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AARÓN NAPADENSKY PASTENE, FELIPE LINK
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HOUSING TYPOLOGIES, NEIGHBORHOOD PERCEPTIONS, AND NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL TIES [1]

AN EXAMINATION OF THE MICHAIHUE NEIGHBORHOOD, METROPOLITAN AREA OF CONCEPCIÓN, CHILE.

EXPLORACIONES SOBRE EL BARRIO DE MICHAIHUE, ÁREA METROPOLITANA DE CONCEPCIÓN, CHILE.

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A partir del estudio de caso realizado sobre el barrio Michaihue, cuyo origen se produce por viviendas sociales progresivas en extensión y otras en altura, analizamos la posible incidencia que la tipología arquitectónica puede tener en la percepción declarada de preferencia y predilección barrial, entendiendo estos elementos como una base positiva para la generación de vínculos sociales vecinales. Metodológicamente, analizamos y contrastamos las respuestas de un CENSO de viviendas y hogares, además de un levantamiento de redes personales aplicado a vecinos propietarios de ambas tipologías. Nuestros hallazgos demuestran que, a igual contexto urbano y atributos individuales, la tipología habitacional marca diferencias al momento de expresar preferencia por vivir en su barrio y si optaría por quedarse o no en él. Sin embargo, la evidencia no nos permite afirmar si esto afectaría las dinámicas de producción de vínculos sociales vecinales. Finalmente, exponemos que una tipología arquitectónica “progresiva”, es decir, que permite la participación del propietario en su modificación-expansión, da mejores condiciones para una positiva percepción del barrio, lo que por sí solo no necesariamente altera las dinámicas de creación y rubrica de redes sociales vecinales.

Palabras clave: vivienda progresiva, apego barrial, redes sociales vecinales

Using a case study conducted in the Michaihue neighborhood, the result of progressive large-scale and high-rise social housing, the possible impact that architectural typology can have on the declared perception of neighborhood preference and predilection is analyzed, understanding these elements as a positive basis to generate neighborhood social ties. Methodologically, the responses to the dwellings and households’ CENSUS were analyzed and compared, alongside a review of personal networks applied to neighbors who own both housing typologies. The findings show that, given the same urban context and individual attributes, the housing typology marks a difference when expressing a preference for living in their neighborhood and whether or not they would choose to stay in it. However, the evidence does not allow stating whether this would affect the dynamics of neighborhood social ties production. Finally, a “progressive” architectural typology is presented, that allows the owner to participate in its modification-extension, providing better conditions for a positive perception of the neighborhood, which in itself does not necessarily alter the dynamics behind the creation and outline of neighborhood social networks.

Keywords: progressive housing, neighborhood attachment, neighborhood social networks

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I. INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, the importance of space in forming social ties has been observed (Talen, 1999; Houghton, 2005; Adger et al., 2011; Bott, Ankel & Braun, 2019; Small & Adler, 2019) and, particularly, the relevance of strong ties at a local level, consolidating a specific idea of community (Wellman & Leighton, 1979). However, recently, importance has been given to the characteristics of the built environment as a generator of a relational scenario (Blokland, 2017) that can frame social practices (Dovey & Wood, 2015) and form links with different intensities (Valentine, 2008). This also allows building an idea of community, based on urban practices between neighbors and acquaintances on a neighborhood scale (Blokland, 2017). These types of ties may be weaker, but they also constitute practices and daily encounters of recognition that contribute to the sense of belonging, to neighborhood cohesion, and are related to the characteristics of the built environment (Señoret & Link, 2019; Link et al., 2022a). In this sense, there is a relative consensus that the configuration, composition, and spatial distance, at different scales, are elements that must be considered to understand contemporary social dynamics and urban practices (Small & Adler, 2019).

Although the discussion has focused greatly on the neighborhood scale, there has been little progress in dimensioning the scope that architectural typologies can have on certain perceptions about the neighborhood, which, in turn, can affect the predisposition to neighborhood relations. This leads to the research questions asked here, namely, does architectural typology affect the declared perception of predilection to live in the neighborhood, stay there, or leave it? and can this affect the generation of neighborhood social ties?

