

# **PLACE ATTACHMENT IN RAPID URBANIZATION AREAS —A CASE STUDY OF ZHU VILLAGE**

**A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Architecture and Planning  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY**

**In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Science in Urban Planning**

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**May 2018**

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# Abstract

With the rapid pace of urbanization in China, it becomes more and more important for urban planners to explore the planning issues existing in urban villages, which are the semi-urbanized spatial entities with collective land ownership regime in urban China. Place attachment is widely researched in planning field, which is used to describe the people-place connections. In this thesis, I explored residents' attachment in a typical urban village in Guangzhou using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Through surveys, I found residents in Zhu Village have moderate attachments to the place they live in, and some significant differences were identified based on variables like local status and length of residence. The results of interviews reveal that the locals hold a higher level of emotional attachment while the non-locals tend to show a strong feeling of place dependence. For locals, the emotional connections are anchored deeply in the culture, consanguinity and power worship to the village while emotional associations of non-locals are formed on the basis of the deep or shallow cognitions to a place. As for functional attachment, locals emphasize the functional connections in relation to activities with place-specific meanings. But for non-locals, the satisfaction of their general needs of living is key to the formation of the functional attachment through their comments.

**Key words: Place Attachment, Urban Village, Local, Migrant**

# Acknowledgement

Firstly, I would like to express my great appreciation to Professor Weiping Wu, my research advisor, for her valuable comments during the design and writing of my thesis. Without her patience, encouragement and immense knowledge, it is impossible for me to complete this research successfully.

I am particularly grateful for the suggestions from Professor Ethel Sheffer, which give insights on the revision of my research.

I would like to extend my thanks to my friends Dong Liu and Qing Pan, who help me a lot while doing on-site investigation.

Last but not least, I would like to express my special thanks to GSAPP. Two-year studies provide me a new way to think about urban issues and public policies. It will benefit me throughout my life.

# Contents

<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
<i>Urbanization in China</i> .....	2
<i>Internal migration in China</i> .....	3
<i>Urban Village in China</i> .....	4
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	8
<i>Place Attachment</i> .....	8
<i>Research Methods</i> .....	12
<i>Summary</i> .....	13
<b>METHODOLOGY AND CASE SELECTION</b> .....	14
<i>Research Setting</i> .....	14
<i>Data Collection and data processing</i> .....	18
<b>QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS</b> .....	22
<i>Overall Attachment</i> .....	22
<i>Classification</i> .....	23
<b>QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS</b> .....	26
<i>For Locals</i> .....	26
<i>For non-locals</i> .....	32
<i>Comparison</i> .....	36
<b>CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION</b> .....	39
<i>Summary</i> .....	39
<i>Implications</i> .....	40
<i>Limitations</i> .....	41
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	43
<b>APPENDIX</b> .....	46

## List of tables

Table 1 Demographic statistics of Zhu Village .....	17
Table 2 Basic statistics of the respondents.....	20
Table 3 Basic statistics of the interviewees .....	21
Table 4 Results of descriptive statistics on overall attachment.....	22
Table 5 Distribution of overall attachment and counts .....	23
Table 6 Results of concerned variables.....	24
Table 7 Comparison between locals and non-locals .....	37

## List of figures

Figure 1 Degree of Urbanization in China.....	3
Figure 2 Bird view of a typical urban village, Shipai Village .....	6
Figure 3 Ancestral hall and river in urban villages .....	7
Figure 4 Location map of Zhu Village.....	15
Figure 5 Historic buildings in Zhu Village .....	16
Figure 6 Reconstruction in Zhu Village.....	17
Figure 7 Folklore in Zhu Village .....	18
Figure 8 Pan’s old store near the central pond with the greatest “Fengshui” .....	28
Figure 9 Residents burn incense blessing for safety, luck and wealth.....	31
Figure 10 Central pond and Qixi Park .....	35

# INTRODUCTION

In the past several decades, the urbanization rate in China has been increasing rapidly, as more and more migrants have poured into cities for higher incomes and a better living environment. The urban villages help accommodate a large number of migrants. Urban villages are semi-urbanized settlements in urban areas featured with lower rental rates and a relatively acceptable environment. They used to be rural villages and then enveloped by urban land. Although these areas have become an important part of urban cities, the land is collectively owned by villagers instead of the government.

However, there are many planning-related issues such as spatial congestion and illegal construction existing in such areas. The problems could be addressed in the fields of urban regeneration, citizenization and historic preservation. Based on the background, it is significant for planners to conduct research on urban villages. Most of research on urban villages place more emphasis on physical or practical dimension of such area, such as how to transform the land ownership or how to improve or preserve existing localized features like historic buildings. However, there are very few studies focusing on the social aspects of urban villages from a psychological or personal experience perspective.

Place attachment is widely researched in planning field, which is defined as the people-place connections within a specific geographical unit. In this paper, I adopt both qualitative and quantitative methods and try to explore residents' place attachment in a typical urban village in Guangzhou--- Zhu Village. The research summarizes the attachment characteristics of residents, and compares the place attachment held by local villagers and migrants in a special urban village, to address both preservation the psychological attachment to places and development of

the community. These findings could contribute to future theoretical research, and promote proper urban redevelopment practices

The research questions I want to answer are:

1. What are the characteristics of residents' overall place attachment in Zhu Village?
2. What are the differences about place attachment between locals and non-locals in this semi-urbanized area?

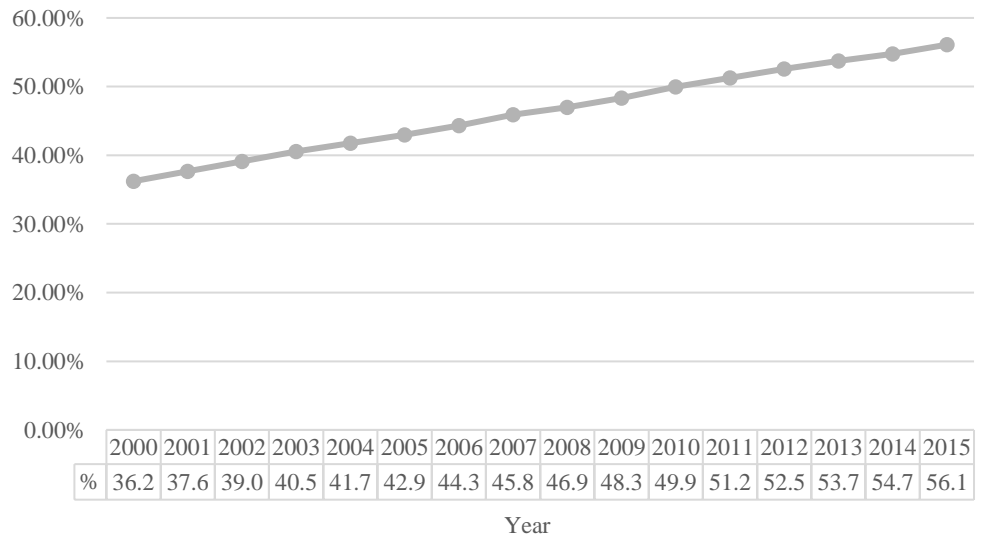
The research will include five important parts. In this first section, the background will be discussed to give a detailed picture of internal migration and urban villages in China. The second part is the literature review of place attachment in order to articulate the theoretical significance of this research as well as provide some insights on research methods for my thesis. Third part is methodology utilized in this thesis. The survey and semi-structured interview were conducted and the results will be analyzed in the following two parts, to include quantitative and qualitative analysis. I will address the overall residents' attachment in Zhu Village, and present the differences of place attachment held by both local villagers and migrants through analysis of interviews. In final part, the findings and limitations will be discussed and relevant implications will be provided.

### ***Urbanization in China***

The speed of urbanization in China is rapid over the past 30 years. Urbanization rate refers to the percentage of people who lives in urban areas (Chen, 2007). In 2000, the degree of urbanization of China was 36.2%, while it has exceeded 50% in 2015 (see Figure 1). Many urban issues have emerged under the context of rapid urbanization in Chinese cities, and more and

more researches have been encouraged including the field of human geography, regional and urban planning, and public health.

**Figure 1 Degree of Urbanization in China**



Source: National statistical yearbook 2015

In spite of the increasing proportion of urban residents in this country, there are several features of urbanization in China which must be identified first. According to the research conducted by Tan, Xu & Zhang (Tan, Xu & Zhang, 2016), the marked regional imbalance is the most important feature of urbanization in China. The large spatial disparities in income, education, and living standards, and the level of economic development as well as the level of public services drive the internal migration across the country.

