Urban neighbourhoods and intergroup relations: The importance of place identity

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to bring the concept of place identity into the context of intergroup relationships in urban place, using the social identity approach. A field study was conducted in four adjacent neighbourhoods in the city of Lisbon, in order 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). The results showed that place identity was highly correlated with neighbourhood satisfaction, relevant out-group differentiation, and favouritism to the in-group and depreciation of the relevant out-group. The results also enabled the identification of three types of possible relationships between the groups: a relevant out-group for comparison, an idealized reference group for approximation, and a devaluated group for avoidance. Moreover, in this study, we extend the predictions of SIA to the comprehension of specific distance estimation distortion patterns.

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1. Introduction

Since the 1960s, 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, & Kaminoff, 1983), emphasized the idea that self-identity not only was 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., Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, & Breakwell, 2003), 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 (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2012; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). We define, place identity, as a component of personal and social identity, a "process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place" (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace & Hess, 2007). Following the tradition of Canter (1977) and Stokols (1981) place is conceptualized as an interchangeable relationship between the physical-spacial and human-social characteristics of space. In this sense, place identity cannot not be understood without including both components (Proshansky et al., 1983). Thus, place identity can be grasped from its multiple components (spatial-physical and social issues) and the multi-place nature of individual and social place experience (individual and social meanings, feelings and experiences) (Clayton et al., 2015; Manzo & Devine–Wright, 2013). A third aspect that will be addressed later, is the multi-scale of places (e.g., Bonaiuto & Alves, 2012; Bonaiuto, Bonnes, & Continisio, 2004; Hernandez et al., 2007).

With the study presented here, we intended to bring the concept of place identity into the context of intergroup

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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 (1890), Mead (1934) and Erikson (1956). For instance, Erikson (1946) introduced the concept of "spatial identity", and stated that spatial aspects, such as place status, were important factors in the definition of identity.

relationships, by conceptualizing the urban space as for intergroup relations, based on the subject's sense of belonging to physical spaces (which always included both the physical characteristics of the place and the people who live or use these spaces). In this sense, place identity can also be understood as a particular case of social identity, consisting of aspects of self-identity based on belonging to geographically defined groups, and with which the subjects are identified. 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 that these principles and strategies "look similar to those operating in the case of social identification with a social category or group" (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003, p. 225). In fact, comprehension of place identity in the context of social identity theory is not original. In recent years, some authors have used SIT and SCT to understand the relation between place and the physical environment in a more explicit (e.g., Bonaiuto, Breakwell, & Cano, 1996; Ufkes, Otten, Van der Zee, Giebels, & Dovidio, 2012; Valera & Pol, 1994; Valera & Guardia, 2002) or more implicit manner (e.g., Hernandez et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2008).

Thus, we may assume that identification with a place may 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. This research aims to use the SI Approach[2] to understand neighbourhoods' relations in the urban context and thus contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between place identity and social identity. The aim of this research is to conduct an in-depth study of a particular region to understand the dynamics of their place identity and to contribute to a better understanding of intergroup relations in an urban context.

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

SIT considered that people defined themselves in terms of social categories (e.g., women, Portuguese) and that self-categorization provided them with social identities (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). 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 that could become salient or not depending on the context in which a person found him/herself, and the person acted 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.

1.2. In-group identification and in-group and out-group-bias

In-group bias was a central issue in SIT. In fact, Tajfel, Flament, Billig, and Bundy (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 (Brown, 2000; McGarty, 2001; Turner, 1999). 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 third, the existence of similarity or proximity, makes comparison with the out-group relevant. 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., Abrams, 1994; Jetten et al., 2000; study 2; Nigbur & Cinnirella, 2007; Smith, Giannini, Helkama, Maczynski, & Stumpf, 2005). 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 et al. (2005) showed in a cross-national study a significant correlation between national identification and positivity of the national stereotype.

Likewise, 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 (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003; Félonneau, 2004), less dangerous (Billig, 2006), less polluted (Bonaiuto et al., 1996; Gifford et al., 2014), and a better place to live (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013; Kyle, Graefe, Manning, & Bacon, 2004; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010).

1.3. 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 (Turner, 1999), and there is a lack of systematic work on the assessment of comparison choice (Brown & Haeger, 1999). Furthermore, 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

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

& 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.