The hypothesis is that not only can the neighborhood's socio-material conditions mediate in neighborhood attachment and the probability of neighborhood social interaction, but also the architectural typologies the neighborhood has, which, by influencing a good or bad neighborhood perception, can stimulate or inhibit the formation of ties and meeting and recognition practices. In this regard, it is proposed that, in the context of neighborhoods produced by the housing policy, where residents do not choose the neighborhood under equal urban and social conditions, progressive residential typologies, i.e., those that allow modifications or extensions by their owners, would generate a greater declared perception of preference for living and staying in the neighborhood, compared to those owners of "finished" typologies, and with it an expected greater neighborhood attachment and predisposition to capitalize on neighborhood social ties.

As for the methodology, this involved two types of data collection. The first one was based on a standardized household Census where two key questions were analyzed, (i) Do you like living in this housing complex?; and, (ii) would you leave or stay in this housing complex? The second much more limited, selective, and exploratory survey, saw personal network interviews conducted with residents of both typologies, whose perceptions about neighborhood preference and predilection were different. With the data collected, and understanding that the neighborhood shares the same problems and structural characteristics of segregation, lack of urban amenities, building obsolescence, and stigmatization, among others, the answers to the questions were compared with the attributes of the respondents and residential typologies.

Based on the findings of this work, and in line with what was found by Link et. al (2022b), it is proposed that "progressive" architectural typologies, namely, those that can be modified and adapted by each owner, can constitute a spatial resource that, in addition to other social and urban strategies, would help foster positive perceptions regarding the preference and predilection for living and staying in the neighborhood. From this, better conditions can be produced to capitalize on the opportunities that the built environment generates for building neighborhood social ties, which promotes more cohesive, active, and resilient neighborhood environments for the social problems they usually face.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social capital is a concept with a strong spatial and geographical component, since social interactions are strongly determined by their time and place (Adger et al., 2003). In addition, the form of social capital, in its interaction with other capitals (Bourdieu, 1986), is interdependently related to the space (Bourdieu, 1999). Specifically, empirical research suggests that social capital is crucial when other forms of capital, such as financial, physical, human, and symbolic, are limited or restricted (Braun & Aßheuer, 2011).

This has involved an extensive effort to understand how space frames social practices, where social living divisions and hierarchies are evident in how the space is divided, thereby promoting or inhibiting the forms of meeting

4 Housing Diagnostic and Housing Structure CENSUS, Ministry of Housing and Urban Planning, 2021

(Dovey & Wood, 2015). Such a comprehensive and dialectical articulation between physical space and social space is a challenge to understand the role of the built urban environment in shaping biographies, personal networks, and urban communities. As Soja (2009) suggests, a multiscale view of the geographical space is needed to locate these socio-spatially generated phenomena and processes.

This need of understanding the role of physical space in the formation of social ties and sociability practices at different scales has focused on the configuration of the space, its composition, and proximity (Small & Adler, 2019), especially in metropolitan urban contexts. In these, these ties tend to diversify, expand, and relocate, which configures new forms of interdependence and solidarity (Wellman & Leighton, 1979; Ascher, 2004; Simmel, 2014 (1908).

In this context, a certain consensus has been established in recognizing the relevance that urban forms and spatial structures have in the generation or inhibition of opportunities for co-existence, social contact, and the configuration of local social networks (Houghton, 2005; Adger et al., 2011). Thus, the diversity, quantity, variety, and spatial configuration of land uses (Wickes, et al., 2018) and public spaces (Lelévrier, 2013) give rise to the encounter and exchange of experiences through face-to-face communication (Leitner & Sheppard, 2018). Small and Adler (2019) highlight this role of space in the formation of ties from three dimensions on different scales: the spatial configuration, the composition of space, and distances from different everyday activities. Thus, space plays a role in the forms of the community, understood through the social ties between its residents (Wellman & Leighton, 1979).

Neighborhood perception; preference and predilection

The formation of local social ties and cohesion at a neighborhood level is also influenced by place attachment and the local relationships that are built there (Wood & Giles-Corti, 2008; Mount & Cabras, 2015; Wickes et al., 2018; Otero et al., 2021; Link et al., 2022a). In this sense, practical and symbolic dimensions of neighborhood social cohesion are distinguished, where the former is associated with local communities with strong ties and everyday practices, while the latter is related to reputation, privilege, and residential choice (Méndez et al., 2020). Both forms of neighborhood cohesion are related to the characteristics of the built environment, and the design and layout of the neighborhood (Hipp, 2010; Greene et al., 2014; Link et al., 2015; Wang & Vermeulen, 2021).

