Lisbon (MAL) permanently (73.5%), and only 26.5% lived in MAL during the school year, returning to their original area of residence in the summer. The sample was composed of 42.3% female and 57.7% male students, with an overall mean age of 22.24 years (SD=2.632). The questionnaire was answered in a classroom context.

Material

The material for the experiment was contained in a questionnaire (see annex 6). In this questionnaire, participants were asked to rate some Lisbon neighbourhoods according to 23 properties. At the top of the paper was the name of the neighbourhood in capital letters and the instructions for the participant. Subjects were instructed to focus on the characteristics of each area before answering. Participants rated each neighbourhood on a 9-point scale.

The twenty three properties included: a) three questions about neighbourhood preferences; b) fourteen questions about the physical properties of neighbourhoods (e.g., size, degree of organization). These questions were selected from the environmental adjectives by Kasmar et al, (1970). c) Six questions about group properties, which included entitativity, group member similarity, interaction, importance, goals and outcomes. These group properties, in a previous study, revealed a strong positive correlation with entitativity (Lickel et al., 2000, study 1 and 2).

The last section of the questionnaire was socio-demographic characterization, which included questions about sex, age, birthplace, place of residence and the frequency of visiting each evaluated neighbourhood.

As the questionnaire required participants to rate each neighbourhood in twenty three properties, it would be very difficult for each participant to rate the 20 neighbourhoods. So the task was divided in four application conditions. All participants rated only eight neighbourhoods, with four neighbourhoods being the same for all participants and the other four different for each condition.

Distribution of subjects over the four conditions was randomized. 50 participants responded to the first condition (26.5%), 50 to the second (26.5%); 44 to the third (23.2%) and 45 to the fourth condition (23.8%). To control for possible order effects, the neighbourhoods in the four conditions were presented at random.

In order to analyse the data from the four conditions as if they were part of the same sample, some demographic characteristics of the four conditions were statistically compared. No statistical differences were found between the four experimental conditions in relation to the sex variable $X2$ (3)=4.679, p<.197, age F=.373, p<.773, and place of residence F=1.609, p<.189.

Procedure

All the instructions were on the first page of the questionnaire. After reading them, all participants rated the eight neighbourhoods on the twenty three properties, using a 9-point scale. To evaluate entitativity, a scale ranging from 1 (not a group at all) to 9 (very much a group) was used according to Lickel et al. (2000). Upon completion of the questionnaire, participants were thanked for their participation and provided with an email contact in case they wanted additional information and/or to receive the study results.

Perceived entitativity

The underlying premise of this study was that urban aggregates, such as neighbourhoods, vary in terms of entitativity. Participants' average ratings for each neighbourhood are presented in Table 5.1. The results show an important variation between the groups, i.e., participants perceived the neighbourhoods with a substantial variation in terms of entitativity, with a mean group entitativity ranging from 7.36 to 3.41.

Table 5.1. Perceived Entitativity Rating for 20 Lisbon Neighbourhoods (mean and SD)

Neighbourhoods	Mean	SD
Alfama	7.36	1.57
Castelo	6.86	1.47
Graça	6.47	1.78
Chelas	6.26	2.22
Bairro Alto	6.19	1.71
C. Ourique	5.86	1.44
Pontinha	5.80	1.41
Encarnação	5.74	1.79
Belém	5.60	1.53
Ajuda	5.51	2.05
Lapa	5.47	1.93
Alvalade	5.26	1.87
Baixa	5.18	1.88
Intendente	5.14	2.14
Olivais	5.06	2.06
Anjos	4.83	1.89
Benfica	4.70	1.93
Restelo	4.67	2.08
Telheiras	4.66	1.82
P. Nações	3.41	1.99

Entitativity and neighbourhoods' social and physical properties

The second aim of this study was to investigate if the properties of these neighbourhoods were related to each other and to entitativity. To achieve this purpose, a correlation matrix of the variables was formed, as shown in Table 5.2. The results showed a strong and positive Pearson inter-correlation between all the group properties evaluated in this study. The interaction property was the variable most correlated with entitativity (r=.96), and the similarity property the variable least correlated with entitativity (r =.73).

Table 5.2. Correlation among Group Properties Rating

	Entitativity	Interaction	Importance	Goals	Outcomes	Similarity
Entitativity	___	.96**	.74**	.83**	.77**	.73**
Interaction		___	.62**	.75**	.71**	.63**
Importance			___	.77**	.67**	.74**
Goals				___	.96**	.92**
Outcomes					___	.91**
Similarity						___

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

Concerning physical properties, the Pearson correlation between neighbourhoods' physical characteristics and group properties, in particular the perceived entitativity, is presented in Table 5.3. The results showed a strong negative correlation between entitativity and the following neighbourhood properties: modern, functional, organized, well-planned, rich and large. Thus, the physical properties that participants associated with the entitativity of a neighbourhood were a small and poor area, old, not necessarily functional, and not necessarily well-organized or

planned, which in the general public's view represent the more traditional neighbourhoods in the centre of Lisbon.

Table 5.3. Correlation among Group Properties and Physical Properties

	Entitativity	Interaction	Importance	Goals	Outcomes	Similarity
Attractive	-.05	-.22	.58 **	.16	.06	.19
Clean	-.4	-.57 **	.17	-.13	-.22	-.06
Modern	-.78 **	-.80 **	-.61 **	-.55 *	-.48 *	-.42
Unique	.36	.25	.83 **	.46 *	.34	.45 *
Functional	-.71 **	-.80 **	-.25	-.47 *	-.49 *	-.43
Organized	-.65 **	-.76 **	-.13	-.39	-.45 *	-.34
Inviting	.2	.04	.73 **	.31	.19	.30
Well-balanced	-.24	-.41	.35	-.05	-.15	-.03
Well-Planned	-.69 **	-.75 **	-.27	-.46 *	-51 *	-.44
Good	-.11	-.28	.53 *	.09	0	.11
Consonant	-.28	-.43	.31	-.09	-.20	-.06
Rich	-.51 *	-.67 **	.12	-.22	-.28	-.16
Large	-.65 **	-.75 **	-.42	-.44	-.43	-.30

*Significantly different at p< 0.05, **Significantly different at p< 0.01.

Grouping of Neighbourhoods

Another research aim was to identify sets of neighbourhoods and describe how these types of neighbourhood clusters differ with regard to their physical and group properties, and also in entitativity. A k-means cluster analysis (Johnson & Wichern, 2002) of participants' ratings of the 20 neighbourhoods was performed. As a decision criterion for the number of clusters to retain, the R-squared criterion was used, as described in Maroco (2007). A five-cluster solution was chosen allowing explanation of 67.7% (R-sq=0.677) of the total variance.

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Table 5.4 shows the classification of each neighbourhood in the k-means with k=5. The cluster analysis shows that clusters vary, not only in a single attribute, but in several. Thus, cluster 1 includes only one neighbourhood – Parque das Nações - being characterized by the highest values in terms of preferences (attractive, positive and preferred) and the highest values in almost all the physical attributes. Nevertheless, it showed medium scores in the "unique" attribute (M=4.93) and a lower score in the "inviting" attribute (M=4.58). In terms of group properties, it was characterized by the lowest perception of entitativity and interaction, but the scores of the other group properties (importance, goals, outcomes and similarity) were not as low, being slightly below average.

Table 5.4. Rating of Neighbourhoods in the k-means with k=5 (Cluster memberships)

Cluster	Neighourhood	Distance
1	Parque das Nações	0.00
2	Olivais	2.04
	Ajuda	2.15
	Anjos	3.59
	Benfica	2.00
	Encarnação	2.89
3	Chelas	1.44
	Pontinha	2.55
	Intendente	3.00
4	Lapa	2.30
	Alvalade	1.64
	Campo de Ourique	2.53
	Restelo	2.62
	Baixa	3.50
	Telheiras	3.54
	Belem	2.21
5	Bairro Alto	2.70
	Castelo	1.77
	Alfama	2.00
	Graça	1.86

Cluster 2 includes 5 neighbourhoods, four large neighbourhoods located in the suburbs, and one (Anjos) a small neighbourhood situated in the centre of Lisbon. This neighbourhood shows the biggest distance to cluster centre (D= 3.59). This cluster was characterized by low scores in preference, in physical properties and in group properties, but not as low as in the other attributes (see Table 5.5). Cluster 3 was characterized by the lowest preference and the lowest physical attributes, but with scores around average in perceived entitativity and interaction. Cluster 4 was characterized by values above the mean value in preferences, physical attributes and group attributes.

Table 5.5. Cluster Centres and *F* statistic for each Dimension

	Cluster centres					*F*	Sig
Dimension	1	2	3	4	5		
Attractive	6.51	3.44	1.39	5.73	5.41	32.51	.000
Pleasant	6.53	3.65	1.68	5.69	5.18	20.73	.000
Clean	6.35	3.49	1.84	4.94	3.23	15.52	.000
Modern	7.38	3.27	3.28	3.51	1.27	7.46	.002
Unique	4.93	3.81	2.96	5.18	6.22	8.95	.001
Functional	6.07	3.99	2.96	4.59	3.07	15.93	.000
Organized	6.32	3.86	2.76	4.85	3.09	24.06	.000
Positive	5.97	3.65	1.72	5.20	4.81	30.97	.000
Quiet	4.49	3.73	2.52	4.29	3.67	2.25	.112
Inviting	4.58	3.65	1.67	4.86	5.24	21.15	.000
Well-balanced	5.21	3.87	2.40	4.83	4.00	21.87	.000
Well-Planned	6.63	4.22	3.37	5.09	3.07	10.63	.000
Good	6.04	3.80	1.67	5.35	4.82	32.83	.000
Consonant	5.77	4.30	3.17	5.06	4.35	11.02	.000
Rich	6.79	3.38	1.37	5.48	3.10	41.63	.000
Large	6.66	4.45	4.52	5.07	3.37	6.28	.004
Preference	6.02	3.42	1.41	5.15	5.03	29.81	.000
Entitativity	2.41	4.17	4.73	4.24	5.72	12.55	.000
Interaction	2.10	4.35	4.97	4.03	5.89	19.78	.000
Important	4.23	4.34	4.21	4.98	5.89	14.84	.000
Goals	3.96	4.05	4.68	4.50	5.16	6.73	.003
Outcomes	3.80	3.84	4.48	4.22	4.78	6.01	.004
Similarity	4.55	4.15	5.06	4.73	5.47	7.03	.002

Cluster 5 included the older and more traditional neighbourhoods, situated in the city centre, with high values in terms of preferences, and the highest scores in perceived

entitativity and the other group attributes. These neighbourhoods were characterized as being "unique" and "inviting", but not clean, organized, planned, consonant or rich. From Table 5.5 it can be seen that the cluster groups differed in their perceived entitativity. Cluster 1 had the lowest score in entitativity and cluster 5 the highest score. These data confirm that perceived entitativity is connected with neighbourhoods, but entitativity is not necessarily connected with the neighbourhood's attractiveness or preference.

Dimensions in neighbourhood perception

The last goal of this study was to explore the possibility of identifying different dimensions in the perception of neighbourhoods, i.e., if it was possible to aggregate the properties in main factors, to understand the neighbourhoods' perception. To achieve this purpose, a Principal Components Analysis (PCA) was carried out. For this we averaged the ratings for each of the 23 attributes over participants and aggregated the data across neighbourhoods (following the procedure described by Maroco, 2007) and performed a PCA on this data with a varimax rotation. Four items were excluded, one ("organized") for contributing equally to explanation of factor 1 "attractiveness" and factor 2 "functionality", and three items ("pleasant", "positive", "I like"), because correlations with other items were greater than 90%.

As seen in Table 5.6, three factors were extracted with 65.59 % of variance explained. The first factor was denominated "attractiveness" and explained 24.808% of variation. The second factor, "functionality", justified 21.242% of the variation and was negatively related to entitativity. The third factor, "entitativity", explained 19.536% of variation, and included all the social features considered. The Cronbach

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Alfa for the group of dimensions associated with each factor was 0.856, 0.859 and

0.870.

Table 5.6. PCA Loading with a Varimax Rotation

	"Attractiveness"	"Functionality"	"Entitativity"	Communalities
Good	**0.861**	0.275	-0.004	0.817
Attractive	**0.849**	0.170	-0.023	0.750
Inviting	**0.837**	0.046	0.116	0.716
Well Balanced	**0.722**	0.392	0.038	0.676
Unique	**0.629**	-0.230	0.197	0.488
Consonant	**0.626**	0.442	0.034	0.589
Rich	**0.621**	0.507	-0.163	0.670
Modern	-0.069	**0.824**	-0.175	0.714
Organized	0.433	**0.721**	-0.074	0.712
Functional	0.368	**0.708**	-0.047	0.639
Well Planned	0.336	**0.683**	-0.047	0.581
Large	-0.020	**0.671**	-0.060	0.454
Clean	0.545	**0.598**	-0.118	0.668
Common Goals	0.024	0.029	**0.878**	0.772
Common Outcomes	-0.066	0.083	**0.830**	0.700
Similarity	0.003	0.044	**0.815**	0.666
Entitativity	0.025	-0.309	**0.739**	0.642
Interaction	-0.027	-0.404	**0.719**	0.680
Importance	0.310	-0.143	**0.631**	0.526
Alfa Cronbach	**0.856**	**0.859**	**0.870**	
Eigenvalues	6.630	4.034	1.797	
Variance	**24.808**	**21.242**	**19.536**	

5.3.3. Discussion

Entitativity and neighbourhood perception

The main objective of this study was to draw on the concept of "entitativity", as used

in social psychology, to understand the way people organize information about

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places and people that live there, particularly if an urban aggregate (neighbourhood) varied in terms of entitativity, and if the neighbourhoods of a city therefore differed in their placement along a "entitativity continuum" (as described by Hamilton & Sherman, 1996, p.345; Hamilton, Sherman & Lickel, 1998). The results showed clear evidence of wide differences in the entitativity perception of different neighbourhoods by residents of the city. Thus, participants perceived the neighbourhoods on a continuum from high entitativity neighbourhoods (Alfama) to low entitativity neighbourhoods (Parque das Nações). Therefore, neighbourhoods could produce social perception processes that were usually attributed only to classic social groups.

Connected to the first objective, the second aim was to identify the social and physical characteristics of the neighbourhood most strongly associated with the perception of entitativity. Concerning social characteristics, the results showed a strong positive relation between entitativity and the following perceived properties: interaction, common goals, common outcomes, group member similarity and importance of the group. These results were similar to those obtained by Lickel et al. (2000, study 1 and 2) for social groups.

Concerning the perception of neighbourhood attractiveness, no correlation was found between entitativity and attractiveness of the neighbourhood or perception of the neighbourhood as positive. And the relationship between perception of neighbourhood attractiveness and perception of interaction is not significant but is negatively correlated. Here the result may be associated with the type of people who responded to the survey, young people for whom interaction based on the neighbourhood was not as important as for other population groups.

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Physical characteristics of places and the perception of entitativity

Apart from social characteristics, this research made a connection between perceived entitativity and physical characteristics of the space, identifying a set of physical properties of neighbourhoods that were strongly correlated with entitativity, namely "traditional", "not functional", "not organized", "not well-planned", "small", "poor" and "unique". In this context, this study identified a set of neighbourhoods that were perceived as having high entitativity. These corresponded to the more traditional neighbourhoods in the city centre. At the other extreme of the entitativity continuum, a set of very large neighbourhoods situated on the outskirts of the city of Lisbon were identified, being more recent and with higher buildings and wider streets. These neighbourhoods were perceived as having low entitativity.

These results revealed that groups defined by belonging to a neighbourhood could generate the same type of processes that were well identified in the perception of individuals and groups (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996). People were found to make inferences between the physical and social characteristics of the neighbourhood. These inferences were consistent among individuals and neighbourhoods. Firstly, the perception of neighbourhood entitativity was correlated with the same social characteristics identified in other social groups. Specifically, entitativity was correlated with interaction, similarity, importance, common goals and common outcomes. Secondly, perception was correlated with some physical characteristics.

So we could suppose that people had consistent "implicit theories" about the city, as in relation to other types of groups and individuals, which integrate both social and physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods.

It is important to realize the relevance of these results in designing and planning new areas of the city or in the renovation and revitalization of older areas. In this connection, two important questions may have to be answered. The first is what is the importance of designing neighbourhoods with high entitativity? Several studies show that people identify more strongly with high entitativity groups (e.g., Yzerbyt et al., 2000; Castano et al., 2002, 2003; Hogg et al., 2007). Also, besides the well-known importance of place identification for people, much research shows that identification with the place of residence increases the feeling of security (e.g., Félonneau, 2004; Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003), increases the maintenance of place (e.g., Brown et al., 2003; Stedman, 2002), promotes pro-environmental behaviour (e.g., Pol, Moreno, Guàrdia, & Iniguez 2002; Uzzel, Pol, & Badenas, 2002), ecological behaviour (e.g., Vaske & Kobrin, 2001; Voskinn & Riese, 2001; Bonaiuto et al., 2008), community involvement and public participation. Therefore, one important objective of urban planners is to design places that facilitate appropriation and identification (e.g., Lynch, 1976; Norbert-Schultz, 1980).

The second question is how the results of the present study can contribute to designing higher entitativity neighbourhoods. In this respect, this study identifies two main dimensions of neighbourhoods' physical properties: attractiveness and functionality. It showed that entitativity was negatively correlated with functionality and in relation to attractiveness it is only positively correlated with one property of the attractiveness dimension, namely, "unique". Also, that entitativity is strongly correlated with social dimensions such as interaction. So in order to promote the development of more entitative neighbourhoods it is important to build areas that promote and facilitate social interaction, as well as make spaces that are unique, in the sense that is easy to distinguish them from the spaces round about.