### ***Internal migration in China***

According to *Migrants Population Dynamic Monitoring Survey Data* in 2017, there are 2.45 hundred million migrants in China, which accounts for 18% of the total population. A large amount of population concentrate in cities like Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen and Guangzhou, from inland areas to coastal regions. With more and more rural people and people from small



cities moving into big cities, the demand for affordable housing units is increasing at the same time.

However, local governments determine the eligibility of residents for public housing and social welfare based on a Chinese style Household Registration System---Hukou system. The special Hukou system classifies Chinese people into two different groups: people with rural Hukou and people with urban Hukou. According to Migrants Population Dynamic Monitoring Survey Data in 2015, 50.5% of migrants in China is from rural areas. For all rural migrants without urban Hukou, or some urban migrants without Hukou of the city they want to live in, they are excluded from public welfare in big cities, such as public housing, health care and education. Taking public housing as an example, the application of affordable housing in Guangzhou is highly related with Hukou status. Only households with Guangzhou Hukou are eligible for affordable housing assistance. Although several big cities have launched new policy till 2015 that some people without urban Hukou have the opportunity to apply for Public-Rental housing if they can meet seven strict qualifications<sup>1</sup>, but it is still very difficult for migrants to apply for affordable housing units. Therefore, many migrants in big cities who cannot afford market housing start to move into areas where rental rent is low, which has resulted in the significant demographic changes in some peri-urban settlements such as urban villages.

### ***Urban Village in China***

Urban villages are collectively owned islands located in urban areas, which accommodate a large amount of migrants due to cheap rental rates and relatively acceptable living environments. The land ownership regime of rural districts is very different from urban land. The

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<sup>1</sup> 保障房房源首次位非广州户籍人口开放. (2018). Hukoushouxu.com. Retrieved 29 April 2018, from <http://www.hukoushouxu.com/post/1695.html>

rural land in urban villages is owned collectively by “village collective economic organization” instead of local government (Zhou, 2014). The organization has the owner right for the land, and the local villagers hold the use right. Although the land ownership is different from urban areas, the modern structures and historical elements coexist in urban villages. Based on such dual land system, the special spatial phenomenon in China, is the consequence of rapid urbanization process.

Since 1980s, the demand of urban land was increasing with the economic and social development of Chinese big cities. Therefore, many local governments chose to extend the cities in order to generate more usable construction land, and finally fill the gap between supply and demand of urban land (Zhou, 2014). During the process of urban sprawl, much rural land was expropriated by local governments through eminent domain, but there were still some rural residential land not converted successfully because of high costs (Wang, 2014). For example, if local governments want to convert rural land into urban land, they have to negotiate with locals and conduct compensation proposal of land acquisition with a price satisfactory to both of parties, which is usually very expensive, and time-consuming (Hua 2009). Therefore, many rural villages retain their collective land ownership character although they have become parts of urban area. A large amount of Urban villages thus emerged in big cities around Pearl River Delta from the 1990s (Wang, 2014), surrounded by urban land.

Along with the appearance of urban villages, migrants from rural areas or small cities poured into big cities as I discussed in last section. Besides rural migrants, new college graduates and young urban people without much money are also willing to live in urban villages because of limited access to urban housing. Such peri-urban settlements become the temporary residence for many migrants because of attractions from affordable rents and excellent geographical locations.

With the increasing housing demand in urban villages, the local villagers start to construct their buildings illegally over their collectively owned land in order to accommodate more people and then generate more income. Therefore, many issues emerge. For example, the landscapes of many urban villages are destroyed significantly (See Figure 2). The high-rise buildings result in spatial congestion. And the safety and sanitation cannot be ensured in such space.

**Figure 2 Bird view of a typical urban village, Shipai Village**



Source: Google Image

Although many urban villages have become the temporary settlements for migrants in China, the rural areas of a country are always composed with colorful folklores and long histories. For example, the localized historic features are significant in urban villages of Guangzhou. Local villages always share the last name within this geographic unit, and the ancestral hall which is used for the commemoration of ancestors, commonly exist in Cantonese villages. Some other physical character such as the ponds and small rivers are also very common in rural areas (See Figure 3).

**Figure 3 Ancestral hall and river in urban villages**



Source: Google Image

There are many studies on urban villages in China since the 1980s. The research could be classified in three categories: the first one is to identify the characteristics of urban villages, such as the definition and the environment evaluation of existing urban villages (Lin, Meulder & Wang, 2011); the second one is to explore the approaches on redevelopment of urban villages (Zhou, 2014); the final is to explore the formation mechanism of urban village areas (Zhang, 2017). However, most of research on urban villages place more emphasis on physical or practical dimension of such areas, such as land conversion, historical preservation and community development. There are very few studies focusing on personal experience or other “soft aspects” of residents in Urban Villages. For instance, Li et al explored the sense of place of locals in Liede Village, which is the first redeveloped village in Guangzhou, and found the redevelopment could encourage local population integrated into urban life (Li et al, 2012). Tao examined the relationship between folk festival and place attachment (Tao, 2014).

# LITERATURE REVIEW

## *Place Attachment*

In 1974, Yi-fu Tuan popularized the term “Topophilia”, which is “the affective bond between people and place or setting” (Tuan, 1974). Tuan thinks “Topophilia” has two phases: “rootedness” and “sense of place”. The rootedness is a spiritual satisfaction or bonding to the place, but sense of place is the formation process of “place identity”. In 1976, Relph clarified the definition of “sense of place”, which means “a deep, unself-conscious connections in place” and the personal experience taken place in a special geographical unit (Relph, 1976). The concept of “Place attachment” is often used interchangeably with terms like “Topophilia” and “Sense of place” in planning field.

Despite the large amount of research, there is not yet accurate definition about place attachment, but is commonly regarded as a multi-dimensioned concept. In 2009, Scannell and Gifford proposed a “three-dimensional, PPP (person–process–place) explication framework” to integrate the diverse definitions of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2009), which is acknowledged widely among scholars.

The dimension of “Person” is the essential part of this framework, aiming to address the actor: “who is attached to the place” (Scannell & Gifford, 2009). For individuals, the personal experiences and memories matter the most. Basically, the personal experiences and memories are the foundations for the formation of place attachment (Scannell and Gifford, 2009). For example, the place where you can make an achievement or the place where you propose to the other is important for a person, and then you might hold affections or emotions to this place. As for a group of people, the commonly acknowledged local meanings of a place, such as culture, architecture, religion or celebrity, value the most.

The “place” dimension in “place attachment” means a place with “special meanings”, which is the primary source of place attachment. Place is an entity with two dimensions: social and physical aspects (Stedman, 2003). Accordingly, some people may feel attached to social features of a place, such as the relative relationships, the religions and the ancestral worship. Some other people may feel attached to physical character of a place, such as natural scenes, geographical location, the recreation space or own property. In the past, many scholars hold the beliefs that the social dimension of place contributes more to place attachment compared to physical environment (Stedman, 2003). Although it is still difficult to determine which one is more important, there are a lot of scholars who hold different opinions and make efforts to show the contributions of physical environment to place attachment. For example, Stedman proposed that the characteristics of physical environment influenced sense of place in a way different from social construction through memories or personal experience (Stedman, 2003). He utilizes structural equation model, and finally finds that the several landscape features have significant impacts on the strength of sense of place.

The “Process” in place attachment is to address the psychologic process about “how people develop place attachment”. Existing research tends to focus on three aspects of “Process”: affect, cognition and behavior, which will be utilized in my following analysis parts as well.

“Affect” means the emotional part of place attachment. The attachment to a place is generally involved in positive or moderate emotions such as love, pride, or satisfaction (Stedman, 2003), and for most qualitative research, the level of attachment is identified from the descriptive words of emotions or affections.

Cognition dimension means the understandings, “knowledge”, “memories” people have to a place, which is an essential component of place attachment. For many people, the emotion of attachment is the emotional consequence of understandings or knowledge to an object. In 2000, Bricker proposes the concept of “familiarity”, which add the explication to the cognition dimension that the place-people bonding come from the different levels of understandings to a special place (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000).

Behavior aspect could be easily understood as “actions to express attachment” (Stedman, 2003). Stedman proposes a term “proximity-maintaining behavior”, meaning the actions to maintain “a close relationship” to a place, is the typical behavior acted by people with place attachment. For example, the attachment is able to drive people to “visit a place regularly”. Sometimes, invocation or incense burning is conducted regularly by people in places with special cultural or religious meanings.

