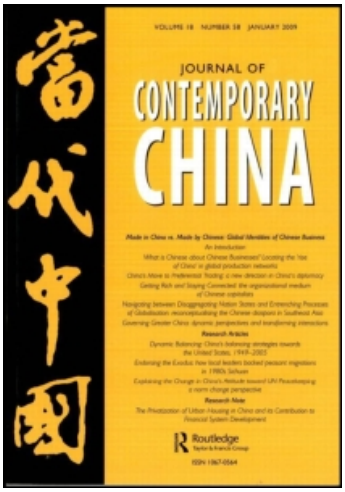
This article was downloaded by: *[Chinese Univ of Hong Kong]*
On: *22 December 2009*
Access details: *Access Details: [subscription number 731764686]*
Publisher *Routledge*
Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Contemporary China
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713429222

Neighbourhood and Neighbouring in Contemporary Guangzhou

Ray Forrest; Ngai-Ming Yip

To cite this Article Forrest, Ray and Yip, Ngai-Ming(2007) 'Neighbourhood and Neighbouring in Contemporary Guangzhou', Journal of Contemporary China, 16: 50, 47 — 64
To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/10670560601026736
URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10670560601026736

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Journal of Contemporary China (2007), **16**(50), February, 47–64

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Neighbourhood and Neighbouring in Contemporary Guangzhou

RAY FORREST and NGAI-MING YIP*

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

There is now a substantial literature on various aspects of contemporary Chinese urbanization. There are, however, few recent studies of Chinese cities which examine social change and social interaction at the level of the urban neighbourhood. This paper seeks to fill some of this gap in current knowledge. It draws on a social survey of three contrasting neighbourhoods undertaken in Guangzhou in the Pearl River Delta, one of the most economically dynamic and rapidly urbanizing areas in the world. The paper explores inter alia the meaning of neighbourhood, sense of local belonging and community, and patterns and incidence of mutual assistance. The paper reflects on the extent to which market reforms are transforming patterns of local social interaction.

Introduction

There are a number of arguments for more detailed research on urban neighbourhoods in the context of contemporary East Asia.[1] First, there is evident renewed interest, theoretically and politically, in the role and meaning of the neighbourhood in contemporary cities. This is associated particularly with problems of social malaise, social exclusion and the spatial concentration of disadvantage. Policy makers in the West have been particularly influenced by the ideas of Putnam

*Ray Forrest is Professor of Urban Studies and Associate Director of the Centre for East Asian Studies at the University of Bristol, UK. He is co-director (with Professor Ade Kearns, University of Glasgow) of the ESRC Centre for Neighbourhood Research. He is currently a Visiting Professor in the Department of Urban Studies, University of Glasgow and Adjunct Professor in the Department of Public and Social Administration at the City University of Hong Kong. He is also a founding member and on the steering group of the Asia Pacific Network of Housing Researchers. He has published extensively on urban and housing issues in academic journals, books and policy reports. Current research interests focus on the role and meaning of neighbourhood in the contemporary city; housing markets, the macro economy and globalization; housing and social stratification. Ngai-ming Yip is Associate Professor in the Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong. He is a registered social worker and a registered professional housing manager as well as member of the executive committee of the Chartered Institute of Housing Asian Pacific Branch. His research interests focus on the neighbourhood in the contemporary city, housing and social stratification and the social implication of housing management. He has published on housing, urban and social issues in academic journals and books. His current research projects include a comparative study on private housing governance in three Chinese cities and comparing housing policy between China and Vietnam. The authors would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Strategic Research Grant from City University of Hong Kong (project #7100276) and British Academy Grant SG36683. Thanks also to three anonymous referees for their constructive comments on an earlier version of this paper.

1. See R. Forrest, Ngai-ming Yip and A. La Grange, 'Neighbourhood in a high rise high density city: some observations on Contemporary Hong Kong', *Sociological Review* 50(2), (2002), pp. 215–240 for a more extensive discussion.

ISSN 1067-0564 print/ 1469-9400 online/07/500047–18 © 2007 Taylor & Francis
DOI: 10.1080/10670560601026736

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

in relation to social capital and the neighbourhood as a foundation for wider societal cohesion.[2] Secondly, and paradoxically, these renewed preoccupations with neighbourhood seem to be somewhat at odds with another literature which emphasizes an increasing virtuality and fluidity in social relations and the diminishing importance of the proximate and local in social interaction.[3] Thirdly, most of the literature and policy discussion in this field draws on studies of neighbourhoods and local social interaction in Western cities, particularly the USA and Western Europe.[4] This Western literature stretches back to the early studies of the Chicago School sociologists in the 1920s. Today, however, processes of urbanization have a very different geography and it is in East Asia, and particularly China, where some of the most extensive, rapidly expanding and sophisticated urban environments are emerging.[5]

Within China, developments around the Pearl River Delta (PRD) constitute one of the major nodes of urbanization in the world. The Harvard Design School's Project on the City[6] devotes much of a sizeable tome to what is described as the 'new urban substance' of the Pearl River Delta, a region which is destined 'through sheer size alone, to play a critical role in the twentieth century', and Pannell comments,

> To take a train or bus ride for the approximately 110 miles between Hong Kong and Guangzhou, the two largest cities in the Delta region along the right flank of the Pearl River estuary, offers a quick and insightful transect of China's urban future. For in the compressed space of this 110 miles one will witness the rapid transformation of rural-to-urban land use, the construction of roads, rail lines, burgeoning factories, commercial centers, housing estates, recreational facilities and even whole cities flourishing where only towns and villages existed just a few short years ago.[7]

Cities such as Guangzhou and Shenzhen in the PRD are part of a novel and rapid process of urbanization. These are cities in which new neighbourhoods are being created, older areas are being redeveloped and where China's housing reform process has brought about major changes in patterns of ownership and residential mobility.

There is a growing literature on the changing nature of urban housing markets and the impact of housing reforms in China,[8] but there is more limited recent research on

2. R. D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); and for a summary of these debates see R. Forrest and A. Kearns, 'Social cohesion, social capital and the neighbourhood', *Urban Studies* 38(12), (2002), pp. 2125–2143.