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, i.e., the primacy of the self-enhancement motive. In this sense, downward comparisons should be preferred and comparisons with upward out-groups should be avoided (Hogg, 2000). However, 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., Gartrell, 2002; Zagefka & Brown, 2005). For instance familiarity, conceptualized as frequency of contact with the out-group increases the comparisons between children with and without disability (Deaux & Martin, 2001), as well as that between ethnic groups (Zagefka & Brown, 2005). It is important to understand the extent to which the groups are familiar with each other. For example in an urban context it is not only the physical proximity, but also the road structure and the existence of attractive points, such as commercial and recreational facilities, that encourage the contact and the proximity, thereby contributing to increased social comparison.

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, Verkuyten and Nekuee (1999) examined ethnic minorities, and Terry, Carey, and Callan (2001) focused on pilots from two airlines. In other contexts, the understanding of the history of intergroup relationships was necessary for comprehension of out-group choices, field studies about national identities (Lalonde, 2002), and regional identities (Simon, Kulla, & Zobel, 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., Garcia-Marques & Palma-Oliveira, 1986; Lalli, 1986; Stoll-Kleemann, 2001). Lalli (1986) stated in relation to urban identity that identity with a particular town fulfilled the function of demarcation against all other people who did not live in that town or other people who 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-Kleemann (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 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.

The process of categorization 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). Thus, 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); this can be 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). In general, high identifier group members tended to perceive both in-groups and out groups as more homogeneous than low identifiers (e.g., Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1997).

1.4. Identification and environmental scale

Identification with place can exist at different environmental scales, from the smaller ones, such as the home or the neighbourhood, to wider ones like a city, region or country, or even to different contexts, such as outdoor spaces (Bonaiuto & Alves, 2012). The literature on environmental psychology has focused mainly on two aspects in the search for understanding identities on different scales. One set of investigations has studied the urban spaces from a multiplace perspective and sought to identify patterns of activity between different spaces (Bonaiuto & Bonnes, 1996; Bonnes, Mannetti, Secchiaroli, & Tanucci, 1990). They have also identified clusters of inhabitants characterized by a specific pattern of multiplace urban activities (Bonaiuto, Bonnes & Continisio, 2004).

On the other hand, another series of studies has sought insight into whether the intensity of place bond (place identity and place attachment) differs depending on the scale of place (Gifford et al., 2009; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Hernandez et al., 2007; Lewicka, 2010) and to identify the variables that predict place identity at each place scale (Cuba & Hummon, 1993).

More recently a third perspective emerged on the study of place identity, that emphasizes that identity is a dynamic process, that allows the person to use the identity that is most convenient depending of the context (Turner & Onorato, 1999). Thus it is relevant to understand the relationship between different scales of place identity (Twigger Ross, Bonaiuto & Breakwell, 2003). In their study of the London Docks, Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) point out that multiple identities provide people with a set of identifications that serve as a resource to be drawn upon depending on the situation. In this sense, the person can choose the scale of identity that must contributes to their positive distinctiveness and self-esteem. The SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) describes a set of strategies to cope with the threat to social identity posed by negative group membership, for instance by the recategorization, i.e., the person can use a different identification that contributes to a more positive social identity. The same processes described in SIA occur with place identification (Twigger-Ross (1996)). Supporting this premise, a recent study reported that temporary residents who showed lower identity to the neighbourhood and to the city, in contrast showed very high identity to the country (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013). In a study about the attractiveness of the Lisbon neighbourhoods, the residents that report less neighbourhood identity showed more identity to the city (Jerónimo, Marques, Monteiro, Reis, & Palma-Oliveira, 2010).

After describing some of the basic premises of the social identity approach, the main challenge was to test them in a real context (Tajfel, 1979) and use 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.

To achieve the comprehension of intergroup relationships, two

main approaches will be used: one direct approach using a set of scales to achieve the place identity and intergroup differences, and an indirect approach from spatial cognition using the perceived distance between neighbourhoods, more specifically the relation between the real distance and the perceived distance. In fact, spatial representations have social dimensions, including the intergroup relationship perception (Dias & Ramadier, 2015; Polic & Repovs, 2004), and in this sense, the spatial representation of space including distance estimation between objects and neighbourhoods is a reflection of social organization of space. In fact, several studies used this approach previously (e.g., Appleyard, 1973; Kevin Lynch, 1960) and found that the perceived physical distance between neighbourhoods revealed the psycho-social distance between the groups.