In this study, the size of the neighbourhood was strongly associated with its entitativity, that is, small neighbourhoods were perceived as more entitative than larger neighbourhoods. These results are supported by Brewer and colleagues (1995) and Brewer and Harasty (1996). But this correlation between group size and entitativity was not found in other studies, for example in Lickel et al. (2000). However it is important to take into account two aspects that the authors themselves point out. First, in Lickel and colleagues' studies (2000), size was associated with the definition of groups, that is, intimate groups and task groups refer to small groups and social groups to big groups. They defined social categories as very large groups with long histories and a relatively impermeable boundary, and a lower level of interaction among members. Examples of these social categories are women, blacks, Jews, Americans. In the present study, the social category studied – neighbourhoods - has particular characteristics that are different from the social categories examined in other studies (e.g., women, Jews) (e.g., Lickel et al., 2000; Spencer-Roger et al., 2007), because delimitation of neighbourhoods includes their residents' social characteristics and physical characteristics of the place (Galster, 2001).

Secondly, previous research showed that group size affects the quality and quantity of social interaction (e.g., Cohen & Cohen, 1991 cit. in Lickel et al., 2000). Accordingly, Lickel et al. (2000) showed that group size may not be directly linked to entitativity, but scale has an indirect effect insofar as it affects the interaction of group members. And interaction was the dimension most strongly associated with entitativity.

This study used as a case study 20 neighbourhoods of Lisbon. Cluster analysis allowed us to distinguish groups of neighbourhoods concerning the studied properties in general and the three dimensions found: entitativity, attractiveness and functionality. But these data confirm that perceived entitativity is connected to the neighbourhoods, and also that entitativity is not necessarily connected to a preference for the neighbourhood or its attractiveness.

The concept of "entitativity" and the perception of neighbourhoods: additional remarks

One important question asked by several authors was if "entitativity means the same thing for all types of groups" (Hamilton, Sherman, & Rodgers, 2004, p.149; Hamilton, 2007, p.1089). In the current study, this question has particular relevance, because "neighbourhoods" is an urban aggregate that can be understood as a socio-spatial schemata by the inhabitant and, after this research, also from the perceiver's point of view, in the sense that physical and social aspects are interdependent (Lee, 1968). So the question concerns the relevance of using the entitativity concept in this context. Hamilton et al. (2004) answered this question with the following statement "perception of entitativity or groupness itself may be based on different group properties for different types of groups" (p.150). Thus, what was found in this study is that the entitativity perception in the neighbourhoods is highly correlated with some social group characteristics, as was found in other studies, but it is also highly correlated with some physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods. It seems that some environmental cues about neighbourhoods are sufficient to develop an impression about their entity. The perception of neighbourhood entitativity has a set of cognitive consequences in processing information about the neighbourhood and thinking about its residents.

Those findings are very interesting in the sense that this study confirms the assumption by Lee (1968, 2003) that a neighbourhood is a knowledge structure that includes interdependent social and physical components, but has the same impact in terms of cognitive processes as other knowledge structures.

5.4. Conclusions

This study used a concept from the social perception of groups – entitativity – to understand the impact of the place of residence in forming impressions about its residents. The results showed that the neighbourhood can be understood by the observer to have a certain degree of entitativity, and therefore perception of a group or a neighbourhood can have the same impact in terms of information processing. It was found that people made consistent inferences between the physical and the social characteristics of the neighbourhood. So we can suppose that people have consistent theories about the city and its neighbourhoods, which integrate the architecture and organization of the space, as well as the social characteristics of the neighbourhood.

Although not the primary objective of this study, it was found that attractiveness is independent of the perception of entitativity. This means that the subject revealed high attraction both to neighbourhoods with high perceived entitativity and neighbourhoods perceived as having low entitativity. Thus, it remains to be understood what factors make a city neighbourhood attractive, and to what extent the perception of entitativity is an important factor in attractiveness.

6. The central role of entitativity in the information organization and impression formation of neighbourhood residents

6.1. Abstract

The literature reports that perceived entitativity has effects on both the processing of information about a group and the outcomes of that processing. Using the concept of entitativity the objective of the two studies presented here is to understand how belonging to a particular geographical area – neighbourhood - can determine the way others organize the information and form impressions about people who live there. Two experimental studies were conducted, using the name (Study 1) or pictures of the neighbourhoods (Study 2). The groups differed in terms of entitativity perception. The results show that for both stimuli, for the neighbourhoods perceived with more entitativity the perceivers made more extreme trait judgments, gave faster responses and revealed more confidence in their judgment. The results from Study 2 also reported that in high entitative groups, the perceivers made more transference of traits from the group to individual group members. These results provide strong evidence that groups defined by belonging to a neighbourhood can produce social perception processes that were usually attributed only to classic social groups.

6.2. Introduction

With regard to intervention in urban settings, there is a growing emergence of problems related to negative or positive discrimination based on belonging to a particular area of a city. However, despite recognition of the importance of understanding intergroup relations in urban area management, this is rarely with a view to understanding these phenomena based on psychological models of intergroup relations. But the neighbourhood is one of the most studied place scales (Lewicka, 2010) and an important unit for public policy intervention (Kearns & Parkinson, 2001).

The studies presented here focus on understanding how impressions are formed regarding the residents of a neighbourhood in a city. In particular, they focus on how perception of the neighbourhood entitativity determines how information is organized in relation to it. Research on impression formation, and in particular on group entitativity, has studied essentially 3 types of groups: intimacy groups, task groups and social categories (e.g., Lickel et al., 2000; Spencer-Rodger et al., 2007). But as stated in a previous study (Chapter 5) that compared 20 neighbourhoods in Lisbon, Portugal, in terms of a set of physical and social properties including entitativity perception, neighbourhoods vary in terms of their perceived entitativity. That study concluded that entitativity can be a useful concept to understand how place of residence can influence the way the perceiver organizes the information and forms an impression about individuals. With this study in mind, this chapter aimed to explore the impact of

belonging to a more or less entitative neighbourhood on the way others organize the information and form impressions about people who live there. Two sources of information were used to activate or develop the stereotype, the neighbourhood name and photos of neighbourhoods.

6.2.1. Social perception and entitativity

In the context of social psychology the study of forming impressions of individuals and group stereotypes is traditionally developed separately, and influenced by different researchers. However, in the 90s an important paper by Hamilton and Sherman (1996) analysed the similarities and differences between these two domains, and presented a model to understand these differences. The authors emphasized the similarities and asserted "in both cases, research is concerned with how a perceiver comes to develop a conception of a social target – either a person or a group – on the basis of certain information that is available for this purpose and with how the perceiver uses that information to make judgments and behavioural decisions about that person or group" (p. 336).

In this context, Hamilton and Sherman (1996) argued that the perception of individuals and the perception of groups are governed by the same general information-process-system. However, comparison of several studies (see a review by Hamilton & Sherman, 1996) about impression formation in individuals and perception of groups reveals basic and systematic differences in both, concerning how the information is processed, as well as the outcomes. Hamilton and Sherman (1996) pointed out that "perceivers do not expect the same degree of unity and coherence among members of

a group as they expect in the personality of an individual person" (p.339). The individual is seen as a psychologically coherent unit. But this assumption does not mean that all groups do not have any unity or coherence. Perhaps it is necessary to understand when and why perceivers see an aggregate of persons as a group and make distinctions between them.

Thus, Hamilton and Sherman (1986) reintroduced Campbell's (1958) concept of "entitativity", which "refers to the degree to which a social aggregate is perceived as "having the nature of an entity, or having real existence" (p.17). For Campbell, entitativity is not a group property that is present or absent in a group, but groups vary in the extent to which the perceivers perceive them as possessing this quality (i.e. entitativity). For instance, comparing a group of Gypsies and the high school basketball team, the first group is perceived with a much higher entitativity than the second. The information processing about members of groups perceived with high entitativity, i.e., with more unity and coherence, will be similar to the process used in forming impressions about individuals. Thus, as in forming impressions about individuals, for groups perceived with high entitativity the perceiver would make on-line inference about the group, assuming consistency among the elements and surprising inconsistencies (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996).

Integrative processing

As mentioned before, it is expected that information processing about high entitativity groups is based on similar processes to those used in forming impressions about individuals. These effects are summarized by Hamilton, Sherman and Maddox (1999), as *integrative processing*.

Several subsequent studies investigate the effects of perception entitativity on information processing. In a set of investigations McConnell, Sherman and Hamilton (1994, 1997) verify that entitativity perception of a target (individual or group) determines the mechanism of information processing that is invoked. A high entitativity perception leads to an integrative impression of the target, resulting in an on-line judgment. When the target is perceived with low entitativity, a memory-based judgment is invoked. Moreover, it is considered that individuals are usually perceived with higher entitativity than groups. However, for some groups (perceived with high entitativity) the information processing is similar in groups and individuals. This idea is also supported by Brewer and Harasty (1996) who consider that high entitativity groups are represented as prototypes and low entitativity groups as exemplars.

More recently Johnson and Queller (2003) showed that information about high and low entitativity groups is represented in memory in a different form. Judgment for low entitativity groups involves verification of specific behavioural exemplars. In contrast, judgments concerning high entitativity groups involve abstracted trait knowledge.

The impact of the perceived entitativity of the group on the inconsistency resolution is studied by Welbourne (1999). The author showed that when unity of target goals and intentions was manipulated as a basis of entitativity (Study 3), perceivers were more likely to resolve evaluative inconsistencies into a single underlying disposition. This is expected to occur more when a target is expected to be highly entitative (as occurs when the target is an individual) than when a target is expected to be low in entitativity. The same does not occur when the entitativity is manipulated by perceivers' expectations about the similarity and consistency of a target's behaviour (Study 2). It seems that perceivers were more likely to resolve evaluative inconsistencies into a

single underlying disposition when a target was perceived with high entitativity than when a target was perceived with low entitativity.

Perception of a target group with high entitativity predicts judgment of collective responsibility, for instance in the case of the shooting at Columbine high school (Lickel et al., 2003). The same pattern of results appears in a more recent research (Lickel et al., 2006). Also, a set of studies investigated the relation between entitativity and group identification. The results showed that people identify more strongly with high entitativity groups (e.g., Castano, Yzerbyt & Bourguignon, 2003; Castano, 2004, Yzerbyt, Castano, Leyens & Paladino, 2000; Lickel et al., 2000). Recent studies reveal that this effect can be enhanced in special conditions such as the feeling of uncertainty (Hogg, 2004; Hogg et al., 2007) and can contribute to the feeling of security provided by the in-group (Sacchi, Castano & Brauer, 2009).

Judgment Polarization

In this context, some previous research found a judgment polarization in high entitativity groups. For example, Dasgupta, Banaji and Abelson (1999, Experiment 2) showed a more negative impression of groups perceived with high entitativity. On the contrary, Susskind and colleagues (1999) compared impressions of individual and group targets using only desirable attributes which show more favourable ratings in high entitativity targets. Both results revealed that participants gave a more extreme (positive or negative) rating to groups perceived with more entitativity. The same results were shown by Thakkar (2001, cit in Hamilton et al., 2002).

Castano, Sacchi and Gries (2003) explore the impact of entitativity group perception of the European Union (EU) among U.S. citizens, and verify that entitativity reveals a

polarization effect between the image of the EU and the judgment of the harmfulness of its actions. Another recent finding shows that groups that have high perceived entitativity are the only ones to reveal in-group extremity, both severe evaluation of negative in-group targets and more favourable evaluation of positive in-group targets (Lewin & Sherman, 2010).

Recall

As mentioned before, perceivers make more on-line judgments for groups perceived with high entitativity, i.e., perceivers form an impression of the target at the time they initially process and encode relevant information about it. In this sense, the initial information has a special influence on the impression formation, and is better recalled than information that appears later – primacy effect (e.g., Asch, 1946; Scrull & Wyer, 1989). It is also expected that the perceiver recalls a large amount of information about entitativity groups because during the impression formation, new items of information are associated with others already in the memory. This active integration results in many associative links that facilitate the recall process. On the contrary, for groups perceived with low entitativity, perceivers make memory-based judgments resulting from poorer memory of the information items, with recall being better for the most recent pieces of information.

These hypotheses are confirmed in some empirical studies. McConnell, Sherman and Hamilton (1994, 1997), for example, showed that perceivers recalled more of the stimulus information about high entitativity groups than about lower entitativity groups. In some studies the recall performance was higher in groups perceived as having high entitativity, than in those perceived with low entitativity. But the difference was only marginally significant (Susskind et al. 1999, study 1). Babey and colleagues (1998) and

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more recently Johnson and Queller (2003) showed that recall was generally slower for low entitativity groups than for high entitativity groups.

Perceived entitativity and the perception of group members

Some research has concentrated attention on the impact of perceived entitativity on individual members of the group and not on the perception of groups. The aim is to study if group entitativity has an impact on the inferences made by perceivers. Brewer and Harasty (1996) stated that perceived entitativity may mediate the relationship between the stereotype of a group and the impression of a member of this group. The perceived interchangeability in high entitativity groups, i.e., the perceptions of group members as sharing the same traits, facilitates stereotyping. In a study of the role of consistency in judging stereotype-relevant behaviours, Hilton and von Hippel (1990, study 2) demonstrated that the tendency to assimilate ambiguous behaviours increased as consistency increased, i.e., it was higher for single individuals than for members of extended families, or members of random groups. Also Yzerbyt, Rogier and Fiske (1998), in a study that explored the relationship between entitativity and social attribution, using Ross's fundamental attribution error (Ross et al., 1977) showed that membership of a high entitativity group had influence in explaining individual members' behaviour, i.e., use of fundamental attribution error only occurred for members of the entitative groups. The same occurred in another experiment (Rogier & Yzerbyt, 1999) that relies on a group version of the classic over-attribution bias (Jones & Harris, 1967).

In an interesting research, Pickett (2001) investigated the extent to which perceivers' beliefs about the level of group entitativity influences the way different members of a group are compared with each other. Using a variation of the Ebbinghaus illusion, the

author showed that an identical set of faces produced a greater illusion (indicating greater implicit comparison among the faces) when the faces were said to belong to fraternity members (high entitative group) than when the faces were said to belong to men or women born in the month of May (low entitative group). These results demonstrate that in higher entitative groups, members are submitted to higher intra-group comparison than members of low entitative groups. In a subsequent investigation, Pickett and Perrott (2004) showed that perception of high entitativity groups results in faster comparison times than perception of low entitativity groups.

Concerning perception of group entitativity, several authors emphasized that some cues of entitativity may underlie stereotyping. For example, the perception of group homogeneity, group similarity (e.g., Brewer, Weber & Carini, 1995; Brewer & Harasty, 1996) and group essence (e.g., Yzerbyt et al., 1997, 2001; Yzerbyt & Rocher, 2002), are concepts closely connected to entitativity, in the sense that allowing generalization of properties across group members may increase group stereotyping. However, few studies have investigated the direct impact of entitativity on stereotyping of existing groups. One example was the research carried out by Crawford, Sherman and Hamilton (2002). They proposed to investigate the impact of perceived group entitativity on the processing of information on individual group members and also the possibility of this information being transferred to another group member. Based on the reasoning proposed by Hamilton and Sherman (1996) that in high entitativity groups there is an on-line abstraction of stereotypes and also in the Brewer and Harasty (1996) proposal, that perceivers are more likely to have a prototype representation of high entitativity groups but have an exemplary representation of low-entitativity groups, Crawford, Sherman and Hamilton (2002) propose the idea that in high entitativity groups, members are treated as interchangeable parts, and in this sense, the

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transference of traits from one member to another is stronger than in low entitativity groups.

To test this idea, Crawford, Sherman and Hamilton (2002) developed a series of three studies using the savings-in-relearning paradigm (Carlston & Skowronski, 1994), to identify in what conditions perceivers made trait inference and/or trait transference. Inference corresponds to the situation where, for example, aggressive behaviour is paired with the trait "aggressive". Transference corresponds to the situation where, for example, a person who showed aggressive behaviour before, is now paired with the trait "intelligent", a trait associated with the behaviour of other members of his group. As predicted, the results showed that participants performed better in the inference trials for low entitativity groups, because in low entitativity groups members are treated more as individual members. However, concerning high entitativity groups participants performed better on the transference trials, where individuals are perceived as sharing the same properties. Results of these studies clarify the processes involved in the perception of high entitativity groups. Firstly, abstraction of the essence of the group, and secondly transference of that essence to all members of the group (Hamilton et al., 2002).

In a recent study, Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton and Sherman (2007, Study 2) explored the relationship between stereotyping and a set of concepts, namely entitativity, homogeneity, essence, agency and role differentiation, in two types of groups: task groups and social categories. The results showed that all these variables significantly mediated stereotyping for both types of groups. More interestingly, entitativity perceptions significantly mediated the association between each of the other four variables (homogeneity, essence, agency and role differentiation) and stereotyping.

This study demonstrated that entitativity predicts stereotyping for both task groups and social categories.

This review of entitativity research allows the conclusion that perception of group entitativity has a set of effects on both the processing of information and the outcomes of this processing, which we expected to confirm also in groups defined by belonging to a specific place – neighbourhood.

6.2.2. Studies Overview

The overall objective of the two studies presented here is to understand how membership of a particular geographical area can determine the way others organize information and form impressions about people who live there. This research aims to draw on the concept of "entitativity", as used in social psychology (e.g., Hamilton, Sherman & Catelli, 2002), in order to understand the way people organize information and form impressions about places and their residents.