3. N. Negraponte, *Being Digital* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1995); J. Urry, 'Mobile sociology', *British Journal of Sociology* 51(1), (2000), pp. 185–204.

4. See for examples, G. Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972); R. Sampson, 'Local friendship ties and community attachment in mass society', *American Sociological Review* 53, (1988), pp. 766–779; G. Crow and G. Allan, *Community Life: An Introduction to Local Social Relations* (New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994).

5. See, for example, UNCHS, *An Urbanising World—Global Report on Human Settlements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

6. Chuihua Chung, Alice Chung, Bernard Chang and Ma Qingyun, *Great Leap Forward* (Köln: Taschen, 2001), pp. 27–28.

7. See C. W. Pannell, 'China's continuing urban transition', *Environment and Planning A* 34(9), (2002), pp. 1571–1589 at p. 1582.

8. See for examples, Ya-Ping Wang and Alan Murie, *Housing Policy and Practice in China* (Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan, 1999); Ya-Ping Wang, 'Housing reform and its impacts on the urban poor in China', *Housing Studies* 15(6), (2002), pp. 845–864; J. R. Logan, Y. Bian and F. Bian, 'Housing inequality in urban China in the 1990s', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23(1), (1999), pp. 7–25.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

the changing micro sociology of the contemporary Chinese city and on issues of social cohesion in relation to current processes of transformation in urban neighbourhoods. There are, however, some relevant studies. For example, a survey of 400 residents in Nanjiang in 1998 explored issues of neighbourhood satisfaction and mutual help.[9] Among other factors this study found that the physical environment was an important ingredient to overall neighbourhood satisfaction—linked inevitably to other variables. Wu and Hu undertook a similar survey in Shanghai and found that housing was the most significant factor influencing neighbourhood relationships.[10] As with the Li study, residents of high-rise apartments were found to have the most distant and superficial neighbourhood relationships while those who lived in bungalows had the highest frequency of interactions. Tian conducted a more comprehensive survey on the quality of life in Wuhan[11] and found that interaction with neighbours was infrequent and mutual help among neighbours was minimal. More recently, a study by Wu and He[12] of the impact of urban regeneration in three traditional urban areas in Nanjing focused particularly on aspects of social interaction and cohesion and is closest to the particular concerns of this paper. They highlighted the differential impact of urban redevelopment on the quality and intensity of local ties and networks in traditional urban areas. Like many Western studies it emphasizes the importance of such neighbourhood-based social support systems for the survival strategies of marginal groups.

More general anthropological studies have highlighted the distinctive nature of neighbourhood life in Chinese cities. For example, Jankowiak's[13] exploration of Huhhot emphasized the importance of the work unit system in the preservation of traditional neighbourhoods and existing social networks in the face of substantial population influx. He also provides a fascinating account of neighbouring protocol and attitudes. Of particular relevance to this paper is Jankowiak's engagement with the classic study by Whyte and Parish[14] in which they argue *inter alia* that close knit neighbourhood ties and mutual aid have survived to a much greater degree in Chinese as opposed to Western cities. This was attributable, they argued, to factors such as lower residential densities, more stable families, lower income inequalities and, critically, the orchestration and control of neighbourhood activities by the state. This latter point is of importance in understanding the distinctive nature of the neighbourhood [and particularly the role of resident committees (jumin weiyuanhui)] in Chinese cities. It also (and this is not irrelevant to current debates in the West) highlights the potentially close relationship between social cohesion and social control.

9. Bao-jun Li, 'Nanjing shi de lin li guan1 xie' ['Neighbourhood relationship in Nanking'], *Shehui* 11, (1998), pp. 23–26.

10. Jing-ling Wu and Shen-sheng Hu, 'Neighbourhood relationship: a yardstick to measure community spirit' ['Heng liang she qu jing shen zhuon tai de yi ba biao vhi'], *Shehui* 6, (1997), pp. 28–29.

11. Kai Tian, 'Wuhan cheng shi ju1 min de lin li guan xie xian zhuon' ['Present neighbourhood condition in Wuhan City'], *Shehui* 6, (1997), pp. 35–36.

12. Fulong Wu and Shenjing He, 'Changes in traditional urban areas and impacts of urban redevelopment: a case study of three neighbourhoods in Nanjing, China', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geoggrafie* [*Journal of Economic and Social Geography*] 96(1), (2005), pp. 75–96.

13. W. R. Jankowiak, *Sex, Death, and Hierarchy in a Chinese City* (New York: Columbia University, 1993).

14. M. K. Whyte and W. L. Parish, *Urban Life and Contemporary China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

Whyte and Parish[15] questioned Fischer's general prescription that growing urbanism inevitably involved a decline of neighbourhood intimacy and a growing privatism in local social interaction. Jankowiak's[16] evidence from Hohhut was in fact consistent with many Western studies in which neighbouring tends to be more intense and intimate in homogeneous working class neighbourhoods than in more heterogeneous and higher status areas. From this evidence the implication is that just as in Western cities, the decline and redevelopment of older, urban neighbourhoods and growing marketization of social relations and the residential infrastructure is likely to result in less social solidarity, less cohesion and more social conflict.

In Ikels' study of Guangzhou,[17] she describes a city in moral chaos in which crime and corruption are rife. People fear for their safety after dark and shun public spaces where they could be vulnerable. Old moral codes and conventions are breaking down in the face of rampant marketization and population growth. This is echoed by Chan in her study of mutuality in Guangzhou where she observes that urban growth, family breakdown and higher residential mobility threaten 'the kinds of social cohesion that encourages the development of strong reciprocal bonds'.[18] However, Ikels warns against taking an overly dystopic view of the social changes which have swept the city over the last two decades: 'If Hong Kong and Taiwan could survive the tumult and moral murkiness of their day, one suspects that Guangzhou will too'.[19]

Contrary to such seemingly gloomy pictures of moral chaos, recent studies in Beijing and Shanghai reveal evidence of strong community cohesion and rising community co-operation in these highly urbanized communities—albeit only as a side-effect of a deliberate effort to revitalize the ailing resident committees to enhance political control and administrative engagement at the grass-roots level.[20] For instance, Read[21] documents how resident committees in Beijing create local voluntarism by what he describes as a horizontal integration strategy which helps to strengthen local neighbourhood bonds. At the same time, resident committees are also able to generate 'thin' reciprocity within the neighbourhood through the cultivation of weak ties between the residents and the committee and by deliberate efforts to act on the behalf of local residents in exchange for a minimal level of loyalty. Yet the nature of resident committees as an administrative arm of local government has a multi-faceted and volatile impact on neighbourhood interaction. Processes of cohesion and integration can easily switch to a situation of antagonistic conflict between the residents and the local government.