Besides “proximity-maintaining behavior”, people are willing to take actions to protect places which they are attached to. For example, Amanda J. Walker et al explores local residents’ attachment to the rural landscape (Walker, 2008). They finds that people with higher level of attachment are more likely to take actions to protect the landscape, and provides suggestions about landscape preservation.

In terms of forms of place attachment, there is also no consensus. Bricker and Kerstetter defined five different forms of attachment, including “familiarity, belonging, identity, dependence and rootedness” in 2000 according to strength of people’s attachment to a place (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000). Notably, the most widely-used definition was proposed by William and Roggenbuck in 1989. They have synthesized place attachment as two forms in their

research: emotional or affective attachment and functional or instrumental attachment (Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989).

The affective/emotional attachment is a deep psychological connection people have to the place, and “to the extent that place makes contributions to the construction of personal identity” (Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989). They created a scaling tool and the “place identity” column is used to describe emotional attachment. They also defined the functional attachment, which means the interaction between place and people through the activities taken place within some geographic unit (Lin & Lockwood, 2014). Such attachment is always linked to physical features which could satisfy diverse needs of people like restaurant, open space, etc. (Jorgensen, 2006). There are two essential processes needed to consider about functional attachment: the measurement of a specific place to determine to what extent it could satisfy the needs of people (Lin & Lockwood, 2011); and the “awareness of alternatives”, which means the comparison between the place with other sites to decide whether the place can be replaced or not (Gunderson and Watson, 2007).

Many studies testify the existing of functional and emotional attachment. For example, Lin and Lockwood utilized qualitative methods and identified four forms of attachment held by different groups of residents in two protected areas (Lin & Lockwood, 2014), to include “generalized forms” and “localized forms”.

In this paper, the place attachment is defined as the multi-dimensioned people-place connections in a specific geographical unit. The emotional and functional dimensions would be used in my following analysis as an important analysis framework.



## ***Research Methods***

There are many approaches to research about place attachment, which can be categorized into two approaches: quantitative and qualitative.

The measurement tool created by Williams (Williams, 2000) is one of the most widely used scales, which provides questions (5 points Likert scale) measured between “place attachment (affective attachment) and place dependence (functional attachment)”. There are articles about place attachment using quantitative research method. For example, Tang utilizes the tool and demonstrates the general characteristics of residents’ attachment in Anhui (Tang, 2011). Wu et al analyzes the level of residents’ attachment in three different villages with different levels of urbanization and addresses the development strategies for these villages (Wu et al.2009).

Compared to quantitative methods, qualitative ways are frequently used to understand the subjective perception and personal experience over the place, which may not be suitable to measure the strength of place attachment. According to the literature review conducted by Lewicka, the quantitative methods can measure the attachment strength of different groups based on a variety of indicators, such as length of residence (Lewicka, 2011). However, because human’s experiences are complicated and multilayered, quantitative methods fail to articulate the rich information hidden behind each indicator (Lewicka, 2011). But qualitative methods are able to provide potential information for researchers to understand how people develop their connections to places. In other sense, the information from qualitative research could be captured to measure what the place means (Stedman, 2003). For example, Lin et al utilizes in-depth interviews to demonstrate the forms and sources of place attachment in some urban areas (Lin & Lockwood, 2014).

Besides deep interview, some scholars prepare the photograph projects in their studies. For example, Dana Rojak utilizes a photo project that people are asked to get scenes they feel most attached to in a historic bar, and classifies the pictures into several categories. The categories help understand the sources of their place attachment (Rojak, 2016). Rebecca Madgin asks respondents to rank pictures based on their subjective judgment and tries to explicate the ways how the changes of a recreational place influence the people-place connections (Madgin, 2016).

The combination of qualitative and quantitative is also used in many articles. For example, Wei, Tao utilizes survey, interview and factor analysis to explore the relationship between Qiqiao festival and place attachment (Tao, 2014).

### ***Summary***

In summary, place attachment is widely researched in planning field, and the interest in place-people connections has grown in recent years. Many articles about place attachment have discussed different forms of attachment, and a lot of researchers focus on the theoretical framework for analysis. The methods using to explore place attachment include both qualitative and quantitative ways. Furthermore, most relevant studies in China focus on the tourists' behaviors, and there are fewer articles about place attachment focusing on a specific urban village in China. Therefore, it is practically and theoretically significant to explore residents' attachment in urban villages, which give insights for further research and could be helpful for the humanistic redevelopment of such areas as well.

# METHODOLOGY AND CASE SELECTION

## *Research Setting*

Guangzhou is one of the important cities in the Pearl River Delta, China. The GDP of this city ranked 4<sup>2</sup> in 2017, following Shanghai, Beijing and Shenzhen. In the past several decades from the Reform and Opening-up Policy, the government of Guangzhou concentrated on promoting urban sprawl in order to generate fiscal incomes by selling expanded urban construction land (Zhou, 2014). Because the compensation cost is too expensive for local government to transform existing urban villages easily, as a result, there are 304 urban villages appearing in this city due to such rapid urbanization with a total area of 716 square kilometers, which together is as large as Singapore<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, with rapid economic development, more and more migrants pour into this city, and the urban villages, where the rental price is not high, become the best accommodations for migrants. In 2016, there are almost 6 million people living in urban villages, and 5 million of them are migrants<sup>4</sup>.

A typical urban village, Zhu Village, is chosen as my study area, where the study boundary is relatively well-defined and residents there are diverse, including both locals and migrants. There are much planning-related research conducted in Zhu Village. For example, Tao examines the relationship between reconstruction of Qiqiao festival and residents' place attachment (Tao, 2014); Ou discusses the possible way to transform Zhu Village and tries to reallocate existing compensations for locals (Ou, 2005); Ding conducts surveys to identify the relationship between built environment and residents' perception of safety (Ding & Zhang,

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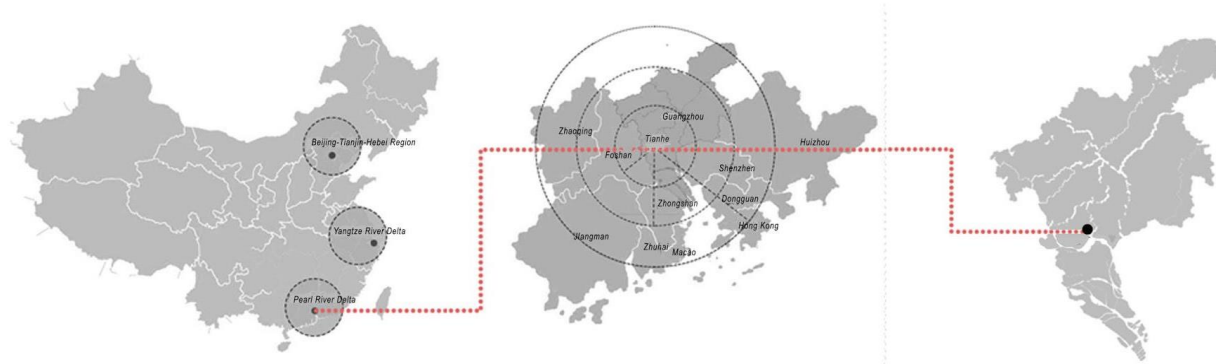
<sup>2</sup> National Bureau of Statistics, 2017

<sup>3</sup> 穿梭暗巷的浮世绘 摄影师五年镜头记录广州城中村 (2016.) Retrieved 17 March 2018, from <http://www.nbd.com.cn/articles/2016-04-12/997296.html>

<sup>4</sup> 石牌村：广州地价最贵的城中村 3500 栋握手楼住 10 万人\_腾讯网. (2018). Xw.qq.com. Retrieved 17 March 2018, from <https://xw.qq.com/cmsid/20160108062419>

2015). Existing research provide some valuable information of Zhu Village, which is helpful for further studies.

**Figure 4 Location map of Zhu Village**



### **Site Overview**

Zhu Village is a historic village in Tianhe District, Guangzhou City (See Figure 4). “Zhu” means Pearl in Chinese, and “Zhu Village” is named for Zhu Hummock nearby. The history of Zhu Village can be traced back to the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). The historic buildings and colorful folklore testify to its 800-year history. The locals living in this place share the same surnames, to include “Pan” and “Zhong”, and ancestral halls are still well-preserved in this village. Totally, there are about 44 historic buildings (See Figure 5), 33 ancestral halls and 8 altars with a total area about 8000 square meters (Jaaksola, 2013), where many local activities take place. As many ancient villages in Guangzhou, the colorful rural culture makes this area famous among local Cantonese.