The accumulated evidence is strong in connecting the social and physical dimensions of neighborhoods with the generation of place attachment (Lin & Lockwood, 2014). In this way, place attachment can trigger a sense of community, social trust, solidarity, and self-efficacy, encouraging active residents to both defend or manage the change of their neighborhoods (Drury & Reicher, 2005) and to seek adaptive solutions in situ to common problems (Marshall et al., 2012; Fong et al., 2019). Thus, the social and physical dimensions of neighborhoods affect the production of local social ties and neighborhood cohesion (Peters et al., 2010; Dai, 2011; Zhu et al., 2012; Krellenberg et al, 2014), leading to sustained attention on urban interventions, planning, and policies focused on constituting, promoting, and transforming these neighborhood dimensions (Hartig et al., 2014; Kelly et al., 2022; Akers et al., 2019; Cooke, 2020; Ulmer et al., 2016). Therefore, attachment increases the predisposition to reside in the neighborhood and vice versa (Lu et al., 2018), denoting a positive relationship and subjective perception of the connection of residents with the places where they live (Marshall et al., 2012; Lu et al., 2018).

III. CASE STUDY

The Metropolitan Area of Concepción, also known as Greater Concepción, is an urban system comprising 12 communes, which together are home to more than one million people. The neighborhood in the study is located in one of these communes, San Pedro de la Paz. This neighborhood has been planned and consolidated as an underprivileged area, mainly inhabited by poor and vulnerable populations as a result of the concentration of housing policy solutions (Figure 1).

The studied housing estate includes a high-rise housing complex called Michaihue 716, and the La Estrella neighborhood. Both were housing solutions generated from a public policy characterized by progressive housing, where only a kitchen and one bedroom were provided, leaving the rest in the hands of each resident. The estate also covers a third area, which was the neighborhood of Michaihue 600. This is being demolished and has no regular occupants, but has been taken over by informal occupants and is perceived as a barren and problematic site.

In 1995, official settlement began in the sector with the construction of housing in the La Estrella neighborhood, led by the San José de la Dehesa Foundation. Originally, 3 types of housing were built, with surface areas of 24 m^2, 36 m^2, and 48 m^2. These were mainly wood-built and did not include a bathroom within the architectural project. The last houses built in La Estrella were built using the DFL 2 subsidy and delivered in 2005. These were intended for families from Candelaria, Michaihue histórico, and Boca Sur (all from the immediate surroundings). There are a total of 261 homes in the La Estrella sector.

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Figure 1. Location of the Michaihue Neighborhood, Metropolitan Area of Concepción Source: Prepared by the authors.

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Figure 2. Aerial photography and cartography of the intervened neighborhood, San Pedro de la Costa Sector. Source: Google Earth and the preparation by the authors

At the end of the '90s, the Michaihue 716 blocks were built, a set of condominiums with 44 blocks and 716 apartments. Each of them with a 45 m^2 surface area (Figures 2 and 3). The construction used reinforced masonry, with confined and framed concrete, the mezzanine slabs comprising a concrete slab, and the stairwell with a concrete slab and metal structure, both in structural and non-structural elements.

The inhabitants of the complex are 56% women and 43% men. When comparing the communal data provided by the Population and Housing Census of 2017, a significant difference can be seen, because the Masculinity index is 91.4 for the commune of San Pedro de la Paz, while for the estate it is 77.4.

With regard to age, the largest group of people is in the 15 to 29-year-old range with 29%, and the lowest percentage is in adults over 65, representing 7.21%. When comparing the information with communal data, the age distribution is generally homogeneous, but

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Figure 3. Left, census taker and visit to the La Estrella neighborhood. Right, Michaihue 716 (in the background) and La Estrella (in front on both sides of the street) complexes. Source: Author's archive.

differences are highlighted in the 15 to 29 segment, where the population of the estate has 29.37% and the commune 22.77%. On the other hand, the 30 to 44 segment represents 16.67% and it is 23.06% at a communal level (Source: Housing and Population Censuses 2002, INE; Housing and Population Censuses 2017, INE)

The income level of the study group is low, as 79.1% of people receive less than the Minimum Wage. On the other hand, the entire sector has an advanced deterioration of buildings, their structures, finishes, and facilities. Public spaces are substandard, poorly maintained, poorly lit, and prominently avoided by residents.