2. Study

2.1. 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 neighbourhood identity was positively associated with place satisfaction;
2. to ascertain if place identity led to in-group favouritism, in terms of 2.1. higher evaluation given to the quality of people's own neighbourhood, 2.2. in underestimation of the distance to the prestigious Lisbon city centre,
3. to verify the relationship between the four adjacent neighbourhoods. More specifically 3.1) assess the identity and satisfaction of each group; 3.2) assess the out-group differentiation, through the evaluation of residents differentiation; 3.3) assess the out-group bias, through the evaluation of others' neighbourhoods' quality; and finally 3.4) assess the estimation of the distance between people's own neighbourhood and other neighbourhoods.
4. to explore the relationship between different scale levels of place identity (ranging from the smaller scale of the place-neighborhood to the progressively wider scales of the ' place-city', until the widest 'place-country'), in the four neighbourhoods. Particularly, to explore if low identity regarding the salient level (neighbourhood) had an impact on the other levels (as reported in Palma-Oliveira et al. (2010) and Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013);
5. to verify if the participants used the name of the neighbourhood to identify the place where they live, or if they used a different scale level of place (a sub-area of the neighbourhood or a upper level to the neighbourhood)

2.2. 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 (Fig. 1). The objective was to study a set of contiguous neighbourhoods, with relationships between them, to explore the impact of neighbourhood identity on the perception of the own neighbourhood (in-group) and of the neighbourhoods (out-group), and contribute to the understanding of the intergroup relationships.

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). The residents who populated this area beginning in 1998 have higher levels of education and social class than the remaining three neighbourhoods (INE, 2011). The economic activity capable of attracting people from other parts of the city are concentrated mostly within the center of the neighbourhood. The southern and northern parts of the area are dedicated mostly to local commerce. Throughout the neighbourhood there are large parks and many cultural and sports facilities.

Parque das Nações is surrounded by three other neighbourhoods: Chelas, Olivais and Moscavide. The Chelas and Olivais neighbourhoods were planned and construction started during the 1960s, with the aim of promoting social housing. The urban plan for Olivais followed the ideas expressed in the 'Athens Charter' and reflected 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 1960s and 1970s 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 because 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 1960s and early 1970s, but the development was interrupted for socio-political reasons and only later continued. Thus, the present urban morphology does not favour pedestrian 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. Olivais has an older population than either Chelas or Parque das Nações, while its educational and economic levels are near the city average (INE, 2011). Its commerce and urban space are medium sized and utilized mostly by local residents. The population of Chelas is poorer and less educated relative the city as a whole but also in relation to the other neighbourhoods under study. Its population is younger than either Olivais or Moscavide (INE, 2011). The centre of the neighbourhood has a comercial centre that attracts residents from other neighbourhoods and a large urban parque where musical events take place attracting attention from all over the city and the country.