Zhu Village is located on eastern part of Tianhe District, the central district of the City. It is served by strong public transit network. The Bus Rapid Transit system of Guangzhou serves this area at the station “Zhu Village”. Additionally, public services are provided such as medical center, the express hotels and many restaurants.

**Figure 5 Historic buildings in Zhu Village**



Beidi Temple



Nanhai Temple

### **The transition of Zhu Village**

During the process of rapid urbanization, this village has transited a lot from both social and physical dimensions.

With economic growth of Pearl River Delta, the economic structure of Zhu Village has changed a lot since the 1950s. Historically, the agriculture was the dominant industry, similar to many Cantonese villages. The rice and grains were sold to cities such as Guangzhou, Hong Kong, Macao, or even other Asian countries. The pineapple and tangerine were the most famous agricultural products of Zhu Village. After the 1950s, the surrounding villages like Huang Village and Yuan Villages were redeveloped and second industry became more and more important. Zhu Village transited as well. From 1992, the income from secondary industry of Zhu Village began exceeding that of agricultural industry, which indicated the significant changes of industrial structure. Since 1980s, the process of internal migration in China has been accelerated with more and more migrants pouring into Zhu Village. Nowadays, people generates revenues through renting their houses out. The main sources of income are the rents and share dividends from collectively owned industries.

Demographic characteristics have changed a lot as well. According to Table 1, there were 4945 local villagers living in this place in 2000, and the number of migrants were about 6000. While in 2017, the number of migrants has been farther exceeding the number of locals because the BRT started to operate in 2010. There are over **30,000** migrants living in this village, which is six times more than the number of locals (around 5000) (Chen & Tao, 2017). Most of local residents rent their houses to migrants and live outside of the villages as landlords. Some local villagers have converted their rural Hukou while some locals still hold their rural Hukou status.

**Table 1 Demographic statistics of Zhu Village**

	1990	2000	2017
Local people with rural Hukou	3269	3451	-
Local people with Urban Hukou	841	1494	-
<b>Local</b>	<b>4110</b>	<b>4945</b>	<b>Around 5000</b>
<b>Migrant</b>	<b>841</b>	<b>Around 6000</b>	<b>More than 30, 000</b>

Source: Research conducted by Guo and Chen (Guo, 2001; Chen & Tao, 2017)

Zhu Village used to be an area with a great amount of ponds and open space. The area of central pond is around 0.75 acres, and all ponds in this village are connected to Zhu River. However, the landlords tend to construct high-storied buildings or build some illegal mezzanine floors over their land in order to accommodate more people (See Figure 6). With much informal construction in Zhu Village, the landscapes of this areas are damaged significantly.

**Figure 6 Reconstruction in Zhu Village**



Fortunately, the historic buildings and colorful folklore still coexist with modern structures in this place. Many cultural traditions in this village are well-preserved in Zhu Village including Dragon Boat Race, Lion Dance, Worship of Taigong<sup>5</sup> and incense burning blessing for luck (See Figure 7). “Qiqiao” festival<sup>6</sup> is one of the most important folklores in Zhu Village. In fact, Zhu Village is famous as “the First Qiqiao Village in China (Chen H, 2017).

**Figure 7 Folklore in Zhu Village**



Source: Google Image

Obviously, along with the urbanization of Guangzhou city, the social and physical environment has changed a lot. It becomes essential to explore the personal experience of people who live in this space for better redevelopment practices in the future.

### ***Data Collection and data processing***

The study is based on a mixed-method research design. Quantitative method is employed to measure overall attachment of residents. As discussed in literature review, the existing scaling tool cannot cover every aspect of psychological process since human’s experiences are complicated. Furthermore, existing convincing scaling tool is designed from a mental perspective to measure the strength of attachment, which cannot be used for deep identification of attachment. Case-by-case interview is helpful for researchers to understand individual

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<sup>5</sup> A traditional activity that people pray to a god who take charge of water for harvest

<sup>6</sup> An annual festival that girls pray to god for good marriage



experience deeply. Therefore, qualitative and quantitative methods are employed together in this paper to provide the supplementary information. The rich information collected through survey and interview is helpful to understand residents' attachment deeply.

Formal investigation consists of survey and in-depth interview. The on-site investigation was conducted at the beginning of 2018, in a span of two weeks, and quota sampling and convenience sampling was used to select respondents.

If they were willing to talk more, a semi-structured interview would be conducted, which lasts for 10-30 mins. Face-to-face deep interviews was used with a range of residents. The people-place association can be identified through respondents' own words since the open questions indicate more potential information. The interview questions are revised based on the research conducted by Lin and Lockwood (Lin and Lockwood, 2014):

1. What does Zhu Village mean to you?
2. What physical or social features of this place that value the most to you? And why?

Primary questions were asked first, and I picked the words differently according to different persons I talked with. Sub-questions were additionally added based on the comments made by different interviewees.

Due to limited on-site investigation time, I have tried to ensure that the overall characteristics of respondents are in line with the demographic features of the whole village. However, the neighborhood committee rejected my interview politely. With reference to the environment feasibility research<sup>7</sup> and academic article of Zhu Village<sup>8</sup>, there were around 5000

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<sup>7</sup>珠村美丽乡村 2017 年一期建设项目建设项目环境影响报告表.pdf. (2018). Retrieved 30 April 2018, from <http://jz.docin.com/p-1759684269.html>

<sup>8</sup>Chen, H., & Tao, W. (2017). The revival and restructuring of a traditional folk festival: Cultural landscape and memory in Guangzhou, South China. *Sustainability*, 9(10), 1767.



local villagers and over 30,000 migrants and living in this area. The ratio of non-locals and locals is greater than 6:1. During two weeks, I have sent 47 questionnaires out, and there are 40 residents who are able to provide completed questionnaires for me. The response rate is about 85%. The basic information of survey respondents are presented in Table 2. According to Table 1, the ratio of non-locals and locals of this sample is 7:1, which is higher than overall ratio of 6:1. Considering there are many migrants without reporting their migration status to local government, the representativeness of the sample could be ensured to some extent. 42.5% of survey participants are women, and the males make up 52.5% of the respondents. In order to avoid statistical errors as much as possible, the survey data are processed using the pooled variance two-tailed t test, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

**Table 2 Basic statistics of the respondents**

	Frequency	%		Frequency	%
<b>Gender</b>			<b>Language</b>		
Female	17	42.5%	Can speak local language	18	45%
Male	23	57.5%	Cannot speak local language	22	55%
<b>Age</b>			<b>Local</b>		
18-25	13	32.5%	Local	5	10%
25-35	15	37.5%	Non-local	35	90%
35-45	6	15%	<b>Length of residence</b>		
45+	6	15%	>=5 years	12	30%
<b>Occupation</b>			<5 years	28	70%
Factory worker	6	15%	<b>Housing</b>		
Sales and service	13	32.5%	Self-owned	4	10%
Culture and Education	5	12.5%	Rental	35	87%
Administration and management	1	2.5%	Other	1	2.5%
Student	3	7.5%	<b>Hukou</b>		
Unemployed	3	7.5%	Urban	14	25%
Other	10	22.5%	Rural	26	65%
<b>Education</b>					
Senior high school or lower	25	62.5%			
Associate college degree	8	20%			
Bachelor degree or higher	7	17.5%			

However, many local villagers showed a more negative attitude to survey than non-locals, in order to identify the characteristics of residents' attachment within Zhu Village, the qualitative method is utilized. Totally, I conducted 25 interviews during two weeks. Some observations are additionally added because several seniors only accepted the interview due to limited education level or other reasons. In order to avoiding repeatability of the observations, I selected 15 people from the residents I have interviewed based on age, gender and local status. The residents here consist of two different groups: local residents, non-local residents, and I tried to make sure there were at least 4 people in each group. The local samples include both the elder and young people, and include the business operator, general resident, artist and student. The migrants include people at a range of age and length of residence. Their occupations range from business operator to factory workers.

Basic information of the interviewees is listed below (some interviewees are under the pseudonyms, but it would not influence the results). Special thanks to the Pans (No. 1, local business operator) and Mr. Zhong (No. 8), who spent almost one hour on the interviews and provided much useful information.