To achieve this purpose, two studies are carried out. Both studies compare the way people organize information and form impressions about four types of groups. These groups differ in terms of perceived entitativity. The first study compares two social categories and two groups defined by belonging to a specific place – neighbourhood. Moreover, it investigates perception of a neighbourhood according to the stereotype participants have about it, i.e., using as independent variable the name of the group, both a neighbourhood and social category. The second study uses photos and verbal descriptions of the neighbourhoods to induce development of the group stereotype.

In both studies it is expected that groups perceived with high levels of entitativity differ from groups perceived with low entitativity, in the way perceivers organize information and form impressions about them. For groups perceived with high entitativity, an integrative impression (e.g., Hamilton et al., 1999) of the target is expected, resulting in on-line judgment. Thus, more extreme trait judgment and faster responses are expected, as well as more confidence in the judgment and more behaviour items recalled than for groups perceived with low entitativity. In groups perceived with low entitativity, a memory-based judgment is expected to be invoked, resulting in less extreme trait evaluation and slower responses, as well as less confidence in judgments and fewer behavioural items recalled.

Concerning study 2, it is also predicted that in high entitativity groups, group members will be perceived more according to the group's stereotype than members of groups with less perceived entitativity.

6.3. Study 1

6.3.1. Predictions

The main objective of this study was to compare how people organize information and form impressions about four types of groups: two social categories and two groups defined by belonging to a specific place – neighbourhood. These groups differed in terms of perceived entitativity: one social category and one neighbourhood were perceived with high entitativity and the other two groups were perceived with low entitativity. Thus, the objective of this study is a systematic comparison between classic

social categories and neighbourhoods, in order to determine if groups defined by belonging to a place – neighbourhood, have the same type of properties as other social categories.

The first prediction was that (H1) the neighbourhoods and social categories did not differ in terms of the way people form an impression, for the same degree of entitativity. The differences between groups were due only to the degree of entitativity. Thus, the second prediction is (H2) that participants in high entitativity conditions, both for social category and neighbourhood, (a) will make more extreme trait ratings, (b) have more confidence in the judgment (c) respond faster and recall more of the stimulus behaviour, than participants in low entitativity conditions.

6.3.2. Method

Overview

The procedures used in this study follow closely the paradigm described by Susskind et al. (1999). Participants were informed that the study objective was to examine how people form first impressions. After that, participants were exposed to a set of sixteen statements describing behaviours performed by members of a group. The name of the group was identified after presentation of the statements. Four different groups were considered: two social categories and two names of Lisbon neighbourhoods[5]. Each participant only answered in relation to one group. After a filler task, the participants

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[5] To facilitate description of the methodology, it was decided to call the neighbourhoods "neighbourhoods" and other groups "social categories", although the neighbourhoods are also social categories.

rated the thematic traits and their confidence in making judgement. Participants also recalled the behaviour statements and finally completed a questionnaire about their perception of group entitativity.

Pre-test

The pre-test was designed to choose the groups that would be used in the study. In a previous study (Chapter 5) a sample of 20 neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon, Portugal, was rated in relation to perceived entitativity. Large differences between the neighbourhoods were found, some having a high score in perceived entitativity and others a low score. Accordingly, it was necessary to find two social categories not based on space that had similar scores in entitativity in order to be compared with the neighbourhoods.

To achieve this purpose 72 students from the Technical University of Lisbon rated 10 social categories in relation to 6 items from an entitativity scale (based on Lickel et al., 2000) (see annex 7). Participants rated each group on a 9-point scale. The social categories considered were: Doctors, Jews, Economists, Gypsies, Nurses, Judges, Catholics, Blacks, Schoolteachers and Moslems. All the respondents volunteered to participate and provided their informed consent. The pre-test was performed in the classroom context.

The main results of the questionnaire are presented in Table 6.1. The social categories selected for the study were Gypsies (M=7.49) and Economists (M=4.69). The neighbourhoods selected were Alfama (M=7.36) and Parque das Nações (M=3.41).

Table 6.1. Main results of the Pre-test

Group	Mean	SD
Gypsies	7.49	0.90
Moslem	7.01	2.11
Jews	6.73	2.13
Doctors	5.99	1.88
Nurses	5.93	1.81
Black	5.72	2.64
Judges	5.36	2.46
Catholics	5.27	2.46
Schoolteachers	5.27	2.23
Economists	4.69	2.06

Main study: Participants and design

An experimental study was conducted with 162 psychology students from the University of Lisbon, who received course credits for their participation. The subjects were randomly attributed to four target conditions. Thus the experiment consists of a 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group: neighbourhood vs. social categories).

The sample consists of students who live permanently in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (MAL), not only during the school year. The sample was composed of 77% female students and 13% male students, with an overall mean age of 21.78 years (SD=4.27).

They participated in the experiments in groups of 1 to 10 subjects.

Material

All the materials were presented using E-Prime software, in a laboratory, in separate cubicles.

The statements used in the experiment describe behaviours performed by members of a group. Each sentence had a different male name at the beginning. The behaviours were selected to give information about four themes: athleticism, sociability, political activism, and intelligence (based on Susskind et al., 1999).

Procedure

Initial instructions. The experiment was carried out in the laboratory and all the instructions were described on the computer. On the first screen the participants read that the main objective of the study was to understand how people form first impressions. After that they read the following instructions:

"A set of statements are presented describing behaviours performed by residents of Alfama.

Each behaviour has been performed by a different resident.

Thus, we ask you to form an impression of the residents of this place"

These instructions present in bold letters the name of the group.

The procedure included presentation of 16 statements describing behaviours performed by members of a group. The 16 sentences from the 4 themes were displayed individually on the computer screen, each one for 6''. The order of presentation was randomized. After this task, participants completed a filler-task for 3 minute that consisted of counting the number of times the letter "E" appeared in a text. Then they completed four dependent measure tasks: a trait judgment task, confidence judgment, a recall task and a perceived entitativity measure (see annex 8).

Dependent measures

Trait judgment task and confidence judgment. Participants were asked four judgement questions in relation to the four sentence themes.

Each question was displayed on the computer screen and the participant was asked to press on the keyboard the number corresponding to their response, on a 7-point Likert scale. Because the response latencies were recorded, this task was preceded by a group of 4 questions to familiarize the participant with the procedure. Participants were also asked about the confidence in their judgment regarding the four themes on a 7-point Likert scale. Both the rating scores and the response latencies were recorded.

Recall task. This task consisted of asking the participants to recall the behaviour statements they had read before, by writing the sentences in a booklet. The data analysis is the count of behaviours recalled.

Perceived entitativity measures – perception of entitativity was assessed with eight items adapted from Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton and Sherman (2007, study 2). The items were rated on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 9 (extremely). The Cronbach's Alfa from the original scale for social categories was 0.86 and in the present study was 0.93. For the neighbourhood groups participants were also asked to rate them on a 9-point scale concerning the following physical characteristics: "modern", "functional", "organized", "well-planned", "large", "rich" and "not unique". In a previous study (Chapter 5), these physical characteristics showed a strong negative correlation with entitativity.

Check of physical differences between neighbourhoods

To verify if participants knew the physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods, answers regarding these were submitted to an ANOVA. The Means and Anova analysis are displayed in Table 6.2, and showed a significant main effect between neighbourhoods. The results also confirmed the previous premise that neighbourhoods perceived with high entitativity would had lower scores in the evaluated physical characteristics than neighbourhoods perceived with low entitativity.

Table 6.2. Perceived Physical Characteristics of Neighbourhoods - Means Anova Analysis

	Alfama Means	Parque das Nações Means	F	Sig
Modern	3.12	7.49	128.834	**.000**
Functional	5.05	6.61	20.217	**.000**
Organized	5.12	6.37	14.426	**.000**
Well planned	4.78	6.93	28.639	**.000**
Rich	4.17	7.68	145.874	**.000**
Large	3.76	6.98	93.127	**.000**

Perceived entitativity

The initial hypothesis was that the different groups studied varied in terms of perceived entitativity. Both the scores of the entitativity scale and the individual question were submitted to an ANOVA with a 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group: neighbourhood vs. social categories). The results showed a significant main effect in the entitativity scale $F_{(3,159)}=60.575$, p<.001. A HSD Tukey post hoc analysis is

shown in Table 6.3, and shows a significant main effect for all groups except between low entitativity groups (Parque das Nações and Economists).

The results confirmed the previous data, and the groups of Alfama and Gypsies had significantly higher entitativity scores than the Parque das Nações (PN) and Economists groups. Concerning the groups with high entitativity, the social category – Gypsies – reported a higher perceived entitativity than the neighbourhood – Alfama. In relation to the low entitativity groups, despite scores being lower in the neighbourhood than in the social category of Economists, no significant differences were reported.

Table 6.3. Study 1 - Means and Post Hoc Tests – Tukey HSD – Perceived entitativity

	Neighbourhoods			Social categories			High entitativity			Low entitativity		
	Alfama	P.N.	**F Sig**	Gypsies	Econ.	**F Sig**	Alfama	Gypsies	**F Sig**	P.N.	Econ.	**F Sig**
Group	5.83	4.88	**.052**	8.03	5.20	**.000**	5.83	8.03	**.000**	4.88	5.20	.826
Part	6.46	5.37	**.014**	8.20	5.44	**.000**	6.46	8.20	**.000**	5.37	5.44	.997
Cohesive	5.76	3.85	**.000**	7.83	4.44	**.000**	5.76	7.83	**.000**	3.85	4.44	.289
Organized	5.59	4.80	**.046**	6.68	5.24	**.000**	5.59	6.68	**.002**	4.80	5.24	.452
Unity	5.83	4.29	**.000**	7.65	4.46	**.000**	5.83	7.65	**.000**	4.29	4.46	.939
Interact	6.27	4.15	**.000**	7.75	4.85	**.000**	6.27	7.75	**.000**	4.15	4.85	.111
Interdep.	5.10	4.12	**.055**	6.33	4.76	**.000**	5.10	6.33	**.009**	4.12	4.76	.347
Important	6.59	4.90	**.000**	7.83	5.17	**.000**	6.59	7.83	**.004**	4.90	5.17	.879
Entitativity Scale	5.93	4.55	**.000**	7.53	4.94	**.000**	5.93	7.53	**.000**	4.55	4.94	**.346**

Based on the preliminary predictions, it was expected that in high entitativity groups participants would have shorter response latencies in the entitativity group scale than in low entitativity groups. The analysis indicated a significant main effect in the entitativity scale, $F_{(3,159)}=10.578$, p<.001. A HSD Tukey post hoc analysis appears in Table 6.4,

and showed a significant main effect between high and low perceived entitativity for both neighbourhoods and social categories. No effects were found between both groups of high perceived entitativity (Alfama and Gypsies), and both groups of low perceived entitativity (Parque das Nações and Economists).

Table 6.4. Post Hoc Tests – Tukey HSD – Response Latencies – Perceived Entitativity (in milliseconds)

	Neighbourhoods			Social categories			High entitativity			Low entitativity		
	Alfama	P.N.	F Sig	Gypsies	Econ.	F Sig	Alfama	Gypsies	F Sig	P.N.	Econ.	F Sig
Group	6526	8914	**.075**	7795	10537	**.031**	6526	7795	.574	8914	10537	.351
Part	5763	7350	**.007**	5760	7061	**.041**	5763	5760	1.000	7350	7061	.933
Cohesive	4568	5729	**.040**	3936	5292	**.012**	4568	3936	.470	5729	5292	.743
Organized	4576	5121	.699	4478	4025	.582	4576	4478	.997	5121	4025	.132
Unity	4715	6249	**.002**	5457	6927	**.004**	4715	5457	.312	6249	6927	.388
Interact	4577	6249	**.016**	5457	6927	**.032**	4577	5457	.895	6249	6927	.960
Interdep.	4917	6228	**.032**	5106	6375	**.042**	4917	5106	.979	6228	6375	.989
Important	4981	6622	**.055**	5263	7003	**.039**	4981	5263	.972	6622	7003	.934
Entitativity Scale	5071	6519	**.000**	5337	6673	**.001**	5071	5337	.885	6519	6673	.972

Trait judgments

The initial prediction was that in high entitativity conditions, both in social categories and neighbourhoods, participants would make more extreme trait judgements than in low entitativity conditions. The data was analysed with a 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group: neighbourhood vs. social categories) Anova for each of the four trait themes, i.e., sociability, intelligence, political activism and athleticism. The results, presented in Table 6.5, generally confirm the prediction. In neighbourhood groups,

participants in the high perceived entitativity condition (Alfama) reported significantly more extreme trait judgments than participants in the low perceived entitativity condition (Parque das Nações) for two themes (sociability and political activism). In the social categories similar results were reported, i.e., participants in the high perceived entitativity condition (Gypsies) gave significantly more extreme ratings than in the low entitativity perceived condition (Economists) for three subjects: intelligence, athleticism and political activism.

Table 6.5. Means Ratings and Anova Significance with Post Hoc Tests – Tukey HSD, on the Dependent Measures by each group

	Neighbourhoods			Social categories			High entitativity			Low entitativity		
	Alfama	P.N.	**F** **Sig**	Gypsies	Econ.	**F** **Sig**	Alfama	Gypsies	**F** **Sig**	P.N.	Econ.	**F** **Sig**
Trait Judgments												
Intelligence	4.71	4.68	.999	4.45	5.10	**.009**	4.71	4.45	.579	4.68	5.10	.168
Sociability	5.59	4.61	**.002**	4.40	5.24	.269	5.59	4.40	**.000**	4.61	5.24	.885
Athleticism	5.07	4.68	.430	3.20	3.90	**.037**	5.07	3.20	**.000**	4.68	3.90	**.004**
Political Act.	5.32	4.41	**.010**	2.78	5.17	**.000**	5.32	2.78	**.000**	4.41	5.17	**.015**
Mean	5.17	4.59	**.002**	3.71	4.85	**.000**	5.17	3.71	**.000**	4.59	4.85	**.045**
Response latencies to trait judgments												
Intelligence	4872	6267	**.004**	4958	6128	**.024**	4872	4958	.997	6267	6128	.986
Sociability	4281	5949	**.002**	4548	6006	**.011**	4281	4548	.940	5949	6006	.999
Athletic	4956	6307	**.058**	4708	6164	**.036**	4956	4708	.967	6307	6164	.993
Political Act.	4600	5782	**.043**	4801	6628	**.000**	4600	4801	.970	5782	6628	.232
Mean	4677	6076	**.000**	4754	6232	**.000**	4677	4754	.996	6076	6232	.970
Confidence	4.43	4.25	.831	3.67	4.21	.062	4.43	3.67	.003	4.25	4.21	.755
Recall	5.05	5.75	.583	4.79	4.71	.999	5.05	4.79	.964	5.75	4.71	.210

Concerning the comparison between groups perceived with high entitativity, the results show significantly higher scores for the neighbourhood (Alfama) than for the social category (Gypsies) in relation to sociability, athletics and political activism. In relation to the low entitativity groups, there were significant differences for athleticism and political activism. However, for political activism the social category (Economists) reported higher scores than the neighbourhood (Parque das Nações). For athleticism, the results are the opposite, with the social category reporting a lower value than the neighbourhood. These results can be understood if the stereotype associated with each group is considered. The Parque das Nações is located near a major park, where it is possible to see many subjects doing sport every day.

Trait judgments - response latencies

Concerning response latencies, the preliminary prediction was that the perceived entitativity of the group would influence the way participants processed information about the group, i.e., it was expected that in high entitativity conditions, participants would make more on-line trait judgments than in low entitativity conditions, in both types of group: social categories and neighbourhoods. The trait judgment response latencies were analysed in a 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group: neighbourhood vs. social categories) Anova for each of the four trait subjects. The results confirmed the initial hypotheses for both neighbourhoods and social categories. As expected, in the high entitativity condition participants answered faster than in the low entitativity condition for both neighbourhoods and social categories.

No significant differences were found concerning comparison between groups with high entitativity or groups with low entitativity.

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Confidence in judgment

This study predicted that entitativity perception can influence confidence in judgment, i.e., it was predicted that participants in high entitativity conditions understand the behavioural information as more informative in order to make dispositional inferences than in low entitativity conditions. In this sense it was expected that participants in the high entitativity condition would report more confidence in their trait judgments than participants in the low entitativity condition, for both social categories and neighbourhoods. Confidence was analysed in a 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group: neighbourhood vs. social categories) ANOVA for the mean of the four subjects and for each of the four traits, i.e., sociability, intelligence, political activism and athleticism. Analysis of all four subjects indicated a significant main effect for three subjects, namely, sociability, athleticism and political activism. Sociability indicates a significant main effect, $F_{(3, 159)}=2.081$, p=009. However, HSD Tukey post hoc analysis only revealed a significant difference between the two neighbourhoods. The high entitativity neighbourhood (M=5.05) was judged with more confidence than the low entitativity neighbourhood (M=4.27) in the sociability subject. This result is consonant with the prediction.

Concerning athleticism, the results indicated a significant main effect, $F_{(3, 159)}=6.676$, p<000. However, HSD Tukey post hoc analysis only revealed a significant difference between the social category in the high entitativity condition (Gypsies group) (M=3.38) and the other three groups, namely the social category in the low entitativity condition (Economists) (M=4.07), and both neighbourhoods with the high entitativity condition (M=4.20) and the low entitativity condition (M=4.17). The same effect occurred with political activism $F_{(3, 159)}=5.257$, p<002.

Unlike the predictions, analysis by group revealed significantly less confidence in judgment of the Gypsies (group with high entitativity) compared to all other groups.