IV. METHODOLOGY

This research used two types of data collection from primary sources. The first, based on a standardized household census, conducted during 2020, covered 80% of the 990 residences in the neighborhood (716 Apartments., and 274 housing units), or 792 units, all owned. From this, two questions were analyzed, i) Do you like living in this housing complex? and (ii) If you could choose would you leave or stay? The second survey, much more limited and selective, included ten interviews conducted with residents of both typologies and with different declared perceptions, which allowed building and analyzing their personal neighborhood networks.

Finally, both surveys, but especially the first one, were analyzed by individual attributes of age, time of residence, gender, and architectural typology of the residence, differentiating between progressive housing with extensions and high-rise housing.

V. RESULTS

In concrete terms, 98.7% of the cases state being less than four blocks from public transportation (bus stops or Biotren stations). The same applies to 94.3% of cases for retail services (shops, hairdressers, bakeries). However, 82% stated it was unsafe to walk at night, and 85.1% mentioned the daily consumption of alcohol and drugs in the neighborhood's public spaces.

The social composition of the neighborhood is quite homogeneous and the levels of trust and social control tend to be high, which is evidenced by the fact that about 82% of respondents believe that their neighbors are honest and trustworthy. In addition, 81% of respondents rate the participation rate in neighborhood organizations as high.

For the first question, "Do you like living in this housing complex?", the answers were divided into 50.4% NO, and 49.6% YES (Figure 4). However, when broken down by typology, in Michaihue 716 (high-rise typology), the perception was less favorable compared to La Estrella (progressive extension typology). In the former, with a

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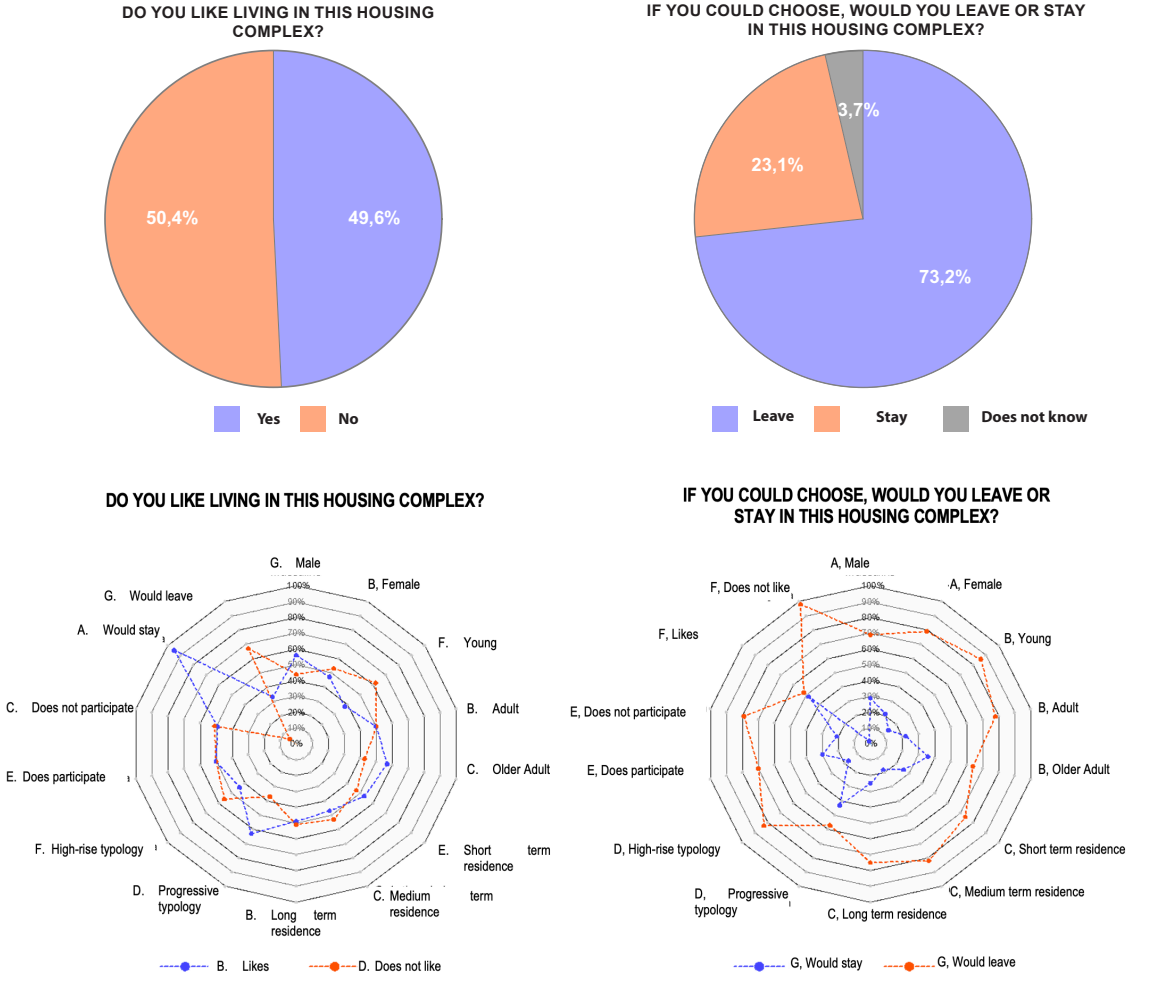