**Table 3 Basic statistics of the interviewees**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Local Status</b>	<b>Length of residence</b>
1	Mr. Pan	Male	56	Local	56 years
2	Ms. Zhang	Female	42	Non-local	2 years
3	Mr. Pan	Male	72	Local	72 years
4	Ms. Xia	Female	55	Non-local	2 years
5	Mr. Zhao	Male	32	Non-local	1.5 years
6	Mr. Wang	Male	51	Non-local	20 years
7	Ms. Zhang	Female	48	Non-local	20 years
8	Mr. Zhong	Male	62	Local	62 years
9	Ms. Chen	Female	24	Non-local	1 years
10	Mr. He	Male	55	Non-local	20 years
11	Mr. Liu	Male	46	Non-local	8 years
12	Ms. Chen	Female	61	Non-local	3 months
13	Mr. Pan	Male	18	Local	18 years
14	Mr. Zhang	Male	53	Non-local	5 years
15	Mr. Yang	Male	31	Non-local	1 year

# QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

## *Overall Attachment*

Results of descriptive statistics on overall attachment are gathered and presented in Table 1. All values in table 1 are based on 40 observations, and the survey questions are based on 5 points Likert scale to measure the level of place-people attachment. The overall attachment equals to the average score of each question with reference to the studies conducted by William and Kitchen (William & Kitchen, 2012). The average could range from 1 (weak attachment) to 5 (strong attachment).

According to Table 4, the average of overall attachment is about 3.4, while the number varies from 2 to 5 among different individuals. Compared to similar researches conducted by Tang and Xie (Tang, 2016; Xie, Chang, Zhu & Chen, 2014), the averages of which are 3.66 and 3.76, we could find that residents in Zhu Village have moderate attachments to the place they live in.

**Table 4 Results of descriptive statistics on overall attachment**

<b>Questions</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Sd.</b>
Zhu Village is very special to me	3.5	0.960769
Zhu Village is my first choice for residence	3.475	0.933356
I am proud to live here	3.2	0.966092
I miss Zhu Village a lot when I am travelling or working	3.2	1.181047
I am a part of Zhu Village	3.45	1.108244
I am willing to recommend Zhu Village to others	3.4	1.172331
No other place can compare to the Zhu Village	3.175	1.25856
Living in the Zhu Village expresses a lot about belongings	3.35	1.098951
I would not substitute any other area for the activities I do in the Zhu Village	3.8	1.01779
Zhu Village provides the living environment which cannot be substituted by any other area	3.5	1.037749
I am glad to participate in improving this area	3.725	1.339489
<b>Overall Attachment</b>	<b>3.43</b>	<b>0.78134845</b>
<b>Overall attachment (Tang, 2016)</b>	<b>3.66</b>	<b>0.8</b>
<b>Overall Attachment (Xie, 2014)</b>	<b>3.76</b>	<b>0.82</b>

The final results are relabeled to four categories for a better interpretation: strong attachment (4-5 points), relatively strong attachment (3.5-4 points), general attachment (2.5-3.5) and weak attachment (0-2.5). Distribution of scores and counts is presented in Table 5.

47.5% of respondents have a general attachment to the village, and 17 of 40 hold a positive-level attachment to Zhu Village. Only 10% of respondents show very low scores on overall attachment. The cumulative percentage column shows that about 90% of residents have strong or moderate attachment levels in Zhu Village, and 10% have a score which is lower than half of 5.

**Table 5 Distribution of overall attachment and counts**

Score	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
4-5	9	22.50	22.50
3.5-4	8	20.00	42.50
2.5-3.5	19	47.50	90.00
0-2.5	4	10.00	100.00
Total	44	100.00	100.00

### ***Classification***

In order to better understand the survey data, descriptive statistic and the pooled variance two-tailed t test are used to examine the averages between respondents based on concerned variables to determine whether there are significant differences among the interdependent categories. The results are presented in Table 6.

To make the results more convincing, the pooled variance two-tailed t test is selected because of flexible testing assumptions. Moreover, the logarithm of each observation is calculated for t test to place the data under a better testing environment. As is shown in Table 6, the data are relabeled into several binary variables on basis of median values.

Comparing the means between groups, there are many differences. Table 6 shows the average scores of attachment for the sample between groups based on gender, local status, length of residence and Hukou status. In terms of gender, the mean score for women is 3.5, while the

mean score of men is 3.38. The results of t test indicate there is little difference in overall attachment between male and female.

**Table 6 Results of concerned variables**

		<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std.</b>	<b>Feq.</b>
Gender	Female	3.5026738	0.62993313	17
	Male	3.3833992	0.88732477	23
Local**	Local	4.5272727	0.33648646	5
	Non-local	3.2779221	0.69722098	35
Length of residence**	>=5 years	4.3560606	0.41832253	12
	<5 years	3.038961	0.52042963	28
Hukou	Urban	3.3311688	0.78818931	14
	Rural	3.4895105	0.78753803	26
Total		3.506198	0.8261063	40

\* P<0.1, \*\* P<0.05

According to t test, it is statistically significant that local residents (M=4.527, SD= 0.336) have higher level of attachment than non-locals (M=3.28, SD=0.697, P<0.05). Obvious is the reason that local people have deeply anchored contact with the place they are born in, and the positive personal experience connected with family and friends reinforces their affective connections to permanent residence places with special meanings. While the non-locals left their hometowns and moved to a new place, they would have relatively weak connections to the place they are living in now. After all Zhu Village is an urban village with crowded and noisy environment. Local status is an important social indicator which is studied in many researches, which could be used to support the significance. For example, Tao studied the relationship between folk festival and residents' place attachment and found whether people are locals or not has significant correlation with the attachment level (Tao, 2014). Tang also found the locals have significantly higher attachments to the ancient villages they are born in (Tang, 2011).

Mean scores are significantly higher for long-term residents (length of residence >=5 years, M= 4.3560606, SD=0.42). One reason lies in people who have lived in a place for a long time are more likely to have stronger local dependence, which is explicated in much research. In

fact, the length of residence has been examined as the most consistent indicator of place-based place attachment (Lewicka, 2011), which is also proved in other research. For example, in the study by Tang (Tang, 2011), he explored the characteristics of residents' attachment in ancient villages and found length of residence was an important predictor that long-term residents have higher level of attachment than short-term residents. Some studies even measure the strength of attachment using the length of residence (Lewicka, 2011).

# QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Statistical analysis of the survey reveals the characteristics of residents' overall attachment in Zhu Village. In this section, the information from deep interviews will be analyzed to identify the characteristics of place attachment held by locals and non-locals in Zhu Village, providing more supplementary information of attachment. In order to better understand the information collected by semi-structured interviews, the results are structured based on Michael Lockwood and William's analysis framework (Lin & Lockwood, 2014; Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989) as "emotional attachment and functional attachment", which is widely used in qualitative studies as I mentioned in literature review. The functional attachment is the functional association people have to the place through the activities taken place within this geographic unit (Lin & Lockwood, 2014). The affective/emotional attachment is a kind of emotional interaction, and the place might contribute to the formation of "people's personal identity" (Williams and Roggenbuck, 1989).

## ***For Locals***

From the information collected from four locals I interviewed, they show both emotional and functional attachment to Zhu Village.

### Emotional/Affective attachment

The strong affective attachment is identified from their positive evaluations on the village. Mr. Pan (No.1), who is a local business-operator and has lived in Zhu Village for over 50 years, described this village as that: "Zhu Village seems an ordinary village in Guangdong. But in fact this place is good for living and working...It is very beautiful". Another Mr. Pan (No. 3), who is over 80 years old, has lived here from childhood. He thought Zhu Village was "very

beautiful and everything is charming”. An 18-year-old local student (No.13) also expressed a positive attitude to this place: “this place makes me feel comfortable and relaxed”. Mr. Zhong (No. 8), is a folk artist, who has lived in this place for sixty years, said “Zhu Village is an amazing place with great location”. Additionally, the place where locals live since they were kids could not be replaced by other places according to their words. Mr. Pan (No.13) indicated that when asked about whether he has thought to move to other places: “where can I move? This village is my home. I was born here, and my family and friends are all here”.

The high level of satisfaction with Zhu Village is articulated as a kind of exclusive attachment to a specific place because there are strong ties between people and their own hometowns, which cannot be replaced. The point is highly supported by related articles. For example, Relph (Relph, 1976) proposed the different stages of “insidedness” to describe the strength of attachment, and the highest level of “insidedness” is held by people who have lived here from generation to generation (Lewicka, 2011). The locals were born and grew up in this small village, and the deep interaction with their hometown has generated highest level of “insidedness”.