Recall

The last prediction was in relation to the behaviour statements recall. It was predicted that in the high entitativity condition participants would recall more behaviours than in the low entitativity condition, both in neighbourhood and social category groups. In relation to this request eleven participants had to be removed from the experiment because they misunderstood the question and did not respond correctly. Thus, only one hundred and fifty-one subjects participated in this task. The recall hypothesis was analysed in a 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group: neighbourhood vs. social categories) Anova in relation to the number of behaviours recalled.

The results indicated a non-significant effect of entitativity on behaviour statements recall.

6.3.4. Discussion

The overall goal of Study 1 was to study a particular type of group, neighbourhoods in a city, and verify if the consequences of belonging to a specific neighbourhood with high or low perceived entitativity have the same impact in terms of impression formation as has been identified in other types of groups (intimacy groups, task groups and social categories) by several authors (e.g., McConnell et al., 1994, 1997; Susskind et al., 1999; Yzertbyt et al., 1998). Particularly we wanted to assess this with regard to how judgements were made (rating and response latencies), confidence in judgments

and how information was recalled. The results did not refute the hypothesis. First, participants perceived the neighbourhoods as different in terms of entitativity. Secondly, this different entitativity perception had an impact in terms of forming an impression of the group. Thus, participants make more extreme judgments and faster judgments for neighbourhoods perceived with high entitativity than for low entitativity neighbourhoods. The same occurred with the social categories: Gypsies and Economists. These results were consistent with the idea that in relation to groups perceived with high entitativity, people carry out a more integrative information processing, an on-line processing, than for groups perceived with low entitativity.

Despite the relevance of these results, in particular because the study focuses on a particular type of group – neighbourhoods - the findings do not confirm all the initial hypotheses. The most surprising result concerns the absence of significant differences between high and low entitativity groups in the recall performance. This result is the opposite of previous entitativity studies (e.g., McConnell et al., 1994, 1997; Babey et al., 1996; Johnson & Queller, 2003). One possible explanation is related to the methods used. The present study uses a similar method to Susskind et al. (1999) who report only marginal significance between three types of targets: individual, group and aggregate. The literature reports that entitativity is stronger in individuals than in more entitative groups (e.g., McConnell, Sherman and Hamilton, 1994, 1997; Hamilton, Sherman & Maddox, 1999), and the present study only used groups. In this sense, perhaps this method was not the most adequate to evaluate recall performance between groups. Another possible explanation for these results concerns the type of information given to participants to form the impression. In previous studies the authors describe the groups to the participants for the first time, and thus the process of impression formation is carried out during the research process. In the current study,

participants have previous information about the group (neighbourhood or social category). Thus the impression is already formed and is not completely dependent on the information given during the research process. This difference can have an impact on the recall process.

Concerning confidence in judgments, the results confirm the predictions only in some conditions. The theme of sociability is the one that confirms the initial hypothesis that participants reveal more confidence in their judgments of high entitativity groups than low entitativity groups. One possible explanation for this result can be because the theme of sociability is the concept closest to entitativity and because social desirability is one of the main dimensions for evaluating other people (Rosenberg et al., 1968).

Unlike the predictions, in the social category of Gypsies, which was perceived by participants as a high entitativity group, participants revealed less confidence in their judgments in comparison to the other three groups. This result can be associated with the strong negative stereotype that usually occurs in relation to this group. So these results can be explained as a way to correct stereotypical judgments by reducing confidence in the judgement and one way to control automatic processes that may have allowed the emergence of prejudice against the group of Gypsies (Devine, 1989).

Nevertheless, one question remains unanswered. Why, contrary to previous studies (Susskind et al., 1999), in this study in the high entitativity condition do participants not report more judgment confidence than in the low entitativity condition? A possible answer to this question may be related to the type of groups used. In Susskind and colleagues' study, members of the targets (group and aggregate) are described in the course of the study, and there is no previous information about them. In this study, real groups, of which there is already an impression formed, are used. Thus, confidence in judgment may be influenced not only by the perception of group entitativity, but also by the contents of social representation of the group (Doise, 1988).

Study 1 results report that groups based on a spatial dimension, as is the case of neighbourhoods in a city, also vary in terms of entitativity, and such a variation influences the way residents are perceived. As noted by Lynch (1960), the neighbourhood is one of five key elements that underlie our cognitive organization of urban space. The author defines the neighbourhood as an urban area which the observer enters and recognizes as having something in common and identifiable. However, the author only focused on architectural coherence perceived as a form of spatial organization, and not as a form of perception of its inhabitants.

The way information about the inhabitants of a neighbourhood is organized can be either through the stereotype we have of the neighbourhood and its people, as was tested in Study 1, or may be the result of only eye contact with the neighbourhood. In this case, will the physical attributes of a neighbourhood, by themselves, lead to subjects perceiving the neighbourhood with a certain degree of entitativity, this perception determining how we process information about its residents? That is the question we wish to answer in Study 2. This study will only use pictures of neighbourhoods as a source of information, or descriptions based only on their physical characteristics.

6.4. Study 2

6.4.1. Method

Study 1 generated a set of relevant findings. It reinforced the idea that the entitativity concept can be an important concept in understanding how people perceive neighbourhoods in an urban area. However a set of questions arose from the results of Study 1 and from the literature. Concerning Study 1, the results from the confidence in

judgments only partially confirmed the prediction, despite other studies having identified the effect of entitativity on judgment confidence (e.g., Susskind et al., 1999). Moreover, Study 1 identified the impact of strong negative stereotypes on confidence judgment.

Study 1 investigated perception of a neighbourhood according to the stereotype participants have about it, i.e., the independent variable used was the name of the group, both neighbourhood and social category. However, the neighbourhoods had a set of architectural and urban features, and a previous study (Chapter 5) identified a set of physical characteristics of neighbourhoods that are strongly correlated with entitativity. Thereby, it could be interesting to study the perception of neighbourhood members using photos of neighbourhoods as a single stimulus. In addition, the literature shows some evidence that perceived entitativity groups affect processing of information about group members and, in particular, increase the possibility of applying the group impression to an individual group member (e.g., Brewer & Harasty, 1996; Yzerbyt, Rogier & Fiske, 1998; Crawford, Sherman & Hamilton, 2002).

Predictions

The main objective of this study was to replicate Study 1, using as a stimulus to generate the neighbourhood stereotype, only a set of photos or a description of the neighbourhood based on the characteristics strongly correlated with entitativity, reported in Chapter 5. Study 2 also aimed to evaluate the effect of perceived group entitativity on the transference of group stereotype to individual members.

Thus, in the current research it was expected that (H1) neighbourhoods, presented by photos or brief descriptions, with characteristics highly correlated with entitativity would

be evaluated with higher entitativity than neighbourhoods with characteristics with a low correlation with entitativity.

A second prediction (H2) was that participants in high entitativity conditions (a) would make more extreme trait ratings, (b) have more confidence in their judgment, (c) respond faster and (d) recall more of the stimulus behaviours than participants in low entitativity conditions.

The third prediction (H3) states that participants in the high entitativity condition would make more transference of behavioural traits from the group stereotype to individual group members than participants in the low entitativity condition.

O v e r v i e w

In this second study, photos and descriptions of the neighbourhoods were used to induce development of the group stereotype. The photos and descriptions were based on the physical characteristics strongly correlated with entitativity perception (Chapter 5). The procedures used in this study followed closely the paradigm described by Susskind et al. (1999) and were the same as in Study 1.

The transference of group stereotype to individual group members was evaluated using a procedure inspired by Crawford, Sherman and Hamilton (2002, study 1 and 2). At the end of the procedure described in Study 1, participants were informed that a resident of the neighbourhood presented before would be described. A list of six adjectives was presented for 10 seconds. After presentation of the adjectives, the participant did a filler task lasting 3 minutes. The task was to find a list of 20 city names in an array of letters. After the filler task, a list of fourteen adjectives was presented in a random order, with

the objective of verifying if participants attribute characteristics of the group to the individual group member.

Pre-test

The pre-test was designed to choose a set of photos that would be the stimulus to generate the neighbourhood stereotype in the subsequent study. Two groups of photos were necessary: one that represented the high entitativity group and another that represented the low entitativity group. Based on the study presented in Chapter 5, the photos for the high entitativity group needed to have the following characteristics: small, poor, traditional, poorly planned, non-functional and disorganized. Photos for the low entitativity group needed to have the following characteristics: large, rich, modern, well-planned, functional and organized.

The city of Setúbal (50 km south of Lisbon) was chosen to take the photos, because on one hand, this city has neighbourhoods with the necessary characteristics for this study and, on the other hand, it is not known by the majority of participants in our study. A large number of photos were taken and two groups of 8 photos were selected for the test, one for the high entitativity condition and the other for the low entitativity condition (see annex 9). The aim of this test was to confirm if the photos were classified with the physical properties referred to before and if they were perceived as one with high entitativity and the other low entitativity.

To achieve this purpose, sixty students from the University of Évora (the same university where the main study would be carried out) rated both groups of photos according to 6 physical characteristics (small/large; poor/rich traditional/modern; poorly planned/well planned; non-functional/functional; and disorganized/organized), and on

the entitativity scale used in Study 1 (based on Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton & Sherman, 2007). There was also a question about possible identification of the city in the photos, to control for the effect of previous stereotypes in relation to the city. All the respondents volunteered to participate and provided their informed consent. The pre-test was performed in the classroom context. The participants were exposed to the photos for 6 seconds each on the screen. After presentation of all the photos of one group, all participants rated the group of photos concerning the 6 physical properties, and the entitativity scale, using a 9-point scale.

To control possible order effects, presentation of the two groups of photos was first in the high entitativity condition for half of the participants and for the other half, in second place. In order to analyse the data from the two conditions, as if they were part of the same sample, the ratings of the two conditions were statistically compared. No statistical differences were found between the two experimental conditions in relation to all the variables.

Table 6.6. Main Results of the Pre-test

Properties	High entitativity condition		Low entitativity condition		F	Sig
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Small/large;	5.87	.769	3.88	.904	167.535	.000
Poor/rich	6.42	.619	3.75	.836	394.360	.000
Traditional/modern	6.38	.121	2.37	.780	467.692	.000
Poorly planned/well planned	5.80	.113	4.35	1.010	55.030	.000
Non-functional/functional	5.88	.101	4.12	.976	94.948	.000
Disorganized/organized	6.10	.752	4.18	.983	143.883	.000
Entitativity Scale	4.04	.728	5.93	.546	258.564	.000

The main results of the questionnaire can be seen in Table 6.6, showing a significant difference between the two conditions for all variables. In relation to the entitativity scale, the Cronbach Alfa was 0.95. Nobody correctly identified the geographical location of the photos.

Main study

Participants and design

An experimental study was conducted with one 121 psychology students at the University of Évora. All respondents volunteered to participate and provided their informed consent. The participants received course credits for their participation. The subjects were randomly divided in four target conditions. Thus the experiment consists of a 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group presentation: photos vs. description).

The sample was composed of 84% female and 16% male students, with an overall mean age of 22.40 years (SD=2.632).

They participated in the experiments in samples of 1 to 3 subjects.

Material and Procedure

All the materials were presented using E-Prime software, in a laboratory in separate cubicles. Participants also had a record sheet to register their socio-demographic data, the recall task and the filler tasks.

The first part of the experiment was similar to Study 1. On the first screen, participants read that the main objective of the study was to understand how people form first impressions. After that, in the photos condition, they read the following instructions:

A set of photos of a neighbourhood in a Portuguese city will be presented. Afterwards, a set of statements are presented describing behaviours performed by residents of that neighbourhood".

Each behaviour has been performed by a different resident.

Thus, we ask you to form an impression of the residents of this place"

These instructions include in bold letters the words "form an impression" and "neighbourhood". For the neighbourhood description condition the instructions are similar, but the first sentence was "*A description of a neighbourhood in a Portuguese city will be presented*".

The experiment was composed of two parts: the first was similar to Study 1. The procedure included presentation of 16 statements that described behaviours performed by members of a group. The 16 sentences from the 4 themes were displayed individually on the computer screen, for 6 seconds each. The presentation order was randomized. After this task participants completed a filler-task lasting 3 minute, that consisted of counting the number of times the letter "E" appeared in a text. Then they completed three dependent measure tasks: a trait judgment task and confidence judgment, and a recall task.

The second part aimed to evaluate the transference of group stereotype to individual group members. The participants were informed that a resident of the neighbourhood presented before named "Sebastião" would be described. A list of six adjectives was presented for 10 seconds. After presentation of the adjectives, the participant did a filler task lasting 3 minutes. The task was to find a list of 20 city names in an array of letters. After the filler task, a list of fourteen adjectives was presented in random order - recognition task. These adjectives included synonyms of the adjectives presented before (with a similar frequency in the Portuguese language), the adjectives of the four themes presented in the first part of the study and adjectives without any relation to the

others (see annex 8). For each adjective the participants must respond "yes" or "no", if the adjective is a characteristic of the resident described before.

Finally the participants completed two measures: perceived entitativity measure and perceived physical characteristics of the neighbourhood.

Dependent measures

The following dependent measures are similar to the one used in Study 1: trait judgment task and confidence judgment; recall task; perceived entitativity measures and perceived physical characteristics of the neighbourhood.

The recognition task included presentation of fourteen adjectives, one at a time, at random. The instruction informed participants that they should have indicated, for each adjective, if the adjective corresponded to one of "Sebastião's" attributes or not. The adjective list was built in order to check if participants made a correct correspondence between the list of "Sebastião's" traits and the list of adjectives, or point out some of the group characteristics to "Sebastião". Two types of measures were used: *Trait inference* where participants would point out the traits that are synonymous with the initial adjectives of the subject; and *trait transference* where participants would transfer to the subject (Sebastião) traits of the group.

6.4.2. Results

Check of physical differences between neighbourhoods

To find out if participants were aware of the physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods, at the end of the experiment they evaluated the neighbourhood in relation to the 6 physical characteristics. The ANOVA analysis indicated a main effect

of the target type for both the photo condition and description condition. The Tukey HSD post hoc results are shown in Table 6.7. As expected, no significant differences were found in both high and low entitativity condition, between the photo group and the description group.

Table 6.7. Study 2 Means and Post hoc Tests - Tukey HSD - Physical Characteristics

	Photos			Description		
	High Entitativity	Low Entitativity	F Sig	High Entitativity	Low Entitativity	F Sig
Modern	2.29	6.30	**.000**	4.86	7.07	**.000**
Functional	4.16	6.03	**.000**	4.10	6.66	**.000**
Organized	4.55	5.67	**.062**	4.93	6.34	**.012**
Well planned	4.84	5.67	.140	5.67	6.34	**.000**
Rich	3.81	5.70	**.001**	3.93	7.00	**.000**
Large	3.97	6.37	**.000**	4.10	6.24	**.000**

Perceived entitativity

In order to check if the groups varied in terms of entitativity perception, participants from the four conditions answered an entitativity scale of eight items adapted from Spencer-Rodger, Hamilton and Sherman (2007, study 2) and already used in Study 1 . The Cronbach's Alfa in this study was 0,91. Both scores of the entitativity scale and the individual questions were submitted to an ANOVA in a 2 (entitativity: high vs low) X 2 (type of group presentation: photos vs. description). A significant difference in both photo and description conditions between the "high entitativity group" and the "low entitativity group" was expected. A non-significant effect was also expected in both high and low entitativity between the photo condition and the description condition. The results showed a significant main effect in the entitativity scale $F_{(3,116)}=5.360$, $p<.002$.

A HSD Tukey post hoc analysis showed a significant main effect for the photo condition, for the entitativity scale and for five items, and only marginal significance for the other three items (see Table 6.8). In the description condition, despite scores in the high entitativity group being higher than in the low entitativity group, no significant effect was found between these groups.

As expected, no significant differences were found in both high and low entitativity condition, between the photo group and the description group.

Table 6.8. Study 2 – Means and Post hoc Tests - Tukey HSD - Perceived entitativity

	Photos			**Description**		
	High Entitativity	Low Entitativity	F Sig	High Entitativity	Low Entitativity	F Sig
Group	5.90	4.53	**.010**	5.47	4.90	.559
Part	6.00	5.03	.101	5.83	5.24	.506
Cohesive	5.52	4.23	**.011**	5.47	4.59	.151
Organized	5.26	4.47	.173	5.43	4.79	.362
Unity	5.71	4.40	**.009**	5.43	4.83	.463
Interact	5.90	4.53	**.010**	5.60	4.97	.475
Interdependent	5.32	4.33	.131	5.50	4.79	.416
Important	6.87	5.67	**.053**	5.50	5.31	.978
Entitativity Scale	5.81	4.65	**.003**	5.52	4.93	.268
Entitativity Scale Response latencies	5574	6768	**.038**	5655	6862	**.040**

Concerning the response latencies in the entitativity scale, preliminary predictions acknowledged that in high entitativity conditions, participants would be more likely to make their judgments on-line, than in low entitativity conditions. Thus, it was expected that participants in high entitativity conditions would have shorter response latencies that in the other condition. The results showed a significant main effect in response latencies in the entitativity scale, $F_{(3,116)}=4.900$, p<.003. And the HSD Tukey post hoc

analysis shows a significant main effect of the perceived entitativity in both the photo condition and the description condition (see Table 6.).

Trait Judgments

The preliminary prediction was that in high entitativity conditions, participants would make more extreme judgments than in low entitativity conditions. The four trait judgements were analysed with ANOVA with 2(entitativity: high vs. low) X 2(type of group presentation: photos vs. description). The results, in general, supported the initial prediction. The Tukey HSD post hoc, presented in Table 6., showed that the high entitativity perceived group reported significantly more extreme judgments than the low entitativity perceived group, for three of the four traits, namely, sociability, athleticism and political activity. This was true for both the photo condition and the description condition.