15. *Ibid*.

16. Jankowiak, *Sex, Death, and Hierarchy in a Chinese City*.

17. Charlotte Ikels, *The Return of the God of Wealth: The Transition to a Market Economy in Urban China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996).

18. Cecilia Chan, *The Myth of Neighbourhood Mutual Help* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1993), p. 215.

19. Ikels, *The Return of the God of Wealth*, p. 270.

20. For example Benjamin Read, *State Social Networks and Citizens in China's Urban Neighborhoods*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 2003, on resident committees in Beijing; and Chun-rong Liu, *The Political Construction of Community Power: A Comparative Case Study on Neighborhood-based Governance Formation in Shanghai (1996–2003)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, City University of Hong Kong, 2005, on Shanghai.

21. Read, *State Social Networks and Citizens in China's Urban Neighborhoods*.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

The research

This paper draws on a recent study of three neighbourhoods in Guangzhou—an area of older, inner city housing; an area of predominantly work unit housing; and a newer area of mostly commodified apartments. These areas were selected to represent different and contrasting physical environments and areas which were likely to have different social profiles.

Whilst taken together they are representative of the housing environments of a significant proportion of Guangzhou's residents the aim was not to generate a representative sample for Guangzhou as a whole. The focus was on different but typical residential areas—rather than those at the extremes such as areas closely associated with the substantial floating population or enclaves of the most expensive luxury housing. Comparisons between our neighbourhoods and the profile of the general population of Guangzhou[22] show, for example, that the youngest age groups (under 39) are under-represented in our study and that higher status groups are over-represented.

The fieldwork was carried out in December 2003 and was undertaken on our behalf by the Department of Sociology in Zhongshan University. The survey covered five out of eight urban districts of Guangzhou[23] (whilst counties and the two newly enacted urban districts, Panyu and Huadu, were excluded). Multi-stage cluster sampling was used and resident committees were employed as the first stage sampling clusters. To achieve a more even spread of samples over the city and taking into consideration the estimated distribution of the three neighbourhood types, we selected two resident committees in each of the five districts with a quota of neighbourhood types. Resident committees in each district (refer to the Appendix for the number of resident committees in each district) were selected randomly and information on the neighbourhood was collected either by site visit or from the officials of the respective resident committee until the quota for the respective neighbourhood type had been reached. Addresses were selected randomly with sampling frames provided by the respective resident committees. Adult members in the selected households whose birthday was the closest to the day of visit were interviewed. The interviews were conducted by trained interviewers from Zhongshan University who were, in most cases, assisted by officials from the target resident committees in the home visits. A total of 812 interviews were achieved. The questionnaire used in the survey was developed from qualitative work undertaken in Hong Kong as part of a related study.[24]

The translation of the term 'neighbourhood' is somewhat problematic in Chinese. Whilst the direct translation of 'linlin' is often employed (also used in our survey), the word literally refers to your close neighbours whose origin can be traced to the traditional household registration system of grouping five households to form a 'lin' and 25 households to form a 'li'.[25] It is thus difficult to differentiate neighbour

22. *Guangdong Sheng 2000 nian ren kou pu cha zi liao hui bian: Guangzhou Shi* [*Tabulation on the 2000 Population Census of Guang Dong Province: Guagnzhou City*] (Guangzhou Shi: Guangdong jing ji chu ban she, 2002).

23. To achieve better efficiency in household visits, five out of the eight urban districts were selected. Baiyun, Liwan, Dongshan, Tanhe and Haizhu were selected whilst Yuexiu, Huangpu and Fongcun were not.

24. Reported in Forrest *et al.*, 'Neighbourhood in a high rise, high density city'.

25. See *Dang dai guo yu da ci dian* [*Grand Chinese Dictionary*] (Taipei: Bai ke wen hua shi ye gu fen you xian gong si, 1985). A similar system is still being practised in Taiwan in local administration.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

and neighbourhood in Chinese. Jankowiak also observes that the Chinese have a very narrow sense of neighbourhood and that 'the defining criteria [of neighbourhood] was not an abstract notion of space, but specific relationships to recognized (renshi) households'.[26] This may refer to a few households adjacent to one's home or simply neighbours on the same floor in a multi-storey building. Hence, to operationalize the notion of neighbourhood in our survey, we referred to both the physical (place) as well as the human dimensions of neighbourhood.

In specific terms our study was concerned with attitudes towards, and experiences of, the neighbourhood in a city which has undergone substantial recent change in its physical environment, job market and social composition. How is the neighbourhood experienced and what differences if any are evident among our different neighbourhoods? Is the neighbourhood a place of conviviality, safety and trust or of suspicion, insecurity and anonymity? More prosaically, do people know many of their neighbours? Do they help one another?

In pursuing these issues we are mindful of the Western literature which emphasizes that gender and the life course are significant variables with regard to the meaning and experience of neighbourhood.[27] Where appropriate therefore, the paper comments on these aspects although space constraints limit this aspect of the analysis. The primary focus of this paper is on the contrasts and similarities between the three neighbourhoods.

Guangzhou's shifting housing and urban structure

The introduction of the Special Economic Zones in 1978 occasioned a developmental explosion of the Pearl River Delta (PRD) with a significant increase in foreign direct investment and commercial and residential building. Between 1980 and 2001, GDP in Guangzhou grew by over 18 times with an average annual growth rate per capita of 12%.[28] In 2003 Guangzhou had the second highest average income per capita of China's major cities just after Shenzhen. The city itself now covers an area of some 7,000 square kilometres with an official population of around 7.3 million (although estimates are notoriously difficult for Chinese cities because of the elusive floating populations).