Moscavide occupies the smallest and oldest area of the four neighbourhoods studied. The current built-up area goes back to the 1940s and 1950s, having a grid structure with regular blocks, buildings of four or five 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.
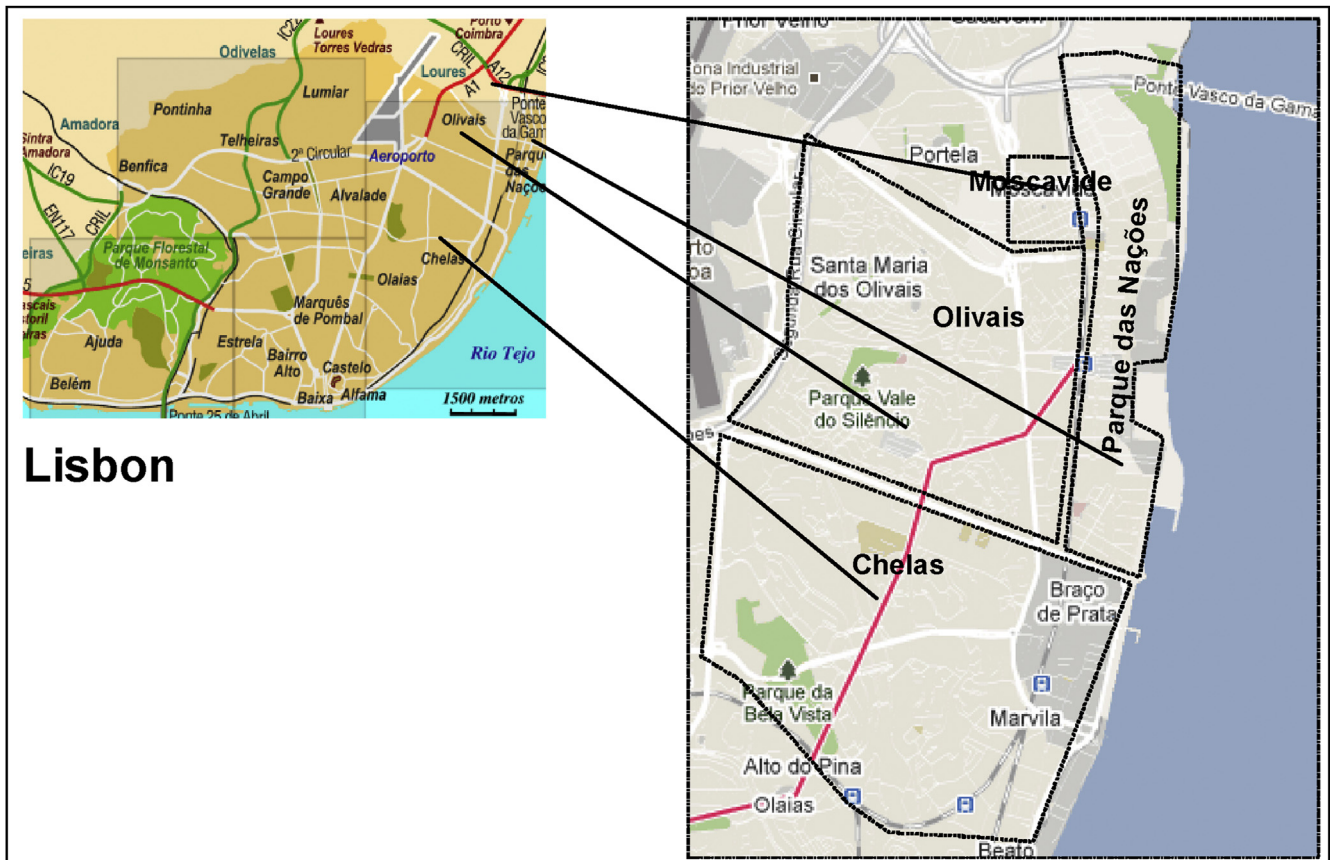
Fig. 1. Map of study area.

Moscavide has an aging population, similar to that of Olivais, with low economic and educational levels (INE, 2011). The entire neighbourhood is characterized by traditional commerce that is used by residents of adjacent areas, such as Olivais and Parque das Nações. It has a small garden in the centre of the neighbourhood with strictly local users.

2.3. 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 1).

Table 1
Means and frequency distribution of the 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
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

2.4. Instruments and procedure

The questionnaire was composed of five parts: 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 the perception of neighbourhood quality, prestige and security; in the fourth section, the 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. To make salient the residence neighbourhood, the questionnaire starts with the following order:"We would like to know your opinion about the neighbourhood where you lives (name of the neighbourhood on bold). Before you start answering, please concentrate on the characteristics of the neighbourhood."

Place identity scale − 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, 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.

Neighbourhood satisfaction scale − composed of four items, based on Leonardelli and Brewer (2001), in experiment 2 and 3. The 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 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"? Thus, 3 scores were for each neighbourhood, concerning the differentiation perceived between respondents' own neighbourhood and each of other the three areas (based on Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton, & Sherman, 2007; study 2). The objective of this questions was to evaluated the intergroup differentiation about the residents of each neighbourhood.

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 (based on Palma-Oliveira et al., 2010). Participants responded using a 9-point response scale (1 = very bad to 9 = excellent). Internal consistency for the three-item scale was $\alpha = .852$, for the in-group perception, $\alpha = .835$, for the out-group perception of Olivais, $\alpha = .846$, Moscavide, $\alpha = .896$, Chelas and $\alpha = .878$, Parque das Nações.

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

After the sociodemographic characterization, the questionnaire has the following last question ": "What do you say, when a colleague asks you where you live?"". The objective was to find out if the participants used the name of the neighbourhood to identify the place where they live.

All of 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 that they represented a wide spectrum of age and levels of education whenever possible (see Table 1). The criterion for sample selection was ease of access and whether the participant agreed to give an interview. The data were collected during 2010, and the refusal rate was 18%.