In relation to the intelligence trait, the scores were not significantly different, but on the contrary the scores of the low entitativity perceived groups were slightly higher than the scores of the high entitativity perceived group.

Concerning the response latencies in the trait judgments, the initial prediction was that participants in the high entitativity condition would make judgments faster than participants in the low entitativity condition. The results, presented in Table 6.9, confirm the prediction for both photo and description conditions. No differences were expected between the groups with the same level of entitativity, and the results also confirm the prediction.

Table 6.9. Study 2 - Means ratings and Anova significance with Post Hoc Tests – Tukey HSD, on the dependent measures by each group

	Photos			Description		
	High entitativity	Low entitativity	F Sig	High entitativity	Low entitativity	F Sig
Trait judgments						
Intelligence	4.42	4.83	.878	4.60	4.79	.998
Sociability	5.65	4.20	**.000**	5.33	4.14	**.001**
Athleticism	4.97	4.17	**.026**	5.03	4.28	**.045**
Political Act.	5.23	4.30	**.007**	5.47	4.52	**.007**
Mean	5.06	4.32	**.001**	5.17	4.43	**.001**
Response latencies to trait judgments						
Intelligence	5846	10384	**.000**	5595	8737	**.024**
Sociability	5484	8934	**.014**	5213	8733	**.013**
Athletic	5452	7936	**.011**	5319	7885	**.010**
Political Act.	5834	8387	**.007**	5555	7358	.105
Mean	5654	8910	**.000**	5421	8178	**.002**

Confidence in Judgment

It was expected that participants in the high entitativity condition would report more confidence in their judgments than participants in the low entitativity condition. Confidence in judgments was analysed in terms of confidence ratings for each of the four trait judgments and in relation to the response latencies. This was analysed with a ANOVA in 2 (entitativity: high vs. low) X 2 (type of group presentation: photos vs. description) for the mean of the four themes and for each of the four trait themes, i.e., sociability, intelligence, political activism and athleticism. Analysis of the four themes indicated a significant main effect, $F(3,116)=3.767$, p<.013. However, a HSD Tukey post hoc analysis only revealed a significant difference between the two

neighbourhoods in the description condition, despite the confidence scores being higher in the high entitativity condition than in the low entitativity condition (see Table 6.). Analysis of each of the four themes individually indicated only a significant difference for the theme of sociability $F_{(3, 116)}=11.662$, p<.000. The HSD Tukey post hoc analysis revealed a main significant effect of entitativity for both the photo condition and the description condition.

Concerning the confidence response latencies presented in Table 6.10, they did not report any significant result, despite response latencies being lower in the high entitativity condition than in the low entitativity condition.

Table 6.10. Study 2 - Means ratings and Anova significance with Post Hoc Tests – Tukey HSD, on Confidence in judgment

	Photos			**Description**		
	High entitativity	Low entitativity	F Sig	High entitativity	Low entitativity	F Sig
Confidence ratings						
Intelligence	4.00	4.10	.991	4.43	4.00	.582
Sociability	5.45	4.23	**.002**	5.70	4.10	**.000**
Athleticism	4.10	3.90	.948	4.03	3.55	.559
Political Act.	4.06	3.57	.492	4.50	3.72	.138
Intelligence	4.40	3.95	.365	4.67	3.84	.022
Confidence response latencies						
	5813	6684	.322	5030	6174	.126

Recall

Another prediction was that participants in the high entitativity condition would recall more behaviour statements than participants in the low entitativity condition. The same prediction was made in Study 1, but was not confirmed. In the present study, results

also indicated a non-significant effect of entitativity on recall of the behaviour statements, $F(3,99)=0.863$, $p<.463$.

Transference of group characteristics to individual group members

The last prediction concerned the idea that perception of a member of a group is affected by the degree of entitativity perceived. In this connection, Brewer and Harasty (1996) proposed that perceivers have a prototypical representation of high entitativity groups and an exemplary representation of low entitativity groups. In other words, perceivers are more likely to treat high entitativity groups as collections and are therefore more likely to transfer group characteristics to their members. For low entitativity groups, perceivers are more likely to see the subject individually and are less likely to transfer the characteristics of the group to the individual.

Therefore, the previous prediction was that participants in the high entitativity condition would make more transference of behavioural traits from the group stereotype to individual group members, than participants in the low entitativity condition.

The percentage of traits correctly identified by each participant was collected in two different scores: inference scores and transference scores. The data was submitted to a 2(entitativity: high vs low) X 2 (test type: inference vs transference) mixed-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) with repeated measures with the second factor being within subjects. One of the previous hypotheses was that the traits correctly identified in the inference test would be higher than in the transference test. The results only confirmed this hypothesis marginally, $F(1,118)=3.400$, $P<.068$, with the inference test

(M=59.17%) having a higher percentage of correct answers than the transference test (M=54.38).

Concerning entitativity the analysis indicated a marginal effect of entitativity $F(1,118)=3.43$, P<.074, with a greater percentage of correct traits identified by the high entitativity group (M=59.63%) than by the low entitativity group (M=54.38).

Analysis of the interaction between the type of test and entitativity revealed a main effect of entitativity on the transference test F(3,118)=10,040, P<.000, as well as on the inference test F(3,116)=3.417, P<.020. The post hoc tests, presented in Table 6., as predicted, show that the high entitativity group had a significantly higher level of traits transference than the low entitativity group, for both group conditions: photos and descriptions.

Concerning the inference test, the post hoc test, presented in Table 6.11, shows a higher level of trait inference to the low entitativity group than to the high entitativity group. However, the result was only significant for the description group condition.

Table 6.11. Study 2 - Means ratings and Anova Significance with Post Hoc Tests – Tukey HSD post Hoc for Trait Inference and Transference

	Photos			**Description**		
	High entitativity	Low entitativity	F Sig	High entitativity	Low entitativity	F Sig
Inference	53.76	64.44	.229	51.11	67.82	**.020**
Inference Response latencies	9792	12190	.176	9439	12364	**.072**
Transference	66.13	39.17	**.000**	67.50	43.97	**.002**
Transference Response latencies	7143	10271	**.000**	6645	8656	**.037**

The last analysis concerned the response latencies. As shown in Table 6., in the transference test the high entitativity group revealed significantly lower response latencies than the low entitativity group, in both the photo and description conditions.

6.4.3. Discussion

The study had two main aims: the first was to replicate Study 1, in order to understand the way people organize information and form impressions about places and the people that live there. Study 1 used the neighbourhoods' names as the source of information. Study 2 used photos or descriptions of neighbourhoods, without any identification of the neighbourhood's name or location. Concerning this objective, the results supported the general hypothesis of the impact of entitativity perception on group impression formation for the photo condition. Thus, in higher entitativity conditions perceivers made more extreme traits, faster judgments and were more confident in rating sociability traits. Several previous studies confirm these results concerning groups with different levels of entitativity using different paradigms (e.g., Susskind et al., 1999; McConnell et al., 1994; Sanbonmatsu et al., 1987).

However, this study added significant information to the study of place of residence because it showed that people can evaluate the entitativity of a geographical space using only pictures of the neighbourhood as information. This study confirms the idea, presented before in Chapter 5, that the physical and social characteristics of neighbourhoods are interconnected and that both are important sources of information for perception of the entitativity of the place. Thus, as physical appearance is an important source of information when individuals form an impression, the "physical

appearance" of the neighbourhood is important in the process of forming an impression of its residents.

In relation to the description condition, despite scores in the high entitativity group being higher than in the low entitativity group, no significant effect was found between these groups. One possible explanation is that this specific description was not as effective as the photo in developing a social perception of the group.

However, some results were not in agreement with the predictions. In relation to trait judgment, the scores for the subject of intelligence were not significantly different, and in fact the scores of the low entitativity perceived group were slightly higher than the scores of the high entitativity perceived group. This result can be explained if we consider that districts with low entitativity are associated with characteristics such as neighbourhood wealth, and wealth tends to be associated with higher socio-economic levels and higher educational levels. Perhaps, therefore, these groups are evaluated with higher scores in the intelligence trait. This result also occurred in Study 1 in the social categories, when the economist group reported a higher score in the intelligence trait than the gypsy group. In Susskind et al. (1999) this did not occur because the author used hypothetical social targets, such as a " tightly knit group of friends who know each other and do a lot of things together" (p.183) as a definition of a group. In the present study participants had information that could have facilitated creation of a stereotype of the group with specific characteristics.

Recall performance was not significant between the different conditions, as occurred in Study 1. And in relation to judgment confidence, analysis of each of the four themes individually indicated only a significant difference for the theme of sociability for both the photo condition and the description condition. This result can be due to the fact the

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sociability is one of the dimensions that structures impression formation (Rosenberg et al., 1968) and is connected to the entitativity concept.

The majority of studies focus on the effects of perceived entitativity on the processing and storing of information about a group. But this study was also designed to investigate how information about individual members is processed and transferred from one member to another. The results showed that perceivers made trait inferences about high and low entitativity groups, but made more transference of these traits to other group members in high entitativity groups. In this sense, members of high entitativity groups are seen as interchangeable parts of the group, meaning that they are perceived as sharing the same attributes. This information has important implications for members of high entitativity groups, because they are perceived as being associated with the group stereotype more than with their individual characteristics. The results also revealed that high entitativity groups report significantly lower response latencies than low entitativity groups, in both the photo and description conditions. This means that in the high entitativity condition participants made an on-line abstraction of trait, and the result is a faster response.

In high entitative groups, when the first impression is formed, the information about specific members is forgotten. And in the sense that the group is treated as cohesive and an entitative unit, its members share all the attributes (Crawford et al., 2002). Thus, we can agree with Crawford and colleagues (2002) who made a connection between entitativity and the way information is organized in forming an impression: category-based or person-based (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). In high entitative groups the impression is made by integrating information about members in a general impression of the whole group. Thus, in high entitative groups the impression of

individual members is based on impression of the group. On the contrary, in low entitative groups it is more difficult to develop an integrative impression of the group, and thus the impression of individual members is based more on the individual information retained, and interchangeability of information between members is more difficult. Or in the perspective of Brewer, Hong and Li (2004), high entitative groups were more associated with prototypical representations and groups perceived with low entitativity are more associated with exemplar-based representations.

So these results showed we can identify a relationship between entitativity and stereotypes (Brewer & Harasty, 1996). This connection between entitativity and group stereotyping was investigated by Spencer-Rogers (2007) who demonstrated that entitativity predicts stereotyping for social categories and task groups.

6.5. General Discussion

Firstly, these results confirm the relevance of using the concept of entitativity in understanding the way we perceive membership of a geographical unit - neighbourhood - as a subcategory of an urban area or city. Secondly, they confirm that group entitativity is important both when we appeal to social perception of the neighbourhood through its name (Study1), and when presenting some of the physical characteristics of the urban area (Study2).

This study added significant information to the study of place of residence as a source of information for forming impressions. In fact, it confirmed that people can evaluate the entitativity of a geographical space, using only pictures of the neighbourhood without

any human presence as information. This study confirmed the idea, presented before in Chapter 5, that people make consistent inferences between the physical and social characteristics of the space, which have an impact on how they process information about the residents of that space. In relation to forming impressions about individuals, we already had information about the importance and accuracy of physical appearance, particularly in first impressions (e.g., Hassin & Trope, 2000; Zebrowitz & Montepare, 2008), but places were neglected in understanding the formation of impressions.

Social psychology traditionally has not taken into account the importance of physical environments in the formation of impressions. But intuitively we know that the spaces we build and the items we choose, give the observer many clues to our personalities, behaviours and values. In one of the rare studies on this subject, Gosling and colleagues (Gosling, Ko, Mannarelli, & Morris, 2002) asked observers to enter bedrooms, look around and rate their impressions about the room's occupant. The observer did not know who the occupant was and the room did not have any photos of the occupant. The results showed that the observer's evaluation was quite accurate when compared to evaluation by the occupant's friends and the occupant's rating of himself. The same level of accuracy was found in an office context, when the observer looked around the single-person office.

As noted by James (1890), people use their home and neighbourhoods as symbols of their personal prestige. Thus, places that people choose to live in are important sources of information and observers can learn a lot about us from those environments.

These studies are a first look at the relationship between the entitativity concept and perception of urban spaces, and it can give us important information about the implication of urban design in impression formation. Perceived neighbourhood entitativity has a set of effects on both information processing and the outcomes of that processing. Information in high entitative neighbourhoods is processed in an integrative way, which results, for example, in perception of group members as having the characteristics of the group, as we found in Study 2.

The conclusion of Study 2, that in high entitativity neighbourhoods, transference of the social perception of the group to group members is easier, can have important implications in terms of intergroup relationships in the urban context. In fact, neighbourhood entitativity influences how information is processed as well as how individual residents are perceived. Therefore, place of residence can influence the strength or confidence in the use of the group stereotype in relation to its individual residents. This question must be explored further in future studies, in particular in a natural context.

7. General conclusions

"Given the morphology and ecology of evolving hominids, the interface between hominids and their habitat must have been a group process. Finding food, defending against predation, moving across a landscape – these matters of coping with the physical habitat – are largely group processes." (Brewer, Yuki, 2007, p.307)

7.1. Return to the research questions

The main objective of this thesis, "Place Identity or identity of place: contribution to a theory of social identity of place", was to study the place (of residence) as a source of identity for the individual and also as an important source of information for forming an impression about its residents.

As already mentioned, study of the importance of place for identity was focused particularly on Proshansky and colleagues' concept of place identity (1983). This concept assumed that place identity could be considered a dimension of overall personal identity.

However, from our point of view the contribution of place to identity is closer to the concept of social identity than to individual identity. Without attempting to join the discussion of whether the self concept is purely personal or not (see Turner & Oronato, 1999), we assume, as Tajfel (1974) in SIT (with some refinements by Turner, 1985 in SCT), the interpersonal-intergroup continuum. In that sense, in the interpersonal

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extreme, individual behaviour, and thus interaction, is determined by individual characteristics (i.e., self-attributed concepts) while in the intergroup extreme, all behaviour is determined by membership of different social groups.

In this context, we consider that the principles and strategies described by social identity are similar to place identity. But as we have stated over the previous chapters, this idea is not original, as it has already been reported by some authors in recent years (e.g., Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Lewicka, 2008) and particularly ourselves (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, in press). But this analogy is rather indistinct, as it assumes that the phenomena are similar and uses the theories of social identity in order to understand the phenomena of identity of place, without the concern of understanding this analogy in detail. Thus, it lacked a systematic approach in order to understand if these processes were similar and had similar effects. This called for systematization of the limits of the analogy between social identity and place identity, leading to the first research question: ***How does place identity influence the way people perceive themselves, their group and others?***

This question, given its amplitude, was studied in the first three research chapters (Chapter 2, 3 and 4) of this thesis. Based on theoretical conceptualizations of the Social Identity Approach (as designated by Turner, 1999), we used essentially the classical Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985) and other subsequent developments including Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991, 1993).

Also in the context of the Social Identity Approach, we knew that the individual's identity is based in part on their self-categorization in different groups that were seen positively in comparison with other relevant groups. In this sense, groups that were

perceived as coherent entities, with similar objectives and interdependent (Brewer, Hong & Li, 2004; Lickert et al., 2000), when the group's positivity was not threatened, contribute to facilitating social identity (Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, & Moffitt, 2007). That meant that people preferred to see themselves as part of a well-defined distinctive entity. Simultaneously, people with high social identity tended to perceive their groups more as an entity, which means with more entitativity (Castano et al., 2003).

Both classical social groups (Lickert et al., 2000) and neighbourhoods (Galster, 2001) varied in terms of the way they were perceived by their residents and observers as coherent units, i.e., in terms of degree of entitativity (Campbel, 1958; Hamilton & Sherman, 1996). Social psychology had already shown that some group characteristics were strongly associated with group entitativity (antecedents of entitativity) (Lickel et al., 2000). Also perception of a group with high entitativity had consequences in terms of both the processing of information about the group and its members, and the outcomes of that processing (consequences of entitativity). In this context, the second research question emerged: ***How does place of residence influence the way others perceive people and their group?***

Chapter 5 and 6 sought to answer this question, based on the concept of entitativity first described by Campbell (1958). In the 90s, Hamilton and Sherman (1996) brought back the concept which compared the similarities and differences in forming impressions about people and the formation of group stereotypes. Since this reintroduction, the concept of entitativity has developed particularly on two fronts: firstly, by understanding the factors that may be associated with the perception of groups' entitativity (entitativity antecedents), explored in relation to neighbourhoods (Chapter 5);

and secondly, by understanding the consequences in terms of processing information and forming impressions of belonging to groups with high or low entitativity (Chapter 6).

From the answers to these first two research questions emerged another that lies beyond the initial objectives proposed in this thesis, but which emerged naturally from the results of the studies carried out: ***How does the understanding of place identity contribute to the understanding of intergroup relations in an urban context?***

This thesis focused essentially on the geographical unit of the neighbourhood, one of the most studied territorial units (Lewicka, 2010), and also regaining relevance in urban planning (Healey, 2006). In fact, as asserted by Galster (2001), neighbourhoods are produced by the same actors that consume them. A neighbourhood could be seen as an urban aggregate characterized by a certain degree of social and spatial homogeneity identified by both its own residents and the remaining residents of the city. Thus, we can say that it is the geographical unit most related to the perception of physical, social and behavioural homogeneity.