Urban development in the PRD has been considerably more complex than an expansion of the dominant urban centres such as Guangzhou. Urbanization and rural–urban migration has taken the form of what Lin refers to as 'an extended metropolis' with 'numerous small towns emerging from the grass roots of the urban hierarchy' as focal points for development and population growth.[29] Thus, Guangzhou itself rather than the PRD region, is more accurately understood not as an exploding city in terms of population growth but as a city which has experienced

26. Jankowiak, *Sex, Death, and Hierarchy in a Chinese City*.

27. See for examples, I. Ellen and M. Turner, 'Does neighbourhood matter? Assessing recent evidence', *Housing Policy Debate* 8(4), (1997), pp. 833–866 for a useful overview of the relevant literature; T. Blokland, *Urban Bonds* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003) for a detailed exploration of the relationship between neighbourhood and community.

28. *Guangzhou tong ji nian jian* [Guangzhou Statistical Yearbook] (Beijing: Statistical Publisher, 2003).

29. G. C. S. Lin, 'Metropolitan development in a transitional socialist economy: spatial restructuring in the Pearl River Delta, China', *Urban Studies* 38(3), (2001), pp. 383–406.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

a marked penetration of market processes, dramatic reshaping of its urban form and housing market and as the earliest Chinese city to be embedded in and shaped by global economic forces in the reform period. As Li and Wang comment, 'Among the major cities in China, Guangzhou is probably the earliest to experience the onslaught of global market forces, largely because of its proximity to Hong Kong'.[30]

Various studies have shown that Guangzhou's housing market has been more rapidly and extensively commodified than in other major Chinese cities. Li, for example, contrasted Beijing, where elite work units (Danwei) were dominant housing providers, with Guangzhou, where market transactions and private ownership accounted for the majority of transactions.[31] This relatively high rate of market penetration explains the sharp increase in annual gross mobility in Gaungzhou between 1980 and 2000—from 0.9% to 9.6%—punctuated by periodic fluctuations.[32]

Given these higher mobility rates the expectation would be that urban neighbourhoods would become more fluid, less stable and more varied in their social composition and role, established social networks more disrupted and the sedimented relationships of the past would be giving way to a new urbanism, albeit a transitional form shaped by the friction between the old state dominated regime and a more market driven process.

Wu nicely captures this development in his description of new spaces of differentiation in the transitional city.[33]

> The transition from state-organized collective to commodified housing consumption has created profound changes in work and living. Because of weakened ties between workplace and residence and the emergence of commodity development, the self-contained workplace compounds are gradually being replaced by fragmented and scattered commodity estates. On the residential landscape, we see constellations of luxury housing estates often built into gated communities, alongside dilapidated neighbourhoods and migrant enclaves.

Similarly, Ma typifies the *danwei* (work units) as neighbourhoods where 'people lived in apartment buildings where social interaction was intense, social cohesiveness was strong, and social inequality less pronounced than in the presocialist and postsocialist periods'.[34]

A profile of the neighbourhoods

Two inner city (*lao cheng qu*) neighbourhoods were chosen from Liwan district. This area, one of the most flourishing retail districts in Guangzhou, is unsurprisingly a prime target for urban regeneration. These older neighbourhoods have either been

30. See Si-Ming Li and Donggen Wang, 'Life course and residential mobility in Guangzhou', Centre for China Urban and Regional Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University, Occasional Paper 39 (2003), p. 3.

31. Si-Ming Li, 'Housing consumption in urban China: a comparative study of Beijing and Guangzhou', *Environment and Planning A* 32(6), (2000), pp. 1115–1134. These data were collected in 1999 and the gap between Beijing and Guangzhou should now have narrowed.

32. Again see Li and Wang, 'Life course and residential mobility in Guangzhou', p. 5.

33. See F.Wu, 'Transitional cities', in Commentary, *Environment and Planning A* 35(8), (2003), pp. 1331–1338 at p. 1334.

34. See L. Ma, 'Urban transformation in China, 1949–2000: a review and research agenda', *Environment and Planning A* 34(9), (2002), pp. 1545–1569 at p. 1560.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

destroyed or been surrounded by high rise commercial developments. To preserve the integrity of the old neighbourhood, we included in our sample frame those areas which had so far been largely unaffected by urban regeneration and were on the fringe of the prime retail development. Our two older neighbourhoods were built in between the 1920s and 1940s. Nearly all the dwellings were low rise without modern amenities although part of the neighbourhood has been rehabilitated in recent years. Four work unit (*Danwei*) neighbourhoods were selected, one each from Baiyun and Haizhu and two from Dongshan. Such work unit housing was built in the 1980s and early 1990s and all had been sold to tenants. One estate from Dongshan district was developed by a big State Owned Enterprise while the other was formerly owned by a research institute. The other two were owned by more than one work unit and belonged to the same enterprise or government bureau. Thus, the former two neighbourhoods have been planned in a more coherent manner. Four commodified housing (*shang pin fang*) neighbourhoods were selected, two from Tanhe which were developed respectively in the early and late 1990s and the remaining two from Baiyun and Haizu, both of which were late-1990s developments. The commodified housing in Baiyun was medium height buildings whilst the rest were mainly high rise.

As regards household income levels, age and occupational profile there was a marked contrast between the commodified area and the other two neighbourhoods. Residents in the former were younger, had higher incomes and were most typically in administrative or managerial positions. They were also more highly educated with 40% of respondents educated to associate degree level or above compared to 26% in the work unit area and 18% in the older, inner city neighbourhood. This profile is unsurprising given other evidence about affordability and the nature of purchasers in the commercial housing sector. Evidence on length of residence is also consistent with expectations. In the more newly developed commodified area, there is a higher proportion of relatively new residents. More than half of the respondents stated that they had moved to the neighbourhood within the past five years (those who had lived in any of the neighbourhoods for less than one year were excluded from the sample). This contrasts with the older neighbourhood where more than half of those interviewed had lived there for more than ten years. There are less striking differences in terms of broad socio-economic profiles between the work unit and older inner city neighbourhoods. As would be expected the key difference is in the occupational profiles with a higher representation of production workers in the work unit neighbourhood. As regards housing tenure, although our neighbourhoods had very different physical environments they are by no means homogeneous in terms of housing tenure profiles. The older area contains a wide mix of tenure types with a high level of private and work unit rental housing. Conversely, home ownership dominates the commodified neighbourhood but only a third was in the commercial sector. The highest level of uniformity is in the work unit neighbourhood with the vast majority of respondents living in privatised, work unit apartments.