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

3. Results

3.1. Impact of the neighbourhood identity

To explore the relation between neighbourhood identity and the other variables, a Pearson correlation analysis was performed for all of the participants. The results, displayed in Table 2, show a significant and positive correlation between place identity and neighbourhood satisfaction.

Concerning the second objective, i.e., if place identity led to in-group favouritism, the results (Table 2) show a significant and positive correlation between place identity and perception of global quality of their neighbourhood and a negative correlation between place identity and the distance to the prestigious centre of Lisbon, i.e., an underestimation of the distance between the neighbourhood and the city centre.

3.2. Intergroup relationship of the four neighbourhoods

To verify, the third objective, i.e., the relationships between the four groups, we assessed the identity and satisfaction of each group, and the out-group bias, through the evaluation of others' neighbourhood quality, out-group differentiation and estimation of the distance between people's own neighbourhood and other neighbourhoods.

A first analysis of the scores of the variables of place 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 3). 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; p < .034, and satisfaction F (3,176) = 37.800, p < .000.

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 3). Contrariwise, the Chelas neighbourhood reported significantly lower scores in these variables in comparison to the other three neighbourhoods.

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 (Table 4).

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 differentiation 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 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 differentiation in relation to Parque das Nações.

Concerning the Chelas neighbourhood, the residents of Parque das Nações reported more intergroup differentiation than the 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 the residents of both Chelas and Moscavide. Moreover, 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

Table 2
Correlation and Significance between variables.

	Place Identity	Satisf.	Global quality In-group
Satisfaction	.781**		
Global quality in-group	.604**	.737**	
Distance to the city centre	−.154*	−.192**	−.348**

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

Table 3
Means and Tukey post hoc tests for some dependent measures between chelas and the other three Neighbourhoods.

	Chelas	Parque Nações	Olivais	Moscavide
Place identity	3.85[a]	6.91[b]	6.84[b]	6.71[b]
Satisfaction	4.23[a]	7.16[b]	7.36[b]	7.06[b]

Means in the same row with different subscripts are significantly different at the p = .000 level.

Table 4
Means and Tukey post hoc tests for intergroup differentiation.

	Parque das Nações	Chelas	Olivais	Moscavide
Intergroup different. P. Nações		4.50[a]	5.41	5.77[b]
Intergroup different. Chelas	7.27[a]		6.21[b]	5.31[B]
Intergroup different. Olivais	5.84[A]	3.06[b]		4.12[c]
Intergroup different. Moscavide	6.09[a]	3.40[B]	5.12[c]	

Means in the same row with different subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level, and the subscripts with capital letters are significantly different at the $p < .001$.

Parque das Nações and 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.

To explore the relation between neighbourhood identity and out-group differentiation among all of the groups, a correlation analysis was performed (Fig. 2). The results showed that for the residents of Chelas higher neighbourhood identity, was associated with lower the differentiation from other districts. The same result was reported by Olivais in relation to Parque das Nações. For the Moscavide and Parque das Nações, higher place identity was correlated with higher group differentiation.

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 (Table 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 of 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 the other three groups. In addition, Moscavide reported the highest out-group quality scores for all three groups. Moscavide perceived Chelas as having higher global quality than Parque das Nações and 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 most highly was Olivais, followed by Chelas.

A comparison between the perception of the global quality of neighbourhoods made by residents (in-group) and non-residents (out-group) (see Fig. 3) 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.

The main objective of asking the distance estimation between neighbourhoods was to evaluate, in an indirect way, the in-group favouritism (estimation of the distance from their neighbourhood to the prestigious centre of the city) and out-group differentiation (distance estimation from their neighbourhood to the other neighbourhoods). 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 that 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 6). The scores from the distance distortion 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 (underestimated the distance) than the residents of Chelas and Moscavide, who overestimated the distance (Table 6).

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: distortion in 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 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 (underestimation) than Olivais residents; as living significantly closer to Olivais than Parque das Nações and Moscavide residents; and being 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
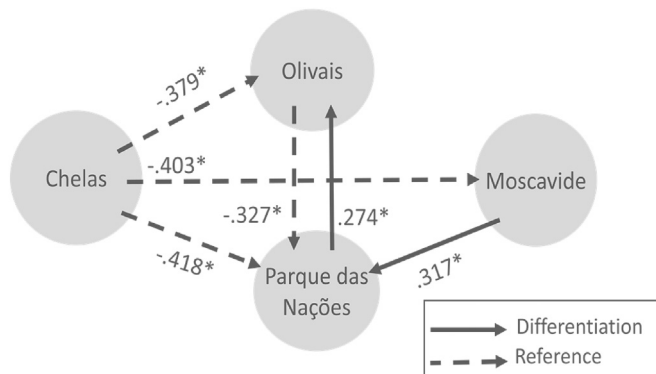

Fig. 2. Significant correlation between neighbourhood identity and out-group differentiation.