Figure 4. Percentages of positive and negative answers to the questions - Do you like living in this housing complex? And if you could choose, would you leave or stay in this housing complex? Source: Own preparation, based on data from the Housing Diagnosis and Housing Structure Census, Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, 2021.

Figure 5. Percentages of positive and negative responses broken down by gender, age, time of residence, housing typology, and participation in local social organizations. Source: Preparation by the author, based on data from the Housing Diagnosis and Housing Structure Census, Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, 2021.

total of 573 residences surveyed, 319 cases, or 55.7%, do not like living in the sector. As for La Estrella, 63.1% of the respondents (137) say that they do like living there (Figure 5).

With the second question, "If you had the choice, would you leave or stay in this housing complex?", the gap was much more marked. 73.2% of the residents surveyed would leave and only 23.1% would stay. When disaggregated by typology, 43% of La Estrella's residents would like to stay, and 17% in Michaihue 716. (Figure 4 and Figure 5).

On cross-referencing the results of the Census and these two key questions with the individual attributes - age, gender, and time of residence - the results show an expected relationship between both questions, but also important differences that are accentuated depending on the attributes of the interviewees. However, the changes considered the most significant are due to the residence typology of the interviewed owner (Figure 5 and Figure 6).

In response to the question "Do you like living in this housing complex?", 56% of the male owners answered YES and 44%, NO. For the female owners, this changes slightly,

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Figure 6. Percentages of positive and negative responses broken down by residence housing typologies in the censuses. Source: Preparation by the author, based on data from the Housing Diagnosis and Housing Structure Census, Ministry of Housing and Urbanism, 2021.

with 52% YES and 48% NO. In the age ranges there is a greater difference, since 62% of young owners respond negatively, adults do so with 50%, and older adults 42%.

This could be explained by the length of residence, but when disaggregated by this factor, no significant differences are observed between the analyzed sections (long time of residence, 1949-1984, medium 1985-1997, short 1998-2020), always hovering around 50% disapproval. It also does not seem to affect whether the respondent participates in local social organizations or not, since in both cases disapproval remains at 50%. Where there is a significant differentiation is the residential typology of the respondent. The positive response of owners of progressive extension typologies reaches 62%, while the response of owners of low-rise typologies is 42%. It should be noted that almost all those who state that if they could choose whether they would stay or leave the neighborhood, replied that they do like living there (Figure 5).

As for the reasons why they do not like living in this housing complex, these were mainly insecurity, crime, traffic, drug use, and street fights, with 19.5%. Second, much further back, conflicts with neighbors are indicated (8.8%), and in third and fourth place remoteness from the workplace, from their kids' educational establishments, and an insufficient or no local family support network is seen.