People were also asked whether they perceived themselves as upper, middle or lower class. Overall, 52% regarded themselves as middle class, and the pattern of response was very similar across the three areas—66% commodified, 61% work unit neighbourhood and 56% in the older area.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

Whilst Guangzhou used to be a city with very high ethnic and linguistic homogeneity (basically Cantonese), its development to become the 'dragon head' of the Pearl River Delta area has attracted migrant workers (*min gong*) and professionals from the rest of Guangdong and other provinces. In 2000, Guangzhou had an ethnic minority population of 139,000[35] and it is believed that most of the migrant workers and professionals from outside Guangzhou do not speak Cantonese. It is our commodified area which is perceived by most respondents as having ethnic divisions—almost a third of those interviewed believed there were ethnic differences compared with around a fifth in the other two neighbourhoods. Moreover, this was more likely to be regarded as a problem by residents in the commodified neighbourhood, albeit by a minority and generally a minor one. The simple explanation for this is that it is the commodified area which is more open to migrants from outside the city and is thus more likely to have an ethnic and/or linguistic mix. It would be more difficult for immigrants to buy or rent in the other two neighbourhoods.

Perceptions of and attitudes towards the neighbourhood

There is a substantial literature on the different ways in which neighbourhoods are experienced and constructed.[36] One key factor may be the nature of the physical environment.[37] In this study therefore an initial question concerned whether the physical boundaries of the neighbourhood were perceived of in different ways reflecting differences in our selected localities. In relation to physical characteristics the strongest contrasts existed between the older area of mainly two–four storey buildings and the medium to higher rise apartments in the work unit and commodified neighbourhoods. The commodified area had apartments overlooking communal gardens, meeting rooms and recreational facilities. Not surprisingly, as Table 1 shows, many of the residents of the commodified area and to a marginally less degree the work unit area, perceived of their neighbourhood as the block in which they lived. However, in all areas it was most typical to perceive of it as 'this small community' (*zhu zhai xiao qu*)—a conception with more ambiguous spatial boundaries. And predictably in the older area the neighbourhood was seen by the majority as a collection of local streets.

When asked about the favourite features of their neighbourhood few referred to aspects of community or interpersonal interaction although 'good living surroundings' (referred to by around 30% of respondents in all areas) could also encompass non-physical attributes. More typically, however, people referred to the quality of shopping, transportation, schools and entertainment as favoured aspects of their neighbourhood. This was true across all areas although 'security and hygiene' were highlighted by a higher proportion of residents in the commodified area, reflecting perhaps the more 'gated' nature of that area and its newer, higher quality housing

35. *Guangdong Sheng 2000 nian ren kou pu cha zi liao hui bian: Guangzhou Shi* [*Tabulation on the 2000 Population Census of Guang Dong Province: Guagnzhou City*] (Guangzhou Shi: Guangdong jing ji chu ban she, 2002).

36. Again, see Ellen and Turner, 'Does neighbourhood matter?', and Blokland, *Urban Bonds* for a useful overview.

37. See for example, O. Skjaeveland and T. Garling, 'Effects of interactional space on neighbouring', *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 17, (1997), pp. 181–198.

Table 1. Conceptions of neighbourhood in Guangzhou (%)

	Older urban area	Work unit area	Commodified housing area
This block	9	24	29
This small community (*zhu zhai xiao qu*)	43	65	53
The streets nearby	41	4	6
This district	6	5	9
Other	2	3	7
$N =$	165	345	316

Notes: $\chi^2 = 171$; df $= 8$; $p < 0.01$.
Source: Guangzhou Household Survey.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

stock. Only in the older neighbourhood was the architecture perceived as a strong quality of the area—mentioned by almost a fifth of those interviewed. Overall, the data suggest a more positive attitude towards aspects of design and layout among the residents in the older area. Half the respondents living in that neighbourhood thought it was well or very well designed and laid out. In the other two areas there was a less positive view with a strong element of indifference in the commodified neighbourhood and a sizeable negative minority (24%) in the work unit locality. Overall, there was no evidence of significant dissatisfaction with any of the neighbourhoods in relation to the general quality of the environment. However, strongly positive feelings were more apparent in the older area. It is also worth noting that 13% of those in the commodified area could think of no favourite qualities.

Commitment and sense of belonging

The impression so far then is not markedly different from what one would expect from a similar study of different neighbourhoods in a Western city. The housing reform process and commodification is beginning to create areas of housing valued for their amenities and higher quality but perhaps lacking the distinctiveness and character of the older parts of the city. The work unit area, like the older, inner city neighbourhood, has a high proportion of longstanding residents—what has changed here is the pattern of ownership rather than the composition of the resident population. Given that length of residence is often a key factor in relation to feelings of commitment and local belonging, do the data from our Guangzhou study conform to this expectation? As Table 2 shows, residents in the older urban and work unit areas do have a relatively stronger sense of belonging, loyalty and community but the differences are not as striking as might have been expected. In all neighbourhoods what is more evident is that the majority of respondents had a strong sense of community and belonging. Moreover, the response patterns were not polarized in the sense that significant minorities were at the negative end of the spectrum. Those who did not express strong feelings in relation to these questions were mainly in the neutral category. For example, with regard to the question of feelings of belonging only 16 respondents across all the neighbourhoods had very strong negative views, and in relation to loyalty only 11 were strongly negative.