Table 5
Means and Tukey post hoc Tests for global quality perception.

	Parque das Nações	Chelas	Olivais	Moscavide
In-group Global quality	7.70[A]	3.44[B]	6.24[c]	6.42[c]
Out-group Global quality P. Nações		7.38	7.38	7.74
Out-group Global quality Chelas	2.37[a]		2.70	3.23[b]
Out-group Global quality Olivais	4.73[a]	5.65[b]		6.20[B]
Out-group Global quality Moscavide	3.89[b]	4.38[b]	5.38[a]	

Means in the same row with different subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level, and the subscripts with capital letters are significantly different at the $p < .001$.
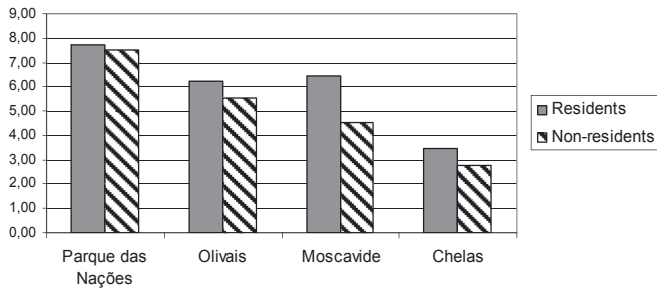

Fig. 3. Neighbourhood global quality perception (in-groups and out-groups).

Table 7
Means and post hoc Turkey in the distortion of distance estimation between neighbourhoods.

Places	Parque das Nações	Chelas	Olivais	Moscavide
Parque das Nações		−0.50[b]	0.67[A]	−0.49[b]
Chelas	1.97[a]		0.71[B]	3.18[c]
Olivais	1.71[b]	0.75[A]		1.73[b]
Moscavide	1.35	0.83[a]	2.05[b]	

Means in the same row with different subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level, and the subscripts with capital letters are significantly different at the $p < .001$.
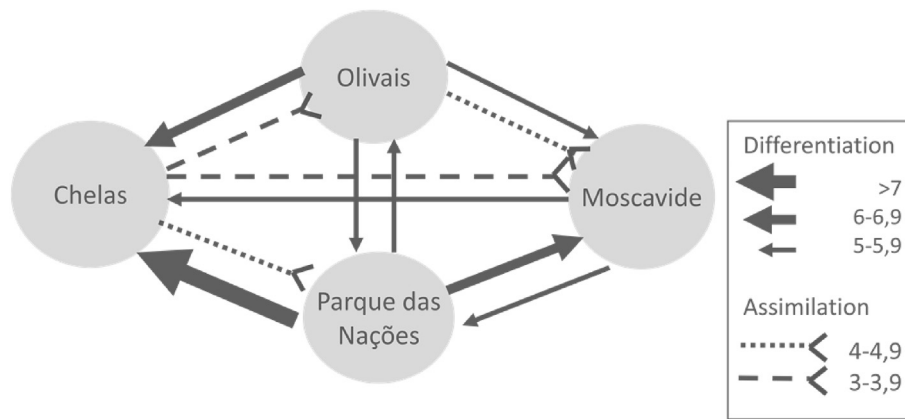

Fig. 4. Means of out-group differentiation.

Table 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).

	Chelas	Parque Nações	Olivais	Moscavide
Marques de Pombal (city centre)	3.30[A]	−0.21[b]	−0.31[b]	2.28[a]

Means in the same row with different subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level, and the subscripts with capital letters are significantly different at the $p < .001$.

from Chelas than Olivais and Parque das Nações; and more distant from Olivais than Chelas.

3.3. Neighbourhood identity, city identity and national identity

The analysis of the scores of the variables of 'neighbourhood identity', 'city identity', and 'national identity' 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 8). 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; and national identity (3176) = 2.962, p < .034.