7.2. How does place identity influence the way people perceive themselves, their group and others?

The first research question of this thesis was to answer whether the effects of self categorization in a group, as described by SIT and SCT and their subsequent developments, also occur in relation to groups defined primarily by space (e.g., "I am a Londoner"). In this thesis we tested some of these effects with different methodological approaches, and found support for our initial hypothesis as summarized below.

7.2.1. Levels of Self-categorization and Salience

The first important consideration of SI approach is that people use self-categorization as group members as a relevant self-definition in the situation. This means that self-definition also incorporates belonging to groups, i.e., people's perception that they share some characteristics with other members of a group. Thus, the SI approach incorporates the collective aspects of human identity and conceptualized identity with different levels of inclusiveness that considered both self-definition as an individual, and self-definitions as a member of different groups (Turner & Onorato, 1999). As a dynamic process depending on the context, human cognition and behaviour are affected by movements along an interpersonal-intergroup continuum.

The results of our studies showed that people used the reference to "places" in the response to simple completion of the phrase: "I am .....". The reference to places is more frequent and perceived as more important for self-definition in more inclusive contexts (Chapter 2 study 1). In self-definition, people used the reference to different places with different degrees of inclusiveness that can be used simultaneously or alone, but always in reference to the context (e.g, I am Portuguese, I am from Lisbon). The contextual dependence of self-categorization had several consequences in our studies, firstly, that the scale of place identity activated depended on the scale of context (Chapter 2, study 1), and secondly, that the intensity of place identity varied depending on the intergroup comparison salient in the context (Chapter 2, study 2).

Finally, we also found flexibility of place identity in several situations. In the absence of place identity being made salient in the context, participants reported increased place identity to another scale. For example, temporary residents in the neighbourhood and in the city of Lisbon (Chapter 2, study 1) reported a low neighbourhood and city identity,

but reported a higher national identity than permanent residents. Similar results were found in a field study (Chapter 4). The residents of a neighbourhood with a negative stereotype reported a low neighbourhood identity but a higher national identity than residents of other neighbourhoods without a negative stereotype.

7.2.2. Place identity and in-group favouritism

Central to SIT (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was human motivation to achieve positive self-esteem through belonging to positively evaluated groups. This process could be summarized by the sequence of the 'three' basic processes of social categorization – social identity – social comparison, and as a consequence, positive distinctiveness (Turner & Reynolds, 2010). The latter was found in relation to place identity both in the laboratory context and in field studies. Using the minimal group paradigm (Chapter 3, study 1), the results showed that place identity is associated with favouritism towards the in-group, in terms of allocation of resources. Also in field studies (Chapter 3, study 2, and Chapter 4, study 1), the residents of different neighbourhoods reported a more positive perception of their neighbourhood in relation to quality, security and prestige than the residents of other neighbourhoods. Moreover, effects of identity on the way people organize spatial information about the city were found. In estimation of distances, we found that residents with high place identity underestimated the distance between the neighbourhood and a place in the centre of the city which was highly evaluated (Chapter 4, study 2).

However, in some situations social identity is unsatisfactory. This means that the individual can not make a favourable comparison with relevant out-groups. In this

situation, the SI approach predicted (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) that the individual can leave the existing group and join a more positively distinct group (individual mobility) and/or make their existing group more positively distinct through social creativity. Possible strategies of social creativity were the use of some new dimensions in comparing with the out-group; changing the values assigned to the attributes of the group; or by changing the out-group of comparison. These strategies were not intentionally tested in our research. However, the results showed spontaneous use of some of these strategies. For instance in Chapter 4, we found that the residents of Chelas neighbourhood, who had a negative perception of their own neighbourhood and low place identity, took advantage of the opportunity to report high identity when asked about city and national identity (the same type of results were found in Chapter 2, study 2). In the same study, when the residents of the Chelas neighbourhood were asked about where they lived, the majority used the name of part of the neighbourhood they knew to be better evaluated by others, and not the usual name of the neighbourhood. Use of a subgroup worked here as a form of escape for a group with a highly negative stereotype, for which it is difficult to express a positive identity.

7.2.3. Place identity and out-group distinctiveness and discrimination

Several studies supported the idea that the degree of bias changed with the magnitude of group identification. In fact, we also verified in relation to place identity that both in laboratory studies (Chapter 3, study 1) and field studies (Chapter 3, study 2, and

Chapter 4, study1), participants reporting higher place identity also reported higher out-group discrimination and out-group differentiation.

Throughout this thesis, we tested several times the effect of place identity on distinctiveness and discrimination in relation to the out group relevant for comparison. Using the classical Tajfel Matrix and the Minimal Group Paradigm (Chapter 3, study 1) we found that participants with greater identification with the neighbourhood, in which they were categorized, were the ones showing greater motivation to discriminate against members of the out-group. In field studies, using different measures of distintiveness, we also found that place identity was highly correlated with differentiation in relation to the relevant group for comparison (Chapter 4). The same results were found in study 2 of Chapter 3. Using the perception of distance between neighbourhoods as another way to evaluate intergroup differentiation, the results showed that place identity was significantly correlated with overestimation of distance in relation to the other neighbourhoods (Chapter 4).

7.2.4. Group dimension, place identity and discrimination

The social identity approach also reported that some group variables can be very important in the process of identification with the group and social comparison. Due to their relevance, two must to be referred to: the dimension of the group and the group status. In Chapter 3 we tested the importance of the scale of place in place identity and discrimination and distinctiveness in relation to the out-group. The results in both laboratory and field studies showed that smaller groups reported higher place identity, and discrimination (study 1) and differentiation (study 2) regarding the out-group. We

also explored the motives for discrimination and the results showed different motives related with the size of place (study 2), as was predicted and shown in other social groups.

Group status was not studied directly. However, as we could show in Chapter 4, the perceived quality of the neighbourhoods under study influenced the process of social comparison between neighbourhoods in order to achieve a positive identity. In fact, we found a set of strategies in the groups that included a comparison with neighbourhoods perceived as more or less similar to their own, assimilation in relation to neighbourhoods perceived with very high quality in comparison to their own, and separation in relation to neighbourhoods perceived with much lower quality. All these strategies allowed groups to achieve positive distinctiveness and were in line with the prediction of SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

7.3. How does place of residence influence the way others perceive people and their group?

To answer this question an interconnected set of studies were developed. The first study aimed to understand if neighbourhoods, like other social groups, can be understood with different degrees of unity. Using the concept of entitativity, we showed that in the 20 neighbourhoods of the city of Lisbon studied, perceived entitativity varied significantly (Chapter 5). It was also found that perception of neighbourhood entitativity was strongly associated with a set of social characteristics of the group (interaction, importance, similarity, common goals and common outcomes) as was verified before by Lickel et al. (2000), as well as with a set of physical characteristics of the

neighbourhoods (unique, poor, small, old, dysfunctional, unorganized and badly-planned).

With these results in mind, we explored the consequences of perceived entitativity on the impression formed of the neighbourhood and its residents. Two types of stimulus were used: the name of the neighbourhood (Chapter 6, study 1), and a picture of a neighbourhood with the physical characteristics associated with the perception of entitativity (study 2). We found that the perception of high entitativity of a neighbourhood had a consequence of more integrative processing of information, revealed in faster responses and more extreme judgments. We also found that in high entitative neighbourhoods, the perceivers made more transference of traits from the group to individual group members. This pattern of results was similar to the results found in relation to other social groups (e.g., Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton & Sherman, 2007; Susskind et al., 1999).

7.4. How does the understanding of place identity contribute to the understanding of intergroup relations in an urban context?

The most general idea we must retain in this thesis is the importance of observing the city, less as a set of people in complex settings, but more as a set of psycho-social groups that impose meaning, boundaries, etc. to those complex settings. Since people define themselves by occupation of the same space, they see the space, themselves and others as sharing a set of characteristics. Recognition of these socio-spatial categorizations is crucial in understanding how individuals define themselves within the

social space of the city and how they perceive and relate to the residents of other neighbourhoods. This process has two facets. On one hand, belonging to the neighbourhood determines how people perceive themselves and how they perceive the residents of other neighbourhoods. On the other hand, others perceive neighbourhood residents as having the characteristics of their socio-spatial group (neighbourhood) even if the residents do not identity with the neighbourhood.

Thus, the city can be defined as a set of socio-spatial units with somewhat unclear limits, mainly defined by their users, in which each unit perceives itself in comparison to the other units of this system. In this sense, any intervention in the city demands an understanding of this perceived psychological ecology. Therefore, the impact of urban planning and management cannot be restricted to a physical place but has to be understood as an intervention in this global social ecology.
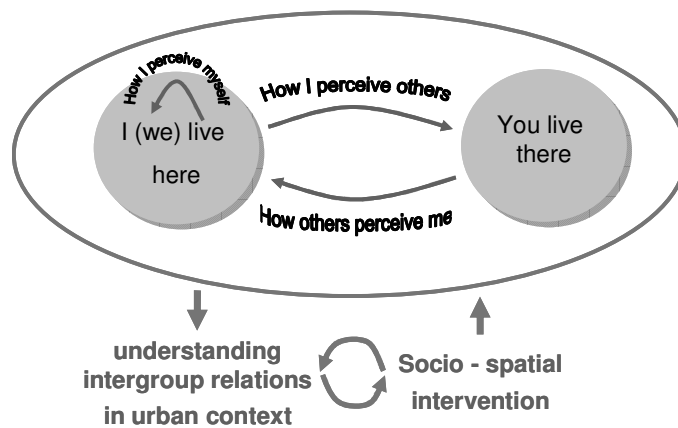
Figure 7.1. Implications of the study of place identity for socio-spatial interventions

From the place identity study, some aspects must be stressed. First, self-categorization as a member of a neighbourhood may, like any other social group identity, be activated according to a set of factors (mainly related to context and salience). As with other types of social categorization in the case of inter-neighbourhood conflict or urban intervention, the behaviour of members can be defined more by their belonging to a place than by their personal identity.

A second important finding was the recognition that some physical and social factors of the neighbourhood affected the intensity of place identity and its consequences in terms of intergroup relationships. Namely, the neighbourhood size (Chapter 3), and the neighbourhood status (Chapter 4) showed impact in terms of place identity intensity, distinctiveness and discrimination in relation to other neighbourhoods. From the observer's point of view, the degree of unity of the neighbourhood had an impact on the way people form impressions about neighbourhoods and their residents.

The last aspect was the relation between place identity and out-group distinctiveness and/or discrimination. In fact, as predicted by the Social Identity Approach, our results showed a positive relation between place identity and out-group bias. This poses major challenges to those intervening in the urban space. If, on the one hand, promotion of place identity contributes to the positive identity of its inhabitants and to satisfaction with the neighbourhood, on the other, it increases discrimination against other groups. Our studies contribute important information to deal with this dilemma. In fact, we found when comparing small and large groups, that small ones reported more identification and discrimination. But an analysis of the motivations for this discrimination showed that the members of smaller groups show motivation to increase the value of the in-group, while larger groups discriminate by increasing the differentiation between in-

group and out-group. In fact, the promotion of a neighbourhood's place identity did not reduce the discrimination but it seemed to alter its focus, in the sense that it was not solely directed to the out-group but to in-group favouritism ("I want the best for me, not necessarily worse for the others").

The importance of these data is twofold. First of all they show, with considerable precision, a set of phenomena that have inarguably practical consequences. Secondly, that although using spatial groups of the kind we have been studying, we can highlight theoretical processes of SIT / SCT themselves.

7.5. Some final remarks and future research

With this thesis we hope to have contributed to clarifying the importance of places for social identity. We start from the idea that a place is always a social space, and we showed in a set of studies and with different methodologies that identification with place has similar consequences to identification with other social groups. In fact, since the earliest conceptualizations of place in environmental psychology (Canter, 1977; Stokols & Schumaker, 1981), place has been considered a molar unit that includes physical components, social meanings or conceptions and behaviour. Also within the framework of social psychology, places such as a city or country were considered self-(social) categorizations that used as limits the feeling of belonging to a place. Recently, a set of studies showed that the physical arrangement of workplaces determined the prevalence of employees' identity with the organization or team (Millward, Haslam, & Postmes, 2007; Postmes, Haslam & Swaab, 2005), i.e., the way the place was

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organized, activation of a social category connected with that place, determined the activation of that social category.

The sense of place can also appear as a response to the threat to national identity, as was the case of the national meaning of the Falkland Islands before and after the 1982 conflict (Haslam et al., 2010). In both examples it seems that the social identity "side" of a place was activated when the intergroup side of the context was highlighted. Thus it was difficult to distinguish the limits between the contribution of the place and that of the social component to the identity.

Furthermore, personal identity emerges directly from the attributes and behaviour of the subject (Triandis, 1989). On the other hand, social identity attributes were mediated by group membership, or in the case of place identity by the features of space (as seen in Chapter 6, study 2) or merely by the characteristics of its residents.

In this context, the classical approach by Proshansky and colleagues (1983), who assumed that place identity was a dimension of personal identity, did not give the social dimension of places. Thus, we see place identity as a particular case of social identity, which we used when social categorization is defined by space. Moreover, we understand the concept of group belonging in the sense of SIT (Tajfel, 1974) as a cognitive entity meaningful to the individual. In this sense, when people defined themselves using references to spaces (as we saw in Chapter 2, study 1), they perceived themselves as sharing characteristics with others that lived in or used that space. Thus, the space could be seen as a source of social categorization. Simultaneously, when the observer had information that a person lived in a certain place, the observer considered that person shared significant characteristics with other

people living in the same place, even if the person under observation did not share that view.

However, some issues emerged from the results obtained during this research. The first is that identification with social space includes situations where people identify with a positive place that has physical and social characteristics consonant with their way of living; and in the other situation, identification also includes the process of interaction with the other inhabitants. That means the social space can be defined more by its static properties (e.g., architectural structure, socio-demographic characteristics) or dynamic properties (e.g., interaction between residents, community involvement and participation) (Brewer, Hong, & Li, 2004). For example, national identity is defined more by its static characteristics, and a neighbourhood can be defined in some situations more by static characteristics and in others by dynamic characteristics.

In this sense we can make a distinction between category-based social identities and relationship-based social identities (Yuki, 2003). From a cultural point of view, category-based social identities represent individualistic cultures (e.g., USA or Europe) and relationship-based social identities, collectivistic cultures represented by East Asia (Brewer & Yuki, 2005). On a city scale we can say that the old neighbourhoods, where social interaction over time contribute to a sense of community, represent more the relationship-based social identities. On the other hand, more recent phenomena such as families closing in around the nuclear aggregate, the building of neighbourhoods without semi-private places for interaction and the neighbourhood losing importance as an important place for urban activity (e.g., space of social interaction, dependent on the neighbourhood infrastructure) all contribute to a more category-based social identity with the social space. Some results from Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 point in that

direction. However, systematic study is necessary to support this idea and explore the implication of different types of social identity for intergroup relations between residents of different neighbourhoods and for the intensity of place identity and community involvement.

Another aspect worthy of study is the connection between place identity and entitativity. As known from the Social Identity Approach, social identity is based on group distinctiveness and the value associated with the different groups to which people feel they belong. Thus, groups that are seen as distinctive entities in connection with a positive value, facilitate the process of identification. In recent years, several studies in social psychology have explored the connection between social identity and perception of entitativity of the in-group (e.g., Castano, Yzerbyt, & Bourguignon, 2003; Yzerbyt, Castano, Leyens, & Paladino, 2000). But it is important on one hand to extend this, to gain new insights about this connection to place identity, and on the other hand, to explore the importance of the group value in this connection between place identity and perception of neighbourhood entitativity (see Figure 7.2).
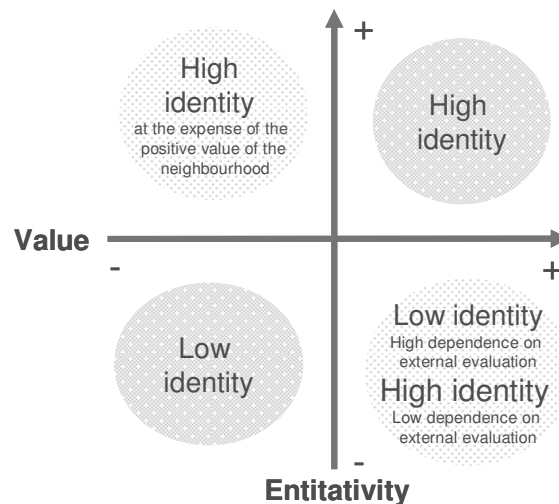
Figure 7.2. Impact of neighbourhood entitativity and neighbourhood value on place identity

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In relation to the study of neighbourhoods, we can predict a neighbourhood perceived with high value and high entitativity to facilitate identification with place. And vice-versa, a low value and entitativity hampers identification with place. But the question is in relation to the other two possibilities: neighbourhoods with high value and low entitativity, and especially, neighbourhoods with low value and high entitativity. In this last case, SIT predicts social changes, through individual mobility, social creativity or social competition (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In fact, we observed the use of social creativity strategies in Chapter 4, about a neighbourhood with very low value attributed by both the out-group and the in-group. But as pointed out by Abrams (2006), when people live in an undesirable neighbourhood, perceived as having great unity, and the possibility to move is difficult or impossible, the possible reaction can include promotion of antisocial behaviour.