Table 2. Commitment and sense of belonging

Percentage of respondents who strongly agree/agree that:	Older urban area	Work unit area	Commodified housing area	χ^2
They feel they belong to this neighbourhood	73	65	58	18.9**
They feel loyal to the people in the neighbourhood	66	67	53	17.9**
Living in this neighbourhood gives them a sense of community	76	73	60	16.9**
This is a good place to live	52	43	49	8.8#
They plan to remain a resident of the neighbourhood for a few more years	70	76	68	8.9#
Given the opportunity would move out of this neighbourhood	47	61	60	15.5**
$N =$	165	345	316	

Notes: ** $p < 0.01$; # not significant.
Source: Guangzhou Household Survey.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

The other two questions in the table relate to future housing plans. First it is apparent that the vast majority plan to remain where they are for the foreseeable future. Second, it is equally clear that a significant number would move if the opportunity arose. This presents an apparent paradox although it may be explained by the difference between more immediate expectations and possibilities. Also, the historical legacy is one of very limited mobility. This is also borne out perhaps by the low proportions of residents in all the neighbourhoods who 'felt that they had made a strong commitment to the area' when they moved there. In the past, residential location has involved a limited element of choice. The majority of residents may therefore have low expectations of moving to a different neighbourhood. And the relatively high sense of belonging and loyalty in all three areas could also suggest that these are feelings that are widely embedded and that people expect to find them wherever they live. In other words, qualities of community, loyalty and trust are seen as mobile—to be recreated and rediscovered in a new neighbourhood rather than lost in the move. It is also the case that the pattern of response to these questions was more polarized. For example, in the older, inner city area 38% of respondents stated that they would not move out if the opportunity arose, and this was also the case for more than a fifth of respondents in the other neighbourhoods.

Factors such as age, gender and length of residence are also important influences in relation to these issues. Neighbourhoods with high proportions of elderly people may, for example, have a stronger sense of belonging and community. If we look at the data across all neighbourhoods by age there would appear to be little difference in those expressing a strong or very strong sense of belonging—around a half in most age categories. The exception is the over 70 age group where 65% of respondents express a strong or very strong sense of belonging. As regards gender, the proportions are very similar—48% for males, 55% for females. In relation to length of residence the proportion of respondents expressing a strong or very strong sense of local belonging rises consistently with duration—from 45% in the one–three years

category to 64% among those with over ten years residence. More general statistical analysis reveals that age, length of residence and gender as well as neighbourhood type work in combination to affect attitudes towards mobility and stability—although as Table 2 shows, neighbourhood type is not a significant factor affecting whether people plan to stay in their current neighbourhood 'for a few more years'.

Neighbours and neighbouring

Much of the literature on the neighbourhood in Western cultural contexts focuses on aspects of mutuality, trust and general social interaction. What longitudinal evidence there is tends to suggest that neighbourly contact remains important but has declined relative to other forms of social interaction.[38] As mentioned earlier, concerns with the extent and patterns of neighbouring have come to the fore again in contemporary policy debates around issues of community capacity and regeneration, the social cohesion of cities and notions of local social capital. What do the data on Guangzhou indicate about neighbourliness and the extent of variation across different social milieu?

As Table 3 shows, there are strong differences between the two older, more established neighbourhoods and the commodified area which has newer developments and more recent in-movers. The older, urban area in particular conforms to the classic imagery of the more settled, inner city community. Residents appear to know most or many of their neighbours, there is a high level of mutual trust, many have kin living nearby and it is regarded as a friendly place. Conversely, knowledge of neighbours and mutual trust is much lower in the commodified area. Regardless of these differences, however, a high proportion of residents in all neighbourhoods think that people generally look out for one another.

Do these differences diminish if we separate out the longer term residents? As Table 4 shows, on the question of neighbourly trust and numbers of neighbours known, there is less variation when we look at those in all areas who have been resident for ten years or more. Residents in the old city area show the least variation in relation to length of residence whereas the differences between newcomers and long term residents in the commodified housing area are the biggest. This is consistent with research in other contexts in which migrants to older, more settled areas tend to take on the norms and behaviour of the longstanding residents.

To what extent do people regard their neighbours as sources of practical assistance? Studies of manifest neighbouring have shown that neighbours can be important sources of help in an emergency but that people rely on kin or close friends when proximity or time is less critical or when more intimate emotional support is needed—examples of neighbourly assistance would be when someone needs immediate help to watch a child or take in a parcel.[39] It is these kinds of short,

38. A. Guest and S. Wierzbicki, 'Social ties at the neighbourhood level: two decades of GSS evidence', *Urban Affairs Review* 35(1), (1999), pp. 92–111.

39. *Ibid*.; also D. I. Warren, 'The helping roles of neighbours: some empirical patterns', in R. B. Taylor, ed., *Urban Neighbourhood: Research and Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1986), pp. 310–330. See for examples, M. Bulmer, *Neighbours, The Work of Philip Abrams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); H. E. Berry, R. S. Krannich *et al.*, 'A longitudinal analysis of neighboring in rapidly changing rural places', *Journal of Rural Studies* 6(2), (1990), pp. 175–186.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

Table 3. Neighbourly contact

	Older urban area	Work unit area	Commodified housing area	
Mean neighbourly contact index[a]	17.4	16.6	15.0	$F = 36.8$**
Percentage of respondents who:				χ^2
Know most/many people in their neighbourhood	76	67	38	83.9**
Trust most/many people in their neighbourhood	63	55	32	50.1**
Strongly agree/agree that it is easy to make friends in the neighbourhood	76	67	48	46.7**
Strongly agree/agree that people in this neighbourhood look out for each other	86	77	76	7.7#
Strongly agree/agree that 'I visit my neighbours in their homes'	50	40	37	20.9**
$N =$	165	345	316	

Notes: [a]The neighbourly contact index was constructed by summing the score of the questions listed in the table. For the question on know/trust people in the neighbourhood this was on a four point scale (1 = don't know, 2 = a few, 3 = many of the people,4 = most of the people). The rest of the questions are on a five point scale (5 = strongly agree, 4 = agree, 3 = neutral, 2 = disagree, 1 = strongly disagree).
**$p < 0.01$; # not significant.
Source: Guangzhou Household Survey.

informal moments of care and assistance which are often used to measure the extent of neighbourliness—rather than imputed from more general questions about sense of community or belonging.