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 8). Contrariwise, the Chelas neighbourhood reported significantly lower scores in these variables in comparison to the other three neighbourhoods. However, it showed a significantly higher national identity than Parque das Nações, and a marginally significant higher identity than Olivais. Concerning 'city identity', all of the neighbourhoods reported scores above the middle value of the scale, and no significant differences were found between the four neighbourhoods.

At the end of the survey, all participants were asked the following question: "What do you say, when a colleague asks you where you live?" A Comparison of the responses from the four neighbourhoods showed that although the neighbourhoods of Parque das Nações, Olivais and Moscavide responded with the name of the respective neighbourhood in more than 80% of cases

Table 8
Means and Tukey post hoc Tests for Some Dependent Measures Between Chelas and the other three Neighbourhoods.

Places	Parque das Nações	Chelas	Olivais	Moscavide
Place identity	6.91[b]	3.85[A]	6.84[b]	6.71[b]
City identity	6.15	6.44	6.47	6.06
National identity	6.80[a]	7.55[b]	6.76	6.69

Means in the same row with different subscripts are significantly different at the $p < .05$ level, and the subscripts with capital letters are significantly different at the $p < .001$.

(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.

4. Discussion

4.1. Place identity and neighbourhood satisfaction

The first objective of this study was to find out if place identity was related to neighbourhood and satisfaction. In fact, analysis of the results for all participants in the study showed a significant correlation between the two variables. 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, particularly with the social aspects of residential satisfaction (Fleury-Bahi, Féloneau, & Marchand, 2008).

4.2. 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 SIA 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 et al. (2010) in a study about the attractiveness and safety of municipalities in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Several studies confirm that place identification is associated with the desire to express positive attitudes in relation to place, that can be expressed by a lower perception of environmental problems (e.g., Bonaiuto et al., 1996; De Dominicis et al., 2015).

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 et al., 2004; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010). Thus, the search for a positive identity that contributes to the enhancement of self-esteem, can be achieved also by the identification to a positive place, or through a "positive "in-place' distinctiveness" (Bonaiuto et al., 1996, p.172).

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 (e.g., Cohen & Weatherford, 1980; Lee et al, 1975, cit in Lee, 2003). 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 SIA, 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 SIA. The underestimation of the distance to downtown, in European context, has been identified in other studies (e.g., Lee, 1970), and justified by the satisfaction obtained in the city centre (Lee, 2003), or by the foreshortened estimation of distance in relation to valued objects (Bruner & Goodman, 1947). The influence of place attractiveness on the underestimation of distance was also found by McBride (1999, cit in Lee, 2013) in different situations, as was the distance to the homes of students' friends or the distance to cities of people of other religions. In the present study, we found that the estimation of distances was influenced by place identity, i.e., by the desire to achieve a positive identity by association with attractive places.

4.3. Place identity with the neighbourhood and out-group bias

Out-group bias was considered to be 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 the residents of 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 (e.g.,Altman & Chemers, 1980; Appleyard, 1973). 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.

4.4. Intergroup relationships between the four neighbourhoods

One important aspect previously reported 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 typical 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. However, we did not know in advance if all neighbourhoods considered the other neighbourhoods as relevant out-groups for comparison. Thus, to understand the intergroup 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. They also reported very low intergroup differentiation from the three other groups, and thus approximation (assimilation) to the out-group, and also underestimation of inter-neighbourhood distance (see Fig. 4). 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. Thus, 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. Thus, 'they are not better than the others, they are as good as the others'.

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

By contrast, 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 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.

Parque das Nações was considered in a previous study one of the most prestigious place in the city (Braga et al., 2009). In fact "… there is a system of beliefs about residential places that is based on both direct and indirect experiences" (Bonaiuto & Alves, 2012, p. 239), that is socially shared, and that influence the way people think, feel and behave in relation to this specific place. The image or reputation of a place, is a relevant issue that can help to understand the relationship between neighbourhoods in the urban context.

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 the intergroup relationships between the four neighbourhoods. 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 (1954) – 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 rather presented an assimilation strategy, with lower intergroup distinctiveness and reduction in terms of distance to the other neighbourhoods. On the contrary, Parque das Nações reported higher differentiation and distance in relation to the other neighbourhoods. However, all of the other groups tended to report medium differentiation, in relation to Parque das Nações, and reported an approximation in terms of distance estimation (underestimation). Thus, Parque das Nações can be seen as an idealized reference group. Olivais and Moscavide can be considered as relevant out-groups for one another.