The emotional ancestor- or culture-worship contributes to the emotional attachment. Such source is easily recognized in the words of all locals. Mr. Pan (No.1 & 13) and Mr. Zhong (No. 8) expressed their respects for the history and culture rooted in Zhu Village. Mr. Zhong (No. 8) spent about one hour talking with me about the history and traditions of this place, and expressed that he felt “attached to Zhu Village because of its long history and great ‘Fengshui’<sup>9</sup>”:

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<sup>9</sup> “Fengshui” is an old Chinese philosophical system. Historically, Fengshui is used by some people as a way to determine the locations and orientations of buildings, tombs or other structures. In many rural areas of China, senior people still believe the buildings with good Fengshui could attract wealth or health, and avoid bad luck. The Fengshui of buildings is often connected with existing water body and surrounding structures. If the surroundings are changed negatively, people would think the good Fengshui is destroyed or damaged, and then good luck will escape.



“The location of Zhu Village is excellent, as well as its ‘Fengshui’, where wealth and luck would concentrate significantly. In the past several hundred years, good ‘Fengshui’ attracted and fostered a lot of celebrities. For example, Chiang Kai-shek<sup>10</sup> came here and lived near the Beidi Temple for several months. Many celebrities like Wenzhi Pan<sup>11</sup> were born in this small village. Every local should be proud of this.”

Mr. Pan (No.1) holds similar beliefs like Mr. Zhong (No. 8):

“My great-grandfather handed down a small store to his descendant named ‘San Jianpu’ (it means a store with three rooms in Chinese). This store is located in the greatest area of the whole village because of vicinity to the central pond. The ‘Fengshui’ is the best. No other place has such good locality like my house... Zhu Village is also built with a great locality, which is the reason there are some many famous people have living or working here.”

**Figure 8 Pan’s old store near the central pond with the greatest “Fengshui”**



An 18-year local student (No. 13) expressed his love with local cultures like Qixi Festival: “It is a very valuable tradition for us with a long history. When it comes, the ancestral

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<sup>10</sup> The leader of the Republic of China between 1928 and 1975

<sup>11</sup> Former President of the Whampoa Military Academy

halls would be crowded.....the operators will hand out gifts to us...it is interesting”. He also mentioned other traditional activities like Dragon Boat Race, Lion Dance.

Obviously, for locals, traditional ancestor- or culture-worship is the major source of the emotional attachment. Their worship is anchored in traditional Chinese elements such as consanguinity and power. In other words, they are proud of the deep historical or cultural traditions which is rooted in a special locality.

In addition, good memories and experience are another sources of strong affective attachment based on the data I collected. Mr. Pan (No. 1) mentioned that “Zhu Village was very beautiful about ten years ago. It has experienced great changes.....I have witnessed its amazing development”. To Mr. Pan (No.13): “I have lived here for 18 years. I enjoyed my childhood. I like the small ponds or the parks around this area. Everything of Zhu Village is good”. He also said that he has a strong tie to Zhu Village because his family and he are all here: “I have good memories in this place with my father, mother, and my friends”. The family, friends and neighbors are always involved in activities taken place in this village.

It is obvious that the memories or experiences in a specific place are always related to some physical features like historic buildings or open space, and social features like social festivals, traditional ritual activities. As No. 13 mentioned, the memories about ponds and open space reinforce his love for this place. According to related researches, the personal or group experiences add the meanings to physical places (Lewicka, 2011). This point is proved in my research.

Furthermore, some words from Mr. Zhong (No. 8) provided evidence for the process dimension of place attachment theoretically, which is that the process dimension of place attachment include three components: “affect, cognition and behavior”. The definition was

explained in the literature review (Scannell and Gifford 2009). The affection for the hometown promotes the deep cognition to the place, which then encourage the behavior such as reconstruction of place and community maintaining. Mr. Zhong (No. 8) expressed his strong attachment to the place, and also emphasized the willingness to preserve existing historical buildings and culture:

“The redeveloped multi-story buildings in this village is a kind of suicide. The high-dense buildings would block the energy of Zhu Village, and have a bad impact on local environment.....The historical buildings like Beidi Temple need to be maintained.”

Overall, the emotional attachment of locals is along with highest level of “insidedness”. The emotions come from the deep interaction with the place they live in for a long time (or accumulating from ancestors). The positive personal experience reinforces their affective connections to a special place with special meanings.

### Functional attachment

The functional dimension of attachment is also evident in the words of locals, which is a kind of “function-oriented” connections.

For locals, Zhu Village is the place for living. Therefore, the settlement has the functions to satisfy the daily needs of residents like eating, walking or shopping. For ones especially who own their own businesses in the place, like Mr. Pan (No. 1), Zhu Village is where he makes a living as well. He operates his own restaurant in Zhu Village for over 30 years: “the store is my ancestor’s property. I got this business from my father”. He usually starts to sell herbal tea from early morning, and provides dinner at night. The income has largely supported his family and

himself. Obviously, the commercial activities in Zhu Village further indicated his functional connections to this place.

Zhu Village is also a place where locals' spiritual needs could be satisfied. The functional dimension of physical character, such as Temples and ancestral halls, makes contributions to such kind of place-people connections. For example, as Mr. Zhong (No. 8) and non-locals like Mr. Yang (No. 15) mentioned, "locals come to the Temples and burn incense regularly" (See Figure 9). Many elder locals here have traditions to burn incense in ancestral halls or local temples for invocation, so that the existing historic buildings in Zhu Village could be used to satisfy an important need of locals. For young people, the Qixi Park and ancestral halls are the locations for local festivals, which are the basis for their functional attachment to the village.

Localized physical character plays a major role in such functional attachment held by locals, which cannot be replaced easily. The functional dimension of attachment involves people in the local activities, and the localized meanings are emphasized.

**Figure 9 Residents burn incense blessing for safety, luck and wealth**



## ***For non-locals***

### Emotional attachment

From the comments of 11 non-locals, the emotional attachment to the place they are living in could be captured clearly.

For some newcomers, the good evaluation to the residence he/she chose could take place commonly if that place could satisfy his/her needs, which promotes a positive emotion or mood to the place. For example, Ms. Chen (No.12), who moved to Zhu Village three months ago, said that: “the most valuable thing of this place for me is that the environment, location and rent could satisfy the needs of my family.” Good cognition to the place promotes her emotional attachment: “Everything of Zhu Village is fantastic”. Mr. Liu (No.11), an 46-year-old non-local who has live here for eight years, had good memories in this village, which are tied to some physical and social elements of Zhu Village: “the central pond is good for walking.....Qixi Festival is very interesting to join in”. Long-term deep cognition made him feel attached to the place he lives in: “Zhu Village becomes better and better. I have affection to this place”. Mr. Zhang (No. 14), an elder male who were hanging around the central pond and have lived here for 4 years, also expressed his interests in the colorful culture and long history in this area: “Qixi Festival is very famous. The Lion Dance is also interesting for me.....the history of this place is interesting”. Then, he gave a word to summarize the image of this place: “Prosperous”. The emotional connection is formed after the good cognition (or the accumulation of knowledge) of social or physical values of the study area.

Additionally, the emotional connection happens while some non-local “get used to it”. Mr. He (No. 10), a 20-year resident who were walking dog around central pond, expressed a neutral emotion to Zhu Village: “Because I lived here for a long time, I have affection to this place”. He emphasized that this place is not so attractive for him: “The people here are so diverse

and most of them are low educated.....I am not interested in the history of this place.....”.

There are many interviewees indicating similar connections. Ms. Zhang (No. 7), who operates a shoe repair in Zhu Village, even listed disadvantaged features of Zhu Village: “This place is not very good. The public security and sanitation is terrible”. When asked about the history or culture, she expressed a neutral attitude: “I know the history is very long. Yes, there are many famous people born in this village. But I am not so interested”. However, She also emphasized that she felt used to live here therefore have much affection to this place. The emotional connections exist pervasively if they move to other places. Mr. He (No.10) indicated that point: “there is nothing interesting for me. However, people will become attached to things if time is long enough. For example, if you keep a dog for many years, you will also have affection for the dog”. Obviously, the emotional attachment of these two people may not be accompanied with much positive cognitions to the place. And in some sense, such attachment could happen generally if people live in a place for long enough.

In much attachment-related research, the migrants are regarded as ones who would not hold the high level of “insidedness”. However for Mr. Wang (No. 6), a veterinarian who has lived here for about 20 years, Zhu Village can satisfy his needs and cannot be replaced by other similar sites: “I can do what I want to do in Zhu Village”, “I worked here for a long time..... I never consider other places”. His words indicated a more location-specific attachment: “Zhu Village is the best place to realize my value.” From his words, we could identify a higher level of emotional attachment, which discovers that some migrants might hold higher level of “insidedness” than I expected.

## Functional attachment

In the comments of some interviewees, a more function-oriented attachment could be identified. It is significant for almost all non-local people.