As Table 5 shows, those who have done a favour for a neighbour in the past six months is roughly balanced by those who have had a favour done for them. The extent of this mutual assistance is notably greater in the older urban area than in the other two. Whereas a third of those interviewed in the older area have helped a neighbour in some way over the previous six months, this is true of only a fifth of those in the work unit neighbourhood and 15% in the commodified neighbourhood. Again the social and demographic composition of our neighbourhoods impacts on these patterns. Also, are those providing the help equally likely to receive it? There is insufficient space in this paper to explore this in fine detail. However, two things are

Table 4. Long term residents: neighbourly contact

	Mean neighbourly index/Neighbourhood type			
Length of residence	Old city area	Work unit area	Commodified housing area	All
1–3 years	17.0	15.7	14.3	15.1
3–5 years	18.3	16.8	14.3	15.5
5–10 years	17.2	15.7	14.9	15.8
Over 10 years	17.5	17.3	16.5	17.2
All	17.4	16.6	15.0	16.2

Source: Guangzhou Household Survey.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

Table 5. Neighbours and forms of mutual assistance

Percentage of respondents who:	Older urban area	Work unit area	Commodified housing area	χ^2
Regularly/sometimes done a favour for a neighbour in past six months	33	21	15	36.2**
Neighbour regularly/sometimes done a favour for you in past six months	32	20	12	38.9**
Feel they could ask a neighbour for help if ill in bed	33	25	19	40.6**
Feel they could ask a neighbour for help if they were locked out of their home	34	28	24	28.9**
Feel they could borrow $100 from a neighbour	21	21	16	27.2**
$N =$	165	345	316	

Note: ** $p < 0.01$.
Source: Guangzhou Household Survey.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

apparent from an analysis of the aggregate data by age. First, there is a rough balance of mutuality in each age group. Second, the extent of this mutual help is fairly even across all age groups with the exception of the youngest (25–29) and eldest (over 70). The former are much *less* likely and the latter much *more* likely than other groups to provide or receive help.

We also posed three hypothetical situations where neighbourly help might be sought. Again, for the first two circumstances—if someone was ill in bed or were locked out—the general pattern is the same with those in the older urban area more likely to feel they could turn to a neighbour. But in all three areas a significant minority clearly regard neighbours as potential sources of assistance in such emergencies. When it comes to borrowing money, however, there is less variation across the neighbourhoods and less propensity to do so. This latter point is particularly evident in the older area, reflecting perhaps the lower income levels.

Local involvement

To what extent are our respondents active participants involved in local affairs? In this context Ikels observed that economic reforms have tended to reduce the pool of potential volunteers through a combination of increasing opportunities for paid work and an increase in leisure opportunities. She forcefully comments that 'For many the concept of "serving the people" has been tossed into the dustbin of history—viewed at best as attractive primarily to the simple hearted'.[40] As Table 6 shows there are notable differences between the level of involvement in and awareness of local affairs between the older area and the other neighbourhoods—and the general picture is of a low level of engagement. Less than 10% of respondents in the work unit and commodified area were regular or frequent participants in local activities. In the older area, however, a significant minority actively

40. Ikels, *Return of the God of Wealth*, p. 43.

Table 6. Involvement in local affairs

	Older urban area	Work unit area	Commodified housing area	
Index of local affairs involvement[a]	10.7	9.6	9.0	$F = 15.9$**
Percentage of respondents who:				χ^2
Feel they are very well/well informed about local affairs in the neighbourhood	16	12	5	36.9**
Often or regularly attend local activities	15	8	8	16.3*
Often or regularly participate in activities held by the Resident Committee	28	13	13	33.7**
Agree/strongly agree that the Resident Committee can improve relations between people living in the neighbourhood	67	49	52	21.3*
$N =$	165	345	316	

Notes: [a]The index is constructed by adding the scores of the four questions in the table with a five point scale (5 = very well, 4 = well, 3 = neutral, 2 = not well informed, 1 = very not well informed)/(5 = regularly, 4 = often, 3 = sometimes, 2 = rarely, 1 = never)/(5 = strongly agree, 4 = agree, 3 = neutral, 2 = disagree, 1 = strongly disagree). * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.
Source: Guangzhou Household Survey.

participated in the Resident Committee. This may reflect the older age composition of the older area, the higher proportion of longstanding residents and a greater shared and immediate interest in the future development of the neighbourhood.

One final observation concerns any differences between those who own and those who rent dwellings in terms of neighbouring activities and sense of local belonging. This has been seen as a significant social divide in many Western studies although it is notoriously difficult to distinguish tenure effects from a host of other intervening variables. Recent studies in Beijing and Shanghai also reveal incidences of defensive territoriality by the residents in newly developed commercial housing estates.[41] Yet, our data show no significant differences between the two aggregated groups when we construct composite indices of belonging, neighbouring and involvement in local affairs. This is not particularly surprising, however, given the process by which many have become owners (tenant purchase) which has not involved a change of residence or a significant financial investment in a new neighbourhood. Moreover, factors such as length of residence, income and occupational class are more critical in differentiating populations in terms of feelings of local social solidarity and intensity of mutual assistance and the nature of the housing reform process in China means that these crosscut tenure categories in complex ways. Moreover, as Read comments in his study on democracy and home owner self-organization in China, there are some very specific factors at work which generate collective action by home owners. It is not, he suggests, home ownership alone but 'it is a combination of factors: the purchase of a home within a new and ill-regulated market; mistreatment or fraud by the developers or property-management company; and the

41. Read, State Social Networks and Citizens in China's Urban Neighborhoods; Liu Chun-rong, The Political Construction of Community Power.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

existence of government policies that provide legitimacy ... for a specific organizational form'.[42] Hence, our findings may indicate the absence of these triggers for collective action among home owners in our particular study areas and perhaps indirectly, the degree of dispersal of such factors. But, as Read suggests, home owners' self-organization signifies a broader trend of rights-based collective action fuelled by a systemic failure for many legal entitlements to materialize.[43] As the home ownership sector matures and becomes increasingly associated with choice and mobility in Chinese cities, more evident differences and tensions may begin to emerge between tenure groups and within the home ownership sector.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

Concluding observations

This paper has aimed to provide some new evidence on the role and experience of the neighbourhood in a Chinese city which has experienced significant social, economic and physical transformations in recent decades. It is certainly not the most extreme example of rapid urbanization given Guangzhou's long history as a major city with international connections. Nevertheless, Guangzhou is the key city within one of the most dynamic local economies in the world and has been subject to pervasive and far reaching marketizing influences.