Thus, the connection between neighbourhood entitativity, place identity and group value, can have important consequences in terms of intergroup relationships, and deserves to be more explored in futher studies, namely, its impact in terms of neighbourliness, community involvement and public participation.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Chapter 2, study 1 - questionnaire

Annex 2. Chapter 2, study 2 – questionnaire

Annex 3. Chapter 3, study 1 - questionnaire

Annex 4. Chapter 3, study 2 - questionnaire

Annex 5. Chapter 4, study 1 - questionnaire

Annex 6. Chapter 5, study 1 - questionnaire

Annex 7. Chapter 6, study 1 – pré-test - questionnaire

Annex 8. Chapter 6, study 1 and study 2 – material

Annex 9. Chapter 6, study 2 – pictures

(original language)

Universidade de Évora

O Departamento de Psicologia da Universidade de Évora está a realizar um estudo sobre relações interpessoais.

Para que este estudo seja possível é necessário realizar um inquérito junto dos estudantes universitários de diferentes licenciaturas. Assim, a sua colaboração é fundamental.

Por favor **leia com atenção cada situação apresentada** e responda às questões de uma forma sincera e honesta.

Será garantido o **Anonimato** e a **Confidencialidade** dos dados.

Desde já agradeço a sua colaboração.

Fátima Bernardo
Universidade de Évora – Departamento de Psicologia
Março, 2008

Dados Gerais

Sexo F ☐   M ☐   Idade   _____

Naturalidade: Concelho _____

Residência – Concelho _____

Encontra-se num liceu novo para tirar o 12º ano. Este liceu localiza-se na cidade/vila em que reside.

No primeiro dia de aulas todos os alunos são reunidos para um primeiro contacto entre si. Depois de uma introdução sobre o liceu e o ano que vão frequentar, é pedido a todos os alunos presentes que se apresentem respondendo numa folha à pergunta "Quem sou eu?"

"Concentre-se nesta situação durante alguns minutos"

A. Responda à questão **"quem sou eu?"**
    Procure dar 20 respostas   **B**   **C**

Eu sou _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐
       _____ ☐ ☐

B. Nem todas as características são igualmente importantes para que os outros percebam rápida e correctamente quem nós somos. Assim, observe as características que acabou de referir sobre si próprio e ordene-as de acordo com a **importância que têm para que os outros percebam quem é** (Tendo em conta que 1 é a mais importante, 2 a seguinte etc.) (use a coluna B).

C. Observe novamente as caracteristicas que referir sobre si próprio e agora ordene-as por ordem de **importância para si próprio** (use a coluna C).

Encontra-se na universidade que escolheu para tirar o seu curso, que se localiza numa cidade longe da sua residencia.

No primeiro dia de aulas todos os alunos são reunidos para um primeiro contacto entre si. Depois de uma introdução à universidade e ao curso é pedido a todos os alunos presentes que se apresentem respondendo numa folha à pergunta "Quem sou eu?"

"Concentre-se nesta situação durante alguns minutos"

A. Responda à questão **"quem sou eu?"**

    Procure dar 20 respostas   **B**   **C**

Eu sou _____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

_____ ☐ ☐

B. Nem todas as características são igualmente importantes para que os outros percebam rápida e correctamente quem nós somos. Assim, observe as características que acabou de referir sobre si próprio e ordene-as de acordo com a **importância que têm para que os outros percebam quem é** (Tendo em conta que 1 é a mais importante, 2 a seguinte etc.) (use a coluna B).

C. Observe novamente as caracteristicas que referir sobre si próprio e agora ordene-as por ordem de **importância para si próprio** (use a coluna C).

Encontra-se em Erasmus numa universidade de uma cidade Europeia.

No primeiro dia de aulas todos os alunos são reunidos para um primeiro contacto entre si. Depois de uma introdução à universidade e ao curso é pedido a todos os alunos presentes que se apresentem respondendo numa folha à pergunta "Quem sou eu?"

"Concentre-se nesta situação durante alguns minutos"

A. Responda à questão **"quem sou eu?"**
    Procure dar 20 respostas   **B**   **C**

Eu sou _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐
        _____ ☐   ☐

B. Nem todas as características são igualmente importantes para que os outros percebam rápida e correctamente quem nós somos. Assim, observe as características que acabou de referir sobre si próprio e ordene-as de acordo com a **importância que têm para que os outros percebam quem é** (Tendo em conta que 1 é a mais importante, 2 a seguinte etc.) (use a coluna B).
C. Observe novamente as caracteristicas que referir sobre si próprio e agora ordene-as por ordem de **importância para si próprio** (use a coluna C).

Encontra-se em num curso de Pós-graduação numa universidade Americana.

No primeiro dia de aulas todos os alunos são reunidos para um primeiro contacto entre si. Depois de uma introdução à universidade e ao curso é pedido a todos os alunos presentes que se apresentem respondendo numa folha à pergunta "Quem sou eu?"

"Concentre-se nesta situação durante alguns minutos"

A. Responda à questão **"quem sou eu?"**
 Procure dar 20 respostas

 B **C**

Eu sou _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐
 _____ ☐ ☐

B. Nem todas as características são igualmente importantes para que os outros percebam rápida e correctamente quem nós somos. Assim, observe as características que acabou de referir sobre si próprio e ordene-as de acordo com a **importância que têm para que os outros percebam quem é** (Tendo em conta que 1 é a mais importante, 2 a seguinte etc.) (use a coluna B).

C. Observe novamente as caracteristicas que referir sobre si próprio e agora ordene-as por ordem de **importância para si próprio** (use a coluna C).

Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação
Universidade de Lisboa

A Faculdade de Psicologia e Ciências da Educação está a realizar um estudo sobre a qualidade e satisfação dos **Bairros de Lisboa.**

Para que este estudo seja possível é necessário realizar um inquérito junto dos estudantes universitários de diferentes licenciaturas. Assim, a sua colaboração é fundamental.

Por favor responda às seguintes questões de uma forma **Sincera** e **Honesta**. Não se trata de uma avaliação. Queremos apenas saber o que pensa e sente sobre este assunto.

Será garantido o **Anonimato** e a **Confidencialidade** dos dados.

Desde já agradeço a sua colaboração.

Fátima Bernardo
Maio, 2010

1.Identifique o bairro onde mora: _____

2.Em relação ao seu bairro responda às seguintes questões:

	Nada	Pouco	Em certa medida	Bastante	Muito	Muitis-simo
Gosto de viver neste bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sinto-me ligado a este bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu teria pena se tivesse que mudar para outro bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando eu estou fora por um tempo, eu realmente quero voltar	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sinto-me em casa neste bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando estou longe, tenho saudades do bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6
Este é o meu bairro favorito para viver	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando estou longe, fico contente por voltar	1	2	3	4	5	6
Identifico-me com este bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6
Este bairro faz parte a minha identidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu sinto que pertenço a este bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu sinto-me como seja deste bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6

3. Dados Gerais

Sexo F ☐ M ☐ Idade _____ Curso _____	
Naturalidade: Freguesia _____Concelho _____ Cidade _____	
Residência - Local _____ Código Postal _____	
Esta é a sua residência permanente ou é apenas temporária enquanto estuda?	
Permanente ☐ Temporária ☐ Código Postal da sua outra residência _____	
Há quanto tempo vive no bairro que mencionou na pergunta 1 _____	

4. Em relação à cidade onde vive responda às seguintes questões:

	Nada	Pouco	Em certa medida	Bastante	Muito	Muitis-simo
Gosto de viver nesta cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sinto-me ligado a esta cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu teria pena se tivesse que mudar para outra cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando eu estou fora por um tempo, eu realmente quero voltar	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sinto-me em casa nesta cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando estou longe, tenho saudades desta cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Esta é a minha cidade favorita para viver	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando estou longe, fico contente por voltar	1	2	3	4	5	6
Identifico-me com esta cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Esta cidade faz parte a minha identidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu sinto que pertenço a esta cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu sinto-me como seja desta cidade	1	2	3	4	5	6

5. Em relação a Portugal responda às seguintes questões

	Nada	Pouco	Em certa medida	Bastante	Muito	Muitis-simo
Gosto de viver em Portugal	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sinto-me ligado a este País	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu teria pena se tivesse que mudar para outro país	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando eu estou fora por um tempo, eu realmente quero voltar	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sinto-me em casa em Portugal	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando estou longe, tenho saudades de Portugal	1	2	3	4	5	6
Este é o meu país favorito para viver	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quando estou longe, fico contente por voltar	1	2	3	4	5	6
Identifico-me com este país	1	2	3	4	5	6
Este país faz parte a minha identidade	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu sinto que pertenço a este país	1	2	3	4	5	6
Eu sinto-me como seja deste país	1	2	3	4	5	6

(original language)

Universidade de Évora

O Departamento de Psicologia da Universidade de Évora está a realizar um estudo sobre estilos de vida urbana

Para que este estudo seja possível é necessário realizar um inquérito junto dos estudantes universitários de diferentes licenciaturas. Assim, a sua colaboração é fundamental.

Por favor **leia com atenção cada situação apresentada** e responda às questões de uma forma sincera e honesta.

Será garantido o **Anonimato** e a **Confidencialidade** dos dados.

Desde já agradeço a sua colaboração.

<div align="center">
Fátima Bernardo
Universidade de Évora – Departamento de Psicologia
Dezembro, 2008
</div>

-

Dados Gerais

    Nº _____

Sexo   F ☐   M ☐   Idade   _____

Naturalidade: Concelho _____

Residência – Concelho _____

Questionário de Qualidade de Vida Urbana

O objectivo deste questionário é avaliar os aspectos que valoriza para a escolha de um local para residir, mais propriamente na escolha do bairro onde gostaria de morar.

Pedimos-lhe que, numa escala de 7 pontos nos diga em que medida considera cada um destes aspectos importantes na escolha de um bairro para viver.

	Nada Importante						Muito Importante
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**
1. Qualidade da arquitectura dos edifícios do bairro	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Localização do bairro na cidade	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Prestígio do bairro	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Facilidade de acessos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Presença de espaços verdes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Similaridade com a população que habita nesse bairro	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Presença de serviços de apoio (e.g: escolas, hospitais)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Presença de comércio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Existência de uma boa rede de transportes públicos	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Existência de equipamentos de laser	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Tranquilidade da zona	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Ligação à vizinhança	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Qualidade do ambiente	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G

O questionário a que respondeu examinou a sua preferência em termos de qualidade de vida urbana. A percepção de qualidade de vida urbana está relacionado com as preferências em termos características das áreas residenciais e com o estilo de vida urbana que prefere. A literatura aponta para dois estilos com as áreas residenciais: a preferência por viver em bairros grandes com mais 500 famílias, e a preferência por viver em bairros pequenos com menos de 250 famílias

Os resultados do seu teste indicam que é uma pessoa que prefere viver em bairros grandes. Neste momento não é possível, mas gostaríamos de discutir este assunto consigo depois desta sessão. Com o objectivo de identificar a sua categoria de pertença para o resto do estudo, nós pusemos a letra **"G"** (de Grande) no seu número de identificação. Por favor use esta designação no resto dos formulários.

_____

Questionário

<div style="text-align:right">**G**</div>

Em seguida serão apresentadas um conjunto de questões relativas ao seu grupo – Bairro Grande. Responda em que medida concorda com cada uma das afirmações, numa escala de 6 pontos.

	Não concordo nada				Concordo Completamente	
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
1. Penso que este grupo é um importante reflexo de quem eu sou	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Eu não actuo como uma pessoa típica deste grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.Tenho uma série de qualidades típicas dos membros deste grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. A pertença a este grupo é uma parte importante da minha auto-imagem	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Se alguém elogiar este grupo, eu iria sentir como um elogio pessoal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Se alguém criticar este grupo, eu iria sentir como um insulto pessoal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. As características deste grupo espelham as minhas características	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Eu sinto que sou parte deste grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Sinto laços com as pessoas deste grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Eu não pertenço a este grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Tenho o prazer de ser um membro deste grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. Este grupo não me satisfaz	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Não estou feliz com este grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. Estou satisfeito com este grupo	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

G

Agora vamos pedir-lhe que participe num estudo sobre o processo de tomada de decisão.

Agora terá que decidir como distribuir pontos que valem dinheiro em Euros a dois sujeitos, um do grupo Bairro Grande e a outro do grupo Bairro Pequeno.

Assim, em baixo vão aparecer-lhe números que correspondem a valores em Euros que estão emparelhados dois a dois. A sua tarefa é decidir como distribuir esses pontos entre dois sujeitos, um do grupo Bairro Grande e a outro do grupo Bairro Pequeno.

Como se vê no exemplo em baixo, para cada situação deverá escolher um par de valores.

Exemplo:

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:

O membro nº 74
do grupo do Bairro Grande   **25   23   21   19   17   15   13   11   9   7   5   3   1**

O membro nº 44   **19   18   17   16   15   14   13   12   11   10   9   8   7**
do grupo do Bairro Pequeno

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:
      Quantia
Recompensa para o membro nº 74 do grupo do Bairro Grande   21
Recompensa para o membro nº 44 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno   17

1

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:
O membro nº 99
do grupo do Bairro Grande **19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10 9 8 7**
                            —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   — — — —

O membro nº 39   **1   3   5   7   9   11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25**
do grupo do Bairro Pequeno

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:

	Quantia
Recompensa para o membro nº 99 do grupo do Bairro Grande	_____
Recompensa para o membro nº 39 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno	_____

_____

2

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:
O membro nº 54
do grupo do Bairro Grande **7   8   9   10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19**
                           —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —

O membro nº 24   **1   3   5   7   9   11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25**

do grupo do Bairro Pequeno

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:

	Quantia
Recompensa para o membro nº 54 do grupo do Bairro Grande	_____
Recompensa para o membro nº 24 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno	_____

3

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:
O membro nº 65
do grupo do Bairro Grande   **23   22   21   20   19   18   17   16   15   14   13   12   11**
—   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —

O membro nº 33   **5   7   9   11   13   15   17   19   21   23   25   27   29**

do grupo do Bairro Pequeno

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:
                                                    Quantia
Recompensa para o membro nº 65 do grupo do Bairro Grande   _____
Recompensa para o membro nº 33 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno   _____

_____

4

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:
O membro nº 77
do grupo do Bairro Grande   **11   12   13   14   15   16   17   18   19   20   21   22   23**
—   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —   —

O membro nº 32   **5   7   9   11   13   15   17   19   21   23   25   27   29**

do grupo do Bairro Pequeno

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:
                                                    Quantia
Recompensa para o membro nº 77 do grupo do Bairro Grande   _____
Recompensa para o membro nº 32 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno   _____

A

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:
O membro nº 99

do grupo do Bairro Pequeno	**19**	**18**	**17**	**16**	**15**	**14**	**13**	**12**	**11**	**10**	**9**	**8**	**7**
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
O membro nº 39	**1**	**3**	**5**	**7**	**9**	**11**	**13**	**15**	**17**	**19**	**21**	**23**	**25**

do grupo do Bairro Grande

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:

Quantia

Recompensa para o membro nº 99 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno _____

Recompensa para o membro nº 39 do grupo do Bairro Grande _____

_____

B

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:
O membro nº 54

do grupo do Bairro Pequeno	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**19**
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
O membro nº 24	**1**	**3**	**5**	**7**	**9**	**11**	**13**	**15**	**17**	**19**	**21**	**23**	**25**

do grupo do Bairro Grande

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:

Quantia

Recompensa para o membro nº 54 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno _____

Recompensa para o membro nº 24 do grupo do Bairro Grande _____

C

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:

O membro nº 65
do grupo do Bairro Pequeno **23 22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11**
___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

O membro nº 33 **5   7   9   11   13   15   17   19   21   23   25   27   29**

do grupo do Bairro Grande

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:

Quantia

Recompensa para o membro nº 65 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno _____
Recompensa para o membro nº 33 do grupo do Bairro Grande _____

_____

D

Estes números representam recompensas em Euros para:

O membro nº 77
do grupo do Bairro Pequeno **11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23**
___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

O membro nº 32 **5   7   9   11   13   15   17   19   21   23   25   27   29**

do grupo do Bairro Grande

Preencha por favor em baixo os números que acabou de escolher:

Quantia

Recompensa para o membro nº 77 do grupo do Bairro Pequeno _____
Recompensa para o membro nº 32 do grupo do Bairro Grande _____

1. A que grupo pertence? _____

Faculdade de Psicologia
e Ciências da Educação
Universidade de Lisboa

Universidade de Évora

A Faculdade de Psicologia da Universidade de Lisboa e o Departamento de Psicologia da Universidade de Évora estão a realizar um estudo na cidade de Lisboa, sobre **satisfação da população com a sua área de residência.**

Para que este estudo seja possível é necessário realizar um inquérito junto dos residentes da cidade de Lisboa. Assim, a sua colaboração é fundamental.

Este inquérito é **anónimo**. Se tiver alguma dúvida contacte - lisboa.satisfacao09@gmail.pt

Obrigado pela sua colaboração

A. Gostaria que nos desse a sua opinião sobre a zona do **Parque das Nações SUL (EXPO-SUL)**
Antes de começar a responder concentre-se nas características dessa zona.

Em seguida serão apresentadas um conjunto de questões relativas ao **Parque das Nações SUL (EXPO-SUL).**

1. Em que medida **concorda** com as seguintes afirmações?

(**1** significa "**discordo totalmente**" e **9** significa "**concordo totalmente**")

Identifico-me com este bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Este bairro faz parte a minha identidade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto que pertenço a este bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto-me como seja deste bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Não estou satisfeito por viver nesta zona.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Neste bairro há tudo o que preciso	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sinto-me feliz por viver neste bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Viver neste bairro é muito importante para mim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Em que medida **concorda** com as seguintes afirmações?