For example, when asked about “what features of Zhu Village you value the most”, Ms. Zhang (No. 2), a sanitation worker from Hunan Province, said: “It is because Zhu Village is near to my workplace and the rent is accessible.” In fact, there are 6 out of 11 locals who hold similar opinions. A 24-year-old female (No. 9) who has lived here for about 1 year thinks the environment is “good”, location is “good” and rental rate is “acceptable”. A 62-year-old female from Anhui Province, who lived here with her son and grandson, expressed that the main reason for her to live here was that her son chose this place: “The living environment, rental rate and transportation are good, so we moved here”. Mr. Yang (No. 15), who runs a small restaurant near Zhu Village, said: “the rental rate is affordable to me. The transportation is convenient. In addition, the house here is large and new.” Such comments could be understood easily. For many short-term non-locals in Zhu village, who are usually rural workers or new college graduates who are not so rich, what they care most is the use-oriented issue. The reconstruction is very common in urban villages, which bring many units with larger areas and new-looking. Also, the lower rental rate attracts a large amount of migrants who are hard up for money.

The comments from non-locals also indicated the possibility that the functional attachment could be destroyed by negative changes of Zhu Village, which shows the attachment is unstable. For example, Ms. Chen’s (No. 9) expressed her attitude seriously: “the rent is acceptable now but it becomes higher and higher. If I cannot afford it someday, I will consider moving to other urban villages”.

The physical character of Zhu Village makes contribution to the formation of functional people-place connections of non-locals as well. It is supported by the literature review that the functional attachment is always linked to physical features which satisfy personal needs (Jorgensen, 2006). For example, Mr. Liu (No.11) who lives here with his family expressed his appreciation to the ponds and squares in this village: “I can take a walk after meal”. He mentioned the central pond is the place he always visits with his grandchildren: “there are many ponds. The surrounding environment of central pond is good. Sometimes you can see people fishing there”. Ms. Zhang (No. 7), who operates a shoe repair, mentioned Qixi Park is a good place for walking, running dogs and doing square dance. Mr. Zhang (No.14) also mentioned the good ponds and Qixi Park (See Figure 10).

**Figure 10 Central pond and Qixi Park**



It is worthy to mention that the culture, history and celebrities treasured by locals and some non-locals are not so interesting for most non-local residents I have interviewed. 6 of 11 non-locals said they were not so interested the local activities like Qixi Festival, when asked about culture and history. For example, Mr. Zhao (No. 5), who were subleasing his rental house by the roadside, expressed that:

“You can find people in this place are easily replaced. Different people move into and leave this place every day, and they could settle down anywhere as long as the rent is low,



transportation is convenient or other place-based qualities are suitable for them.....I do not care about the history or the culture. I know some of that, like Qixi Festival, but I am not interested and I am busy.....the floating workers like me only care about how to make a living.”

### *Comparison*

Both locals and non-locals show emotional and functional attachment according to the qualitative analysis. For locals I interviewed, they often hold strong affective attachments to their hometown, and the main sources might be ancestor- or culture- worship to their birthplace, and have good memories or experiences with/without other people. For them, Zhu Village is also a place where both demand of life and spiritual needs could be satisfied. Their attachments are always linked to the social or physical character of Zhu Village, such as historic buildings, open space or cultural activities.

For non-locals, a more use-oriented attachment is captured in the interviews from non-locals. As I mentioned before, the rental rate, geographical location and housing quality are the features valued most by non-locals. The reason may lie in that the use-oriented issues are important for migrants in urban villages because of the low rent level and relatively good physical supply in Zhu Village. The source of functional attachment could be supported by physical features like open space, location, price and transportation. The forms of emotional people-place connections are more complex because of the diversity. The positive cognitions to a place could foster a feeling of attachment when the valuable functional aspects of Zhu Villages which could strongly satisfy their diverse needs, like rent, location, history or other physical/social features. The long-term close interaction with the village could promote the formation of spiritual ties as well.

**Table 7 Comparison between locals and non-locals**

	<b>Local villagers</b>	<b>Migrants</b>
<b>Overall</b>	Strong affective attachment	A more function-oriented attachment
<b>Differences</b>	The emotional attachment is related to strong cultural- or ancestral worships anchored in this village.	The emotional attachment comes from the cognition to the place, and they often care less about local culture or history
	Highest level of “insidedness”	People show different levels of “insidedness”, which are lower than locals generally.
	Very proud to live in this village	The strength of personal identity is relatively lower
	The functional dependence includes the attachment in relation to activities with local meanings.	The place dependence forms as the response of needs for living.
<b>Similarities</b>	Good memories and personal experience would reinforce their emotional attachment.	
	The public services provided in the village reinforce their functional attachment.	
	Physical and social elements play role in the formation of attachment, but different users might add different meanings to these elements.	

From the comments of interviewees, I could identify the high level of emotional attachment from locals. The findings are listed in Table 7). A more function-oriented attachment is evident from the comments of non-locals. For locals, the emotional connections are anchored deeply in the culture, consanguinity and power worship. Their high level of “insidedness” is generated from the attachment to their hometown, which could not be replaced or destroyed. But for non-locals, their emotional associations come from different sources, such as the satisfaction with living environment provided, or short- or long-term exposure to the village. The local meanings like history, Fengshui are dispensable for migrants, and they often hold lower level of “insidedness” than local people. To some extent, their attachments are formed because of the cognition to a place. For example, they would evaluate physical and social values of a place, and then generate good or moderate emotions. In other words, such attachment could happen generally if people move to a new place where most of their needs could be satisfied. Notably, different length of residence could present different level of “insidedness”. For some non-local like Mr. Wang (No. 6) who live for a long time in this area, they often expressed higher level of emotional connections to Zhu Village than newcomers.

The functional attachment exist pervasively among residents. Generally, the place of residence should satisfy basic functional needs of humans such as eating or sleeping. Zhu Village is also a place where both locals and migrants live or work, so that this part of functional attachment is the same. However, local villagers have other localized needs from a cultural or spiritual perspective. The existing physical structures within this land serve residents well from generation to generation, which could not be changed easily. The place-specific traditions or activities such as incense burning or local businesses relies on the physical characters which are irreplaceable. The functional dimension of attachment involves people in the local activities, and the local meanings of physical character are emphasized.

The functional dimension of attachment for migrants are totally different in that sense. The geographic location, rent level, housing quality and surrounding services are the most valuable for them, and their use-oriented connections to Zhu Village are unstable. Some physical features like open space, good location, convenient transportation are commonly existing in many urban villages like Shipai Village (the largest urban villages in Guangzhou). If the rent changes, they could move to other places like Shipai Village. The functional attachment held by migrants could take place in other places generally.

Notably, some common physical character like open space might be added with different meanings by different users. Take the central pond as an example. Besides general functions of the open space, the localized meanings are added to it by locals, like “Fengshui”. But non-locals might place more generalized meanings on the central pond, such as “the good open space for walking, fishing or walking dogs”.

# CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

## *Summary*

This paper is written to explore the characteristics and pattern of residents' place attachment in Zhu Village. There are several conclusions:

Firstly, based on the statistical analysis of survey results, we found the overall attachment of residents is about 3.4. Compared to similar researches we could find that residents in Zhu Village have moderate attachment to the place they live in. The tabulation and t test reveal there is significant difference on overall attachment between locals and non-locals. Non-locals hold a lower attachment level than that of locals. The mean scores are significantly higher for long-term residents.

Secondly, the characteristics of residents' place attachment are analyzed based on the detailed analysis of information from semi-structured interviews. The locals hold a higher level of emotional attachment while the non-locals show strong feelings of place dependence. The level of "insidedness" and personal identity are higher for locals and they hold the part of functional attachment on the basis of place-specific features including both physical and social elements of Zhu Villages. For non-locals the functional attachment forms as the consequence of the needs of living.

Notably, place attachment of locals and migrants are not exclusive mutually. It is worth mentioning that the comparison in my thesis, or in most qualitative research, is only to make the case-specific findings clear for understandings instead of determining the general distinctions of two groups precisely because it is impossible to distinguish the psychological process of people clearly. Further studies need to be conducted if we want to understand more about the place attachment in urban villages.

## ***Implications***

The research about place attachment in Zhu Village reveal some phenomenon which is commonly ignored by urban planners or local governments. Firstly, even if the rapid urbanization occurs in rural areas of the city, the localized meanings are still treasured by locals as well as some non-locals. Secondly, as for most non-locals, a more use-oriented attitude for residence indicate the less care for the localized character, meaning a lower-level of belongings to the new place they move in. This problem is commonly addressed in related studies. For example, Chen et al explored the belongings of migrants in an urban village in Shenzhen and found they hold low level of belongings basically, and it is important to promote the integration of migrant into the big cities in China (Chen et al, 2016).