In the second question, "If you could choose, would you leave or stay in this housing complex?", leaving is 10% higher for women than men, reaching 80% vs 70% respectively. By age, the desire to leave is high in young people (up to 24 years old), with 86%. In adults, this rate drops to 78% (over 24 and under 65 years) and 64% in older adults (over 65 years). By length of residence, the option to leave is always over 70%. As for typology, for high-rise, the option to leave reaches 82%, while in the progressive extensions, it drops to 58%. As for participation in local social organizations, in those who participate, the

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Percentage of the 400 contacts provided			
Relatives	Friends	Neighbors	Work/study colleagues
37%	20%	18%	12.5%

Of the contacts who are neighbors, relationships are qualified as			
Unimportant	Important	Not important at all	Very important
46%	42%	7%	5%

Of contacts with neighbors, the frequency of contact is			
At least once a week	Every day	At least once a month	Once a year or never
52%	34%	7%	7%

Table 1. Summary of the statistical results of the Social networks analysis. Source: Preparation by the authors, based on interviews held with neighbors of the neighborhood, 2021.

desire to leave falls by 10% (70%) compared to those who do not (80%). Finally, of all those who answered that they do like the neighborhood, only 48% declare that if they could choose, they would stay.

When breaking down the answers by residential typology, this explains a 20% increase in the perception of predilection for living in the neighborhood among owners of progressive typologies. However, this increase does not show significant changes by owner gender (Figure 6).

From the point of view of age, this 20% increase meant going from 36% to 58% in young people, from 46% to 60% in adults, and from 48% to 70% in older adults. In terms of length of residence, the progressive typology homeowners mark an increase compared to high-rise owners, going from 52% to 60% in those of short-term residence, from 40% to 70% for medium-term residence, and from 42% to 62% for long-term residence. The same trend is evident in those who participate in local social organizations, which change from a positive preference of 40% among those from high-rise typologies to 68% in those with progressive extension, and among those who do not participate, from 46% to 60% (Figure 6).

In the second question, in the case of high-rise owners, personal attributes are almost irrelevant. The option of leaving versus staying never drops below 78%. However, significant changes can be seen in the progressive typology, as is the case of male owners, older adults, and those who take part in local social organizations, where the option to stay took precedence. The highest scores regarding the option to leave are seen among the female owners, the adults, and those of medium and short-term residence. There is also a greater relationship between the preference to live and the option to stay.

Once the Census was analyzed, an exploratory exercise was conducted interviewing neighbors living in the high-rise (Michaihue 716) and progressive extension (La Estrella) typologies. Each stated both positive and negative perceptions of preference and predilection for the neighborhood. With these interviews, their personal networks are raised and analyzed. In general terms, from the contacts reported by neighbors (400), 37% were relatives, 20% were friends, 18% were neighbors, 10% coworkers, 7% a member of some group they belong to, 3% a member of the household, and 2.5% classmates.

Of the contacts, 38.3% live in the same neighborhood, of these, 43% communicate at least once a week, 30% communicate every day, 19% communicate at least once a month, 5% less than once a year, and 4% never. Another important piece of information is that of the meeting places mentioned by the neighbors, 59% of the contacts usually talk at their residence, 16% in the neighborhood's public spaces, 11% in the workplace or place of study, 10% in another type of place, 4% in another person's house, and 1% in a bar, cafe, restaurant or mall. And of the contacts with whom one spends time with in the neighborhood public space, 75% are neighbors, 13% are members of a group they belong to, 6% are friends, 5% are relatives, and 2% are classmates.