Chelas and Moscavide reported an overestimation of the distance to the city centre. This was a surprising finding as it was expected, rather, that the distance to a place of prestige be underestimated. The data gathered do not enable us to explain these findings but it can be hypothesized that the socio-demographic make up of these neighborhoods, particularly, the fact that the population is poorer, might lead residents to travel less frequently to the more central parts of the city.

"One important finding to point out is the comparison between the results of intergroup differentiation, focusing on residents of neighborhoods (social and human dimensions of the neighborhoods), and the perception of distance (physical dimension) that can also be interpreted as a intergroup difference measure (eg, Appleyard, 1973; Kevin Lynch, 1960). The results were coincident and emphasized the interchangeable relationship between the physical-spatial and human-social aspects of space (eg, Proshansky, et al., 1983). This issue deserves further future study."

After this general discussion, it is important to note that according to the SIA prediction, similarity and familiarity are important factors in the 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 the 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 because it was evaluated as very negative. Only the more similar groups – Olivais and Moscavide – can be seen as relevant out-groups for one another.

In terms of familiarity, these data do not enable us to understand the extent to which familiarity with the neighbourhoods influenced the results. In fact, no tool was used to assess the level of familiarity; participants merely confirmed that they were familiar with the four areas. Levels of familiarity have been shown to have a positive influence on spacial accuracy (e.g., Bonnes, Misiti, & Secchiaroli, 1980; Holahan & Bonnes, 1978; Lachini; Ruotolo & Ruggiero, 2009) as well as on positive perception of place (e.g., Green, 1999) and place attachment (Hammitt, Backlund, & Bixler, 2006). The presence of important commercial and leisure facilities in Parque das Nações leads us to suppose that this is the area most familiar to participants of the other neighbourhoods, despite being the most recent. Chelas and Olivais, on the other hand, are mostly likely known by just "passing through" while Moscavide is the smallest area which is used by residents of other neighbourhoods due to its strong commercial activity. It is possible, therefore, to imagine that the image that residents of other neighbourhoods form is constituted

differently for the different areas, depending on whether it results from direct presence within the district or by transversing it by car or on public transport.

4.5. 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 demonstrated that place identity was not correlated with city or national identity. However, 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 et al. (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 among all 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 low neighbourhood identity with an increase in identity at higher levels of abstraction (city and national identity). Similar results were also reported in a previous study (Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013), when temporary residents of the neighbourhood and the city reported lower identity with both places, despite showing very high national identity. In another study concerning 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 et al., 2010). These results highlighted that identity is a dynamic process, dependent on the person/situation interaction (Turner, 1985). Moreover, they showed that 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, were the results obtained with the question "What do you say, when a colleague asks you where you live?". In fact only the residents of Chelas, reported that they live 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, Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, & Ward, 2001).

An important issue that came up during this study is that of the objective characteristics of the neighbourhoods (demographic and physical and environmental) are not always associated in an objective manner with how the areas are perceived by their residents and those of other neighbourhoods. In fact, in social and physical and environmental terms, Parque das Nações presents greater quality than the other neighbourhoods. This fact is manifest in the positive evaluation of the area by the other three neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, Chelas is quite similar to the older area, Moscavide. However, although the former has low identity and is negatively regarded by the other regions, Moscavide, on the contrary, has greater identity and is positively seen by residents of the other areas. This suggests that there are other important issues yet to be explored in these data. An important topic might be the

stereotypes, or the reputation of each area (Bonaiuto, Alves, 2012) that is shared by the city's inhabitants. Chelas, in fact, has a highly negative stereotype, in contrast to the other areas. This reputation appears to influence the residents of this neighbourhood, as they appear to assimilate with neighbourhoods with more positive evaluations, or to recategorize themselves as a subgroup of other areas. The interactions between the objective characteristics of the neighbourhoods and the sterotypes of the areas are worthy of future study.

5. Conclusions

This field study aimed to explore whether the Social Identity Approach is an important concept in studying relationships between neighbourhoods in an urban context. As other studies reported (Ufkes et al., 2012; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2013), 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 SIA perspective. In fact, this study confirmed the assumption of SIA 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 SIA (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. However, this study confirmed that we can also identify other types of intergroup relationships that 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 SIA 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 to understand the 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 SIA 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) that reduce the predictive value of SIA (Ellemers & Barreto, 2001). Among these factors, the historical relationships between neighbourhoods 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.

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