(**1** significa "**nada**" e **9** significa "**muito**")

Em que medida acha que tem características similares aos residentes da Expo Sul	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Em que medida é que acha que é diferente dos residentes dos Olivais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Em que medida é que acha que é diferente dos residentes de Moscavide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Em que medida é que acha que é diferente dos residentes da Expo Norte	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Em que medida é que acha que os residentes dos Olivais e da Expo Sul são diferentes entre si	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Em que medida é que acha que os residentes dos Moscavide e da Expo Sul são diferentes entre si	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Em que medida é que acha que os residentes dos Expo Norte e da Expo Sul são diferentes entre si	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

3. Como avalia cada um dos seguintes bairros quanto à sua **qualidade global**?

(**1** significa "**péssima**" e **9** significa "**excelente**")

Expo SUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Olivais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Moscavide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Expo NORTE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Como avalia cada uma das seguintes área quanto ao prestígio?

(**1** significa "**péssima**" e **9** significa "**excelente**")

Expo SUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Olivais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Moscavide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Expo NORTE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. Como avalia cada uma das seguintes área quanto à segurança?

(**1** significa "**péssima**" e **9** significa "**excelente**")

Expo SUL	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Olivais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Moscavide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Expo NORTE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Dados Gerais

Sexo   F ☐   M ☐   Idade _____   Formação   académica _____
Naturalidade: Freguesia _____Concelho _____
Há quanto tempo reside neste bairro? _____ anos
Onde residia anteriormente? _____ (freguesia) _____ (Concelho)
Quando um colega lhe pergunta a zona onde mora o que é que responde? _____

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Para que este estudo seja possível é necessário realizar um inquérito junto dos residentes da cidade de Lisboa. Assim, a sua colaboração é fundamental.

Este inquérito é **anónimo**. Se tiver alguma dúvida contacte - lisboa.satisfacao09@gmail.pt

Obrigado pela sua colaboração

A. Gostaria que nos desse a sua opinião sobre a zona de **Chelas**
Antes de começar a responder concentre-se nas características dessa zona.

A.1. Em seguida serão apresentadas um conjunto de questões relativas aos **Chelas**
1. Em que medida **concorda** com as seguintes afirmações?

(**1** significa "**discordo totalmente**" e **9** significa "**concordo totalmente**")

Identifico-me com este bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Este bairro faz parte a minha identidade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto que pertenço a este bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto-me como seja deste bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Não estou satisfeito por viver nesta zona.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Neste bairro há tudo o que preciso	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sinto-me feliz por viver neste bairro	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Viver neste bairro é muito importante para mim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Identifico-me com esta cidade (Lisboa)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lisboa faz parte a minha identidade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto que pertenço a esta cidade (Lisboa)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto-me como seja desta cidade (Lisboa)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Identifico-me com este país	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Este país faz parte a minha identidade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto que pertenço a este país	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Eu sinto-me como seja deste país	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

2. Em que medida **concorda** com as seguintes afirmações?

(**1** significa "**nada**" e **9** significa "**muito**")

Em que medida acha que tem características similares aos residentes dos Chelas	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Em que medida é que acha que é diferente dos residentes do Parque das Nações (EXPO)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Em que medida é que acha que é diferente dos residentes de Moscavide	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Em que medida é que acha que é diferente dos residentes de Olivais	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Em que medida é que acha que os residentes dos Chelas e do Parque das Nações são diferentes entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Em que medida é que acha que os residentes dos Chelas e de Moscavide são diferentes entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Em que medida é que acha que os residentes dos Chelas e de Olivais são diferentes entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3. Como avalia cada um dos seguintes bairros quanto à sua **qualidade global**?

(**1** significa "**péssima**" e **9** significa "**excelente**")

Chelas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Expo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Moscavide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Olivais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

4. Como avalia cada uma das seguintes área quanto ao prestígio?

(**1** significa "**péssima**" e **9** significa "**excelente**")

Chelas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Expo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Moscavide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Olivais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

5. Como avalia cada uma das seguintes área quanto à segurança?

(**1** significa "**péssima**" e **9** significa "**excelente**")

Chelas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Expo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Moscavide	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Olivais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

A.2. A que distancia fica a sua casa dos seguintes locais (faça uma estimativa

Parque das Nações (EXPO)	_____Km	Marques de Pombal	_____Km
Moscavide	_____Km	Olivais	_____Km

Dados Gerais

Sexo   F ☐   M ☐   Idade   _____   Formaçãoacadémica _____
Naturalidade:Freguesia_____   Concelho_____
Há quanto tempo reside neste bairro? _____ anos
Onde residia anteriormente? _____ (freguesia) _____ (Concelho)
Quando um colega lhe pergunta a zona onde mora o que é que responde? _____

Universidade de Évora

O Departamento de Psicologia da Universidade de Évora está a realizar um estudo sobre a cidade de **Lisboa**, e o modo como as pessoas percepcionam os diferentes bairros da cidade.

Para que este estudo seja possível é necessário realizar um inquérito junto dos estudantes universitários de diferentes licenciaturas. Assim, a sua colaboração é fundamental.

Por favor responda às seguintes questões de uma forma **Sincera** e **Honesta**. Não se trata de uma avaliação. Queremos apenas saber o que pensa e sente sobre este assunto.

Será garantido o **Anonimato** e a **Confidencialidade** dos dados.

Desde já agradeço a sua colaboração.

<div align="center">
Fátima Bernardo
Universidade de Évora – Departamento de Psicologia
Maio, 2007
</div>

A. Gostaria que nos desse a sua opinião sobre um conjunto de bairros de **Lisboa**. Para cada um dos bairros pedimos-lhe que antes de começar a responder se concentre nas características dessa zona.

Castelo

Seguidamente são apresentadas um conjunto de palavras ou frases opostas. Para responder deverá assinalar o número da resposta pretendida

O Bairro é:

Muito Atractivo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada atractivo
Muito Agradável	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito desagradável
Muito Limpo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito Sujo
Moderno	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Tradicional
Característico	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Comum
Muito Funcional	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada funcional
Muito Organizado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada organizado
Muito positivo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito negativo
Silencioso	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Barulhento
Acolhedor	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Frio
Equilibrado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Desequilibrado
Planeado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Não -Planeado
Muito Bom	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito mau
Coerente	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Incoerente
Rico	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pobre
Grande	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pequeno
Gosto muito	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Não gosto nada
Os residentes do bairro são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os residentes do bairro não são nada um grupo
Existe muita Interacção entre os seus habitantes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca Interacção entre os seus habitantes
Muito Importante para os seus residentes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pouco importante para os seus residentes
Os seus residentes têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus residentes têm objectivos diferentes
Os seus residentes têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus residentes têm destinos diferentes
Os residentes têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os residentes têm características diferentes entre si

Intendente

O Bairro é:

Muito Atractivo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada atractivo
Muito Agradável	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito desagradável
Muito Limpo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito Sujo
Moderno	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Tradicional
Característico	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Comum
Muito Funcional	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada funcional
Muito Organizado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada organizado
Muito positivo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito negativo
Silencioso	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Barulhento
Acolhedor	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Frio
Equilibrado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Desequilibrado
Planeado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Não -Planeado
Muito Bom	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Muito mau
Coerente	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Incoerente
Rico	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pobre
Grande	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pequeno
Gosto muito	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Não gosto nada
Os residentes do bairro são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os residentes do bairro não são nada um grupo
Existe muita Interacção entre os seus habitantes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca Interacção entre os seus habitantes
Muito Importante para os seus residentes	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pouco importante para os seus residentes
Os seus residentes têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus residentes têm objectivos diferentes
Os seus residentes têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus residentes têm destinos diferentes
Os residentes têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os residentes têm características diferentes entre si

Dados Gerais

Sexo F ☐   M ☐   Idade _____   Curso
_____

Naturalidade: Freguesia _____Concelho _____

Residência - Local _____ Código Postal _____

Esta é a sua residência permanente ou é apenas temporária enquanto estuda?

Permanente ☐ Temporária ☐   Código Postal da sua outra residência _____

Outros Locais onde tenha vivido nos últimos 10 anos

Freguesia   Concelho

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

Com que frequência visitou os seguintes locais no **último ano**?

	Nunca	menos de 3 vezes	3-10 vezes	10-20 vezes	Praticamente todas as semanas
1. Parque das Nações(Expo)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Chelas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Bairro Alto	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Lapa	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Pontinha	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Belém	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Encarnação	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Intendente	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Universidade de Évora

O Departamento de Psicologia da Universidade de Évora está a realizar um estudo sobre relações inter-grupais.

Por favor responda às seguintes questões de uma forma **Sincera** e **Honesta**. Não se trata de uma avaliação. Queremos apenas saber o que pensa e sente sobre este assunto.

Será garantido o **Anonimato** e a **Confidencialidade** dos dados.

Desde já agradeço a sua colaboração.

Fátima Bernardo

Universidade de Évora – Departamento de Psicologia

Dados Gerais

Sexo F ☐   M ☐   Idade _____   Curso _____

Naturalidade: Freguesia _____ Concelho _____

Residência - Local _____ Código Postal _____

Neste estudo estamos interessados na vossa percepção de diferentes grupos. Uma das coisas que todos os grupos têm em comum é que são todos um conjunto de pessoas. Contudo, nem todos os conjuntos de pessoas são considerados grupos. Por exemplo, muitas pessoas consideram que os membros de uma equipa de futebol como um grupo, mas não consideram um grupo um conjunto de pessoas que num determinado momento se encontram num elevador.

Neste questionário pedimos-lhe que nos dê a sua opinião sobre um conjunto de grupos diferentes.

Para responder deverá assinalar o número da resposta pretendida

Médicos

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Judeus

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Economistas

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Ciganos

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Enfermeiras

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Juízes

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Católicos

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Negros

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Professores Primários

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

Muçulmanos

Os seus membros são muito um grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os seus membros não são nada um grupo
Existe muita interacção entre os membros do grupo	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Existe pouca interacção entre os membros do grupo
O grupo é muito importante para os seus membros	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	O grupo é pouco importante para os seus membros
Os membros do grupo têm objectivos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm objectivos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm destinos similares	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm destinos diferentes
Os membros do grupo têm características similares entre si	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Os membros do grupo têm características diferentes entre si

(o r i g i n a l   l a n g u a g e)

1. Introduction

O Núcleo de Cognição Social Aplicada da FPCE e o Departamento de Psicologia da Universidade de Évora, estão a realizar um estudo com o objectivo de compreender como é que as pessoas formam as primeiras impressões

Vai começar por ver um conjunto de fotos sobre um bairro numa cidade portuguesa. Em seguida vão ser apresentadas um conjunto de afirmações que descrevem comportamentos realizados pelos residentes desse BAIRRO.

Cada comportamento foi realizado por um residente diferente.

Assim, pedimos-lhe que FORME UMA IMPRESSÃO dos residentes desse BAIRRO.

2. Neighbourhood description

Um bairro numa cidade portuguesa, a que chamaremos Bairro B

Neihoorhood 1

O bairro B é um bairro moderno, planeado há alguns anos pelo Município no âmbito do plano de desenvolvimento da cidade previsto no PDM. É um bairro que foi desenhado tendo em conta os princípios da organização e funcionalidade.

O bairro ocupa uma grande área da cidade e é hoje considerado pela população como um bairro rico.

Neihoorhood 2

O bairro B é um bairro tradicional, cujo desenvolvimento e crescimento não planeado obedeceu ao ritmo das necessidades de crescimento da cidade. Assim, o seu desenvolvimento não teve em conta os princípios da organização e funcionalidade.

O Bairro B ocupa uma pequena área da cidade e é hoje considerado pela população como um bairro pobre.

3. Statements

O António realizou 100 flexões e 100 abdominais antes de dormir

O João teve uma aula de surf durante o fim de semana

O Francisco participou numa caminhada pela montanha

O Rui joga basqueteball na liga regional

O Manuel foi a duas festas com amigos durante o fim de semana

O Fernando organizou um churrasco em casa para os amigos

O Paulo foi encontrar-se com um amigo que queria discutir um problema com ele

O Nuno ficou a conversar com um vizinho quando foi comprar o jornal

O José escreveu uma carta para o presidente da junta sobre o problema do lixo na sua rua

O Álvaro esteve a ver um debate televisivo entre candidatos à Câmara Municipal

O Pedro recolheu assinaturas para apoiar um candidato local

O Vítor assinou uma petição para a recandidatura do actual presidente da Câmara

O Joaquim ganhou um torneio de xadrez das freguesias da cidade

O Alexandre está a construir o seu próprio computador, tendo comprado para isso todos os componentes

O Jorge é finalista do concurso de matemática na sua escola

O Alberto publicou um poema no jornal literário

4. Filler-task

"Agora gostaríamos que contasse quantas vezes é que a letra E aparece no texto seguinte. Escreve o resultado na folha de papel."

"Um sino começou a tocar dentro do meu sonho. Primeiro, parecia vir lá do fundo, de um horizonte longínquo, depois começou a tornar-se cada vez mais nítido e mais intenso, até que ele foi forçado a acordar. Reparou que nenhuma luz entrava pelas frestas da janela, sinal de que era ainda noite, e ao querer virar-se de lado na cama para continuar a dormir, deu-se conta de que tinha a almofada encharcada em suor e os cabelos empapados. Deveria ser verão. Aquele deveria ser o sino da igreja de Alvor, soando as matinas, e ele deveria estar deitado num beliche do convés do iate do seu amigo António Amador. Deveriam ter ido até ao Algarve, era verão e estavam de férias, lá fora esperava-o o mar transparente da Ria de Alvor, onde mergulharia para acordar completamente. Mas isso era daqui a pouco, por ora podia continuar a dormir: tudo estava certo e em paz e aquele era um tempo leve, sem presságios.

Mas o sino continuava a tocar e o seu ritmo não era de convocação, mas de intimação. Agora parecia-lhe escutar algumas vozes lá fora e uma luz ainda muito ténua entrava pela janela. Tacteou na escuridão e encontrou os fósforos na mesa de cabeceira. Acendeu um e olhou os ponteiros do relógio que deixara pousado na mesa, ao alcance da mão: eram quatro e trinta da manhã e foi então que ele acordou de vez do seu sono."
(Miguel Sousa Tavares, Equador, p.177)

5. Trait judgment task and confidence judgment

"Seguidamente vamos apresentar-lhe um conjunto de perguntas para responder numa escala de 7 pontos. Responda carregando no número que melhor corresponda à sua opinião.

<u>Procure realizar a tarefa o mais rapidamente possível</u>

Para se familiarizar com a tarefa vamos fazer-lhe 3 perguntas para treinar.

Para começar carregue numa tecla"

Em média, qual é que acha que é o grau de simpatia dos portugueses?

Qual o seu grau de concordância com a criação de um feriado no dia da mulher?

Em média, qual é que acha que é o grau de organização dos portugueses?

Escala de lickert de 7 pontos

Nenhum1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Muitíssimo

Agora responda às seguintes questões, <u>o mais rapidamente possível</u>

Em média, qual acha que é o nível de inteligência dos residentes do Bairro Alto ?

Nenhum1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Muitíssimo

Qual é o seu grau de confiança relativamente ao nível de inteligência dos residentes do Bairro Alto?

Em média, qual acha que é o nível de desportivismo dos residentes do Bairro Alto ?

Qual é o seu grau de confiança relativamente ao nível de desportivismo dos residentes do Bairro Alto?

Em média, qual acha que é o nível de activismo politico dos residentes do Bairro Alto ?

Qual é o seu grau de confiança relativamente ao nível de activismo politico dos residentes do Bairro Alto?

Em média, qual acha que é o nível de sociabilidade dos residentes do Bairro Alto ?

Qual é o seu grau de confiança relativamente ao nível de sociabilidade dos residentes do Bairro Alto?

6. Recall Task

Agora procure recordar-se das afirmações que lhe foram apresentadas no início.

Procure recordar-se do maior número de afirmações possíveis.

Escreva-as na folha de papel que lhe foi fornecida:

7. Perceived entitativity measures

1. Em que medida podem os residentes deste BAIRRO ser qualificados como um grupo?

      Nada   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9   Extremamente

2. Em que medida pensa que os residentes deste BAIRRO sentem que fazem parte do seu bairro?

3. Em que medida é que o grupo dos residentes do BAIRRO é coeso?

4. Em que medida é que o grupo dos residentes do BAIRRO é organizado?

5. Quanta unidade é que acha que os membros deste BAIRRO sentem?

6. Quanto é que acha que os membros deste BAIRRO interagem entre si?

7. Em que medida os residentes deste BAIRRO são interdependentes?

8. Em que medida a pertença ao BAIRRO é importante para os seus membros?

9. Moderno	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Tradicional
10. Muito Funcional	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada funcional
11. Muito Organizado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Nada organizado
12. Planeado	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Não -Planeado
13. Rico	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pobre
14. Grande	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Pequeno

8. Recognition Task – Sebastião description

Em seguida vou-lhe apresentar o SEBASTIÃO que vive neste BAIRRO

O SEBASTIÃO é:

Honesto
Persistente
Cauteloso
Atraente
Imaginativo
Espirituoso

9. Recognition Task – List of adjectives

Sinonyms (inference)

Sério
Insistente
Prudente
Fascinante
Fantasioso
Engraçado
Group Sinonyms (transference)

Esperto
Amigável
Empenhado politicamente
Atleta
No related adjectives

Feliz
Importante
Imaginativo
Forte

Annex 9. Pictures (chapter 6, study 2)

High Entitativity group

Photo 1	Photo 2
Photo 3	Photo 4
Photo 5	Photo 6
Photo 7	Photo 8

Low Entitativity group

Photo 1	Photo 2
Photo 3	Photo 4
Photo 5	Photo 6
Photo 7	Photo 8

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