Therefore, there are several implications which should be explored deeply in the future studies or practices.

First, the localized features of urban villages should be preserved while the urban conversion is under way. Some physical or social character which is integrated with important meanings from locals should be identified first. For example, the cultural festivals, special open space (like central pond) and historic structures are attached importance to in Zhu Village. The redevelopment should keep the basic fabric of the village and balance the historic buildings with the new. In terms of culture, local government made efforts to keep the folklores such as Qixi Festival and built Qixi Park to promote protection of the local history as well as culture, which deserve the appreciation in planning practices.

Second, urban planners should place more emphasis on social needs of migrants. Promoting the social inclusion of migrants is a big challenge for the whole society. Although many of them hold the use-oriented perspective, the urban planner could also take actions to promote the social needs of non-locals. At the present stage, increasing more cultural activities to

promote connections among people is the best way. Now that it is not that helpful in Zhu Villages because of less interest local culture, there are many generalized activities which could be accepted by more ordinary people, such as square dance. In addition, place-making practices should be encouraged in urban village areas to promote better living conditions for people.

Finally, the government should promote the construction of public services to reinforce the connections between migrants and places. The infrastructures like medical center or resident center should be well-designed to gather people and encourage closer communications between locals and migrants.

This paper selected a typical urban village and conducted the research. The transitions took place in Zhu Village are common in other urban villages like Shipai Village, Huang Village and Yuan Village. In this sense, the results could be applied to other places from a more generalized consideration.

### ***Limitations***

There are still many aspects that need to be studied further.

First, it is more difficult than expected to conduct surveys in this village. Besides the limited funds and investigation time, the education level of residents in urban villages are relatively low, they often held negative attitudes to the survey. Although I offered to read the surveys for some people who did not know how to fill out the survey, the results in a limited size of survey samples might be biased. That is why I conducted literature analysis after quantitative analysis to make the results more convincing.

Second, although I have made the sample representative as much as possible based on gender, age as well as local status using data from related literature, without the strong help from local committees, it is difficult to get more detailed information about the accurate number of

people with or without urban Hukou. In fact, the population composition of Zhu Villages changes all the time according to the residents living in this village, and a large amount of migrants did not report their status to local government. If it is possible, further research should make the efforts to get more accurate population data about this village. If not, more convenient observations should be collected to get a better sample.

Third, in order to better present the results about characteristics of residents' place attachment, mixed methods are used in this research to get inter-supplementary information. Maybe the qualitative findings with its analysis of use, function and growing sense of meanings among the population offer fruitful results. The quantitative survey could be upgraded like using more scaling standards to measure the attachment more accurately.

Finally, the research is conducted and analyzed for a more theoretical purpose. The more practical research needs to be done in the following studies. In terms of theoretical research, it is necessary to conduct more studies in other urban villages to identify other forms and sources of place attachment, which could help understand the mechanism of people-place connections. As for practical research, more deep studies on how to reinforce the place attachment of non-locals and how to preserve existing landscapes or cultures of urban villages should be conducted in the future.

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# APPENDIX

## Survey Instrument

### Research on place attachment in historical areas

Hello,

I am a graduate student from Columbia University and I am evaluating place attachment. The survey will only take 8 minutes to complete but your feedback would be invaluable to us. All your private information will be confidential. Thank you again for your participation.

Sincerely,

Hui Liu

**1:** 1 means the least level of agreement, 5 means the most

Zhu Village is very special to me	1	2	3	4	5
Zhu Village is my first choice for residence	1	2	3	4	5
I am proud to live here	1	2	3	4	5
I miss Zhu Village a lot when I am travelling or working	1	2	3	4	5
I am a part of Zhu Village	1	2	3	4	5
I am willing to recommend Zhu Village to others	1	2	3	4	5
No other place can compare to the Zhu Village	1	2	3	4	5
Living in the Zhu Village expresses a lot about belongings	1	2	3	4	5
I would not substitute any other area for the activities I do in the Zhu Village	1	2	3	4	5
Zhu Village provides the living environment which cannot be substituted by any other area	1	2	3	4	5
I am glad to participate in improving this area	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Social</b>					
I have good memories with people here	1	2	3	4	5
Without my relationships in the Zhu Village, I would probably move	1	2	3	4	5
The friendships developed by doing various cultural activities strongly connect me to the Zhu Village	1	2	3	4	5
The food or local product makes me connect deeply to Zhu Village	1	2	3	4	5
The history and historic celebrities here connect me to Zhu Village	1	2	3	4	5
<b>Physical</b>					
I feel a deep feeling of admire with the old physical design of buildings	1	2	3	4	5
The old landmarks like Blessing Tree mean a lot for me	1	2	3	4	5
I would feel less attached to the Zhu Village if the old Haijun Street disappeared	1	2	3	4	5

#### Part 2

Your gender:  Male  Female

What year were you born: \_\_\_\_\_

Your occupation type:

Administrative institution staff  Factory worker  Sales and service  Culture and Education  Administration and management  Student  Unemployed  Other

Education level

Primary School  Junior High School  Senior High School  Associate college degree  Undergraduate  Graduate and above

Origins:

Local  Non-local

How long do you live here? \_\_\_\_ years

Monthly income (¥/month):

Less than 2000  2000-4000  4000-6000  More than 6000

Housing Type:

Own house  Rent by myself  Rent with others  Dormitory  Others

Hukou Status:

Urban  Rural

## **Interview Instrument**

### **Research on place attachment in historical areas**

Face-to-face deep interviews would be used with a range of residents. I selected 15 people for semi-structured interviews. The basic questions are listed below. According to different persons I talked with, the use of words and sub-questions are different.

--What does this place mean to you?

--What physical or social features of this place that value the most to you/ Why do you choose this place for residence?

您好,

我是中山大学城市规划专业的研究生,正在做关于地方依恋感的调查。所有信息将会保密,感谢!

**1: 1 代表最不同意, 5 代表最同意**

珠村对我来说非常特别	1	2	3	4	5
珠村是我选择居住地的第一选择	1	2	3	4	5
住在珠村让我感到十分自豪	1	2	3	4	5
到外地旅游或者工作时,我会经常想起珠村	1	2	3	4	5
我觉得我是珠村的成员	1	2	3	4	5
我愿意向他人推荐珠村作为居住地	1	2	3	4	5
没有其他地方能与珠村相比	1	2	3	4	5
住在珠村比其他地方更加有归属感	1	2	3	4	5
珠村比其他地方更能满足我的日常生活需求	1	2	3	4	5
珠村的物价条件更符合我的需求	1	2	3	4	5
珠村提供了其他地方所没有的生活环境	1	2	3	4	5
我很高兴去参与改善珠村	1	2	3	4	5
和这里的人们相处很愉快	1	2	3	4	5
珠村的文化活动很吸引人	1	2	3	4	5
珠村的小吃颇具特色	1	2	3	4	5
珠村的历史文化对我来说很有吸引力	1	2	3	4	5
珠村的历史建筑很吸引我	1	2	3	4	5
珠村的自然景观保存良好	1	2	3	4	5
这里的公共交通便利	1	2	3	4	5
这里的公共卫生良好	1	2	3	4	5

你的性别: 男 女

出生年份: \_\_\_\_\_

工作类型:

公务员 工人 服务销售商贸人员 专业文教技术人员 企事业管理人员 学生

离退休人员 农民 待业 其他\_\_\_\_\_

教育水平 小学及以下 初中 高中 专科 本科 研究生

能熟练地用当地话交流 能 不能

户口: 广州 广东其他城市 外省

在珠村住了几年? \_\_\_\_\_ 年

家庭月收入: 少于2000 2000-4000 4000-6000 多于6000

房屋类型: 自有房屋 自己租赁房屋 合租房屋 公司宿舍 其他

户口: 城市 农村

**3. 您对珠村的了解程度 1 代表不了解; 2 代表了解一点; 3 代表最了解**

珠村起源于南宋,以潘,钟两姓为主	1	2	3
2017年广州历史名城保护规划将珠村列入其中	1	2	3
珠村改革开放前珠村主要发展农业,现在主要靠出租房屋	1	2	3
这里有“中国乞巧第一村”的名号,传统文化活动很多	1	2	3
珠村保留有8000平米的历史建筑群	1	2	3

---你觉得珠村的哪些方面对你来说最有吸引力或最有价值(包括建成环境和社会人文)

---珠村对你来说意味着什么?