Of the contacts who are neighbors, 46% are considered unimportant relationships, 42% are considered important, 7% are not important at all, and 5% are very important. Of these contacts with neighbors, 52% have a contact at least once a week, 34% every day, 7% at least once a month, 4%

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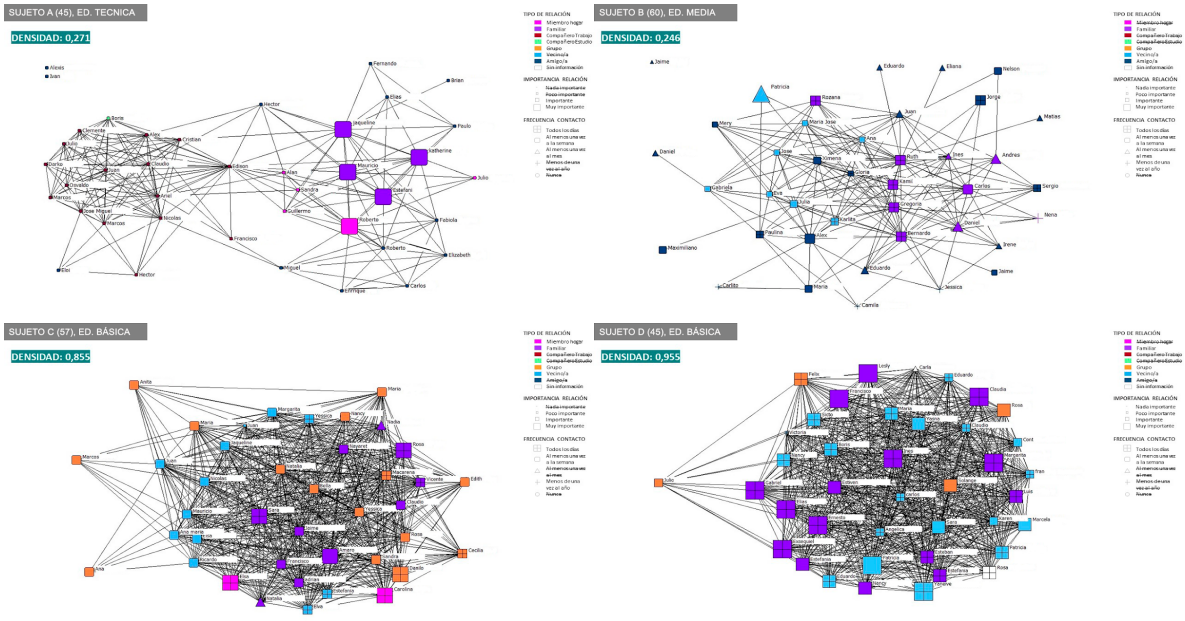

Figure 7. Analysis of social networks, more and less dense networks. Neighbors from La Estrella (left) and Michaihue 716 (right). Source: Preparation by the authors, based on interviews held with neighbors of the neighborhood, 2021.

never, and 3% once a year. Versus family members: 37% once a week, 33% every day, and 21% at least once a month. Versus friends: 42% once a week, 17% every day, and 30% at least once a month. (Table 1)

Finally, the two densest networks (>0.8) are those with the highest proportion of neighbors and also with the highest proportion of contacts of a group to which they belong. Both informants were women, between 45 and 57 years old, with a basic education level and participants in local social organizations, with similar declared perceptions of neighborhood preference and predilection, but owners of different residential typologies. In the two less dense networks (0.3>), it is similar, here the higher educational level compared to the sector's average and the non-affiliation to local social organizations are striking, but again these belonged to different residential typologies (Figure 7). Although the sample is not statistically significant, its results are consistent with a configuration of personal networks strongly determined by individual structural aspects, such as educational level, relativizing the weight of the neighborhood's spatial attributes and also of what can affect the architectural typological scale.

When the results are differentiated by residential typology, neighborhood preference and predilection, no appreciable differences were seen in the participation of neighbors in the social networks surveyed. Thus, and even though several issues remain to be explored, these results limit or at least call into question the extent of the findings found in the first section. That is, although the results of the first section show that the architectural typology would affect the stated perception of preference and predilection for the neighborhood, thus assuming a greater place attachment, the relationship that this has in building neighborhood social networks and neighborhood cohesion needs to be examined further, beyond what is imposed by the personal conditions of the residents and socio-materials of the neighborhood.

VI. DISCUSSION

Place attachment and neighborhood ties are crucial for strengthening collective responses to adversities (Marshall et al., 2012; Bott et al., 2019; Bonaiuto et al., 2016; Clarke et al., 2018; Waters & Adger, 2017) and both are recognizably mediated both by the neighborhood, its spatial configuration, social and functional composition (Wellman & Leighton, 1979; Bashar & Bramley, 2019; Small & Adler, 2019; Pinchak et al., 2021), and by the personal attributes of its residents (Small & Adler, 2019). However, the empirical findings here suggest that the architectural-residential typology would also have an impact, at least in terms of the stated perceptions, both on preference for living in the complex, and on the predilection for staying there, and with this, an expected increase in the

sense of attachment to the neighborhood.