What conclusions can we draw from these data? First, it is important to re-emphasize that this research did not focus on marginal or elite communities, in terms of disadvantage, affluence, immigration and so forth. Rather it examined neighbourhoods in the social mainstream of contemporary urban change in China—namely, older more established areas undergoing processes of redevelopment and renovation; neighbourhoods dominated by work unit housing which has until recently been the dominant form of housing provision; and areas where market processes are taking hold. Secondly, while this paper focused on contrasts between neighbourhoods the evident differences, as in studies of neighbourhoods elsewhere, are crosscut by a variety of other factors including age and occupation.

With these cautionary remarks in mind we can, however, offer the following observations. Conceptions of neighbourhood conform to expectations in the sense that in the older urban area there are less clear spatial boundaries and the 'locale' is a less bounded collection of local streets rather than a particular block or set of buildings. In general, the level of social interaction, local intimacy, trust and mutual assistance tends to diminish as we move from the older, more established neighbourhood to the work unit and commodified area. The implication, therefore, is that weaker, more fluid ties of association will indeed become more prevalent as Chinese cities become more commodified. This will be particularly marked with regard to the progressive erosion of the strong links between work and residence represented by the work unit based housing system which has been such a significant ingredient of the Chinese city. The links between neighbours as friends and neighbours as work associates face considerable transformation as these local networks are disrupted with greater residential and social mobility. In the past, in many instances, the space

42. Read, *State Social Networks and Citizens in China's Urban Neighborhoods*, p. 58.

43. Benjamin Read, 'Democratizing the neighbourhood? New private housing and home-owner self-organisation in urban China', *The China Journal* 49, (2003), pp. 31–59.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

of residence has mapped closely onto the space of work. This would suggest that the degree of *neighbourhood use* was/is high in the sense that a wide range of roles and activities are undertaken within the geographical confines of the neighbourhood.[44] With the changes now underway it seems inevitable that the geographies of individual and group activities will become more diffuse and that social interaction within neighbourhoods will become more specialized and less intensive.

It may also be that the close connections between place of work and place of residence are giving way to less proximate links between these key domains of urban life with the erosion of the work unit system. However, the legacy of the work unit system will exert a considerable influence on patterns of residence and social interaction in Chinese cities for a considerable time and represents an important and specific ingredient of contemporary Chinese urbanization. Moreover, while one set of processes (namely, greater mobility and disruption of work/residence links) would seem to be acting to destabilize longstanding patterns of local social interaction, a parallel process may be re-accentuating the role of place-based community in the urban social fabric. As the work unit system loses its pivotal role in social and political cohesion, local micro-management and local social mobilization is increasingly centred on residents' committees.[45] These activities may provide a new source of social bonding in the residential setting, especially among long staying residents. However, our evidence suggests that expectations of active resident involvement may be misplaced as neighbourhoods become more heterogeneous and commodified and this is consistent with Ikels' views on the declining level of local voluntary activity in the face of market processes. What is more likely is that the increasing commodification of urban space amidst rising inequalities and underdeveloped property rights will produce new forms of collective action with more negative and defensive qualities.

Finally, comparisons across neighbourhood types or between different groups in the population are of intrinsic interest as indicators of the extent to which there are variations in, for example, feelings of local attachment and levels and patterns of social interaction. The evident contrasts on a number of key variables between the commodified and older areas indicate the likely direction of change in relation to patterns of local social interaction. However, in such a rapidly changing social and political milieu it would be erroneous to overstate either continuities or discontinuities. To extend this analysis we also require longitudinal studies to gauge trends over time and qualitative work to provide a richer account of the way in which economic change and housing reforms are transforming the fabric of everyday life. Isolated, one-off studies also beg the question as to whether feelings of community, belonging, levels of mutual assistance or whatever are high or low relative to other areas. For example, if 60% of a population of a city or neighbourhood express strong feelings of attachment, does that suggest a particularly high level of emotional

44. See Blokland, *Urban Bonds*, pp. 38–39 drawing on U. Hannerz, *Exploring the City: Inquiries towards an Urban Anthropology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

45. See W. Hua, 'Dan shan wei zhi xiang she qu zhi de hui gui' ['A return from the work-unit to the community system: fifty years of urban local management system change in China'], *Strategy and Management* 1, (2000), pp. 86–99; F. Wu, 'China's changing urban governance in the transition towards a more market-oriented economy', *Urban Studies* 39(7), (2003), pp. 1071–1092.

connection between those people and that place? There are no contemporary studies available to enable a robust comparison between our neighbourhoods and those in other Chinese cities. However, Wu and He's[46] recent research on Nanjing does contain some questions which are reasonably comparable. In their older, traditional urban areas the percentage of respondents who had offered help to neighbours in the previous six months ranged from 24 to 54%. In our older area of Guangzhou, the comparable figure is 65%. Similarly the percentage of those who frequently socialize with neighbours in the Nanjing study ranges from 13 to 56%. In our older neighbourhood 56% sometimes or regularly met friends in the neighbourhood. Overall, the Nanjing study shows much greater differences, albeit on a more limited set of questions, among the three traditional areas variously affected by urban redevelopment than among our more contrasting urban neighbourhoods. It would seem, therefore, that feelings of trust, loyalty, safety and sense of belonging and local social cohesion generally are more robust and pervasive than might be expected of Guangzhou's dynamic and volatile urban environment.

Downloaded By: [Chinese Univ of Hong Kong] At: 07:29 22 December 2009

Appendix

Table A1. Profile of administrative districts in Guangzhou[a]

Urban district	Population (thousands)	Average annual wage (Yuan)	Number of resident committees[b]
Dongshan	639	35,063	139
Liwan	520	27,555	126
Yuexiu	422	35,285	151
Haizhu	840	27,198	352
Tanhe	604	33,338	219
Fongcun	185	24,887	67
Baiyun	864	22,909	408
Huangpu	211	32,424	62
Punyu	977	20,829	403
Huadu	621	18,745	233

Notes: [a] Figures: *Guangzhou tong ju nian jian 2004* [*Guangzhou Statistical Yearbook 2004*] (Beijing: Zhongguo tong ji chu ban she).
[b] In Tanhe, Baiyun, Panyu and Huadu, the figures include village committees.

46. Wu and He, 'Changes in traditional urban areas and impacts of urban redevelopment'.