In particular, it was found that those neighbors who owned progressive architectural typology solutions, and where they had participated in their extension and transformation, showed a greater and more interrelated stated perception of preference for living in the neighborhood and choosing to stay in it, compared to the owners of architectural typologies whose design and spaces were invariable. This greater preference and predilection allowed assuming a greater place attachment and willingness to collaborate on common problems. However, it cannot yet be said that this necessarily generates a greater predisposition to making everyday face-to-face meetings, a different dynamic compared to the formation of neighborhood social capital and neighborhood cohesion, namely, that escapes the conditions and limitations defined by the personal and socio-territorial attributes of the neighborhood.

The findings also do not escape historical differentiations in social housing approaches in Chile and their consequences on the possibilities of interaction and recognition in the neighborhood space (Link et al., 2022a; Link et al., 2015). Nor can they ignore the impact that the difficult understanding of the rules governing the administration of common property has had on the typologies of high-rise complexes, triggering complex neighborhood coexistence (Bustos-Peñafiel, 2020). Both conditions could effectively affect the stated perception of preference and predilection to stay or leave the neighborhood, although as was explained, the case in question presented a generalized positive perception regarding the neighbors, but also a generalized perception of insecurity of their public spaces.

Thus, the differences between architectural typologies in general and progressive ones in particular, by themselves would not necessarily change the influence of the conditions and limitations imposed by the personal attributes of their owners, the social and urban ones of the neighborhood, or the structural inequalities of their environment, regarding the dynamics of generation and density of neighborhood social ties. Notwithstanding this, the findings do allow commenting that, together with other interventions, the architectural scale and residential typology, can contribute to the configuration of relational environments that motivate place attachment, and with this, reinforce the positive predisposition to produce neighborhood social ties.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

This work is introduced in a discussion that is mainly based on the scales of the city and the neighborhood, proposing that the architectural scale is also significant, and the choice of housing solutions based on progressive and adaptive typologies is particularly so. Where the owner was a constant and active participant, would influence their stated perceptions of preference and predilection for the neighborhood and with it an expected greater attachment to it, giving a better predisposition to overcome obstacles and capitalize on the opportunities that the neighborhood gives to build neighborhood social ties.

This is especially important in a context marked by a housing policy where there is practically no participation in the residential, locational, and typological choice of neighborhood, housing, and its characteristics. However, further study must be made if this potential different predisposition to capitalize on neighborhood personal networks and generation of neighborhood cohesion, can go beyond the socio-material conditions of the neighborhood in question. Household surveys and the mapping of personal networks support an important part of the hypothesis and corroborate how the architectural typology can affect favorable perceptions, in terms of preference for living in the neighborhood and predilection for staying there, showing a greater attachment in itself, without necessarily escaping the structural urban conditions of the neighborhood. In any case, the evidence reported here continues to make plausible the idea that, along with the scale of the neighborhood, the use of a progressive typology, in the short and medium term, could support other types of interventions and favor the generation of neighborhood social ties, improving local response capacities to common problems.

In light of the findings, it is possible to suggest that housing policies should pay attention to the neighborhood's structural urban conditions, such as location and social composition. Likewise, it must also incorporate the issue of housing typology, not only in terms of surface area, density, and diversity, but also in its ability to be modified, expanded, adapted, and appropriated by its owners, thereby moving away from invariability and standardized extensions. This is a greater challenge if one thinks that the social housing public policy strongly tends toward densification and high-rise architectural typologies.

Finally, it must be recognized and mentioned that faced with the impossibility of empirically understanding all the aspects of socio-spatial practices in a given city, this case study, which is more limited and circumscribed, becomes relevant, especially in terms of the influence that the typological scale of architecture can have on neighborhood perceptions and personal predispositions to capitalize or not on the opportunities that this can generate for building neighborhood social ties, particularly in a socially disadvantaged urban neighborhood of southern Chile.

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